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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS,

OR,

Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts,

FROM THE

Beginning of the CIVIL WAR in the Year 1642. to the Death of King CHARLES I. 1648.

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.

VOL. III.

Think not that I am come to ſend Peace on Earth, I came not to ſend Peace but a Sword, Matth. x. 34.

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THE

PREFACE.

NO period of Civil History has undergone a more critical examination than the last seven years of King Charles I. which was a scene of such confusion and inconsistent management between the King and Parliament, that 'tis very difficult to discover the motives of action on either side; the King seems to have been directed by secret springs from the Queen, and her council of Papists, who were for advancing the Prerogative above the Laws, and vesting his Majesty with such an absolute sovereignty as might rival his brother of France, and enable him to establish the Roman Catholick Religion in England, or some how or other blend it with the Protestant. This gave rise to the unparalell'd severities of the Star-chamber and High Commission, which after twelve years triumph over the laws and liberties of the subject, brought on a fierce and bloody war, and after the loss of above a hundred thousand Lives ended in the sacrifice of the King himself, and the subversion of the whole Constitution.

Though all men had a veneration for the person of the King, his Ministers had render'd themselves justly obnoxious, not only by setting up a new form of Government at home, but by extending their jurisdiction to a neighbouring kingdom, under the government of distinct laws, and inclined to a form of Church Discipline very different from the English: This raised such a storm in the North, as distressed his Majesty's Administration; exhausted his treasure; drained all his arbitrary springs of supply; and after an intermission of twelve years, reduced him to the necessity of returning to the constitution, and calling a Parliament; but when the publick grievances came to be opened, there appeared such a collection of ill humours, and so general a di-

ſtruſt between the King and his two Houſes, as threaten'd all the miſchief and deſolation that followed. Each party laid the blame on the other, and agreed in nothing, but in throwing off the Odium of the Civil War from themſelves.

The affairs of the Church had a very conſiderable influence on the welfare of the State: The Epiſcopal character was grown into contempt, not from any defect of learning in the Biſhops, but from their cloſe attachment to the Prerogative, and their own inſatiable thirſt of power, which they ſtrained to the utmoſt in their Spiritual Courts, by reviving old and abſolete cuſtoms, levying large fines on the people for contempt of their Canons, and proſecuting good men and zealous proteſtants for rites and ceremonies tending to ſuperſtition, and not warranted by the laws of the land. The King ſupported them to the utmoſt; but was obliged after ſome time to give way firſt to an Act for aboliſhing the High Commiſſion, by a clauſe in which the power of the Biſhops Spiritual Courts was in a manner deſtroyed; and at laſt an Act depriving them of their Seats in Parliament. If at this time any methods could have been thought of to reſtore a mutual confidence between the King and his two Houſes, the remaining differences in the Church might eaſily have been compromiſed; but the ſpirits of men were heated, and as the flames of the Civil War grew fiercer, and ſpread wider, the wounds of the Church were enlarged, till the diſtreſs of the Parliament's affairs obliging them to call in the Scots with their Solemn League and Covenant, they became incureable.

When the King had loſt his cauſe in the field, he put himſelf at the head of his Divines, and drew his learned pen in defence of his Prerogative and the Church of England; but his arguments were no more ſucceſsful than his ſword. I have brought the debates between the King and Mr. Henderſon, and between the Divines of both ſides at the treaties of Uxbridge and Newport upon the head of Epiſcopacy, into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible; my chief deſign being to trace the

the proceedings of the Parliament and their Assembly at Westminster, which (whether justifiable or not) ought to be placed in open view, though none of the Historians of those times have ventured to do it.

The Westminster Assembly was the Parliament's grand Council in matters of Religion, and made a very considerable figure both at home and abroad through the course of the Civil War, 'till they disputed the power of the keys with their superiors, and split upon the rocks of Divine Right and Covenant Uniformity. The records of this venerable Assembly were lost in the fire of London, but I have given a large and just account of their proceedings, from a manuscript of one of their members, and some other papers that have fallen into my hands, and have entered as far into their debates with the Erastians, Independents, and others, as was consistent with the life and spirit of the History.

Whatever views the Scots might have from the beginning of the war, the Parliament would certainly have agreed with the King upon the foot of a limited Episcopacy, till the calling the Assembly of Divines, after which the Solemn League and Covenant became the standard of all their treaties, and was designed to introduce the Presbyterian Government in its full extent, as the established Religion of both kingdoms. This tied up the Parliament's hands from yielding in time to the king's most reasonable concessions at Newport, and render'd an accommodation impracticable; I have therefore transcribed the Covenant at large, with the reasons for and against it; whether such obligations upon the consciences of men are justifiable from the Necessity of Affairs, or binding in all events and revolutions of government, I shall not determine; but the imposing them upon others was certainly a very great hardship.

The remarkable trial of Archbishop Laud, in which the antiquity and use of the several innovations complained of by the Puritans are stated and argued, has never been published entire to the world. The Archbishop left in his diary a summary of his answer to the

Charge of the Commons, and Mr. Prynne in his Canterbury's Doom has publiſhed the firſt part of his Grace's Trial, relating principally to points of Religion; but all is imperfect and immethodical. I have therefore compared both Accounts together, and ſupplied the defects of one with the other; the whole is brought into a narrow compaſs, and thrown into ſuch a method as will give the Reader a clear and diſtinct view of the equity of the Charge, and how far the Archbiſhop deſerved the uſage he met with.

I have drawn out Abſtracts of the ſeveral Ordinances relating to the riſe and progreſs of Preſbytery, and traced the proceedings of the Committee for plundered and ſcandalous Miniſters, as far as was neceſſary to my general deſign, without deſcending too far into particulars, or attempting to juſtify the whole of their conduct; and though I am of opinion that the number of Clergy who ſuffered purely on the account of Religion was not very conſiderable, 'tis certain that many able and learned Divines, who were content to live quietly, and mind the duty of their places, had very hard Meaſure from the violence of parties, and deſerve the compaſſionate regards of poſterity; ſome being diſcharged their Livings for refuſing the Covenant, and others plunder'd of every thing the unruly Soldiers could lay their hands upon, for not complying with the change of the Times.

In the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne, Doctor Walker of Exeter publiſhed "An attempt to recover "the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the "Church of England;" but with notorious partiality, and in language not fit for the lips of a Clergyman, a Scholar, or a Chriſtian; every page or paragraph almoſt labours with the cry of Rebellion, Treaſon, Parricide, Faction, ſtupid Ignorance, Hypocriſy, Cant, and downright Knavery and Wickedneſs on one ſide; and Loyalty, Learning, primitive Sanctity, and the glorious ſpirit of Martyrdom on the other. One muſt conclude from the Doctor, that there was hardly a wiſe or honeſt Patriot with the Parliament, nor a weak or diſhoneſt

Gentleman

Gentleman with the King. His Preface is one of the most furious invectives against the seven most glorious years of Queen Anne that was ever published; it blackens the memory of the late King William III. to whom he applies that passage of Scripture, "I gave "them a King in my Anger and took him away in "my Wrath;" It arraigns the great Duke of Marlborough, the Glory of the English Nation, and both Houses of Parliament, as in a confederacy to destroy the Church of England, and dethrone the Queen. "Rebellion (says the Doctor, was esteemed the most "necessary requisite to qualify any one for being in- "trusted with the Government, and Disobedience the "principal recommendation for her Majesty's Ser- "vice.——Those were thought the most proper per- "sons to guard the Throne, who on the first dislike "were every whit as ready to guard the Scaffold; yea, "her Majesty was in effect told all this to her face in "the greatest Assembly of the Nation; and to say all "that can be said of this matter, all the Principles of "1641, and even those of 1648, have been plainly "and openly revived." Preface, p. 8, 9, 10. p. 11.

Thus has this obscure Clergyman dared to affront the great Author, under God, of all our present Blessings; and to stigmatize the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, the Stanhopes, the Sunderlands, the Cowpers and others, the most renowned Heroes and Statesmen of the Age!

It must be confessed, that the tumults and riotous assemblies of the lower sort of people are insufferable in a well regulated Government; and without all question, some of the leading Members of the Long Parliament made an ill use of the Populace, as tools to support their secret designs; but how easy were it to turn all this part of the Doctor's Artillery against himself and his friends; for Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, in their return from their several prisons, were not attended with such a numerous cavalcade as waited upon the late Dr. Sacheverel in his triumphant progress through the western Counties of England and

Wales; nor did they give themſelves up to the ſame exceſs of licentiouſneſs and rage. If the mob of 1641 inſulted the Biſhops, and awed the Parliament, ſo did the Doctor's retinue in 1710; nay their zeal outwent their predeceſſors, when they pulled down the Meeting-houſes of Proteſtant Diſſenters, and burnt the materials in the open ſtreets, in maintenance of the Doctrines of Paſſive-obedience and Non-reſiſtance, which their pious Confeſſor had been preaching up; "a bold "inſolent man (ſays Biſhop Burnet) with a very ſmall "meaſure of Religion, Virtue, Learning, or good "Senſe!" but to ſuch extremes do men's paſſions carry them when they write only to ſerve a Cauſe! I have had occaſion to make ſome uſe of Dr. Walker's confuſed heap of Materials, but have endeavoured carefully to avoid his ſpirit and language.

Hiſt. p. 537.

No man has declaimed ſo bitterly againſt the proceedings of the Parliament upon all occaſions as this Clergyman; nor complained more loudly of unſpeakable damage the liberal Arts and Sciences ſuſtained by their purging the two Univerſities; the new Heads and Fellows of Oxford are called "a Colony of Preſ-"byterian and Independent Novices from Cambridge; "a tribe of ignorant Enthuſiaſts and Schiſmaticks; an "illiterate Rabble ſwept from the Plough-tail, from "Shops and Grammar Schools, &c." The Univerſity of Cambridge is reported by the ſame author "to be "reduced to a meer Munſter by the Knipperdolings "of the Age, who broke the heart-ſtrings of Learning "and learned men, who thruſt out one of the Eyes of "the Kingdom, and made Eloquence dumb, Philoſo-"phy ſottiſh, widowed the Arts, drove the Muſes from "their ancient habitation, and plucked the reverend "and orthodox Profeſſors out of their Chairs.--- They "turned Religion into Rebellion, and changed the "apoſtolical Chair into a Desk for Blaſphemy.---They "took the Garland from off the Head of Learning "and placed it on the dull Brows of Ignorance.------ "And having unhived a numerous ſwarm of labouring "Bees, they placed in their room ſwarms of ſenſeleſs "Drones.----" Such is the language of our Hiſtorian, tranſcribed

Walker's Introduct. p. 139, 140.

Walker's Introduct. p. 115. Querela Cant.

tranſcribed from Dr. Barwick! I have carefully look'd into this affair, and collected the characters of the old and new Profeſſors from the moſt approved writers, that the diſintereſted Reader may judge how far Religion and Learning ſuffered by the exchange.

The cloſe of this Volume, which relates the diſputes between the Parliament and the Army; the ill ſucceſs of his Majeſty's Arms and Treaties; the ſeizure of his Royal Perſon a ſecond time by the Army; his trial before a pretended High Court of Juſtice, and his unparalelled execution before the gates of his Royal Palace by the military Power, is a moſt melancholy and affecting ſcene; in which, next to the all-diſpoſing Providence of God, one cannot but remark the King's inflexible temper, together with the indiſcretion of his Friends, eſpecially his Divines, at a time when his Crown was loſt by the fortune of War, and his very Life at the mercy of his Enemies: nor is the unwarrantable ſtiffneſs of the Parliament leſs unaccountable, when they ſaw the victorious Army drawing towards London flushed with the defeat of the Scots and Engliſh Loyaliſts, and determined to ſet aſide that very Uniformity they were contending for. If his Majeſty had yielded at firſt what he did at laſt, with an appearance of Sincerity; or if the two Houſes had complied with his conceſſions while Cromwel was in Scotland; or if the Army had been made eaſy by a general Indulgence and Toleration, with the diſtribution of ſome Honours and Bounty-money among the Officers, the Crown and Conſtitution might have been ſaved; "but ſo many miraculous circumſtances contributed "to his Majeſty's Ruin (ſays Lord Clarendon) that men "might well think that Heaven and Earth conſpir'd it." Vol. V. P. 258.

The Objections to the firſt Volume of the Hiſtory of the Puritans, by the Author of the Vindication of the Government, Doctrine and Worſhip of the Church of England, obliged me to review the principal facts in a ſmall Pamplet, wherein I have endeavoured to diſcharge myſelf as an Hiſtorian, without undertaking the defence of their ſeveral principles, or making myſelf an advocate for the whole of their conduct.

duct. I took the liberty to point out the miſtakes of our firſt Reformers as I paſt along, but with no deſign to blacken their memories; for with all their foibles they were glorious inſtruments in the hand of Providence to deliver this Nation from Anti-chriſtian Bondage; but they were free to confeſs, the work was left imperfect; that they had gone as far as the times would admit, and hoped their ſucceſſors would bring the Reformation to a greater perfection.

But the ſtate of the Controverſy was entirely changed in the time of the Civil Wars; for after the coming in of the Scots the Puritans did not fight for a reformation of the Hierarchy, nor for the generous principles of Religious Liberty to all peaceable Subjects: but for the ſame ſpiritual power the Biſhops had exerciſed; for when they had got rid of the oppreſſion of the Spiritual Courts under which they had groaned almoſt fourſcore years, they were for ſetting up a number of Preſbyterial Conſiſtories in all the Pariſhes of England, equally burdenſome and oppreſſive. Unhappy extream! That wiſe and good men ſhould not diſcover the beautiful conſiſtency of Truth and Liberty! Dr. Barrow and others have obſerved, that in the firſt and pureſt ages of Chriſtianity, the Church had no coercive power, and apprehend that it may ſtill ſubſiſt very well without it.

The body of Proteſtant Diſſenters of the preſent age have a juſt abhorrence of the perſecuting ſpirit of their Predeceſſors, and are content that their Actions be ſet in a fair light as a warning to Poſterity. They have no leſs a dread of returning into the hands of Spiritual Courts founded on the bottomleſs deep of the Canon Law, and ſee no reaſon why they ſhould not be equally expoſed, till they are put upon a better foot; though it is an unpardonable crime in the opinion of ſome Churchmen to take notice, even in the moſt reſpectful manner, of the leaſt blemiſh in our preſent eſtabliſhment, which how valuable ſoever in itſelf, is allowed by all to be capable of amendments. Some little Eſſays of this kind have fired the zeal of the Biſhop

ſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, who, in a late charge to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, is pleaſed to declaim againſt the Times in the following mournful language:

" At ſo critical a juncture (ſays his Lordſhip) when " common Chriſtianity is treated with an avowed " contempt and open profaneneſs; when an undiſ- " guiſed immorality prevails ſo very generally; when " there is ſcarce honeſty enough to ſave the Nation " from ruin; when with regard to the eſtabliſhed " Church in particular, the Royal Supremacy is pro- " feſſedly expoſed, as inconſiſtent with the rights of " Conſcience, even that Supremacy which was the " ground-work of the Reformation among us from " Popery, which was acknowledged and ſworn to by " the Old Puritans, though now inconſiſtently enough " diſowned and condemned in the new Hiſtory and " Vindication of them and their Principles.-----When " ſo deſtructive an attempt has been made on the le- " gal maintenance of the Clergy, by the late Tithe " Bill, and conſequently, on the Fate of the Chriſtian " Religion among us.-----When an attempt has been " lately made on the important out-works of our ec- " cleſiaſtical Eſtabliſhment, the Corporation and Teſt " Acts, with the greateſt inſolences towards the Church, " and moſt undutiful menaces to the Civil Govern- " ment.-----When the Epiſcopal Authority has been " well nigh undermined, under a pretence of reform- " ing the Eccleſiaſtical Courts; and if that Order had " been render'd uſeleſs, as it muſt have been when it " had loſt its Authority, then the Revenues would have " been ſoon thought uſeleſs; and in the reſult of things " the Order itſelf might have been conſidered as ſu- " perfluous, and perhaps in due time thought fit " to be aboliſhed.-----When Churches have been put " into ſuch a method of repair as would end in their " ruin in a little time; and when the correction of " the abuſes of the matrimonial Licenſes has been la- " bour'd in ſo abſurd a manner as to permit the mar- " riage of Minors without conſent of their Parents or " Guardians: When theſe melancholy circumſtances " have

Charge. P. 41, 42, 44.

" have ſo lately concurr'd, it is natural to infer, our " zeal for the Church ſhould be in proportion to its " danger; and if theſe are not proper occaſions for " zeal for our eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, it is not eaſy " to aſſign circumſtances that may juſtly demand it.--" How fine and ſubtile are theſe ſpeculations! I have not obſerved any Inſolences towards the Church, or undutiful Menaces to the Civil Government in the late writings of the Diſſenters; but if one Pin of the Hierarchy be removed by the wiſdom of the Legiſlature, the whole Building is ſuppoſed to fall, and all Religion along with it. His Lordſhip therefore adviſes his Clergy to ſtudy the Biſhop of London's Codex in order to defend it: and it can do them no real prejudice to examine at the ſame time, the principles of Law and Equity on which it is founded. As to the Diſſenters his Lordſhip adds, " However, it will become us of the Clergy in point of " Prudence, not to give any juſt Suſpicions of our diſ- " guſt to the legal Toleration of them, while they keep " within due bounds; that is, while they do not break " in upon the Privileges and Rights of the eſtabliſh'd " Church, by declaring againſt all legal Eſtabliſhments, " or the legal Eſtabliſhment of the Church of England " in particular, or by not being quiet with the preſent " limits of their toleration, or by affecting poſts of au- " thority, and thereby breaking down the fences of the " Church, and placing themſelves on a level with it." But whether this would remain a point of Prudence with his Lordſhip, if the Boundaries of his Epiſcopal Power were enlarged, is not very difficult to determine.

Vid. a late excellent Examination of the Codex Juris Eccl. Angl. Charge, p. 46.

The Diſſenters have no envy nor ill-will to the Churches of England or Scotland eſtabliſhed by Law (attended with a Toleration of all peaceable Diſſenters) any further than they encroach on the natural or ſocial Rights of Mankind; nor are they ſo ſtupid as not to diſtinguiſh between high Dignities, great Authority, and large Revenues ſecured by law, and a poor maintenance ariſing from the voluntary contributions of the people, that is between an Eſtabliſhment and a Toleration.

But

But I am to attend to the charge of inconſiſtency brought againſt myſelf: I had obſerved upon the reign of the bloody Q. Mary, that an abſolute ſupremacy over the conſciences of Men lodged with a ſingle perſon might as well be prejudicial as ſerviceable to true Religion: And in the beginning of the reign of Q. Elizabeth, that the powers then claimed by the Kings and Queens of England were in a manner the ſame with thoſe claimed by the Popes in the times preceding the Reformation, except the adminiſtration of the ſpiritual offices of the Church. This was that Supremacy which was the ground-work of the Reformation; of which I ſay, let the reader judge how far theſe high powers are agreeable or conſiſtent with the natural rights of mankind. His Lordſhip call this a profeſſed expoſing the Royal Supremacy, and the rather becauſe "that Supremacy was acknowledged and ſworn to by "the old Puritans themſelves, though now inconſiſtently enough diſowned and condemned by their "Hiſtorian." But ſurely his Lordſhip ſhould have informed his Clergy at the ſame time, in what ſenſe the Puritans took the oath, when it was before his eyes, in the ſame page; my words are theſe: "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 Majeſty "under God had the ſovereignty and rule over all perſons born in her Realm, either eccleſiaſtical or temporal, ſo as no foreign power had, or ought to have "any ſuperiority over them." Where is the inconſiſtency of this conduct of the old Puritans or their new hiſtorian? Or, where is the Diſſenter in England who is not ready to ſwear to it with this explication?

Hiſt. Pur. Vol. I. p. 83.

Ib. p. 129, 130.

Hiſt. Pur. p. 133. Vide Strype's Ann. Vol. I. p. 159.

But his Lordſhip is pleaſed to reaſon upon this head, and in order to ſupport that abſolute ſupremacy, which was the ground-work of the Reformation, affirms, that "all Chriſtian Kings and Emperors have the ſame "power of reforming Religion, and are under the

Charge, p. 20.

"ſame

" ſame obligations, as the Jewiſh Kings were in caſes " of the like nature," without producing the leaſt evidence or proof; whereas his Lordſhip knows, that the government of the Jews was a Theocracy; that God himſelf was their King, and the laws of that Nation ſtrictly and properly the laws of God, who is Lord of Conſcience, and may annex what ſanction he pleaſes; their Judges and Kings were choſen and appointed by God, not to make a new Codex or book of laws either for Church or State, but to keep the people to the ſtrict obſervation of thoſe laws and ſtatutes that he himſelf had given them by the hand of Moſes.

p. 21. His Lordſhip is pleaſed to aſk, " If any high pre- " tender to ſpiritual liberty, and the rights of Con- " ſcience, ſhould enquire what authority the reſpec- " tive Jewiſh and Chriſtian Powers had to interpoſe " in matters that regarded the rights of conſcience? " Since in fact their aſſumed ſupremacy was an uſur- " pation of thoſe natural rights——" I anſwer, that with regard to the Jews, it was no uſurpation, for the reaſons beforementioned; and when his Lordſhip ſhall prove a Transfer of the ſame power to all Chriſtian Princes, the controverſy will be brought to a ſhort iſſue.

p. 22. " —But will it not be replied (ſays the Biſhop) that " thoſe Kings and Emperors were intruſted by God " with the care of the eccleſiaſtical as well as civil " Conſtitution—" If by the care of the Conſtitution be meant no more than the preſerving their Subjects in the enjoyment of their unalienable Rights, nobody denies it; but if under this pretence they aſſume a ſovereign and arbitrary power of modelling the eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution according to their pleaſure, and of enforcing their Subjects obedience by canons and penal laws, I ſhould doubt whether they are obliged to comply, even in things not abſolutely ſinful in themſelves, becauſe it may derogate from the Kingly Office of Chriſt, who is ſole King and Lawgiver in his own Kingdom, and has not delegated this branch of his authority to any Vicar General upon earth. But I readily agree with his Lordſhip, that if any high

Pretender

Pretender to the rights of conſcience ſhould have aſked the Firſt Chriſtian Emperors by what authority they took on themſelves the alteration or change of Religion? They would have thought the queſtion unreaſonable, and worthy of cenſure; they would have affirmed their own Sovereignty, and have taught the bold enquirers as Gideon did the men of Succoth, with briars and thorns of the Wilderneſs.

The Biſhop goes on; "Let us now transfer this "power of Jewiſh Kings and Chriſtian Emperors to "our own Kings, and the caſe will admit of an eaſy "deciſion.—" If indeed an abſolute ſupremacy in matters of Religion is the natural and unalienable right of every Chriſtian King and Emperor, the diſpute is at an end; but if it depends upon a Transfer, we muſt beg pardon, if we deſire his Lordſhip to produce his commiſſion for transferring the ſame Powers that Almighty God gave the Jewiſh Kings of his own appointment, to the firſt Chriſtian Emperors, who were neither choſen by God, nor the People, nor Senate of Rome, but uſurped the ſupreme authority, by the aſſiſtance of the military arm, and were ſome of them the greateſt tyrants and ſcourgers of mankind. Charge, p. 22.

His Lordſhip adds, "Have not the Engliſh Kings "ſince the Reformation actually been inveſted with "the ſame Supremacy, as the Jewiſh Kings and "Chriſtian Emperors were?" I anſwer, ſuch a Supremacy is in my judgment inconſiſtent with our preſent Conſtitution and the laws in being. The Supremacy claimed by King Henry VIII. and his ſucceſſors at the Reformation was found by experience too exceſſive, and therefore abridged in the reigns of King Charles I. and William III. No one doubts, but the Kings of England are obliged to protect Religion, and defend the Eſtabliſhment as long as the Leigiſlature think fit to continue it; but as they may not ſuſpend or change it by their ſovereign pleaſure, ſo neither may they publiſh edicts of their own to enforce it, as was the caſe of the firſt Chriſtian Emperors. The Reader will excuſe this digreſſion, as neceſſary to ſupport a principal fact of my hiſtory. Ibid.

I am

I am sufficiently aware of the delicacy of the affairs treated of in this volume, and of the tenderness of the ground I go over; and though I have been very careful of my temper and language, and have endeavoured to look into the mysterious conduct of the several parties with all the indifference of a Spectator, I find it very difficult to form an exact judgment of the most important events, or to speak freely without offence, therefore if any passionate or angry Writer should appear against this, or any of the former volumes, I humbly request the Reader to pay no regard to personal reflections, or to insinuations of any ill designs against the established Religion, or the publick peace; which are entirely groundless. I am as far from vindicating the spirit and conduct of the warmer Puritans, as of the governing Prelates of those times; there was hard measure on both sides, though if we separate politicks from principles of pure Religion, the balance will be very much in favour of the Puritans. In historical debates nothing is to be received upon trust, but facts are to be examined, and a judgment formed upon the authority by which those facts are supported; by this method we shall arrive at truth; and if it shall appear that in the course of this long history there are any considerable mistakes, the world may be assured I will take the first opportunity to retract or amend them, having no private or party views, no prospect of preferment or other reward for my labours, than the satisfaction of doing some service to truth, and to the religious and civil liberties of mankind; and yet after all, I must bespeak the indulgence and candour of my readers, which those who are sensible of the labour and toil of collecting so many materials, and ranging them in their proper order, will readily allow to one who sincerely wishes the prosperity and welfare of all good men, and that the violence and outrage of these unhappy times, which brought such confusion and misery both on King and People, may never be imitated by the present or any future age.

LONDON,
Nov. 4, 1735.

DAN. NEAL.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

From the Battle of Edge-Hill to the Calling the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

THE King having recruited his Army at Oxford, after the battle of Edge-Hill, by the assistance of the University, who now gave his Majesty all their Money, as they had before done their Plate, resolved to pursue his march to London, in order to break up the Parliament, and surprize the City; while the Earl of Essex imagining the campaign was ended, lay quiet about Warwick, till being informed of the King's designs, he posted to London, and ordered his forces to follow with all expedition. The Earl arrived November 7, and was honourably received by both Houses of Parliament, who presented him with a gratuity of five thousand pounds, and

King Charles I. 1642.

The King pursues his March to London.

King Charles I. 1642.

to ſtrengthen his army paſſed an Ordinance, that ſuch apprentices as would liſt in their ſervice ſhould be entitled to a freedom of the City at the expiration of their apprenticeſhip, equally with thoſe who continued with their maſters. In the beginning of November the King took poſſeſſion of Reading without the leaſt reſiſtance, the Parliament Garriſon having abandon'd it, which alarmed both Houſes, and made them ſend an expreſs to deſire a ſafe conduct for a Committee of Lords and Commons to attend his Majeſty with a petition for peace; the Committee waited on his Majeſty at Colnbrook, fifteen miles from London, and having received a favourable anſwer, reported it to the two Houſes, who immediately gave orders to forbear all acts of hoſtility, and ſent a meſſenger to the King, to deſire the like forbearance on his part; but the Committee had no ſooner left Colnbrook, than his Majeſty, taking the advantage of a thick miſt, advanced to Brentford within ſeven miles of London, which he attacked with his whole army, Nov. 13, and after a fierce and bloody Rencounter with the Parliament Garriſon, wherein conſiderable numbers were driven into the Thames and ſlain, he got poſſeſſion of the Town, and took a great many priſoners. The conſternation of the Citizens on this occaſion was inexpreſſible, imagining the King would be next morning at their gates; upon which the Lord Mayor was ordered to ſend the Train'd Bands immediately to join the Earl of Eſſex's forces, which were juſt arrived at Turnham Green, under the command of Major General Skippon; and there being no further thoughts of peace, every one ſpirited up his Neighbour, and all reſolved as one Man to live and die together. Major Skippon went from Regiment to Regiment, and encouraged his Troops with ſuch ſhort Soldier-like ſpeeches as theſe; "Come, my Boys! my "brave Boys! I will run the ſame hazards with you; re- "member the cauſe is for God and the defence of your- "ſelves, your Wives and Children. Come, my honeſt "brave Boys! let us pray heartily, and fight heartily, "and God will bleſs us." When they were drawn up they made a body of about twenty four thouſand Men eager for battle, but their orders were only to be on the defenſive, and prevent the King's breaking through to the City. The two Armies having faced each other all day, his Majeſty retreated in the Night to Kingſton, and from thence to Reading, where having left a Garriſon, he returned

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 58.

Whitlock, p. 62.

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 93.

turned to Oxford about the beginning of December with his Brentford prisoners, the chief of whom were condemned to die, and had been executed for High Treason, if the two Houses had not threaten'd to make reprisals. The Parliament, to prevent a like surprize of the City for the future, impowered the Lord Mayor to cause lines of circumvallation to be drawn around it, and all the avenues fortified. King Charles I. 1642.

It was not without reason that the two Houses complained of the King's extraordinary conduct on this occasion, which was owing to the violent counsels of Prince Rupert and Lord Digby, animated by some of his Majesty's Friends in the City, who imagined, that if the Royal Army appeared in the neighbourhood of London, the Parliament would accept of his Majesty's pardon and break up; or else the confusions would be so great, that he might enter and carry all before him; but the project having failed, his Majesty endeavoured to excuse it in the best manner he could: he alledg'd, that there being no cessation of arms agreed upon, he might justly take all advantages against his enemies. He insisted further upon his fears of being hemm'd in by the Parliament's forces about Colnbrook, to prevent which, it seems, he marched seven miles nearer the City. Lord Clarendon says, Prince Rupert having advanced to Hounslow without order, his Majesty at the desire of the Prince marched forward, to disengage him from the danger of the forces quartered in that neighbourhood; which is so very improbable, that in the opinion of Mr. Rapin, it is needless to refute it. Upon the whole, it is extreamly probable, the King came from Oxford with no other design but to surprize the City of London before the Earl of Essex's army could arrive; but having missed his aim, he framed his best pretences to perswade the people that his marching to Brentford was only in his own defence. Motives of it. Rapin, Vol. XII. p. 38.

Though his Majesty took all occasions to make offers of peace to his Parliament, in hopes the Nation would compel them to an agreement, by leaving him in possession of all his prerogatives, it is sufficiently evident he had no intentions to yield any thing to obtain it; for in his letter to Duke Hamilton, dated December 2, 1642, he says, "He had "set up his rest upon the Justice of his Cause, being resol- "ved that no extremity or misfortune should make him "yield, for (says his Majesty) I will be either a glorious Remarks. Hamil. M. Book IV. p. 203.

King Charles I. 1642.

" King or a patient Martyr ; and as yet not being the firſt, " nor at this preſent apprehending the other, I think it no " unfit time to expreſs this my reſolution to you." The juſtice of the cauſe, upon which his Majeſty had ſet up his reſt, " was his Declaration and Promiſe to govern for the " future according to the laws of the Land ;" but the point was to know whether this might be relied upon. The two Houſes admitted the laws of the Land to be the Rule of Government, and that the executive power, in times of Peace, was with the King ; but his Majeſty had ſo often ſet aſide the laws by the advice of a corrupt Miniſtry, after repeated aſſurances to the contrary, that they durſt not confide in his Royal Word, and therefore inſiſted upon ſome additional ſecurity for themſelves, and for the Conſtitution. But his Majeſty averr'd the Conſtitution was in no danger from him, but from themſelves, who were acting every day in defiance of it, to which it was anſwer'd, that it was impoſſible the laws ſhould have their due courſe in time of War as in the height of Peace, becauſe this muſt effectually tie up their hands. Neither party by law could raiſe money upon the Subject, without each others conſent ; the King could not do it without conſent of Parliament, nor the Parliament without the Royal Aſſent, and yet both had practiſed it ſince the opening of the War. To have recourſe therefore to the laws of a well ſettled Government in a time of ſuch confuſion, was weak and impracticable. Beſides, his Majeſty refuſed to give up any of his late Miniſters to the juſtice of Parliament ; for in his letter to Duke Hamilton he ſays, " That his abandoning the Earl of Straf- " ford had gone ſo near him, that he was reſolved " no conſideration ſhould make him do the like again." Upon theſe Reſolutions he declined the Mediation of the Scots Commiſſioners, which gave the ſeveral parties engaged againſt him a fair opportunity of uniting their intereſts with that Nation.

Rapin. P. 44, 45.

This was a nice and curious affair ; for the friends of the Parliament, who were agreed in the cauſe of civil Liberty, were far from being of one mind in points of Church Diſcipline ; the major part were for Epiſcopacy, and deſired no more than to ſecure the Conſtitution, and reform a few exorbitances of the Biſhops ; ſome were Eraſtians, and would be content with any form of Government the Magiſtrate ſhould appoint ; the real Preſbyterians, who were for an entire change of the Hierarchy upon the foot of divine Right, were as yet but few, and could carry nothing

thing in the Houſe ; it was neceſſary therefore, in treating with the Scots, who contended earneſtly for their Kirk government, to deliver themſelves in ſuch general expreſſions, that each party might interpret them as they were inclined, or as ſhould be expedient. This contented the Scots for the preſent, and left the Parliament at full liberty, till they ſaw what terms they could make with the King. Nor could the Church-men be diſſatisfied, becauſe they knew, if they could put a period to the War without the Scots, the two Houſes would not call in their aſſiſtance, much leſs ſubmit to a Kirk Diſcipline they had no manner of acquaintance with; and therefore Lord Clarendon was of opinion, that even at the treaty of Uxbridge, if the Parliament could have obtained an Act of Oblivion for what was paſt, and good ſecurity for the King's governing by law, the affair of Religion might eaſily have been compromiſed ; but it required all the prudence and ſagacity the two Houſes were maſters of, to keep ſo many different intereſts in points of Religion, united in one common cauſe of Liberty and the Conſtitution, at a time when great numbers of the King's friends in the very City of London, were forming conſpiracies to reſtore him without any terms at all.

King Charles I. 1642.

The King's affairs had a promiſing aſpect this Winter ; his forces in the North under the Earl of Newcaſtle, were ſuperior to thoſe of Sir Thomas Fairfax. In the Weſtern and mid-land Counties there were ſeveral Sieges and Rencounters with various Succeſs, but nothing deciſive. Divers Counties enter'd into aſſociations for their mutual defence on both ſides. The four northern Counties, of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmorland, and Durham, aſſociated for the King ; after which the two Houſes encouraged the like in thoſe that owned their authority, and appointed Generals to command their Troops ; the chief of which was the Eaſtern Aſſociation of Eſſex, Cambridgeſhire, the Iſle of Ely, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, and the City of Norwich, whoſe Militia were trained, and ready to march where neceſſity ſhould require within their ſeveral limits. In ſome parts of England the inhabitants reſolved to ſtand neuter, and not be concerned on either ſide ; but the Parliament condemned and diſannulled all ſuch agreements.

Encouraging proſpect of the King's affairs. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 66.

Ib. p. 94.

As the two Houſes depended upon the aſſiſtance of the Scots, his Majeſty had expectations of foreign aids from the Queen, who had endeavoured, by the influence of her

King Charles I. 1642.

Son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, to engage the States of Holland in the King's intereſt, but they wiſely declared for a neutrality; however, they connived at her private negotiations, and gave her a general paſſport, by virtue whereof ſhe tranſported a very large quantity of arms and ammunition to Burlington Bay, and conveyed them to the King at York. His Majeſty alſo, in order to bring over the Iriſh forces under the command of the Duke of Ormond, conſented to a truce with the Iriſh Rebels, [ſign'd Sept. 15. 1643.] in which he allow'd the Catholicks to remain in poſſeſſion of what they had conquered ſince the Rebellion, to the great grief of the Proteſtants, who by this means were legally diſpoſſeſſed of their Eſtates: A moſt unpopular action in favour of a people who by their late Maſſacre were become the very reproach and infamy of human nature! Thus the whole Kingdom was marſhalled into parties, with their drawn Swords eager to plunge them into each others breaſts.

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 537, 538, 539.

Ordinance of the Parliament exhorting to Repentance.

The Parliament Cauſe having a dark and threatening aſpect, the Lords and Commons were not forgetful to implore the divine Bleſſing upon their Counſels and Arms; for which purpoſe they publiſhed an Ordinance, Feb. 15, 1642-3, exhorting to the duty of Repentance, as the only remedy to prevent publick Calamities. It was drawn up by ſome of the Puritan Divines; and becauſe Biſhop Kennet has branded it with the reproachful characters of Cant, broad Hypocriſy, and a Libel againſt the Church, I will tranſcribe the Subſtance of it in their own Words.

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 141.

"That flouriſhing Kingdoms have been ruined, by impenitent going on in a courſe of ſin, the ſacred ſtory plainly tells us; and how near to ruin our ſinful Nation now is, the preſent lamentable face of it does too plainly ſhew. And though we ſhould feel the heavy ſtrokes of God's Judgments yet ſeven times more, it is our duty to accept the puniſhment of our iniquities, and to ſay, "Righteous art thou, O Lord, and juſt are thy Judgments." Yet, becauſe the Lord, who is juſt, is alſo merciful, and in his infinite mercy has left the excellent and ſucceſsful remedy of repentance, to Nations brought near to the gates of deſtruction and deſpair, O! let not England be negligent in the application of it. Humble addreſſes of a penitent people to a merciful

King Charles I. 1642-3.

" merciful God have prevailed with him: They prevailed " for Nineveh when ſentence ſeemed to be gone out a- " gainſt her; and may alſo prevail for England.

" It is therefore thought neceſſary, by the Lords and " Commons in Parliament aſſembled, that all his Majeſty's " Subjects be ſtirred up to lay hold of this only, and un- " failing remedy of Repentance, freely acknowledging, " and heartily bewailing, with deepeſt humiliation, both " their own perſonal ſins, and thoſe of the Nation; a con- " feſſion of national ſins being moſt agreeable to the " national Judgments under which the Land groans, " and moſt likely to be effectual for the removing of " them.

" Among the national ſins are to be reckoned, " The " contempt of God's Ordinances, and of Holineſs itſelf; " groſs ignorance, and unfruitfulneſs under the means of " Grace; multitudes of oaths, blaſphemies, profanation " of the Sabbath by ſports and games; luxury, pride, " prodigality in apparel, oppreſſion, fraud, violence, &c. " A connivance, and almoſt a toleration of the idolatry " of Popery, the Maſſacre of Ireland, and the Bloodſhed " of the Martyrs in Queen Mary's Time," which ha- " ving been a national ſin, ſtill calls for a national confeſ- " ſion.

" Now, that all the ſin and miſery of this polluted and " afflicted Nation may be bitterly ſorrowed for, with ſuch " grief of heart, and preparedneſs for a thorough Refor- " mation, as God may be pleaſed graciouſly to accept, it " is ordained that all preachers of God's Word do ear- " neſtly inculcate theſe duties on their hearers, that at " length we may obtain a firm and happy peace, both " with God and Man, that glory may dwell in our Land; " and the proſperity of the Goſpel, with all the privileges " accompanying it, may crown this Nation unto all ſuc- " ceeding ages."

The Reverend Prelate abovementioned makes the following remark upon this Ordinance. " When once the two " Houſes could deſcend to have ſuch fulſome penitential " forms put upon them, to adopt, and to obtrude in their " name upon the Nation, it was a ſure ſign, that all that " was ſound and decent in faith and worſhip was now to be " commanded into Enthuſiaſm and endleſs Schiſms." I leave the Reader to examine, whether he can find any ground for ſo ſevere a cenſure.

King Charles I. 1642-3.

Treaty of Oxford.

Though the King had rejected the Scots Mediation, and "set up his Reſt upon the Juſtice of his Cauſe," he was pleaſed, before the beginning of the Campaign, to admit of a Treaty with his two Houſes, for which purpoſe he ſent a ſafe conduct to ſix Lords, and as many Commoners, with their attendants, to repair to him at Oxford, who being admitted to an audience in one of the Colleges, produced the following Propoſals, which were read by the Earl of Northumberland.

The Parliament's propoſitions. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 165, 166.

1. "That the Armies may be diſbanded on both ſides, "and the King return to his Parliament.

2. "That Delinquents may ſubmit to a legal trial, and "judgment of Parliament.

3. "That all Papiſts be diſbanded and diſarmed.

4. "That his Majeſty will pleaſe to give his conſent to "the five Bills hereafter mentioned.

5. "That an oath may be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, wherein the Papiſts ſhall abjure and renounce the "Pope's Supremacy, Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, worſhiping the conſecrated Hoſt, Crucifixes and Images, and "the refuſing ſuch oath lawfully tender'd ſhall be a ſufficient conviction of recuſancy.———That your Majeſty will graciouſly pleaſe to conſent to a Bill for the education of the Children of Papiſts in the Proteſtant Religion.———And to another Bill for the better putting the "Laws in Execution againſt them.

6. "That the Earl of Briſtol, and Lord Herbert, may "be removed from your Majeſty's Counſels, and from the "Court.

7. "That the Militia may be ſettled in ſuch manner as "ſhall be agreed upon by both Houſes.

8. "That the chief Juſtices and Judges of the ſeveral "Courts of Law may hold their places "Quam diu ſe bene geſſerint."

9. "That ſuch perſons as have been put out of the commiſſion of the Peace ſince April 1ſt, 1642, may be reſtored, and that thoſe whom the Parliament ſhall except "againſt be removed.

10. "That your Majeſty will pleaſe to paſs the Bill now "preſented, to ſecure the Privileges of Parliament from "the ill conſequences of the late Proceedings againſt the "Lord Kimbolton and the five Members.

11. "That

11. " That an act may be paſſed for ſatisfying ſuch " publick debts as the Parliament has engaged the publick " faith for. King Charles I. 1642-3.

12. " That your Majeſty will pleaſe to enter into Alli- " ances with foreign Proteſtant Powers, for the defence of " the Proteſtant Religion, and recovering the Palatinate.

13. " That in the general pardon, all offences commit- " ted before the 10th of Jan. 1641, which have been, or " ſhall be queſtioned in the Houſe of Commons before the " the 10th of Jan. 1643. be excepted.-----That all perſons " concerned in the Iriſh Rebellion be excepted; as likewiſe, " William Earl of Newcaſtle, and George Lord Digby.

14. " That ſuch Members of Parliament as have been " turned out of their places ſince the beginning of this " Parliament may be reſtored, and may have ſome Repa- " ration, upon the petition of both Houſes."

Theſe things being granted and performed, we ſhall be enabled (ſay they) to make it our hopeful endeavour, that your Majeſty and your people may enjoy the bleſſings of peace, truth, and juſtice.-----

The Bills mentioned in the fourth propoſition were theſe:

The firſt is entitled, an " Act for the Suppreſſion of di- " vers innovations in Churches and Chapels in and about " the Worſhip of God; and for the due obſervation of the " Lord's Day, and the better advancement of preaching " God's holy word in all parts of this Kingdom. Bill againſt Innovations. Huſband's Collect. Fol. 119.

It enacts, " That all Altars and Rails be taken away " out of Churches and Chapels before April 18, 1643, " and that the Communion Table be fixed in ſome conve- " nient place in the body of the Church. That all Ta- " pers, Candleſticks, Baſons, Crucifixes, Croſſes, Images, " Pictures of Saints, and ſuperſtitious Inſcriptions in " Churches, or Church Yards, be taken away or defaced.

" That all damages done to the Churches, or Windows " of Churches, by the removal of any of the aforeſaid Inno- " vations, be repaired by the proper Officers of the Pariſh " or Chapel.

" This Act is not to extend to any Image, Picture, or " Monument for the dead.

It enacts further, " That all Bowing towards the Altar, " or at the Name of Jeſus, ſhall be forborn; and for the " better obſervation of the Sabbath, that all Dancing,

" Gaming,

King Charles I. 1642-3.

" Gaming, Sports and Paſtimes, ſhall be laid aſide. That " every Miniſter that has cure of Souls ſhall preach, or " expound the Scriptures, or procure ſome other able Di- " vine to preach to his Congregation every Lord's Day in " the Forenoon; and it ſhall be lawful for the Pa- " riſhioners to provide for a Sermon in the Afternoon, " and a Lecture on the Week-Day, where there is no " other Lecture, or preaching at the ſame time; and if " any perſon oppoſe or hinder them he ſhall forfeit forty " ſhillings to the poor.

Huſb. Coll. Fol. 124.

The ſecond, entitled an " Act for the utter aboliſhing, " and taking away of all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chan- " cellors, and Commiſſaries, &c. has been already inſerted " in the former part of this hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 464.

For puniſhing ſcandalous Clergy. Huſb. Coll. Fol. 129.

The third is entitled, an " Act for puniſhing ſcandalous " Clergymen, and others.

It ordains, " That the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keep- " er, for the time being, ſhall award Commiſſions under " the great Seal, to perſons of worth and credit in every " County of England and Wales; which Commiſſioners, " or any three, or more of them, ſhall have power to en- " quire by the oaths of twelve lawful Men of the ſaid " County of the following offences in the Clergy (viz.) Not " preaching ſix times at leaſt in a year, by any eccleſi- " aſtical perſon having cure of Souls under the age of ſixty, " and not hindered by ſickneſs or impriſonment: Of Blaſ- " phemy, Perjury, or Subornation of Perjury, Fornica- " tion, Adultery, common Ale-houſe or Tavern hunting, " Drunkenneſs, prophane Swearing or Curſing, done or " committed within three years paſt, by any Parſon or Vi- " car, or other perſon having cure of Souls, or by any " Lecturer, Curate, Stipendiary, School-maſter, or Uſher " of any School. The Commiſſioners ſhall take informa- " tion by articles in writing; the party complaining to be " bound in a recognizance of ten pounds to proſecute at " a time appointed; the articles of complaint being firſt " delivered to the party complained of, twenty days before " the trial, that he may prepare for his defence. Upon " Conviction, by the verdict of twelve men, the party " complained of ſhall be deprived of his ſpiritual promo- " tions, and be adjudged a diſabled perſon in Law, to have " and enjoy the ſame incumbency or eccleſiaſtical pro- " motion. This Act to continue till Nov. 1, 1645, and " no longer.

The

The fourth is entitled, an " Act againſt the enjoying " Pluralities of Benefices by ſpiritual perſons, and Non- " Reſidence. King Charles I. 1642-3.

It enacts, " That all perſons that have two or more Be- " nefices with cure of Souls, of what yearly value ſoever " they be, ſhall reſign them All but one, before April 1, " 1643, any Licence, Toleration, Faculty or Diſpenſation " to the contrary notwithſtanding. Againſt Pluralities and Non-Reſidence. Huſb. Coll. Fol. 146.

" That if any ſpiritual perſon, having cure of Souls, " ſhall be abſent from his cure above ten Sundays, or " eighty days in a year, except in caſe of ſickneſs, im- " priſonment, or except he be a Reader in either Univer- " ſity, or be ſummoned to Convocation; and be thereof " lawfully convicted in any Court of Juſtice, that his Liv- " ing ſhall be deemed void, and the Patron have power to " nominate another perſon, as if the former Incumbent " was dead.

The fifth, " For calling an Aſſembly of learned and " godly Divines to be conſulted with by the Parliament, for " the ſettling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church, " and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the " Church of England from falſe aſperſions and interpreta- " tions," will be inſerted at large, when we come to the ſitting of the Aſſembly.

To the forementioned Propoſitions and Bills, his Majeſty, after a ſhort reply to the preamble, returned the following anſwer; That though many of them were deſtructive of his juſt power and prerogative, yet becauſe they might be mollified and explained upon debates, he is pleaſed to agree, that a time and place be appointed for the meeting of Commiſſioners on both ſides to diſcuſs them, and to conſider of the following propoſals of his own.

1. " That his Majeſty's Revenues, Magazines, Towns, " Forts, and Ships, may be forthwith reſtored. The King's Propoſals. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 169.

2. " That whatſoever has been done, or publiſhed con- " trary to the known laws of the Land, and his Majeſty's " legal Rights, may be renounced and recalled.

3. " That whatever illegal power over his Majeſty's Sub- " jects has been exerciſed by either, or both Houſes, or " any Committee, may be diſclaimed, and all perſons " that have been impriſoned by virtue thereof be forthwith " diſcharged.

4. " That

King Charles I. 1642-3.

4. " That a good bill may be framed, for the better preſerving the Book of Common Prayer from the Scorn " and Violence of Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and other Sectaries, with ſuch Clauſes for the eaſe of tender conſciences as his Majeſty has formerly offered.

5. " That all perſons to be excepted out of the general " pardon ſhall be tried per pares, according to common " courſe of Law, and that it be left to that, to acquit or " condemn them.

6. " That in the mean time there be a ceſſation of arms, " and free trade for all his Majeſty's Subjects for twenty " days."

His Majeſty deſired the laſt article might be firſt ſettled, by which he propoſed not only to gain time, but to provide himſelf with ſeveral Neceſſaries from London, and to convoy ſafely to Oxford the Ammunition and other Stores, the Queen had lately landed at Burlington Bay; but the Parliament were too ſenſible of his deſigns to conſent to it. They therefore empowered their Commiſſioners to begin with the firſt Propoſition, concerning " reſtoring the " Revenues of the Crown, and the delivery of his Magazines, Towns, Forts, and Ships, &c." All which they were authorized to agree, on condition the perſons with whom he would intruſt them were ſuch as they could confide in. To which the King replied, that the oaths of the Officers were a ſufficient ſecurity, and if they abuſed their truſt he would leave them to the Law. The Commiſſioners then went upon the other Articles, and ſpun out the treaty till the 12th of April, without concluding one ſingle point. The King would be reſtored to the condition he was in before the war, upon a bare promiſe, that he would govern for the future according to Law; but the Parliament were reſolved not to truſt themſelves, nor the Conſtitution into his hands, without the redreſs of ſome grievances, and a better ſecurity. Mr. Whitlock ſays, That the Commiſſioners (of which he was one) having been with the King one Evening till Midnight, gave his Majeſty ſuch reaſons to conſent to a very material point, which would have much conduced to an happy iſſue, and ſucceſs of the Treaty, that he told them, " He was fully ſatisfied, and " promiſed to let them have his Anſwer in writing, accord- " ing to their deſire, next morning." But when the Commiſſioners were withdrawn, ſome of the King's Bed-Chamber,

Rapin, p. 69.

Whitl. Mem. p. 65.

ber, and they went higher, fearing the King's Conceſſions would tend to peace, never left perſwading him, till he had altered his Reſolution, and gave orders for the following Anſwer to be drawn up directly contrary to what he had promiſed the Commiſſioners. King Charles I. 1642-3.

" As ſoon as his Majeſty is ſatisfied concerning his Ruſhw. " own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and Forts, in which he Vol. V. p. " deſires nothing, but that the juſt known legal Rights of 259, 260. " his Majeſty, devolved to him from his Progenitors, and " of the Perſons truſted by him, which have violent- " ly been taken from both, be reſtored to him and " them——

" As ſoon as all the Members of both Houſes ſhall be " reſtored to the ſame Capacity of ſitting and voting in " Parliament, as they had on the 1ſt of Jan. 1641, the " ſame Right belonging unto them by their Birthrights, " and the free Elections of thoſe that ſent them; and having " been voted from them for adhering to his Majeſty in " theſe Diſtractions; his Majeſty not intending that this " ſhould extend either to the Biſhops, whoſe Votes have " been taken away by Bill or to ſuch in whoſe Places, upon " new Writs new Elections have been made.

" As ſoon as his Majeſty and both Houſes may be ſecur- " ed from ſuch tumultuous Aſſemblies, as to the great " Breach of the Privileges and the high Diſhonour of Par- " liaments, have formerly aſſembled about both Houſes, " and awed the Members of the ſame; and occaſioned " two ſeveral complaints from the Houſe of Lords, and " two ſeveral Deſires of that Houſe to the Houſe of Com- " mons, to join in a Declaration againſt them, the com- " plying with ſuch deſire might have prevented all the mi- " ſerable Diſtractions which have enſued; which ſecuri- " ty his Majeſty conceives can be only ſettled by adjourn- " ing the Parliament to ſome other place, at the leaſt twen- " ty Miles from London, the choice of which his Majeſty " leaves to both Houſes.

" His Majeſty will then moſt chearfully and readily con- " ſent, that both Armies be immediately diſbanded, and " give a preſent meeting to both his Houſes of Parliament, " at the ſame time and place, at, and to which the Parlia- " ment ſhall agree to be adjourned.

" His Majeſty being confident, that the Law will then " recover the due Credit and Eſtimation, and that upon a " free

King Charles I. 1642-3.

" free debate, in a full and peaceable Convention of Par-
" liament, ſuch proviſions will be made againſt ſeditious
" Preaching and Printing againſt his Majeſty, and the eſta-
" bliſhed Laws, which hath been one of the chief cauſes
" of the preſent Diſtractions; and ſuch care will be tak-
" en concerning the legal and known Rights of his Maje-
" ſty, and the Property and Liberty of his Subjects, that
" whatſoever hath been publiſhed or done in, or by colour
" of any illegal Declarations, Ordinances, or Order of
" one or both Houſes, or any Committee of either of them,
" and particularly the power to raiſe Arms without his Ma-
" jeſty's Conſent, will be in ſuch manner recalled, diſ-
" claimed, and provided againſt, that no Seed will remain
" for the like to ſpring out of for the future, to diſturb
" the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very
" Being of it——

This reſolute Anſwer broke off the Treaty, and left the Quarrel to be decided by the Sword; upon which Biſhop Kennet makes the following Remark, " 'Tis to be la-
Compl. Hiſt. p. 135. " mented, that ſome of the King's moſt intimate Friends
" were againſt concluding a Peace, and others were againſt
" his obtaining an abſolute Victory. They were afraid he
" ſhould comply, leſt his Prerogative might not be great
" enough to protect him; and yet afraid he ſhould con-
" quer, leſt he might be tempted to aſſume an arbitrary
" Power," 'Tis plain from hence, that by Peace the King meant nothing but being reſtored to all the Prerogatives of his Crown as before the War, without any additional ſecurity; and that there was no room for a Treaty till the previous Queſtion was determined, " Whether there
" was juſt reaſon to confide in the King, and reſtore him
" to his Rights upon his bare Promiſe of governing by Law
" for the future?" For all the Propoſitions neceſſarily lead to this point, and till this was decided it was in vain to loſe time upon the others.

Death and Character of Dr. Criſp.

Thus ended the year 1642, in which died the famous Tobias Criſp, D. D. third Son of Ellis Criſp, of London, Eſq; He was born in Bread-Street, London, 1600, educated at Eaton School, and having took the Degree of Batchelor of Arts at Cambridge retired to Oxford, and was incorporated into Baliol College in the beginning of Feb. 1626. In the year 1627, he became Rector of Brinkworth in Wiltſhire, and a few years after proceeded D. D. At Brinkworth he was much followed for his edifying manner of preaching, and

and for his great hospitality. Upon the breaking out of the war he was obliged to fly to London, to avoid the Insolencies of the King's Soldiers; where his peculiar Sentiments about the Doctrines of Grace being discovered, he met with a vigorous Opposition from the City Divines. The Doctor in his younger years had been a Favourer of Arminianism, but changing his Opinions, he ran into the contrary Extream of Antinomianism. He was certainly a learned and religious Person, modest and humble in his Behaviour, fervent and laborious in his ministerial Work, and exact in his Morals. Mr. Lancaster, the Publisher of his Works, says, "That his Life was so innocent and harmless from all "Evil; so zealous and fervent in all good, that it seemed "to be designed as a practical Confutation of the slander "of those who would insinuate, that his Doctrine tended "to Licentiousness." The Doctor was possessed of a very large Estate, with which he did a great deal of Good; but being engaged in a grand Dispute against several Opponents (if we may believe Mr. Wood) he over-heated himself, and fell sick of the Small-pox, of which he died Feb. 27, 1642, and was buried in the Family Vault in Bread-street, London. In his last Sickness he was in a most comfortable and resigned Frame of Mind, and declared to them that stood by, his firm Adherence to the Doctrines he had preached; that as he had lived in the Belief of the Free-Grace of God through Christ, so he did now with Confidence and great Joy, even as much as his present Condition was capable of, resign his Life and Soul into the Hands of his heavenly Father. He published nothing in his Life-time, but after his Death his Sermons were published in three Volumes from his own Notes, which with some Additions, were reprinted by his Son, in one Volume Quarto, about the year 1689, and gave Occasion to some intemperate Heats among the Non-conformist Ministers of those times.

King. Charles I. 1642-3.

Towards the end of this year died Robert Lord Brooke, a virtuous and religious Gentleman, a good Scholar, and Patriot of his Country, but a determined Enemy of the Hierarchy. In the Beginning of the War he took part with the Parliament, and being made Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Warwick and Stafford, put himself at the head of twelve hundred Men, and marched against the Earl of Chesterfield at Litchfield, whom he dislodged from the Town, March 1. but next Day as he was looking out of a window with his Beaver up, and giving Direction to his

Lord Brooke's Death.

King Charles I. 1642-3.

his Soldiers to assault St. Chad's Church, adjoining to the Close where the Earl of Chesterfield's Forces lay, a Musket Ball struck him near the left Eye, of which he instantly died. The Parliamentary Chronicle calls him "the "most noble, and ever to be honoured, and renowned, "pious Lord Brooke, whose most illustrious Name and "Memory, both for his Piety, Prudence, incomparable "Magnanimity, and heroick martial Spirit, for his Loyal- "ty to the King, and Fidelity to his Country, deserves to "remain deeply engraven in Letters of Gold on high erec- "ted Pillars of Marble." p. 272. On the other hand Archbishop Laud in his Diary, has some very remarkable Observations upon his Death, which shew the Superstition of that Prelate. "First, (says his Grace) observe, that this "great and unknown Enemy to Cathedral Churches died "thus fearfully, in the assault of a Cathedral; a fearful "manner of Death in such a Quarrel! Secondly, That "this happened upon St. Chad's Day, of which Saint "the Cathedral bears the Name. Thirdly, That this "Lord coming from dinner about two years since from "the Lord Herbert's House in Lambeth, upon some dis- "course of Paul's Church then in their Eye upon the "Water, said to some young Lords that were with him, "That he hoped to live to see that one Stone of that "Building should not be left upon another; but that Church "stands yet, and that Eye is put out, that hoped to see the "Ruins of it." Diary, p. 201.

Tomkins's Plot. Rushw. Vol. V. p. 322. Rapin, p. 150, 154.

While the Treaty of Oxford was depending, his Majesty's Friends in the City were contriving to bring him to London, and deliver the Parliament into his Hands. Mr. Tomkins, Chaloner, and Waller a Member of the House of Commons, in Conjunction with some others were to carry off the King's Children, to secure the most active Members of the House of Commons, as Mr. Pym, Hampden, Strode, &c. to seize the Tower and the Gate of the City with the Magazines, and to let in a Party of the royal Forces, who were to be at hand; for all which they had the King's Commission, dated March 16, 1643. The Day of Rising was the last Wednesday in May: but the Plot was discovered by a Servant of Tomkins's before it was ripe for Execution, upon which the Conspirators were apprehended and tried; Tomkins and Chaloner confessed the Facts, and were executed; but Waller purchased his Life for ten thousand Pounds, and was banished.

Upon

Upon this discovery both Houses resolved to strengthen themselves by a new Covenant or Vow, which was tendered first to their own Members, then to the Army, and such of the people as were willing to take it. In it they declare, "Their abhorrence of the late Plot, and engage not "to lay down their Arms as long as the Papists were pro- "tected from justice, but to assist the Parliament according "to their abilities in the just defence of the Protestant Re- "ligion, and the Liberties of the Subject, against the forces "raised by the King, without their consent." Nevertheless the King's Friends were not disheartened from entring into several other combinations against the Parliament; one was discovered in August, and another towards the latter end of the year: Even the lower sort of Women, to the number of two or three thousand, with white silk ribbons in their hats, went in a body to Westminster with a petition for Peace upon the King's terms, and could not be dispersed without the military Arm: All which was occasioned by the correspondence the King held in London, in defiance of the Ordinance the Parliament had published in April last, to prevent Spies and Intelligences from Oxford or the Royal Army, coming to any part of the Parliament's quarters.

King Charles I. 1643.

A new Oath or Covenant. Rushw. Vol. V. p. 325.

Rushw. Vol. V. p. 357.

The King having failed in his designs of surprizing the City, resolved at last to starve the Citizens into their duty, for which purpose he issued a Proclamation, July 17, prohibiting all intercourse of trade and commerce with them, and expressly forbidding all persons to travel to London, or to carry any goods, merchandize, or provisions thither, without special licence from himself. By another Proclamation, [Octob. 17.] his Majesty forbids his Subjects of Scotland, and all foreign Kingdoms and States in amity with him, to bring any ammunition, provision, goods, or merchandize, of any sort to London, or any other Town or City in rebellion against him. The prohibiting foreign merchandizes had very little influence upon the trade of the City, because the Parliament were masters of the Seas; but the Town of Newcastle being garrisoned by the King, the Londoners were distressed the following Winter for Coals, which obliged them to have recourse to the digging Turf, and cutting down all fell Wood on the Estates of Delinquents within sixty miles of London. By another Proclamation his Majesty forbid all his Subjects, upon pain of high Treason, to obey the orders of Parliament; and all

Proclamations against the City of London. Husb. Col. Fol. 237, 366.

King Charles I. 1643.

tenants to pay their rents to such Landlords as adhered to the Rebellion, but to reserve them for his Majesty's use.

The People reduc'd to great hardships.

After this account of things 'tis reasonable to suppose, that very extraordinary burdens must be laid upon the people on both sides to support the expences of the War. The Parliament at Westminster excised every thing, even the necessaries of Life: All Butchers meat paid one Shilling in twenty; every Rabbit an halfpenny; and Pigeons one penny in the dozen. The King's Parliament at Oxford did the like in his Majesty's quarters; and by an Ordinance of March 26, following, all persons and families within the Cities of London and Westminster, and the bills of Mortality, were to pay the weekly value of one Meal a Week, on every Tuesday, for the publick Service, which they were supposed to abate in their Families. Such were the hardships of the times!

Success of the King's Affairs. Rapin, p. 98, 99.

The King's affairs this Summer went very prosperous, and threaten'd the ruin of his enemies; for besides his Army, which had been recruiting in the Winter, the Queen furnished him with foreign Money, and with two thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, a hundred Waggons laden with Ammunition of all sorts, six pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars. Upon which the House of Commons impeached her of High Treason, for levying Forces without consent of Parliament. In the month of April the Earl of Essex besieged and took the Town of Reading, from whence he marched within ten miles of Oxford, where Prince Rupert with a party of Horse beat up his Quarters, and killed the famous Mr. Hampden in Chalgrave Field, after which Essex retired, and put his sickly Forces into quarters of Refreshment. In the North the King's Armies had a train of Successes. Lord Fairfax was defeated by the Earl of Newcastle at Atherston Moor, June 30, and Sir William Waller at the battles of Lansdown and Roundaway Down, July 5th and 13th, which was followed with the loss of Weymouth, Dorchester, Portland Castle, Exeter, and almost all the West. About the latter end of July Prince Rupert besieged and took the City of Bristol, and the King himself sat down before Glouceſter [Aug. 10th.] which so alarmed the two Houses, that the shops in London were ordered to be shut till the Siege was raised, and a strong body of the Train'd Bands dispatched to join the Earl of Essex's broken Troops, who, by this means, was in a condition in fifteen days to march to the relief of that important City; upon the Earl's approach

proach the King raiſed the Siege, and Eſſex enter'd the Town, when reduced to the laſt extremity; and having ſupplied it with all neceſſaries, after three days returned towards London. The King being joined by Prince Rupert with five thouſand Horſe, got before him to Newbury, where both Armies engaged with pretty equal ſucceſs, till Night parted them, when his Majeſty retired toward Oxford, and left the way open for the Earl to purſue his march. In this battle the City Trained Bands, by their undaunted bravery, are ſaid to have gained immortal honour. But it is the opinion of moſt Hiſtorians, that if inſtead of ſitting down before Glouceſter, the King had marched his victorious Army directly to London after the taking of Briſtol, he might have put an end to the War, the Parliament being in no readineſs to oppoſe him; however 'tis certain, that about this time the King's cauſe was in the height of its proſperity, and the Parliament's at ſo low an ebb, that they were obliged to throw themſelves into the hands of the Scots. But it is no part of my deſign to give a particular deſcription of ſieges and battles, or a recital of the warlike exploits of the heroes of theſe times, any further than to inform the Reader of the true ſituation of affairs, and to enable him to form a juſt idea of the grounds and reaſons of thoſe extraordinary meaſures that each party took for the ſupport of their cauſe. Let us now attend the affairs of the Church.

King Charles I. 1643.

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 293.

The Clergy on both ſides had a deep ſhare in the calamities of the times, being plunder'd, harraſs'd, impriſon'd, and their Livings ſequeſter'd, as they fell into the hands of the enemy. The King's party were greatly incenſed againſt the Puritan Clergy, as the chief incendiaries of the people and trumpeters of Rebellion. Such as refuſed to read the King's Proclamations and Orders againſt the Parliament were apprehended, and ſhut up in the common gaols of York, and other places within his Majeſty's Quarters. When any parties of the Royal Army got poſſeſſion of a Town that adher'd to the Parliament, they enquired preſently for the Miniſter's Houſe, which was rifled and plunder'd of every thing that was valuable, and himſelf impriſoned, if he could be found; but the Incumbents uſually took care to avoid the danger, by flying to the next Parliament Garriſon. Above thirty Puritan Miniſters took ſhelter in the City of Coventry after the fight of Edge-Hill. Great numbers came to London with their Families in a naked and ſtarving condition, leaving their Books and every

Sufferings of the Puritan Clergy.

King Charles I. 1643.

thing they could not bring away, to the mercy of the King's Soldiers. The prisoners underwent uncommon hardships, and would have been executed as Rebels, if the Parliament had not threaten'd reprisals.

And of the Episcopal.

On the other hand, the Episcopal Clergy were no less haras's'd by the Parliament Soldiers; these being in possession of the best Livings in the Church were liable to suffer most damage; multitudes of them left their Cures, and took sanctuary in the King's Armies or Garrisons, having disposed of their goods and chattles in the best manner they could. Others that had render'd themselves obnoxious by their Sermons, or Declarations for the King, were put under confinement in Lambeth, Winchester, Ely, and most of the Bishops Houses about London; and for want of room about twenty (according to Dr. Walker) were imprisoned on board of Ships in the River Thames, and shut down under Decks, no friend being suffered to come to them. The same Writer observes, that about one hundred and ten of the London Clergy were turned out of their Livings in the years 1642, and 1643, and that as many more fled to prevent imprisonment; but it ought to be remember'd, that none were turned out or imprisoned, for their adhering to the Doctrine or Discilpine of the Church of England, till after the imposing of the Scots Covenant, but for immorality, false Doctrine, Non-Residence, or for taking part with the King against the Parliament. However it is to be lamented, that several pious and good Bishops, and other Clergymen, who withdrew from the World, and were desirous to live peaceably without joining either side, suffered afterwards in common with the rest of their Brethren; their estates and livings being sequester'd, their houses and goods very often plunder'd by ungovernable Soldiers, and themselves reduced to live upon the Fifths, or a small pension from the Parliament, either because they could not take the Covenant, or comply with the new Directory for publick Worship. Among these we may reckon the most Reverend Archbishop Usher, Bishop Morton, Hall, and many others. When the Bishops Lands were seized for the service of the War, which was called Bellum "Episcopale" or the Bishops War, it was not possible to shew favour to any under that character; and though the two Houses voted very considerable pensions to some of the Bishops, in lieu of their Lands that were sequester'd, due care was not taken of the payment; nor would several of their Lordships so far countenance the votes of the Houses as to apply for it.

Walker's Suff. Cler. Part II. p. 180.

In

In order to account for these things, it will be necessary to set before the reader the proceedings of the several Committees of Religion from the beginning of the present Parliament. It has been remembered, that a grand Committee, consisting of the whole House of Commons, was appointed Novem. 6th, 1640, to enquire into the scandalous immoralities of the Clergy, of which the famous Mr. White, Member of Parliament for Southwark, a good lawyer, and, according to Mr. Whitlock, an honest, learned, and faithful servant of the publick, was Chairman, Great numbers of petitions, with articles of misbehaviour were brought before them, relating to superstition, heresy, or the immorality of their Ministers, insomuch that the House was forced to branch the Committee into several subdivisions, for the quicker dispatch of business. Nov. 19, 1640. a Sub-committe was appointed "to consider how "there may be preaching Ministers set up where there are "none; how they may be maintained where there is no "maintenance, and all other things of that nature; also "to enquire into the true grounds and causes of the great "scarcity of preaching Ministers throughout the kingdom, "and to consider of some way of removing scandalous "Ministers, and putting others in their places," For which purposes the Knights and Burgesses of the several corporations were ordered to bring informations within six weeks, of the state of Religion in their respective counties. This Sub-Committee consisted of sixty one Members, together with the Knights and Burgesses of Northumberland, Wales, Lancashire, Cumberland, and the Burgesses of Canterbury. Mr. White was Chairman of this, as well as of the Grand Committee; they had their regular meetings in the Court of Wards, and from the Powers abovementioned, were sometimes called the Committee for preaching Ministers, but more usually for scandalous Ministers. They had the inspection of all Hospitals and Free-Schools, and were authorized to consider of the expediency of sending Commissions into the several counties, to examine such Clergymen as were accused, and could not with convenience be brought up to London.

King Charles I. 1643.

Committees for Religion.

Walker's Attempt, p. 63.

Committee for scandalous Ministers.

But Presentments against the Clergy came in so fast, that for the dispatch of business they were obliged to divide again into several smaller Committees, which from the names of the gentlemen in the respective chairs, were called Mr. White's, Corbet's, Sir Robert Harlow's, and Sir Edward Deering's Committees, &c. Within a short space above

Walker's Attempt, p. 65.

King Charles I. 1643.

two thousand petitions were brought before them, of which Mr. Corbet's Committee had no less than nine hundred. But great complaints have been made of their severity, by those who will not believe the Clergy were so corrupt as really they were; nor remember the political principles for which most of them suffered. The orders of the Committees were certainly unexceptionable, for they were obliged to give proper notice to the party accused to make his appearance; the witnesses were usually examined upon oath in his presence; a copy of the articles were given him if desired, and a reasonable time assigned to prepare for his defence. The articles of enquiry on which they proceeded were, 1. Scandalous immoralities of life, as drunkenness, swearing, incontinency, and sometimes blasphemy, and sodomy. 2. False and scandalous Doctrines, i. e. Popish and Arminian, these being understood to be inconsistent with the Articles of the Church of England. 3. Profanation of the Sabbath, by reading and countenancing the book of Sports. 4. Practising and pressing the late innovations, after they had been censured by the Parliament as illegal. 5. Neglect of their Cures, by not preaching according to their duty. 6. Malignancy and disaffection to the Parliament, discovered by their assisting his Majesty with money, and perswading others to do so; by reading the King's Declarations, and refusing to read the Parliament's; by not observing the Parliament's Fasts, but calling them Rebels, Traitors, and "wishing the curse of "God upon them and their Cause." These were apprehended reasonable matters of enquiry, and just grounds of exception, as matters stood between the King and the two Houses. But after all, the final determination was not with the Committee; their opinion, with the evidence, was first laid before the grand committee, then it was reported to the whole House, and finally referred to the House of Lords before it was decisive. One would think, here should be little room for complaint, and yet there was too much passion and prejudice on both sides, which was owing to the confusion of the times, and the violent resentments of each party. The Commissioners were sometimes too forward in exposing the failings of the Clergy, and encouraging witnesses of slender credit; on the other hand, the Clergy were insufferably rude to the Committee, defaming the witnesses, and threatening revenge, for being obliged to plead their cause before Laymen. However, few Clergymen were sequester'd by the Committee for scandalous Ministers before it

Ibid. p. 81.

was

was joined with that for plundered Miniſters; an account of which I ſhall lay before the Reader, after I have given two or three Examples of the Proceedings of the preſent Committee, from the Relations of thoſe Clergymen who have left behind them an account of their own Sufferings. King Charles I. 1643.

The firſt is Mr. Symmonds of Rayne in Eſſex, who acknowledges, That he was ſequeſtered for preaching and publiſhing, that "the King being the ſupreme Magiſtrate "hath immediate dependance on God, to whom alone he "is accountable----That Authority is a ſacred Thing, and "eſſential to the King's Perſon---That Reſidence is againſt "the Way of God, deſtructive to the whole Law of God, "inconſiſtent with the Spirit of the Goſpel, the perpetual "Practice of Chriſtianity, the Calling of Miniſters, com-"mon Prudence, the Rule of Humanity, Nature itſelf, "Reaſon, the Oath of Allegiance, and even the late Pro-"teſtation." Beſides, he had notoriouſly defamed the Parliament, and preſs'd his Auditors to believe the King's Declarations, "becauſe a divine Sentence was in his mouth, "and he cannot err." And that if David's heart ſmote him for cutting off Saul's Garment, what would it have done if he had kept him from his Caſtles, Towns, Ships, &c? For which Reaſons the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, ordered [March 3, 1642.] his Living to be ſequeſtered into the hands of Robert Atkins, M. A. who was appointed to preach every Lord's Day till further order. Mr. Symmonds endeavoured to diſcredit the Evidence, but was ſo far from diſowning the Charge, that he afterwards vindicated it in a Pamphlet entitled, The loyal Subject's Belief. Reverend Mr. Symmonds of Rayne, his Caſe. Suff. Clergy, p. 67.

A ſecond Gentleman, who has left an account of his ſufferings, is the Reverend Mr. Squire of Shoreditch; he was articled againſt for "practiſing and preſſing the late Inno-"vations, for ſaying the Papiſts were the King's beſt Sub-"jects, becauſe of their Loyalty and Liberality; for de-"claring that none ſhould come to the Sacrament, unleſs "they were as well affected to the King as the Papiſts; "for comparing his Majeſty to the Man that fell among "thieves, being wounded in his Honour, and robbed of "his Caſtles, and of the hearts of his People; that the "Prieſt paſſing by, was the Proteſtant; the forward Pro-"feſſor the Levite, but the Papiſt was the good Samari-"tan; and for affirming, that the King's Subjects, and all "that they had were at his command." Mr. Squire denied ſome of theſe Articles, and extenuated others; he pro- Revd. Mr. Squire's of Shoreditch. Suff. Clergy, p. 67.

King Charles I. 1643.

cured a Certificate from ſeveral of his Pariſhioners of his diligence in Preaching, in Catechiſing, and in beating down Popery, for thirty years paſt, all which might be true; but Dr. Walker admits, that from the beginning of the War he was a moſt ſtrenuous Champion for Allegiance; that is, for Paſſive-Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, and moſt earneſtly exhorted his People to the Practice of it, which, as the times then were, might be a ſufficient Reaſon for the Parliament to ſilence him.

Ib. p. 176.

Revd. Mr. Finch of Chriſt Church. Walker's Attempt, p. 71.

The other Clergyman is Mr. Finch of Chriſt Church, who was articled againſt for Extortion, Superſtition, Non-Reſidence, and neglect of his Cure, and for being a common Swearer, Tavern-hunter, and Drunkard, which was proved by very ſubſtantial evidence. Dr. Walker's defence of this Gentleman is very remarkable, "Common "Charity (ſays he) will oblige every one to give more credit "to the bare word of a Clergyman, though in his own "vindication, than to that of his known and profeſſed Ene-"mies." And yet in the next page he owns, he was not ſatisfied in Mr. Finch's Character, nor in ſome parts of his defence, in which he thinks, he does by no means acquit himſelf from having been a man of an ill Life. His Caſe was reported by the grand Committee to the Houſe of Commons, and by them to the Lords, who all agreed that he was unfit to hold any eccleſiaſtical Living.

p. 72.

It muſt be left with the impartial World to judge, Whether the Parliament had reaſon to ſequeſter theſe Clergymen, in their own defence? The laſt was a man of an immoral life, and the two former, allowing them to be otherwiſe good Men, were certainly Incendiaries againſt the two Houſes, and preached up thoſe Doctrines which were inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution and Laws of their Country, as moſt of the parochial Clergy at that time did.

Committee for plundered Miniſters.

The Committee for plundered Miniſters took its riſe from thoſe Puritan Clergymen, who being driven from their Cures in the Country by the King's Soldiers fled to London with their Families, leaving their ſubſtance and houſhold furniture to the mercy of the enemy: Theſe being reduced to very great poverty, applied to the Parliament for relief; the Commons firſt ordered a charitable Collection for them at their monthly Faſt, and four Days after, viz. December 31, 1642. appointed a Committee to conſider of the fitteſt Way "for the relief of ſuch godly and well affected "Miniſters as have been plundered; and what malignant "Clergymen have Benefices in and about the Town, "whoſe

" whoſe Benefices being ſequeſtered may be ſupplied by " others who may receive their profits." The names of the Committee were Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Martyn, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Armyn, Mr. Prideaux, Mr. Holland, Mr. Rouſe, Mr. Caſe, Mr. Knightly, Sir William Hayman, Mr. Wentworth, Mr. Ruthen, Mr. Wheeler, and Mr. Spurſtow, to whom were afterwards added ſome others; among whom Dr. Walker ſuppoſes was the famous Mr. White, who ſat in the Chair of this Committee, March 2, 1642-3. The Commiſſioners were upon their oath; any four had a power to act; they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Committee for plundered Miniſters; but the Royaliſts, by way of reproach, called them the Committee for plundering Miniſters. They began their meetings in the Court of Exchequer, Jan. 2, in the Afternoon; two days after, they were ordered to examine the complaints againſt Dr. Soam, Miniſter of Twittenham and Stains, to ſend for parties and Witneſſes, to conſider of proper perſons to ſupply the Cures, to apply the Revenues to their uſe if they found it neceſſary, and to report the whole to the Houſe. July 27, 1643, they were impowered to conſider of Informations againſt ſcandalous Miniſters, though there were no malignancy proved againſt them, and to put out ſuch whoſe ſcandal was ſufficiently proved; from which time the Committee for ſcandalous and plundered Miniſters were in a ſort united, and ſo continued to the end of the long Parliament.

King Charles I. 1643.

P. 73.

In order to ſilence the clamours of the Royaliſts, and juſtify the ſevere proceedings of theſe Committees, it was reſolved to print the caſes of thoſe whom they ejected, and ſubmit their conduct to the publick cenſure; accordingly, towards the latter end of the year Mr. White the Chairman publiſhed a Pamphlet, entitled, " The firſt century of " ſcandalous malignant Prieſts, made and admitted into " Benefices by the Prelates, in whoſe hands the Ordina- " tion of Miniſters, and Government of the Church hath " been; or, a Narration of the Cauſes for which the Par- " liament has ordered the ſequeſtration of the Benefices " of ſeveral Miniſters complained of before them, for " vitiouſneſs of life, Errors in Doctrine, contrary to the " Articles of our Religion, and for practiſing and preſſing " ſuperſtitious innovations againſt Law, and for malignancy " againſt the Parliament." The Author in his preface ſays, The reaſon of his appearing in print was, " That " the Parliament might appear juſt in their doings, that " the

White's century of ſcandalous Miniſters.

King Charles I. 1643.

" the mouth of Iniquity might be ſtopt; that all the world " might ſee, that the tongues of them that ſpeak evil of " the Parliament are ſet on fire of Hell; that they hide " themſelves under falſhood, and make lies their refuge." And then adds, " That the groſſeſt faults which were " charged on the Clergy were proved by many witneſſes, " ſeldom leſs than ſix." The whole Century were convicted of malignity, or diſaffection to the Parliament? and about eighty of them of ſcandalous immoralities in their lives. Dr. Walker has endeavoured to recover the reputation of ſeven or eight, and would inſinuate that the reſt were convicted upon too ſlender evidence, the witneſſes not being always upon oath, nor in his opinion, of ſufficient credit to impeach a Clergyman; that ſome of the crimes were capital, and therefore if they had been proved, muſt have touched not only the livings but the lives of the criminals; and that the Parliament who ſet up for preciſe morals, accepted the meer verbal evidence of the moſt infamous people. However the Doctor himſelf has admitted and confirmed the Centuriſt's account of many of theſe ſcandalous Miniſters, by the enquiries he has made into their characters in the places from whence they were ejected.

Other Teſtimonies of their Character. Hiſt. p. 207.

Mr. Fuller confeſſes, " That ſeveral of the offences of the " Clergy were ſo foul, that it is a ſhame to report them, " crying to juſtice for puniſhment." But then adds in favour of others, " That witneſſes againſt them were ſeldom " examined on oath. That many of the complainers " were factious people. That ſome of the Clergy were " convicted for delivering Doctrines that were diſputable, " and others only for their loyalty." Biſhop Kennet ſays, That ſeveral of them were vicious to a ſcandal. And Mr. Archdeacon Eachard is of the ſame mind. But Mr. Baxter's teſtimony is more particular and deciſive, who ſays,

Baxter's Life, p. 74.

" That in all the Countries where he was acquainted ſix " to one at leaſt, if not many more, that were ſequeſter'd " by the Committees, were by the oaths of witneſſes " proved inſufficient or ſcandalous, or eſpecially guilty of " drunkenneſs and ſwearing. This I know (ſays the Reverend Author) will diſpleaſe the Party, but I am ſure " that this is true."

Their proceedings cenſur'd. Suff. Cler. p. 65.

'Tis impoſſible to account for the particular proceedings of all the Committees, of which great outcries have been made by the friends of the Sufferers. " If the meaneſt and " moſt vicious Pariſhioners could be brought to prefer a " petition againſt their Parſon to the Houſe of Commons,

" how

" how falſly ſoever, (ſays Lord Clarendon) he was ſure to " be proſecuted for a ſcandalous Miniſter." His Lordſhip adds, " That the Committees accepted of the evidence not " only of mean people, but of them who were profeſſed " enemies of the diſcipline of the Church; that they " baited the Clergy with rude and uncivil language; that " they obliged them to a long and tedious attendance, " and were very partial in voting them out of their Livings, " right or wrong." In another place he ſays, " That theſe " complaints were frequently exhibited by a few of the " meaneſt of the people againſt the judgment of the Pa- " riſh." The like account is given by moſt of the Royal- iſts; but the writers on the ſide of the Parliament deny the charge, and complain as loudly of the contemptuous behavi- our of the Kings Clergy to the Commiſſioners, treating them as a combination of illiterate laymen, who had nothing to do with the Church; nay, as rebels and traytors. Some re- fuſed to obey their ſummons, and others that appeared took up their time in examining the ſpelling of Words, the propriety of Grammar, and other little evaſions, fo- reign to the purpoſe. They declared roundly, they did not own the tribunal before which they ſtood; they inſulted the witneſſes, and threatened repriſals out of Court, when things ſhould revert to their former Channel; and upon the whole behaved as if they had engroſſed all the Law, Learning, and good Senſe of the Nation to themſelves. The Commiſſioners provoked with this uſage, were oblig- ed to behave with ſome ſharpneſs, in order to ſupport their own authority; they would not indulge them the peculiar privilege they claimed as Clergymen, nor allow them as Scholars to debate the truth of thoſe Doctrines of which they were accuſed, but confined them to matters of fact. When they excepted againſt the witneſſes as ignorant Me- chanicks, factious, ſchiſmatical, enemies to the Church, &c. they over-ruled their exceptions, as long as there were no legal objections to their Competency or Credibility.

King Charles I. 1643.

With regard to the Country Committees, the Commiſ- ſioners were choſen out of the Deputy Lieutenants, and the beſt Country Gentlemen in the Parliament Intereſt. Moſt of the crimes for which the Clergy were ſequeſter'd were confeſſed by themſelves; Superſtition and falſe Doctrine were hardly ever objected, but far the greateſt part, if not all, were caſt out for malignity; and yet the proceedings of the Sequeſtrators were not always juſtifiable; for where-

Country Committees.

King Charles I. 1643.

as a Court of Judicature ſhould rather be Counſel for the Priſoner, the Commiſſioners conſidered the King's Clergy as moſt dangerous enemies, and were therefore ready to lay hold of all opportunities to diſcharge them their Pulpits.

Their Inſtructions.

But whatever might be the exceſſes, or partiality of particular Committees, no reaſonable blame can be laid upon the two Houſes, whoſe Inſtructions were, in my opinion, unexceptionable: The Words of the Ordinance are theſe,

Husb. Coll. p. 311.

—— "And to the end that thoſe who will appear before the "Committee may have the witneſſes examined in their "preſence, it is further ordained, that Summonſes, with "ſufficient warning of the time and place, when and "where the charge againſt them ſhall be proved, be either "given to their perſons, or left at their houſes; and if "they deſire it, they ſhall have a copy of the articles "againſt them, with a convenient time to give in their "anſwer under their hands, which, together with their "charge, and the proofs upon every particular of it, the "ſaid Deputy Lieutenants, and Committees of Parliament, "ſhall ſend up to the Committee of this Houſe, appointed to provide for plundered Miniſters; which Committee "ſhall from time to time tranſmit them to this Houſe."

Ibid. p. 15.

And further to prevent all abuſes, 'tis ordained in the Ordinance for Sequeſtration, "That if any perſon or perſons "find themſelves agrieved with any Acts done by the Se"queſtrators, upon complaint made to them, or any two "or more of them; then upon information given to both "Houſes of Parliament, or to the Committee of Lords "and Commons aforementioned, ſuch further order ſhall "be taken therein as ſhall be agreeable to Juſtice." Here

Suff. Cler. p. 84.

was an appeal from a lower to a higher Court; and to prevent too ſevere a ſcrutiny into the lives and manners of the Clergy, they were limited in their enquiries, to ſuch crimes as had been committed within three years before the beginning of the preſent Parliament; ſo that if the Committees obſerved their orders there could be no juſt ground of Complaint; but as no one will undertake to vindicate all their proceedings, we muſt not, on the other hand, give ear to the petulant and angry Complaints of every diſcontented Clergyman. I ſhall only obſerve further, that theſe Country Committees hardly began to ſit till the year 1644. That they exerciſed their power very ſparingly while the war was in ſuſpence, but when the

royal

royal Forces were beat out of the field, and victory declared on their ſide, they proceeded with more freedom, eſpecially againſt thoſe who had made themſelves parties in the war. King Charles I. 1643.

Very different accounts are given of the numbers and quality of the ejected Clergy by their ſeveral friends. Lord Clarendon ſays, That all the learned and orthodox Divines of England were deemed ſcandalous. And Dr. Walker has taken a great deal of pains to encreaſe their numbers, and vindicate their characters. By his account one would think moſt of them were of the firſt rank and character; but Mr. Baxter, who was much better acquainted with the Clergymen of theſe times, ſays, "That when the Parliament purged the Miniſtry they caſt out the groſſer ſort of inſufficient and ſcandalous ones, and alſo ſome few civil men who had aſſiſted in the wars againſt the Parliament, or ſet up bowing to Altars, and ſuch innovations, but they left in near one half of the Miniſters that were not good enough to do much ſervice, nor bad enough to be utterly intolerable. Theſe were a company of poor weak Preachers who had no great ſkill in divinity, nor zeal for godlineſs, but preached weekly that that was true, and were free from notorious ſins." This ſeems a pretty fair relation of the matter; but we ſhall have occaſion to conſider it more fully hereafter. Quality of Perſons ejected. p. 95.

Beſides the ſequeſtration of Benefices the Parliament conſidered the King's Clergy as Parties in the War, and ſeized their eſtates both real and perſonal under that character, to help to bear the expences of it; for this purpoſe they paſſed the following Ordinance, April 1, 1643. the preamble to which ſets forth, That it is moſt agreeable to "common juſtice, that the eſtates of ſuch notorious Delinquents as have been the cauſers or inſtruments of the "publick calamities, which have hitherto been employed to "the fomenting and nouriſhing of this miſerable diſtraction, "ſhould be converted and applied towards the ſupport of "the Commonwealth." Sequeſtration of their Eſtates. Husb. Collect. Fol. 13.

"BE it therefore enacted, that the eſtates, as well real "and perſonal, of all ſuch Biſhops, Deans, Deans "and Chapters, Prebends, Archdeacons, and of all other "perſons eccleſiaſtical or temporal, who have, or ſhall raiſe "arms againſt the Parliament; or have been, or ſhall be "in actual war againſt the ſame; or who have, or ſhall "voluntarily contribute Money, Horſe, Plate, Arms, Am-

"munition,

King Charles I. 1643.

" munition, or other Aid or Aſſiſtance, towards the maintenance of any force raiſed againſt the Parliament, or for the plundering of the King's ſubjects, who have willingly contributed, or yielded obedience to the commands of both Houſes of Parliament, and of all ſuch who have joined, or ſhall join in any Oath or Aſſociation againſt the Parliament, &c. ſhall be ſeized into the hands of ſequeſtrators, to be named by both Houſes of Parliament, which ſequeſtrators, or their deputies, are to ſeize into their hands, as well all the money, goods, chattels, debts, and perſonal eſtates, and all the manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, rents, revenues, and profits, of all the ſaid delinquents before ſpecified; and alſo, two parts of all the perſonal and real eſtates of every Papiſt, and to let, ſet, and demiſe the ſame from year to year, as the reſpective landlords or owners thereof might have done. And the authority of both Houſes is engaged to ſave them harmleſs from paying any rents to their landlords being delinquents: And all the monies, rents, and revenues, that ſhall ariſe from this ordinance, ſhall be applied to the maintenance of the army and forces raiſed by the Parliament, and ſuch other uſes as ſhall be directed by both Houſes of Parliament for the benefit of the Commonwealth."

A further Explanation of it. Scobel's Collect. p. 49.

Auguſt 19th, 1643. this Ordinance was further explained, as including in the number of delinquents, " Such as " abſented from their uſual places of abode, or betook " themſelves to the King's forces, ſuch as ſhould embezzle " or conceal any of their effects, to avoid payment of " taxes, and aſſeſſments to the Parliament; or who kept " out of the way ſo that no tax could be levied upon them; " or who concealed or harboured the goods or perſons of " delinquents; or who ſhould ſeize or moleſt any perſon " for obeying or executing any of the Parliament's orders." A clauſe was then added to the Ordinance, empowering the Commiſſioners to allow to the wives and children of ſuch delinquents for their maintenance, any portion of their goods, provided it did not exceed one fifth part. This clauſe was conſtrued to extend to the wives and children of all Clergymen who were ejected their Livings on any account whatſoever. The Commiſſioners were alſo to ſeize two thirds of the eſtates of Papiſts, both real and perſonal, and for the diſcovering of them, were to tender ſuch whom they ſuſpected, the following Oath.

The Fifths.

I A. B.

King Charles I. 1643.

"I A. B. do abjure and renounce the Pope's Supremacy, "and Authority over the Catholick Church in general, "and over myself in particular. And I do believe that there "is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the "Lord's Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine "after Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. "And I do also believe that there is not any Purgatory, "or that the consecrated Host, Crucifixes, or Images, "ought to be worshipped; or that any worship is due to "any of them. And I also believe, that Salvation cannot "be merited by works; and all Doctrines in affirmation of "the said points, I do abjure, and renounce, without any "equivocation, mental reservation, or secret evasion what-"soever, taking the words by me spoken according to the "common meaning of them.

Abjuration Oath.

"So help me GOD."

Divers Clergymen of good learning, and blameless lives, found Protestants, and good Preachers, lost their estates and livelihoods, by falling within the compass of this Ordinance. How far such severities are justifiable by the law of arms, in a time of civil war and confusion, I shall not determine. It had been well, if those who would have given security for their peaceable behaviour, could have been distinguished. But what could the Parliament do with men that were always dealing in politicks, privately sending the King money, preaching publickly that he was above Law, and stirring up the people to sedition and disaffection to those powers by whom they were protected? If Others suffered in this manner it was very hard Measure; their Estates might have been double taxed, as those of Papists and Nonjurors have since been; but to take away their whole property, and reduce them to a Fifth, and this at the mercy of Sequestrators, was extremely rigorous and severe.

The Effects of this Ordinance.

However, his Majesty did the like, and gave directions to seize the lands and goods of the Parliamentarians, as appears by his Proclamation of April 7, and May 8. wherein he forbids all his Subjects to submit to their orders; and by another dated May 15, 1643, complains, "That divers of "his Clergy, eminent for piety and learning, because they "publish his royal and just Commands and Declarations, "and will not (against the known laws of the Land, and "their own consciences) submit to contributions, nor pub-"lickly pray against us and our assistants, but conform to "the

The King makes Reprisals.

Husb. Collect. p. 177.

King Charles I. 1643.

" the Book of Common-prayer eſtabliſhed by Law, and " preach God's word according to the purity of it, and in " their ſermons will not teach ſedition, nor publiſh illegal " commands and orders for fomenting the unnatural war " levied againſt us, are ſome of them driven from their " Cures and Habitations, others ſilenced and diſcharged " from their Cures, and perſecuted, and their Curates, if " Orthodox, diſplaced, in whoſe places factious and ſedi- " tious perſons are introduced.----His Majeſty therefore for- " bids all his Subjects to hinder any of his Clergy from ex- " erciſing their functions, or to diſplace them; and if any " tranſgreſs this command his Majeſty declares them aſſiſ- " tants of the Rebellion, and will proceed againſt them " according to law, as ſoon as he can apprehend them, and " in the mean time will give direction for taking their " Lands and Goods into ſafe cuſtody." Such were the extremities on both ſides!

Vacant Benefices filled up.

The ſilencing ſo many Clergymen at once made it very difficult to find perſons qualified to fill the vacant Pulpits. This was an inconvenience that attended the Reformation of Queen Elizabeth, and was the caſe of the eſtabliſhed Church again in the year 1662. when near two thouſand Miniſters were ejected for Non-conformity. Lord Clarendon, with his uſual candor, ſays, " That from the " beginning of this Parliament he is confident not one " learned or orthodox Man was recommended by them " to any Church in England;" and yet ſome of the greateſt ornaments of the Church for learning and good ſenſe, in the Reign of King Charles II. were of their promotion, as Biſhop Reynolds, Biſhop Wilkins, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Cudworth, Dr. Wallis, and others. Mr. Baxter, who was a more competent judge in this reſpect, ſays, " That though now and then an unworthy perſon, by " ſiniſter means, crept into the places of the ejected Mi- " niſters, yet commonly thoſe whom they put in were ſuch " as ſet themſelves laborioufly to ſeek the ſaving of Souls. " Indeed the one half of them were very young, but that " could not be helped, becauſe there were no others to be " had; the Parliament could not make men learned or god- " ly, but only put in the learnedeſt and ableſt that they could " have; and tho' it had been to be wiſhed, that they might " have had leiſure to ripen in the Univerſities, yet many of " them did (as Ambroſe) teach and learn at once ſo ſucceſs- " fully, as that they much encreaſed in learning themſelves " whilſt

Hiſt. of Life and Times, p. 74.

" whilſt they profited others, and proportionably more than " many in the Univerſities do." Thoſe Clergymen who had been ſilenced and impriſoned by Archbiſhop Laud were ſet at liberty and encouraged; ſome who had fled to Holland and New-England on the account of Non-conformity returned home, and were preferred to conſiderable Lectures in the City, or to the Livings of thoſe who were ſequeſtered. The Parliament entertained and promoted ſeveral Scots Divines, and yet after all, they wanted a Supply for ſeveral vacant Benefices, which obliged them to admit of ſome unlearned perſons, and pluraliſts, not of choice, but of neceſſity, for when things were more ſettled the Aſſembly of Divines declared againſt both; and it deſerves to be remembered, that the Parliament did not give their Divines an abſolute and full poſſeſſion of the ſequeſtered Livings, but reſerved to themſelves a right in their warrants to diſplace them if they ſaw occaſion, which ſhews their great prudence and caution; for by this means it was in their power, upon the concluſion of a peace, to reſtore thoſe who had been ejected, meerly for their attachment to the King, without any injury to the preſent poſſeſſor. And to put ſome ſtop to the clamours of the Royaliſts at Oxford, who gave out, that the Parliament admitted Butchers, Coblers, Bricklayers, and thoſe who had no call from God or Man, they ordained, July 27, 1643. " That " the Committees ſhould not nominate any perſons to " vacant Benefices, but ſuch as ſhould be examined and " approved by the Aſſembly of Divines then ſitting at " Weſtminſter." Upon the whole it is evident, that the two Houſes did the beſt they could in their preſent circumſtances, and perhaps better than the Royaliſts did at the Reſtoration 1660, when according to Dr. Walker, all the ſequeſtered Clergy that ſurvived were reſtored to their Livings, even thoſe who had been convicted of the moſt ſcandalous Immoralities, without any marks of repentance or amendment.

King Charles I. 1643.

Suff. Cler. p. 397. & alibi.

The Parliament's affairs being low, and their counſels divided, they not only applied to Heaven by extraordinary Faſtings and Prayers, but went on vigorouſly with their intended Reformation. They began with the Sabbath, and on March 22, 1642-3, ſent to the Lord Mayor of the City of London, to deſire him to put in execution, the ſtatutes for the due obſervation of the Lord's Day; his Lordſhip accordingly ſent his precept the very next day to the Aldermen, requiring them to give ſtrict charge to the

Strict Obſervation of the Sabbath. Husb. Coll. p. 7.

King Charles I. 1643.

Church-wardens and Conſtables within their ſeveral Wards, that from henceforth " they do not permit or ſuffer any " perſon or perſons, in time of divine Service, or at any " time on the Lord's Day, to be tipling in any tavern, " Inn, Tobacco-ſhop, Ale-houſe, or other Victualling " houſe whatſoever; nor ſuffer any Fruiterers or Herb- " women to ſtand with Fruit, Herbs, or other Victuals or " Wares in any Streets, Lanes, or Allies, or any other " ways to put thoſe things to ſale, at any time of that day, " or in the evening of it; or any Milk-Women to cry " Milk; nor to ſuffer any perſons to unlade any Veſſels of " Fruit, or other goods, and carry them on ſhoar; or to " uſe any unlawful Exerciſes or Paſtimes; and to give ex- " preſs charge to all Inn-keepers, Taverns, Cook-ſhops, " Ale-houſes, &c. within their Wards, not to entertain any " gueſts to tipple, eat, drink, or take Tobacco in their " houſes on the Lord's Day, except Inn-keepers, who " may receive their ordinary Gueſts or Travellers, who " come for the diſpatch of their neceſſary Buſineſs; and " if any perſons offend in the Premiſſes, they are to be " brought before the Lord Mayor, or one of his Majeſty's " Juſtices of Peace to be puniſhed as the law directs." This order had a very conſiderable influence upon the City, which began to wear a different face of Religion to what it had before. May 5, the book tolerating Sports on the Lord's Day was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman in Cheapſide, and other uſual Places; and all perſons having any in their hands were required to deliver them to one of the Sheriffs of London to be burnt.

Husb. Coll. p. 159.

Manner of keeping the Monthly Faſt.

Next to the Lord's Day they had a particular regard to their monthly faſt: April 24, all Conſtables or their Deputies, were ordered to repair to every houſe within their reſpective Liberties, the day before every publick faſt, and charge all perſons ſtrictly to obſerve it according to the ſaid Ordinances. And upon the day of the publick Faſt they were enjoined to walk through their ſaid Liberties, to ſearch for perſons who either by following the work of their Calling, or ſitting in Taverns, Victualling, or Ale-houſes, or any other ways ſhould not duly obſerve the ſame; and to return their names to the Committee for examination, that they may be proceeded againſt for Contempt. The Faſt was obſerved the laſt Wedneſday in every Month, the publick Devotions continued with little or no Intermiſſion from nine in the Morning till four in the Afternoon,

noon, and (as has been already obſerved) with uncommon ſtrictneſs and rigour. King Charles I. 1643.

Beſides theſe ſtated Faſts, it was uſual upon extraordinary Emergencies to appoint occaſional ones; as when the Army was going upon any hazardous enterprize, or within ſight of the enemy, or under very diſadvantageous circumſtances. When the Earl of Eſſex was ſhut up in Cornwal, the two Houſes appointed a day of Faſting and Prayer in ſix Churches within the Lines of Communication, and in ſuch other Churches where it ſhould be deſired; and the crowds of ſerious and attentive hearers on ſuch occaſions is almoſt incredible. Occaſional Faſts. Husb. Coll. p. 534.

The King apprehending the Parliament's monthly Faſt was perverted from its original deſign, and turned into a nurſery of Rebellion, was pleaſed to diſſolve it, and appoint another, for the Reaſons coutained in the following Proclamation from Oxford, dated Oct. 5, 1643. "When "a general Faſt was firſt pronounced to us in contempla- "tion of the miſeries of our Kingdom of Ireland, we "readily conſented to it.———But when we obſerve what "ill uſe has been made of theſe publick meetings, in "Pulpits, in Prayers, and in the Sermons of many ſedi- "tious Lecturers, to ſtir up and continue the Rebellion "raiſed againſt us within this Kingdom.——We thought "fit to command that ſuch an hypocritical Faſt, to the diſ- "honour of God, and ſlander of true Religion, be no "longer continued and countenanced by our Authority.— "And yet we being deſirous to expreſs our own humilia- "tion, and the humiliation of our People, for our own "ſins, and the ſins of the Nation, are reſolved to continue "a monthly Faſt, but not on the day formerly appointed. "———We do therefore hereby command, that from "henceforth no Faſt be held on the laſt Wedneſday in the "month, as for many months it has been; nor on any "other day than is hereby appointed by us.——But we "do expreſly charge and command, that in all Churches "and Chapels, &c. there be a ſolemn Faſt religiouſly "obſerved on the ſecond Friday in every month, with pub- "lick Prayers and Preaching where it may be had, that as "one man we may pour out our Prayers to God, for the "continuance of his gracious Preſence and Bleſſing upon us, "and for eſtabliſhing a happy Peace; for which purpoſe we "have cauſed devout Forms of Prayer to be compoſed and "printed, and intend to diſperſe them, that they may be King diſſolves the Parliament Faſt, and appoints another. Husb. Coll. p. 353.

King Charles I. 1643.

"uſed in all parts of our Kingdom." Agreeably to this Proclamation the King's Friends in the Counties of Cornwall and Devonſhire took an oath, and entered into an Aſſociation upon ſundry Articles, of which this was one, That if any Miniſter ſhall refuſe, or wilfully neglect to obſerve the Faſt appointed by his Majeſty, or ſhall not read the Service and Prayers appointed for that Faſt, and being carried before a Juſtice of Peace, ſhall not promiſe and proteſt for their future Conformity, he ſhall be forthwith ſecured, and his Eſtate ſequeſtered; the like Courſe to be taken with ſuch Miniſters as abſent themſelves that Day, unleſs upon Sickneſs, or other Cauſe allowed by two Juſtices of Peace; and with thoſe that will not read ſuch books as ſhall be appointed to be read by his Majeſty; and the Conſtables are to certify their defaults to the next Juſtice of Peace. This was a new hardſhip upon Clergy and People, for the Parliament having enjoined the continuance of the Faſt on Wedneſday, the Royaliſts were obliged to an open ſeparation, by changing it to Friday. Thus the Devotions of the Kingdom were divided, and Almighty God called into the quarrel on both ſides.

Rushw, Vol V. p. 380.

Romoval of Monuments of Superſtition.

The next thing the Parliament undertook was the removal of thoſe Monuments of Superſtition out of Churches, &c. which had been voted down the laſt year, but without any conſiderable effect, becauſe of the diſſent of the Houſe of Lords; but in the beginning of May, Sir Robert Harlow, by order of the two Houſes took down the Croſſes in Cheapſide, Charing Croſs, and St. Paul's Croſs, which was a Pulpit of wood covered with lead, in form of a Croſs, and mounted on ſeveral ſteps of ſtone about the middle of St. Paul's Church Yard, where the firſt Reformers uſed to preach frequently to the People; and upon a further Repreſentation of the Aſſembly of Divines, they paſt the following Ordinance, "That before the firſt of "November all Altars and Tables of Stone ſhall be utterly "taken away and demoliſhed; and all Communion Tables "removed from the eaſt end of every Church, Chapel, or "Place of public Worſhip, and be ſet in ſome other fit and "convenient place or places of the Body of the Church or "Chapel; and all rails whatſoever which have been erected "near to, or before, or about any Altar or Communion Ta-"ble, in any of the ſaid Churches or Chapels, ſhall before "the ſaid day be taken away, and the Chancel Ground "of every ſuch Church, or Chapel, or other Place "of

Ordinance for that purpoſe. Hush. Coll. Fol. 307.

" publick Prayer, which has been within these twenty years " raised for any Altar or Communion Table to stand upon, " shall before the said Day be laid down and levelled as " it was before; and all Tapers, Candlesticks, and Ba- " sins, shall before the said Day be removed and taken a- " way from the Communion Table in every Church, " Chapel, or Place of publick Prayer, and not be used " again afterwards. And all Crucifixes, Crosses, Images, " and Pictures, of any one or more Persons of the Trinity, " or of the Virgin Mary; and all other Images, and Pic- " tures of Saints, or Superstious Inscriptions in, or upon " any of the said Churches, Church Yards, or other Places, " belonging to the said Churches or Church Yards, or in any " other open Place, shall before the said first of November, " be taken away and defaced by the proper Officers that have " the care of such Churches. And it is further ordained, " that the Walls, Windows, Grounds, and other Places " that shall be broken, impaired, or altered by any the " Means aforesaid, shall be made up and repaired in good " and sufficient manner, in all and every the said Parish " Churches, Chapels, or Places of publick Prayer be- " longing to the Parish, by the Church Wardens for the " time being, and in any Cathedral or Collegiate Church " or Chapel by the Deans or Sub-Deans; and in the Inns " of Court, by the Benchers and Readers of the same, " at the Cost and Charge of all and every such Person " or Persons, Bodies Politick, or Corporations, to whom " the Charge of Repair does usually belong, upon penalty " of forty Shillings to the Use of the Poor, for the space " of twenty days after such default; and if default be " made after December 1; the Justice of Peace of the " County or City shall have Power to perform it. Pro- " vided that this Ordinance shall not extend to any " Image, Picture, or Coat of Arms in Glass, Stone, or " otherwise in any Church, Chapel, or Church Yard, set " up by, or engraven for a Monument of any King, Prince, " Nobleman, or other dead Person, which has not been " commonly reputed or taken for a Saint."

King Charles I. 1643.

This Ordinance is almost the same with the Bill against Innovations presented to the King at the Treaty of Oxford, and does not much differ from Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions at the Reformation; there were some Disorders and Tumults in putting it in Execction, and great neglect of repairs; but if the Reader will look back to the superstitious

Manner of the Execution of it.

King Charles I. 1643.

tious Decorations and Ornaments of the Cathedrals, mentioned in the former Volume of this Work, p. 186, he will see there was some need of a Reformation. December 14, the Commissioners cleared the Cathedral of Canterbury of all the Images and Paintings in the Windows. Heylin says, the Rabble violated the Monuments of the Dead, spoiled the Organs, took down the Rails, &c. and affronted the Statue of our blessed Saviour. December 30, they removed the Pictures, Images and Crucifixes in Henry the Seventh's Chapel; and about Lady Day the Paintings about the Walls and Windows were defaced, and the Organs taken down in presence of a Committee of the House. The Cathedral of Saint Paul's was stripped about the same time, the Candlesticks, Crucifixes, and Plate, being sold for the Service of the War; and within a few Months most of the Cathedral's throughout England underwent the same Fate. If the Parliament, instead of leaving this Work to the Officers of every Parish, had put into the hands of some skilful Persons, to give directions what might remain, and what was fit to be removed, all the mischiefs that have been complained of might have been prevented; the Monuments of the dead might have remained entire, and a great many fine Paintings preserved; Dr. Heylin charges the Officers with Sacrilege, and fixes the divine Vengeance upon them as a Terror to others, one of them being killed in pulling down the Cross in Cheapside, and another hanged soon after he had pulled down the rich Cross in Abingdon. But without remarking on the Doctor's Prognostications, it was very proper to remove these Images and Crosses, because of the superstitious Resort of great Numbers of People to them; which might have been done in a peaceable manner, without any damage to the other venerable Remains of Antiquity.

Hist. Pref. p. 45.

Orders for Restraining the Press.

The Paper Combat between the two Parties at Oxford and London was carried on with no less Fury than the War it self; numberless Pamphlets were scattered up and down the City of London and the Countries, big with Disaffection and Scandal against the two Houses; to put a stop to which the Commons, by an order of March 6th, 1642-3, had impowered the Committee of Examinations to search for printing Presses in such places where they had Cause to suspect they were employed against the Parliament, and to break them in pieces, and destroy all the materials.

terials. They were also to seize the Pamphlets, and to commit the Printer and Vender to Prison. But this Order not being effectual, another was published June 14, 1643, the Preamble to which sets forth, "That the former Orders of Parliament to prevent the Printing and Dispersing scandalous Pamphlets having been ineffectual, it is ordained, That no Person or Persons shall print any Book or Pamphlet without Licence, under the Hands of such Persons as shall be appointed by Parliament; nor shall any Book be reprinted without the Licence and Consent of the Owner, and the Printer to put his Name to it; the Company of Stationers, and the Committee of Examinations are required to make strict enquiry after private Presses, and to search all suspected Shops and Warehouses for unlicensed Books and Pamphlets, and to commit the Offenders against this Order to Prison to be punished as the Parliament shall direct." The Names of the Licensers appointed by this Ordinance were these; King Charles I. 1643. Rushw. Vol. V. P. 335.

For Books of Divinity.

The Reverend
- Mr. Tho. Gataker,
- Mr. J. Downham,
- Mr. Callicut Downing,
- Dr. Tho. Temple,
- Mr. Jos. Caryl,
- Mr. Edmund Calamy,

The Reverend
- Mr. Carter, of Yorkshire,
- Mr. Ch. Herle,
- Mr. Ja. Cranford,
- Mr. Obad. Sedgwick,
- Mr. Batchelor,
- Mr. John Ellis, Jun.

For Law Books.

Sir John Brampston,
Mr. Serj. Rolls,
Mr. Serj. Phesant,
Mr. Serj. Jermyn.

For Physick and Surgery.

The President and four Censors of the College of Physicians, for the time being.

For Civil and Canon Law.

Sir Nath. Brent, or any three Doctors of the Civil Law.

For Heraldry, Titles of Honour, and Arms,
One of the three Kings at Arms.

King Charles I. 1643.

For Philoſophy, Hiſtory, Poetry Morality and Arts.
Sir Nath. Brent, Mr. Langley, and Mr. Farnaby, Schoolmaſters of St. Paul's.

For ſmall Pamphlefs, Pictures, &c.
The Clerk of the Company of Stationers, for the time being; and,

For Mathematicks, Almanacks and Prognoſtications.
The Reader of Greſham College for the time being.

But neither this, nor any other Regulation of the Preſs, could reſtrain the Oxonians from diſperſing their Mercuries and Diurnals over the whole Kingdom as long as the Univerſity was in the King's Hands.

CHAP. II.

From the calling the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter to the Oxford Parliament.

IT has been obſerved, That at the ſetting down of this Parliament, the Reſolution of the leading Members was to remove the Grievances of the Church as well as State, and for this purpoſe to addreſs the King to call an Aſſembly of Divines to reform the Liturgy and Diſcipline of it. To forward this deſign the London Miniſters in their Petitions in the year 1641, prayed the Houſes to be Mediators to his Majeſty for a free Synod, and the Commons accordingly mentioned it in their grand Remonſtrance of Dec. 1, 1641. "We deſire (ſay they) that there may be a "general Synod of the moſt grave, pious, learned, and "judicious Divines of this Iſland, aſſiſted with ſome from "foreign parts profeſſing the ſame Religion with us, "who may conſider of all Things neceſſary for the Peace "and good Government of the Church, and to repre-"ſent the reſult of their Conſultations to be allowed and "confirmed, and to receive the Stamp of Authority." In the Treaty of Oxford a Bill was preſented to the ſame Purpoſe but rejected: Some Time after Dr. Burges, at the Head of the Puritan Clergy, applied again to Parliament, but the Houſes were unwilling to take this Step without the King, till they were reduced to the Neceſſity of calling in the Scots, who inſiſted, that there ſhould be an Uniformity of Doctrine and Diſcipline between the two Nations.

tions. To make way for which the Houſes turned their Bill into an Ordinance, and convened the Aſſembly by their own authority. King Charles I. 1643.

The Ordinance bears date June 12, 1643, and is the very ſame with the Oxford Bill, except in the point of Lay-Aſſeſſors, and of reſtraining the Aſſembly from exerciſing any juriſdiction, or Authority Eccleſiaſtical whatſoever. It is entitled,

" An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the calling of an Aſſembly of learned and godly Divines, and others, to be conſulted with by the Parliament, for ſettling the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the ſaid Church, from falſe aſperſions and interpretations. Ordinance for calling an Aſſembly of Divines. Ruſhw. Vol. II. Part III. p. 337.

The Preamble ſets forth,

" That whereas amongſt the infinite bleſſings of Almighty God upon this Nation, none is, or can be more dear to us, than the purity of our Religion; and for as much as many things as yet remain in the Diſcipline, Liturgy, and Government of the Church, which neceſſarily require a more perfect Reformation. And whereas it has been declared and reſolved, by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that the preſent Church Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and other eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on the Hierarchy, is evil, and juſtly offenſive and burdenſome to the Kingdom, and a great impediment to Reformation, and growth of Religion, and very prejudicial to the State and Government of this Kingdom, that therefore they are reſolved, that the ſame ſhall be taken away, and that ſuch a Government ſhall be ſettled in the Church as may be moſt agreeable to God's holy Word, and moſt apt to procure and preſerve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other reformed Churches abroad. And for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the Church of England from all falſe calumnies and aſperſions, it is thought fit to call an aſſembly of learned, godly, and judicious Divines, to conſult and adviſe

King Charles I. 1643.

" adviſe of ſuch matters and things touching the premiſes, " as ſhall be propoſed to them by both, or either Houſes " of Parliament; and to give their advice and counſel there- " in to both, or either of the ſaid Houſes, when, and as " often as they ſhall be thereunto required."

" BE it therefore ordained by the Lords and Commons " in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, that all [and " every the perſons hereafter in this Ordinance named [the " Ordinance here names the perſons] and ſuch other " perſons] as ſhall be nominated by both Houſes of " Parliament, or ſo many of them as ſhall not be " letted by ſickneſs, or other neceſſary impediment, " ſhall meet and aſſemble, and are hereby required and en- " joined upon Summons ſigned by the Clerks of both " Houſes of Parliament, left at their ſeveral reſpective " dwellings, to meet and aſſemble at Weſtminſter, in the " Chapel called King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, on the " firſt of July, 1643, and after the firſt meeting, being " at leaſt of the number of forty, ſhall from time to time " ſit, and be removed from place to place; and alſo, that " the ſaid aſſembly ſhall be diſſolved in ſuch a manner as by " both Houſes of Parliament ſhall be directed. " And the " ſaid Aſſembly ſhall have power and authority, and are " hereby enjoined from time to time, during this preſent " Parliament, or till further order be taken by both the " ſaid Houſes, to confer and treat among themſelves of ſuch " matters and things concerning the Liturgy, Diſcipline, " and Government of the Church of England, or the vin- " dicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the ſame from " all falſe aſperſions and miſconſtructions, as ſhall be pro- " poſed by either or both Houſes of Parliament, and no " other;" and to deliver their advices and opinions touch- " ing the matters aforeſaid, as ſhall be moſt agreeable to " the Word of God, to both or either Houſes from time to " time, in ſuch manner as ſhall be required, and not to " divulge the ſame by printing, writing, or otherwiſe, " without conſent of Parliament."

If any difference of opinion aroſe they were to repreſent it to Parliament with their reaſons, that the Houſes might give further Direction. Four Shillings per day was allowed for each one during his attendance. Dr. William Twiſſe of Newbury was appointed Prolocutor, and in caſe of his ſickneſs or death the Parliament reſerved to themſelves the choice of another. The Ordinance concludes with the following

lowing Proviſo : " Provided always, that this Ordinance " ſhall not give them, nor ſhall they in this Aſſembly aſ- " ſume or exerciſe any juriſdiction, power, or authority ec- " cleſiaſtical whatſoever, or any other power than is herein " particularly expreſſed." King Charles I. 1643.

Then follow the names of thirty Lay-Aſſeſſors, (viz.) ten Lords, and twenty Commoners, and one hundred twenty one Divines.

N. B. The Lay-Aſſeſſors had an equal liberty of debating and voting with the Divines, and were theſe ;

Names of the Lay-Aſſeſſors.

Peers.

Algernoon E. of Northumberland,
William E. of Bedford,
William E. of Pembrook and Montgomery,
William E. of Saliſbury,
Henry E. of Holland,
Edward E. of Mancheſter,
William Lord Viſc. Say and Seal,
Edward Lord Viſc. Conway,
Philip Lord Wharton
Edward Lord Howard of Eſcrick.

Commoners.

John Selden, Eſq;
Francis Rouſe, Eſq;
Edmund Prideaux. Eſq;
Sir Henry Vane, Knt. Sen.
Sir Henry Vane, Knt. Jun.
John Glynne, Eſq; Recorder of London,
John White, Eſq;
Bulſtrode Whitlocke, Eſq;
Humphry Salway, Eſq;
Oliver St. John, Eſq;
Sir Benj. Rudyard, Knt.
John Pym, Eſq;
Sir John Clotworthy, Knt.
Sir Tho. Barrington, Knt.
William Wheeler, Eſq;
William Pierpoint, Eſq;
Sir John Evelyn, Knt.
John Maynard, Eſq;
M. Serjeant Wild,
Mr. Young,
Sir Matth. Hale, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench [appeared, ſays Anthony Wood, among the Lay-Aſſeſſors.]

Lay-Aſſeſſors from Scotland.

Lord Maitland, after Duke Lauderdale,
E. Lothian,
A. Johnſton, called Lord Warriſton.

The Divines were choſen out of ſuch liſts as the Knights and Burgeſſes brought in, of Perſons beſt qualified in their ſeveral Counties, out of which the Parliament agreed upon two ; though according to Dr. Calamy ſome Counties had but one

A Liſt

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A List of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in Alphabetical Order.

Those with two ** gave constant attendance; those with one * sat in the Assembly and took the Protestation, but withdrew, or seldom appear'd; those with no Star did not appear at all.

To supply the Vacancies that happen'd by death, desertion, or otherways, the Parliament named others from time to time, who were called Superadded Divines.

** The Rev. Dr. William Twisse, of Newbury, was appointed by Parliament, Prolocutor.

** The Rev. { Dr. Cornelius Burges, of Watford, / Mr. John White, of Dorchester, A. M. } Assessors.

Names of the Divines.

* The Rev. { Mr. Henry Roborough, / Mr. Adoniram Byfield, A. M. } Scribes, but had no Votes.

** The Rev. John Arrowsmith, of Lynne, afterwards D. D. and Master of Peter House, Cambridge,
** Mr. Simeon Ash, of St. Brides, or Basingshaw,
** Mr. Theodore Backhurst, of Overton Waterville,
** Mr. Tho. Bayly, B. D. of Manningford Bruce,
** Mr. John Bond, a superadded Divine,
* Mr. Boulton, superadded,
** Mr. Oliver Bowler, B. D. of Sutton,
** Mr. William Bridge, A. M. of Yarmouth,
The Right Rev. Dr. Ralph Brownrigge, Bp. of Exon,
Mr. Richard Buckley,
** Mr. Antony Burges, A. M. of Sutton Coldfield,
** Mr. Jer. Burroughs, A. M. of Stepney,
** Mr. Richard Byfield, A. M. superadded,
** Edmund Calamy, B. D. Aldermanbury,
** Mr. Tho. Case, Milk-street,
Mr. Richard Capel, of Pitchcombe, A. M.
** Mr. Joseph Caryl, A. M. Lincoln's Inn,
** Mr. William Carter, of London,
** Mr. Thomas Carter, of Oxon,
** Mr. William Carter, of Dynton, Bucks,
** Mr. John Cawdrey, A. M. St. Mart. Fields, superadded,
** Humph. Chambers, D. D. of Claverton,

** Francis

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** Francis Cheynel, D. D. of Petworth,
** Mr. Peter Clarke, A. M. of Carnaby,
** Mr. Richard Clayton, of Showel,
** Mr. Francis Coke, of Yoxhall,
** Mr. Tho. Coleman, A. M. of Bliton,
** John Conant of Lymmington, D. D. afterwards Archdeacon of Norwich, and Preb. of Worceſter,
** Mr. Edw. Corbet, A. M. Merton Coll. Oxon,
* Rob. Croſſe, D. D. afterwards Vicar of Chew, Somerſet,
** Mr. Philip Delmé, ſuperadded,
Mr. Tho Dillingham, of Dean,
* Calibute Downing, D. D. of Hackney,
Mr. William Dunning, of Godalſton,
** The Rev. Mr. John Drury, ſuperadded,
Mr. Edward Ellis, B. D, Gilfield,
Mr. John Erle, of Biſhopſtowne,
* Dan. Featley, D. D. of Lambeth,
** Mr. Tho. Ford, A. M. ſuperadded,
** Mr. John Foxcraft, of Gotham,
Mr. Hannibal Gammon, A. M. of Cornwall,
** Tho. Gataker, B. D. Rotherhithe,
** Mr. Samuel Gibſon, of Burleigh,
** Mr. John Gibbon, of Waltham,
** Mr. George Gippes, of Aylſton,
** Tho. Goodwin, D. D. of Lond. aft. Preſi. Mag. C. Oxon,
** Mr. William Goad, ſuperadded,
** Mr. Stanly Gower, of Brampton Bryan,
** William Gouge, D. D. of Black-Fryars,
** Mr. William Greenhill, of Stepney,
** Mr. Green, of Pentecomb,
John Hacket, D. D. of St. Andrew's Holborn, afterwards Biſhop of Litchfield,
Henry Hammond, D. D. of Penſhurſt, Kent,
** Mr. Henry Hall, B. D. Norwich,
** Mr. Humphry Hardwicke, ſuperadded,
* John Harris, D. D. Preb. Winch. Warden of Wickham,
** Robert Harris, D. D. of Hanwel, Preſi. Trin. Col. Oxon,
** Mr. Charles Herle, A. M. Winwick, afterwards Proloc.
** Mr. Rich. Heyrick, A. M. of Mancheſter,
** Thomas Hill, D. D. of Tichmarſh, afterwards Maſter of Trin. Coll. Cambridge,
* Samuel Hilderſham, B. D. of Felton,
** Mr. Jaſper Hickes, A. M. of Lawrick,
** Mr. Tho. Hodges, B. D. of Kenſington,
Richard Holdſworth, D. D. Maſt. Eman. Coll. Camb.

** Joſhua

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** Joſhua Hoyle, D. D. of Dublin, Ireland,
Mr. Henry Hutton,
** Mr. John Jackſou, A. M. of Queen's Coll. Camb.
* Mr. Johnſon,
Mr. Lance, Harrow, Middleſex,
** Mr. John Langley of Weſt Tuderly, Preb. Glou.
** Mr. John Ley, A. M. Great Budworth,
** The Rev. John Lightfoot, D. D. of Aſhby, M. Cath. H.
* Rich. Love, D. D. of Ekinton,
* Mr. Chriſtoph. Love, A. M. ſuperadded,
Mr. William Lyford, A. M. Sherbourne,
* Mr. John de la March, Miniſter of the French Church,
** Mr. Stephen Marſhal, B. D. of Finchingfield,
* Mr. William Maſſam, ſuperadded,
Mr. John Maynard, A. M. ſuperadded,
** Mr. William Mew, B. D. of Eſſington,
** Mr. Tho. Micklethwait, Cheriburton,
George Morley, D. D. afterwards Bp. of Wincheſter,
Mr. William Moreton, Newcaſtle,
* Mr. Moore,
** Mr. Matth. Newcomen, Dedham,
* Mr. William Newſcore, ſuperadded,
William Nicholſon, D. D. afterwards Bp. of Glouceſter,
Mr. Henry Nye, of Clapham,
** Mr. Philip Nye, of Kimbolton,
Mr. Herbert Palmer, B. D. Aſhwel, afterwards Aſſeſſor,
Mr. Henry Painter, of Exeter,
Mr. Chriſtopher Parkly, of Hawarden,
** Mr. Edw. Peal, of Compton,
** Mr. Andrew Pern, of Wilby, Northampton,
** Mr. John Philips, Wrentham,
** Mr. Benj. Pickering, Eaſt Hoatly,
* Mr. Samuel de la Place, Miniſt. of the French Church,
** Mr. Will. Price, of St. Paul's Covent Garden,
John Prideaux, D. D. Biſhop of Worceſter,
** Mr. Nicolas Proffet, of Marlborough,
Mr. John Pyne, of Bereferrars,
** Mr. William Rathband, of Highgate,
** Mr. William Reyner, B. D. Egham,
** Edw. Reynolds, of Brampton, D.D. afterw. Bp. Norwich,
** Mr. Arthur Salway, Severn Stoke,
Rob. Saunderſon, D. D. afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln,
** Mr. Henry Scudder, of Colingbourne,
** Lazarus Seaman. B. D. of Lond. M. Peter Hall. Camb.
** Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, B. D. Coggeſhall,

Mr. Joſias

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Mr. Josias Shute, B. D. Lombard-Street,
** The Rev. Mr. Sydrach Sympson, London,
** Peter Smith, D. D. of Barkway,
** William Spurstow, D. D. of Hampden,
** Edmund Staunton, D. D. of Kingston.
** Mr. Peter Sterry, London,
** Mr. John Strickland, B. D. New Sarum, superadded,
** Matth. Styles, D. D. Eastcheap,
* Mr. Strong, Westminster, superadded,
** Mr. Francis Taylor, A. M. Yalding,
** Tho. Temple, D. D. of Battersey,
** Mr. Tho. Thoroughgood, Massingham,
** Mr. Christoph. Tisdale, Uphurst Bourne,
* Mr. Henry Tozer, B. D. Oxon,
** Henry Tuckney, D. D. of Boston, afterwards Master of Saint John's Coll. Oxon, and Regius Professor,
** Mr. Tho. Valentine, B. D. Chalfort, Saint Giles's,
** Mr. Rich. Vines, A. M. of Calcot. M. Pemb. H. Camb.
The most Rev. Dr. James Usher, Archb. of Armagh,
** Mr. George Walker, B. D. St. John Evans,
Samuel Ward, D. D. Master of Sidney Coll. Camb.
** Mr. John Wallis, afterwards D. D. and Scribe,
** Mr. John Ward, superadded,
Mr. James Welby, Sylatten,
* Thomas Westfield, D. D. Bishop of Bristol,
** Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, A. M. Stretton,
Mr. Francis Whiddon, Moreton,
** Henry Wilkinson, sen. D. D. Waddesdon, afterwards Margaret Professor, Oxon,
** Mr. Henry Wilkinson, jun. B. D. St. Dunstans,
** Mr. Tho. Wilson, Otham,
* Tho. Wincop, D. D. Elesworth,
** John Wincop, D. D. St. Martin's in the Fields,
** Mr. Francis Woodcock, Proctor of the Univ. of Camb.
** Mr. Thomas Young, Stow Market.

Ministers from Scotland.

** M. Alexander Henderson,
** Mr. George Gillespie,
** Mr. Samuel Rutherford,
** Mr. Robert Bayly.

Before the Assembly sat, the King by his royal Proclamation of June 22, forbid their meeting, for the purposes therein mentioned; and declared, that no Acts done by

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by them ought to be received by his Subjects; he alſo threatened to proceed againſt them with the utmoſt ſeverity of the law; nevertheleſs, Sixty nine aſſembled in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel the firſt day, according to ſummons, not in their canonical Habits, but chiefly in black Coats and Bands, in imitation of the foreign Proteſtants. Few of the Epiſcopal Divines appeared, and thoſe, after ſome time withdrew, for the following reaſons.

Reaſons of the Epiſcopal Divines againſt the Aſſembly.

Obj. 1. "Becauſe the Aſſembly was prohibited by the "royal Proclamation; which Dr. Twiſſe in his Sermon, "at the opening the Aſſembly lamented, but hoped in due "time his Majeſty's conſent might be obtained,

Anſw. To which it was replied, "That the Conſtitution "at preſent was diſſolved; that there were two ſovereign "contending Powers in the Nation; and if the War in "which the Parliament was engaged was juſt and neceſ-"ſary, they might aſſume this branch of the prerogative, "till the Nation was ſettled, as well as any other.

Obj. 2. "Becauſe the Members of the Aſſembly were "not choſen by the Clergy, and therefore could not ap-"pear as their repreſentatives.

Anſw. To which it was anſwered, "That the Aſſembly "was not deſigned for a National Synod, or Repreſenta-"tive Body of the Clergy, but only as a Committee, or "Council to the Parliament, to give their opinion touching "ſuch Church matters as the Houſes ſhould lay before "them; they had no power of themſelves to make Laws "or Canons, or to determine controverſies in matters of "Faith, They were to enter upon no buſineſs but what "the Parliament appointed, and when they had done they "were to offer it to the two Houſes only as their humble "Advice; and ſurely the Parliament might chooſe their "own Council, without being obliged to depend upon the "nomination of the Clergy.

Obj. 3. "But as great an exception as any, was their "diſlike of the Company, and of the Buſineſs they were to "tranſact; there was a Mixture of Laity with the Cler-"gy; the Divines were for the moſt part of a puritanical "Stamp, and enemies to the Hierarchy: and their buſi-"neſs (they apprehended) was to pull down that which "they would uphold.

Anſw, "This being not deſigned for a legal Convo-"cation, but for a Council to the Parliament in the "Reformation of the Church, they apprehended they "had a power to join ſome of their own Members with "ſuch

" such a Committee or Council, without intrenching upon " the Rights of Convocation.—The Divines, except the " Scots and French, were in Episcopal Orders, educated " in our own Universities, and most of them Graduates; " their business was only to advise about such points of " Doctrine and Church Discipline as should be laid before " them, in which the Episcopal Divines might have been " of service, if they had continued with the Assembly, to " which they were most earnestly invited." King Charles I. 1643.

I believe no set of Clergy since the beginning of Christianity have suffered so much in their Characters and Reputations, as these, for their Advices to the two Houses of Parliament. In his Majesty's Proclamation of June 22, the far greatest part of them are said to be men of no Learning or Reputation. Lord Clarendon admits, " about twen- " ty of them were reverend and worthy persons, and Epis- " copal in their Judgments; but as to the Remainder, " they were but Pretenders in Divinity; some were infa- " mous in their Lives and Conversations, and most of " them of very mean parts and learning, if not of scanda- " lous Ignorance, and of no other Reputation than of " Malice to the Church of England." His Lordship would insinuate, that they understood not the original Text, because the learned Mr. Selden sometimes corrected the English Translation of their little Pocket Bibles, and put them into confusion, by his uncommon acquaintance with Jewish Antiquities; as if that great Man would have treated a Convocation with no more decency or respect. But Archbishop Laud's account is still more extravagant; for though 'tis notorious the Assembly would not allow a toleration to those whom they called Sectaries, yet his Grace says, " The greatest part of them were Brownists, or In- " dependants or New England Ministers, if not worse, or " at best enemies to the Doctrine and Discipline of the " Church of England;" whereas in truth there were not above six Independants in the Assembly, and not one New England Minister that I know of. If the Reader will carefully peruse the List, he will find in it some of the most considerable Lawyers and ablest Divines of the last age; and though they might have mistaken notions of Church Discipline, and were no better acquainted with the Rights of Conscience and private Judgment, than their predecessors the Bishops, yet with all their faults, impartial Posterity will admit the far greatest number were Men of exemplary Piety and Devotion, who had a real zeal for the Character of the Assembly. Vol. I. p. 530.

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Glory of God, and the Purity of the Chriſtian Faith and Practice. Mr. Eachard confeſſes, that Lord Clarendon had perhaps, with too much ſeverity ſaid, that ſome of theſe Divines were infamous in their Lives and Characters; but Mr. Baxter, who was better acquainted with them than his Lordſhip, or any of his followers, adds, "That they "were Men of eminent Learning, Godlineſs, miniſterial "Abilities, and Fidelity."

The Aſſembly opens.

The Aſſembly was opened on Saturday July 1, with a Sermon preached by Dr. Twiſſe in King Henry the VIIth's Chapel, both Houſes of Parliament being preſent. The Ordinance for their Convention was then read, and the names of the Members called over, after which they adjourned to Monday, aud agreed on the following Rules.

Rules agreed to by the Aſſembly.

(1.) "That every Seſſion begin and end with Prayer.

(2.) "That after the firſt Prayer the Names of the Aſ-"ſembly be called over, and thoſe that are abſent marked; "but if any Member comes in afterwards he ſhall have "liberty to give in his name to the Scribes.

(3.) "That every Member before his admiſſion to ſit and "vote do take the following Vow or Proteſtation.

"I A. B. do ſeriouſly and ſolemnly, in the Preſence of "Almighty God, declare that in this Aſſembly whereof "I am Member, I will not maintain any thing in matter "of Doctrine but what I believe in my Conſcience to be "moſt agreeable to the Word of God; or in point of "Diſcipline, but what I ſhall conceive to conduce moſt "to the Glory of God, and the Good and Peace of his "Church."

And to refreſh their Memories this Proteſtation was read in the Aſſembly every Monday Morning.

(4.) "That the appointed hour of Meeting be ten in "the Morning; the Afternoon to be reſerved for Com-"mittees.

(5.) "That three of the Members of the Aſſembly be "appointed weekly as Chaplains, one to the Houſe of "Lords, another to the Houſe of Commons, and a third "to the Committee of both Kingdoms." The uſual Method was to take it by turns, and every Friday the Chaplains were appointed for the following Week.

(6.)

(6.) " That all the Members of the Aſſembly have li- " berty to be covered, except the Scribes ;" who ſome time after had alſo this Liberty indulged them. King Charles I. 1643.

Beſides theſe, the Parliament on Thurſday following ſent them ſome further Regulations. As,

Regulations ſent them by the Parliament.

(1.) " That two Aſſeſſors be joined with the Prolocutor, " to ſupply his Place in caſe of Abſence or Sickneſs, (viz.) " Dr. Cornelius Burges and the Reverend Mr. John White " of Dorcheſter.

(2.) " That Scribes be appointed, who are not to vote " in the Aſſembly, viz. the Reverend Mr. Roborough and " Mr. Byfield.

(3.) " That every Member at his firſt entrance into the " Aſſembly take the forementioned Proteſtation.

(4.) " That no Reſolution be given upon any Queſtion " the ſame day wherein it was firſt propoſed.

(5.) " What any Man undertakes to prove as a neceſſary " Truth in Religion he ſhall make good from the Holy " Scriptures.

(6.) " No Man ſhall proceed in any diſpute, after the " Prolocutor has enjoined him ſilence, unleſs the Aſſembly " deſire he may go on.

(7.) " No Man ſhall be denied the liberty of entering his " Diſſent from the Aſſembly, with his Reaſons for it, after " the point has been debated ; from whence it ſhall be " tranſmitted to Parliament, when either Houſe ſhall " require it.

(8.) " All things agreed upon, and prepared for the " Parliament, ſhall be openly read, and allowed in the " Aſſembly, and then offered as their Judgment, if the " Majority aſſent ; provided, that the opinions of the " Perſons diſſenting, with their Reaſons, be annexed, if " they deſire it, and the Solution of thoſe Reaſons by the " Aſſembly."

The Proceedings being thus ſettled, the Parliament ſent the Aſſembly an Order to review the XXXIX Articles of the Church ; but before they enter'd upon buſineſs they petitioned the two Houſes for a Faſt. Upon which Biſhop Kennet paſſes the following ſevere Cenſure, " Impartially " ſpeaking, 'tis ſtufft with Schiſm, Sedition and Cruelty," I will therefore ſet the Subſtance of the Petition before the Reader in their own Language, that he may form his own Judgment upon it, and upon the State of the Nation.

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To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament,

The humble Petition of divers Ministers of Christ, in the Name of themselves, and sundry others,

Humbly sheweth,

Assembly's Petition for a Fast. Rushw. Vol. V. P. 344.

"THAT your Petitioners upon serious consideration, "and deep Sense of God's heavy Wrath lying upon "us, and hanging over our heads, and the whole Nation, "manifested particularly by the two late sad and unex- "pected defeats of our Forces in the North and in the "West, do apprehend it to be our duty, as Watchmen "for the good of the Church and Kingdom, to present to "your religious and prudent Consideration these ensuing "Requests, in the Name of Jesus Christ, your Lord and "ours.

First, "That you would be pleased to command a pub- "lick and extraordinary Day of Humiliation this Week, "throughout the Cities of London and Westminster, the "Suburbs of both, and places adjacent within the weekly "Bills of Mortality, that every one may bitterly bewail "his own sins, and cry mightily to God, for Christ sake, "to remove his Wrath, and to heal the Land; with pro- "fessedly new Resolution of more full Performance of the "late Covenant, for the Amendment of our Ways.

Secondly, "That you would vouchsafe instantly to take "into your most serious Consideration, how you may more "speedily set up Christ more gloriously in all his Ordinan- "ces within this Kingdom, and reform all things amiss "throughout the Land, wherein God is more specially, "and more immediately dishonoured, among which we "humbly lay before you these particulars.

1. "That the brutish Ignorance, and palpable Darkness "possessing the greatest part of the People, in all Places "of the Kingdom may be remedied, by a speedy and "strict Charge to all Ministers, constantly to catechize all "the Youth and ignorant People within their Parishes.

2. "That the grievous and heinous Pollution of the "Lord's Supper, by those who are grosly ignorant, and "notoriously profane, may be henceforth with all Christian "Care, and due Circumspection prevented.

3. "That the bold venting of corrupt Doctrines, direct- "ly contrary to the sacred Law of God, may be speedily "suppressed.

4. "That

4. " That the profanation of any part of the Lord's " day, and the days of ſolemn faſting, by buying, ſelling, " working, ſporting, travelling, or neglecting of God's " Ordinances, may be remedied, by appointing ſpecial Of- " ficers in every place for the due Execution of all good " Laws and Ordinances againſt the ſame. King Charles I. 1643.

5. " That there may be a thorough and ſpeedy proceed- " ing againſt blind Guides, and ſcandalous Miniſters; and " that your Wiſdom would find out ſome way to admit in- " to the Miniſtry ſuch godly and hopeful Men as have pre- " pared themſelves, and are willing thereunto, without " which there will ſuddenly be ſuch a ſcarcity of able and " faithful Miniſters, that it will be to little purpoſe to " caſt out ſuch as are unable, idle, or ſcandalous.

6. " That the Laws may be quickened againſt ſwearing " and drunkenneſs, with which the Land is filled and defi- " led, and under which it mourns.

7. " That ſome ſevere Courſe be taken againſt For- " nication, Adultery and Inceſt, which do greatly a- " bound.

8. " That all Monuments of Idolatry and Superſtition, " but more eſpecially the whole body and practice of Po- " pery, may be totally aboliſhed.

9. " That juſtice may be executed on all Delinquents, " according to your religious Vow and proteſtation to that " Purpoſe.

10. " That all poſſible means may be uſed for the ſpeedy " relief and releaſe of our miſerabie, and extreamly di- " ſtreſſed Brethren, who are priſoners in Oxford, York, " and elſewhere, whoſe heavy Sufferings cry aloud in the " Ears of our God; and it would lie very heavy on the " Kingdom ſhould it miſcarry, ſuffering as they do for the " Cauſe of God.

" That ſo God, who is now by the Sword avenging the " quarrel of his Covenant, beholding your integrity and " zeal, may turn from the fierceneſs of his Wrath, hear " our Prayers, go forth with our Armies, perfect the " Work of Reformation, forgive our ſins, and ſettle " truth and peace throughout the Kingdom.

" And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c."

Purſuant to this Petition, Friday, July 21, was appointed for a Faſt, when the Reverend Mr. Bowles and Newcomen preached before both Houſes of Parliament and the Aſſem-

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bly together; and the Faſt was obſerved with great ſolemnity in all the Churches within the limits above-mentioned.

Alterations in the XXXIX Articles.

Next day a Committee of Divines was appointed to conſider what amendments were proper to be made in the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and report them to the Aſſembly, who were ten Weeks in debating upon the firſt fifteen, before the arrival of the Scots Commiſſioners; the deſign was to render their ſenſe more expreſs and determinate in favour of Calviniſm. 'Tis not neceſſary to trouble the Reader with the theological debates; but the Articles, as they were new modell'd, being rarely to be met with, I have placed them in the Appendix, with the original Articles of the Church, in oppoſite Columns, that the Reader by comparing them may judge, whether the Alterations are for the better or not.

Appendix, No. I.

Cenſures of Antinomianiſm.

As the Aſſembly were for ſtrengthening the Doctrines of the Chnrch againſt Arminianiſm, they were equally ſolicitous to guard againſt the oppoſite extream of Antinomianiſm, for which purpoſe they appointed a Committee to peruſe the Writings of Dr. Criſp, Eaton, Saltmarſh, and others; who having drawn out ſome of their moſt dangerous poſitions, reported them to the Aſſembly, where they were not only condemned, but confuted in their publick Sermons and Writings.

Parliament and Aſſembly apply to the Scots.

At this time the intereſt of the Parliament was ſo reduced, that they were obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of the Scots. The Conſervators of the Peace of that Kingdom had appointed a Convention of the States, June 22, under pretence of ſecuring their Couutry againſt the power of the Royal Army in the North; and a general Aſſembly, Aug. 2d, to conſider the State of Religion. His Majeſty would have forbid their meeting, but that being impracticable, he gave orders to limit their Conſultations to the concerns of their own Country; but the Parliament of England ſent the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyn, Sir H. Vane, Mr. Hatcher, Mr. Darley, and two Divines from Weſtminſter, (viz.) Mr. Marſhal and Mr. Nye, with Letters to each of theſe Aſſemblies, deſiring their aſſiſtance in the War, and the aſſiſtance of ſome of their Divines with thoſe at Weſtminſter, to ſettle an Uniformity of Religion and Church Government for the two Nations. To enforce theſe requeſts they delivered a Letter from the Aſſembly, "Setting forth the deplorable condition of the Kingdom of "England, which was upon the Edge of a moſt deſperate "Precipice,

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 463, 466, 469.

" Precipice, ready to be ſwallowed up by Satan and his " inſtruments ; they repreſent the cruelty of their Ene- " mies againſt ſuch as fall into their hands, being armed " againſt them, not only as Men, but as Chriſtians, as " Proteſtants, and as Reformers ; and that if they ſhould " be given up to their rage, they fear it will endanger the " ſafety of all the Proteſtant Churches. In a deeper ſenſe " of this danger (ſay they) than we can expreſs, we addreſs " you in the Bowels of Chriſt, for your moſt fervent Pray- " ers and Advice, what further to do for the making our " own and the Kingdom's peace with God, and for the " uniting the Proteſtant Party more firmly, that we may all " ſerve God with one conſent, and ſtand up againſt Anti- " chriſt as one Man." King Charles I. 1643.

The Commiſſioners arrived at Edinburgh Aug. 9, and were favourably received by the Aſſembly, who propoſed, as a Preliminary, that the two Nations ſhould enter into a perpetual Covenant for themſelves and their Poſterity, that all things might be done in God's Houſe according to his Will ; and having appointed ſome of their number to conſult with the Engliſh Commiſſioners about a proper form, they choſe Delegates for the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, and unanimouſly adviſed the Convention of States to aſſiſt the Parliament in the War, for the following Reaſons.

1. " Becauſe they apprehended the War was for Religi- " on. 2. Becauſe the Proteſtant Faith was in danger. " 3. Gratitude for former Aſſiſtances at the time of the " Scots Reformation, required a ſuitable Return. 4. Be- " cauſe the Churches of Scotland and England being im- " barked in one bottom, if one be ruined the other can't " ſubſiſt. 5. The proſpect of an uniformity between the " two Kingdoms in Diſcipline and Worſhip will ſtrengthen " the Proteſtant Intereſt at home and abroad. 6. The " preſent Parliament had been friendly to the Scots, and " might be ſo again. 7. Though the King had ſo lately " eſtabliſhed their Religion according to their deſires, yet " they could not confide in his Royal Declarations, having " ſo often found " facta verbis contraria." Reaſons of the G. Aſſembly of Scotland for aſſiſting the Engliſh Parliament. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 472.

The Inſtructions of the Commiſſioners ſent to the Aſſembly at Weſtminſter, were to promote the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Hereſy, Schiſm, Scepticiſm and Idolatry, and to endeavour an Union between the two Kingdoms in one Confeſſion of Faith, one form of Church Government, and one Directory of Worſhip.

King Charles I. 1643.

The Committee for drawing up the ſolemn League and Covenant delivered it into the Aſſembly, Aug. 17, where it was read, and highly applauded, by the Miniſters and Lay-Elders, none oppoſing it but the King's Commiſſioners; ſo that it paſs'd both the Aſſembly and Convention in one day, and was diſpatched next morning to Weſtminſter, with a letter to the two Houſes, wiſhing that it might be confirmed, and ſolemnly ſworn, and ſubſcribed in both Kingdoms, as the ſureſt and ſtricteſt Obligation to make them ſtand and fall together in the cauſe of Religion and Liberty.

Committee appointed to frame a Solemn League and Covenant. Hamil. M. p. 239.

Mr. Marſhal and Nye's Letter to the Aſſembly at Weſtminſter.

Mr. Marſhal and Nye in their letter to the Aſſembly of Aug. 18, aſſure their Brethren, the Scots Clergy were entirely on the ſide of the Parliament in this quarrel, againſt the Popiſh and Epiſcopal Faction; that there were between twenty and thirty of the prime Nobility preſent when the Covenant paſs'd the Convention; and that even the King's Commiſſioners confeſſed, that in their private capacity they were for it, though as his Majeſty's Commiſſioners they were bound to oppoſe it. So that if the Engliſh Parliament (ſay they) comply with the form of this Covenant, we are perſwaded the whole body of the Scots Kingdom will live and die with them, and ſpeedily come to their aſſiſtance.

Debates upon it.

When their Commiſſioners arrived at London they preſented the Covenant to the two Houſes, who referred it to the Aſſembly of Divines, where it met with ſome little oppoſition; Dr. Featly declared, he durſt not abjure Prelacy abſolutely, becauſe he had ſworn to obey his Biſhop in all things lawful and honeſt, and therefore propoſed to qualify the ſecond Article thus, "I will endeavour the extirpation "of Popery, and all Antichriſtian, Tyrannical, or Inde- "pendent Prelacy;" but it was carried againſt him. Dr. Burges objected to ſeveral Articles, and was not without ſome difficulty perſuaded to ſubſcribe, after he had been ſuſpended. The Prolocutor, Mr. Gataker, and many others, declared for primitive Epiſcopacy, or for "One "ſtated Preſident with his Preſbyters to govern every "Church;" and refuſed to ſubſcribe till a Parentheſis was inſerted, declaring what ſort of Prelacy was to be abjured, (viz.) [Church Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other eccleſiaſtical Officers depending upon them.] The Scots, who had been introduced into the Aſſembly Sept. 15, were for abjuring Epiſcopacy as ſimply unlawful, but the Engliſh Divines were generally againſt it.

Calamy's Abridg. p. 81.

Biſhop

Biſhop Burnet ſays, our Commiſſioners preſſed chiefly for a Civil League, but the Scots would have a Religious One, to which the Engliſh were obliged to yield, but took care, at the ſame time, to leave a Door open for a Latitude of Interpretation. Sir Henry Vane put the Word League into the Title, as thinking that might be broken ſooner than a Covenant; and in the firſt Article he inſerted that general phraſe, of Reforming "according to the Word of "God;" by which the Engliſh thought themſelves ſecure, from the Inroads of Preſbytery; but the Scots relied upon the next Words, "And according to the Practice of the beſt "Reformed Churches;" in which they were confident their Diſcipline muſt be included. When Mr. Coleman read the Covenant before the Houſe of Lords, in order to their ſubſcribing it, he declared, That by Prelacy all ſorts of Epiſcopacy was not intended, but only the Form therein deſcribed. Thus the wiſe Men on both ſides endeavoured to outwit each other in wording the Articles; and with theſe ſlight amendments the Covenant paſſed the Aſſembly, and both Houſes of Parliament; and by an order dated September 21. was printed and publiſhed as follows:

King Charles I. 1643.

Hamil. M. p. 237, 240.

A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.

"WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all Sorts, in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the Providence of God, living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the Honour and Happineſs of the King's Majeſty, and his Proſperity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one's private Condition is included; and calling to Mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God, againſt the true Religion, and Profeſſors thereof in all Places, eſpecially in theſe three Kingdoms, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion; and how much their Rage, Power, and Preſumption, are of late, and at this time encreaſed and exerciſed, whereof the deplorable Eſtate of the Church "and

The Solemn League and Covenant. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 478.

King Charles I. 1643.

" and Kingdom of Ireland, the diſtreſſed Eſtate of the " Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous " Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, are pre- " ſent and publick Teſtimonies; we have (now at laſt) after " other means of Supplication, Remonſtrance, Proteſtati- " ons, and Sufferings, for the preſervation of our Lives, " and our Religion, from utter Ruin and Deſtruction, ac- " cording to the commendable practice of theſe Kingdoms " in former times, and the Example of God's People in " other Nations, after mature deliberation, reſolved and de- " termined to enter into a mutual and ſolemn League and " Covenant, wherein we all ſubſcribe, and each one of us " for himſelf, with our Hands lifted up to the moſt high " God, do ſwear,

I.

" That we ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, " through the Grace of God, endeavour in our ſeveral " Places and Callings, the preſervation of the Reformed " Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Wor- " ſhip, Diſcipline and Government, againſt our common " Enemies; the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms " of England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſci- " pline and Government, according to the Word of God, " and the example of the beſt Reformed Churches; and " we ſhall endeavour to bring the Church of God in the " three Kingdoms to the neareſt Conjunction, and Uni- " formity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, Form of Church " Government, Directory for Worſhip, and Catechiſing, " that we, and our Poſterity after us, may, as Brethren, live " in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell " in the midſt of us.

II.

" That we ſhall in like manner, without reſpect of Per- " ſons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that " is, Church Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, " their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and " Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Of- " ficers depending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſy, " Schiſm, Profaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to " be contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the Power of God- " lineſs, leſt we partake in other Men's Sins, and there- " by be in danger to receive of their Plagues; and that

" the

" the Lord may be one, and his Name one, in the three " Kingdoms.

King Charles I. 1643.

III.

" We ſhall with the ſame Reality, Sincerity and Con- " ſtancy, in our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our " Eſtates and Lives, mutually to preſerve the Rights and " Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the " Kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the King's Ma- " jeſty's Perſon and Authority, in the Preſervation and " defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the King- " doms, that the World may bear Witneſs with our Con- " ſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts " or Intentions to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power and " Greatneſs.

IV.

" We ſhall alſo with all faithfulneſs, endeavour the diſ- " covery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendia- " ries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments, by hindring the " Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his " People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or mak- " ing any Factions or Parties among the People, contrary " to the League and Covenant, that they may be brought " to publick Trial, and receive condign puniſhment, as " the degree of their Offences ſhall require or deſerve, " or the ſupream Judicatories of both Kingdoms reſpec- " tively, or others having power from them for that Effect, " ſhall judge convenient.

V.

" And whereas the Happineſs of a bleſſed Peace be- " tween theſe Kingdoms, denied in former times to our " Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God grant- " ed unto us, and has been lately concluded and ſettled by " both Parliaments, we ſhall, each one of us according " to our Places and Intereſts, endeavour that they may re- " main conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Poſte- " rity, and that Juſtice may be done on all the wilful Op- " poſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent " Articles.

VI.

" We ſhall alſo, according to our Places and Call- " ings, in this common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace

King Charles I. 1643.

" Peace of the Kingdom, assist and defend all those that " enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintain- " ing and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, " directly or indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Per- " swasion, or Terror, to be divided and withdrawn from " this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make " defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a " detestable indifferency or neutrality in this Cause which " so much concerneth the Glory of God, the good of the " Kingdoms, and honour of the King; but shall, all the " days of our Lives, zealously, and constantly continue " therein against all opposition, and promote the same ac- " cording to our power, against all Lets and Impediments " whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to sup- " press or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that " it may be timely prevented or removed.

" And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins, " and Provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, " as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, " the Fruits thereof, we profess and declare before God " and the World, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for " our own Sins, and for the Sins of these Kingdoms; espe- " cially that we have not, as we ought, valued the ines- " timable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not labour- " ed for the purity and power thereof; and that we have " not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to " walk worthy of him in our Lives, which are the Cause " of other Sins and Transgressions, so much abounding " amongst us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, " and endeavour for our selves, and all others under our " charge, both in publick and private, in all duties we " owe to God and Man; to amend our lives, and each one " to go before another in the example of a real Reforma- " tion, that the Lord may turn away his Wrath and heavy " Indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms " in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make in the " Presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all Hearts, " with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall " answer at that great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts " shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord " to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and " to bless our desires and proceedings with such Success, as " may be a deliverance and Safety to his People, and en- " couragement to the Christian Churches, groaning under,

" or

" or in danger of the yoke of Antichriſtian Tyranny, to join with the ſame, or like Atteſtation and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the enlargement of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the peace and tranquility of Chriſtian Kingdoms and Commonwealths." King Charles I. 1643.

Monday, September 25, was appointed for ſubſcribing this Covenant, when both Houſes, with the Scots Commiſſioners, and Aſſembly of Divines, being met in the Church of St. Margaret's Weſtminſter, the Reverend Mr. White of Dorcheſter opened the Solemnity with Prayer; after him Mr. Henderſon and Mr. Nye ſpoke in juſtification of taking the Covenant from Scripture Precedents, and diſplayed the advantage the Church had received from ſuch ſacred combinations. Mr. Henderſon ſpoke next, and declared, that the States of Scotland had reſolved to aſſiſt the Parliament of England in carrying on the ends and deſigns of this Covenant; then Mr. Nye read it from the Pulpit with an audible voice, article by article, each perſon ſtanding uncovered, with his right hand lifted up bare to Heaven, worſhipping the great Name of God, and ſwearing to the performance of it. Dr. Gouge concluded this ſolemnity with prayer, after which the Houſe of Commons went up into the Chancel and ſubſcribed their names in one roll of parchment, and the Aſſembly in another, in both which the Covenant was fairly tranſcribed. Lord's Day following it was tendered to all perſons within the Bills of Mortality, being read in the ſeveral Churches to their Congregations as above. Octob. 15, it was taken by the Houſe of Lords, after a Sermon preached by Dr. Temple, from Nehemiah x. 29. and an Exhortation by Mr. Coleman. October 29, it was ordered by the Committee of States in Scotland to be ſworn to, and ſubſcribed all over the Kingdom, on penalty of the Confiſcation of Goods and Rents, and ſuch other puniſhment as his Majeſty and the Parliament ſhould inflict on the Refuſers. All the Lords of the Council were ſummoned to ſign the Covenant Nov. 2, and thoſe who did not, to appear again, the 14th of the ſame month, under the ſevereſt Penalties, when ſome of the King's Party not attending were declared enemies to Religion, and to their King and Country; Nov. 17. their Goods were ordered to be ſeized, and their Perſons apprehended; upon which they fled into England. Such was the unbounded zeal of that Nation; February 2, following, the

Manner of taking it.

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 475.

Hamil. M. p. 240.

King Charles I. 1643.

the Covenant was ordered to be taken throughout the Kingdom of England, by all Perſons above the age of eighteen years; and the Aſſembly were commanded to draw up an Exhortation to diſpoſe people to it, which being approved by both Houſes, was publiſhed under the Title of

An Exhortation to the taking of the Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, and for ſatisfying ſuch Scruples as may ariſe in the taking of it; aſſented to by the Houſe, and ordered to be printed.

Die Veneris, Feb. 9, 1643.

An Exhortation to the taking the Solemn League and Covenant. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 475. Husb. Coll. p. 424.

"IF the power of Religion, or ſolid Reaſon; if Loyalty to the King, and Piety to their native Country, or Love to themſelves, and natural Affection to their Poſterity; if the Example of Men touched with a deep Senſe of all theſe; or extraordinary ſucceſs from God thereupon, can awaken an embroiled bleeding Remnant to embrace the ſovereign and only means of their recovery, there can be no doubt but this Solemn League and Covenant will find, whereſoever it ſhall be tender'd, a People ready to entertain it with all chearfulneſs and duty.

"And were it not commended to the Kingdom by the concurrent encouragement of the honourable Houſes of Parliament, the Aſſembly of Divines, the renowned City of London, multitudes of other perſons of eminent rank and quality of this Nation, the whole Body of Scotland, who have all willingly ſworn and ſubſcribed it with rejoicing at the Oath, ſo graciouſly ſeconded from Heaven already, by blaſting the Counſels, and breaking the power of the enemy more than ever, yet it goeth forth in its own ſtrength with ſuch convincing evidence of Equity, Truth, and Righteouſneſs, as may raiſe in all (not wilfully ignorant, or miſerably ſeduced) inflamed affections to join with their Brethren in this happy bond, for putting an end to the preſent Miſeries, and for ſaving both King and Kingdom from utter ruin, now ſo ſtrongly and openly laboured by the Popiſh Faction, and ſuch as have been bewitched and beſotted by that viperous and bloody Generation----

It

It then proceeds to anſwer objections againſt taking the Covenant; as,

Obj. 1. That "it obliges to the Extirpation of Prelacy, "which ſtands as yet by the known Laws of the Land.

Anſw. The Life and Soul of the Hierarchy is already taken away; nothing of Juriſdiction remaining; and ſince 'tis but a human Conſtitution, if it be found a grievance, we may certainly endeavour its extirpation in a lawful way.

Obj. 2. "'Tis ſaid to be inconſiſtent with the Oath of "Canonical Obedience.

Anſw. If Men have ſworn Obedience to the Laws of the Land, may they not endeavour by lawful means the repealing thoſe Laws, if they are found inconvenient? or, if any Miniſters have taken oaths not warranted by the Laws of God and the Land, ought they not to repent of them?

Obj. 3. "But the Covenant croſſes the Oaths of Supre-"macy and Allegiance.

Anſw. This is falſe, for it binds to the preſervation of the King's Perſon and Authority, in the defence of the Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom.

Obj. 4. "But it is done without the King's conſent.

Anſw. So was the Proteſtation of May 5, which went through the whole Kingdom, his Majeſty not excepting againſt it, though he was then at Whitehall. The ſame has been done by the united Netherlands under King Philip; and more lately in Scotland, his Majeſty himſelf declaring by Act of Parliament, that they had done nothing but what became loyal and obedient Subjects.

Dr. Barwick ſays, That ſome perſons in the Univerſity of Cambridge, publiſhed an Anſwer to this Exhortation, which I have not ſeen; but if the Reader will look forward to the year 1647, he will find the Reaſons of the Univerſity of Oxford againſt it, confirmed in Convocation, the validity of which he will judge of for himſelf. 'Tis certain moſt of the religious part of the Nation, who apprehended the Proteſtant Religion in danger, and were deſirous of reducing the Hierarchy of the Church, were zealous for the Covenant. Others took it only in obedience to the Parliament, being ſenſible of the diſtreſſed Circumſtances of their affairs, and that the aſſiſtance of the Scots was to be obtained on no other terms. But as it was a teſt of a mixed nature, and contained ſome obligations upon Conſcience, which wiſe and honeſt men might ſcru-

It is anſwered. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 35.

Rapin, Vol. XII. p. 135.

ple,

King Charles I. 1643.

ple, who were otherwise well affected to the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country; the imposing it as a test was not to be justified, though it appears most of the Episcopal Divines who made the greatest figure in the Church after the Restoration did not refuse it.

Together with the Exhortation of the Assembly, the following Orders and Instructions were dispersed over the Kingdom.

Instructions for taking the Covenant in the Country. Husb. Coll. p. 420.

Ordered, "That Copies of the Covenant be sent to "all Commanders in chief, and Governors of Towns, "Forts, Garrisons, and Soldiers, that it may be taken by "all Soldiers under their Command.

"That Copies be sent to the Committees of Parliament, "in the several Counties that are under the power of the "Parliament, and that the Committees within six Days "disperse the said Copies, and cause them to be delivered "to the Ministers, Church-wardens, or Constables of the "several Parishes.

"That the several Ministers be required to read the Co-"venant to the People the next Lord's Day after they have "prepared the People to take it.

"That the Committees of Parliament take it themselves "within seven days after they have received the Copies; "and then disperse themselves throughout their Counties, "so as three or four of them may be together at the seve-"ral places appointed for the People to take it. That "they summon all the Ministers, Church-wardens, Con-"stables, and other Officers, to that place, and after "a Sermon preached by a Minister whom they shall "appoint, they shall cause the said Minister to ten-"der the Covenant to all such Ministers, and other Offi-"cers, to be taken and subscribed in the presence of the "Committee.

"The said Ministers are then to be required to tender "the Covenant to all the rest of their Parishioners next "Lord's Day. And if any Minister refuse, or neglect to "appear at the said Summons, or refuse to take the said "Covenant, the Committee shall appoint another Minister "to do it in his place.

"If any Minister refuse to take, or tender the Cove-"nant; or if any other person refuses to take it after a "second tender, upon two Lord's Days, their names shall "be returned to the Committee, and by them to the "House of Commons; and all persons that absent them-"selves after notice given, shall be returned as Refusers.

The

The Engliſh in foreign parts were not exempted from this Teſt; directions were ſent to Mr. Strickland, the Parliament's Agent at the Hague, to tender it to all the Engliſh in thoſe Countries, and to certify the names of ſuch as refuſed. Here the Elector Palatine took it, and after ſome time came into England, and condeſcended to ſit in the Aſſembly of Divines. December 20, 1643, it was ordered by the Lords and Commons, that no perſon ſhould be capable of being elected a Common Council Man of the City of London, or ſo much as have a voice in ſuch Elections, who has not taken the Covenant. On the 29th of January, 1644, it was ordered by the Commons, that the Solemn League and Covenant be upon every day of faſting, and publick Humiliation, publickly read in every Church and Congregation within the Kingdom; and every Congregation is enjoined to have one fairly printed in a large letter, in a table fitted to be hung up in a publick place of the Church or Congregation, to be read by the people. All young Miniſters were required to take the Covenant at their Ordination; none of the Laity were continued in any Office of Truſt, neither Civil or Military, who refuſed it. When the War was ended, all the Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers who had oppoſed the Parliament, were obliged to ſubmit to it, before they were admitted to compoſition. But notwithſtanding all this ſeverity, Dr. Calamy ſays, Mr. Baxter kept his people from taking the Covenant, as fearing it might be a ſnare to their Conſciences. Nay, he prevented its being much taken in the County he lived in, by keeping the Miniſters from offering it to their People, except the City of Worceſter, where he had no great intereſt.

King Charles I. 1643. Whitlock, p. 79. Parl. Chr. p. 172. Husb. Col. p. 404. Abridg. p. 104.

The King could not be unacquainted with theſe proceedings, for the Covenant lay before the Parliament and Aſſembly almoſt a month, during which time his Majeſty took no publick notice of it; but a fortnight after it had been ſubſcribed by both Houſes, and by all the Clergy and Laity within the Bills of Mortality, he iſſued out the following Proclamation, dated from Oxford, Octob. 9, in the 19th year of his Reign.

King forbids it.

By the King.

"WHEREAS there is a printed Paper, entitled "A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation and Defence of Religion, &c." pretended to be "printed by order of the Houſe of Commons, Sept. 21, "which

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 432.

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" which Covenant, though it ſeems to make ſpecious ex-
" preſſions of Piety and Religion, is in truth nothing elſe
" but a traiterous and ſeditious Combination againſt us and
" the eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws of this Kingdom, in
" purſuance of a traiterous Deſign and Endeavour to bring
" in foreign Force to invade this Kingdom: We do there-
" fore ſtraitly charge and command all our loving Sub-
" jects, of what Degree or Quality ſoever, upon their Al-
" legiance, that they preſume not to take the ſaid ſeditious
" and traiterous Covenant. And we do likewiſe hereby
" further inhibit and forbid all our Subjects to impoſe, ad-
" miniſter, or tender the ſaid Covenant, as they, and eve-
" ry one of them, will anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt
" and extremeſt Perils."

His Majeſty ſent the like Declaration into Scotland, but the States of that Kingdom paid no further regard to it, than to ſend him the Reaſons of their Conduct, with their Advice to his Majeſty to take the Covenant himſelf.

The Influence it had on the Clergy.

Great complaints have been made, and not without ſome Reaſon, of the Execution this Teſt did upon the King's Clergy throughout the Kingdom. It was a new Weapon put into the hands of the Committees, which enabled them with more eaſe and certainty to diſcover malignant or diſaffected Miniſters; for inſtead of prodncing a number of Witneſſes, as had been the method hitherto, they now tender'd rhe Covenant, which the others refuſing, gave occaſion to the general report, that the Clergy were turned out of their Livings "only for refuſing the Covenant," whereas their Sequeſtration was grounded upon other Cauſes, or at leaſt the Articles of Immorality or Diſaffection to the Parliament, were almoſt always joined with it. When the Covenant paſſed through the Parliament Quarters, in ſome Towns it was neglected, in others the Incumbent avoided it, by withdrawing for a few Weeks, and getting another to officiate. Some that refuſed were diſplaced, and the names of thoſe who abſented were returned to the Parliament, but little or nothing came of it. The Writer of the Life of Biſhop Saunderſon ſays, that in the aſſociated Counties of Cambridgeſhire, &c. all were rejected who refuſed the Covenant, that is, all to whom it was tender'd; for though it was preſſed pretty cloſely in ſome places notorious for diſaffection, in others, that had been quiet, it was but little regarded. The Earl of Mancheſter had particular inſtructions to tender the Covenant to the Cambridge Scholars,

Scholars, and yet the Commiſſioners impoſed it only upon ſuch who had adher'd to the King, or of whoſe diſaffection they had ſufficient proof; ſeveral who behaved peaceably being permitted to keep their places, who would certainly have refuſed it. It has been obſerved, that Mr. Baxter prevented its being much taken in Worceſterſhire; and no doubt, there were men of moderation and influence who did the ſame in other Counties. Thoſe Clergymen who had declared for the King were uſually put to the trial; but reputed Calviniſts, of ſober lives, who had ſtood neuter, were frequently overlooked; ſo that the beneficed Clergy ſuffered by the Covenant, rather as Parties in the War, than as Friends of the Hierarchy. However, it being a Religious Teſt, the impoſing it was, in my opinion, unwarrantable, and a very great hardſhip, eſpecially as it was for ſome time a door of entrance into eccleſiaſtical Preferments for ſuch young Divines as had no concern in the War. A Teſt of a civil nature might have anſwered all the ends of civil Government, without burdening the conſciences of Men with what had no relation to Liberty and Property; but if the Puritan Powers bore hard upon the Loyaliſts in impoſing the Covenant, the King's Clergy were even with them at the Reſtoration, when they obliged them publickly to abjure it, or quit their Livings in the Church.

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The neceſſity of the King's Affairs having obliged him to arm the Papiſts, and commiſſion the Duke of Ormond to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms with the Iriſh Catholicks, in order to draw off his Forces from thence, his Majeſty fell under the ſuſpicion of favouring that Religion, eſpecially when it appeared that not only the Proteſtant Soldiers, but the Iriſh Rebels were tranſported with them. Mr. Whitlock ſays, ſeveral of their Officers and Soldiers came over with the King's Army; that a month or two after, eight hundred native Iriſh Rebels landed at Weymouth under the Lord Inchequin, and another party at Beaumaris, which committed great ſpoils, deſtroying with Fire what they could not carry off. Another party landed near Cheſter under the Earl of Cork, and fifteen hundred were caſt away at Sea: Theſe Wretches brought hither the ſame ſavage diſpoſition as they had diſcovered in their own Country; they plundered and killed people in cold Blood, obſerving neither the Rules of Honour nor the Laws of Arms. The Scots Forces in the North of Ireland enter'd into a Confederacy to ſtand by each other againſt the Ceſſation, the Parliament of England proteſted againſt it,

King brings over Forces from Ireland. p. 75, 76. Rapin, p. 141, 144. Clarend. Vol. II. Part I. p. 414.

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and publiſhed a Declaration informing the World, that his Majeſty had broke through his Royal Promiſe, of leaving the Iriſh War to them; they forbid all Maſters of Ships to bring over any Officers or Soldiers, on penalty of the Forfeiture of their Veſſels, and gave Letters of Mart to Merchants and others, who would fit out Ships at their own expence, impowering them to take to their own profit all ſuch Ships and Goods as they ſhould meet coming over with Soldiers or warlike Stores for the King. Next year an Ordinance was publiſhed, that no Quarter ſhould be given to any Iriſh Papiſt taken in Arms againſt the Parliament; all Officers were to except them out of their Capitulations, and upon making them Priſoners were immediately to put them to death.

Ill Conſequences of it. Ruſhw. p. 383.

This unhappy management of the King alienated the affections of great numbers of his Friends who had the Proteſtant Religion at heart; many who wiſhed well to his perſon deſerted him upon this occaſion, and made their peace with the Parliament, as the Earls of Holland, Bedford, Clare, Carliſle, Sir Edward Deering, and others; this laſt Gentleman publiſhed the Reaſons of his conduct to the World, the chief of which were, the Iriſh Ceſſation; his Majeſty's preferring popiſh Officers to chief places of Truſt and Honour; and the language of the Oxford Clergy and others, "That the King ſhould come no other way to his "Palace but by Conqueſt." There was certainly a very malignant Spirit among thoſe Gentlemen at this time, as appears by their form of thankſgiving, or rather imprecation, for the taking of Briſtol, and the Succeſs of the Earl of Newcaſtle's Army in the North; "O Lord (ſay they) tho' "our Sins cry aloud, hear them not, but look to the "Righteouſneſs of our Cauſe; ſee the ſeamleſs Coat of thy "Son torn; the Throne of thine anointed trampled upon; "thy Church invaded by Sacrilege, and thy people miſera-"bly deceived by Lyes; ſee it, O God, as ſee it thou doſt, "and vindicate what thou ſeeſt on the heads of thoſe who lead "theſe Wretches." Many of the Earl of Newcaſtle's Soldiers in the North, upon the news of the Iriſh Ceſſation threw down their Arms, and offered a Compoſition; and if we may believe the Parliamentary Chronicle, this ſingle action loſt the King all the Northern Counties. To put a ſtop to the clamours of the People, and prevent any farther deſertions, his Majeſty reſolved to ſupport his own Character as a Proteſtant, and accordingly made the following Proteſtation

Part III. p. 86.

teſtation in preſence of the congregation at Chriſt Church, Oxford, immediately before his receiving the Sacrament from the hands of Archbiſhop Uſher. King Charles I. 1643.

My Lord,

"I Eſpy here many reſolved Proteſtants, who may declare to the world the Declaration I do now make. I have, to the utmoſt of my power, prepared my Soul to be a worthy receiver, and may I ſo receive comfort from the bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the eſtabliſhment of the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any Connivance at Popery. I bleſs God, that in the midſt of theſe publick diſtractions I have ſtill liberty to communicate. And may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my Heart do not join with my Lips in this Proteſtation." King's Proteſtation. Ruſhw. p. 346. Vide Rapin, p. 169, &c.

But how inconſiſtent was this with his Majeſty's actions, when within a few days he agreed to a ceſſation with the Iriſh Papiſts for a year, and a toleration of their Religion? All men knew, that his Majeſty not only connived at Popery, but indulged it as far as was in his power; Hiſtorians therefore are at a loſs to reconcile this ſolemn appeal to Heaven with the King's Piety and ſincere Devotion. The Parliament was ſo apprehenſive of the conſequences of bringing over the Iriſh Papiſts, that by an Order of Nov. 22, they deſired the Aſſembly of Divines to write letters to the foreign Churches of Holland, France, Switzerland, and other places, to inform them of the artifices of his Majeſty's Agents; of the conſtant employment of Iriſh Rebels, and other Papiſts to be Governors, Commanders, and Soldiers in his Armies; of the many evidences of their intentions to introduce Popery; to hinder the intended Reformation, and to condemn other Proteſtant Churches as unſound becauſe not prelatical; and that the Scots Commiſſioners be deſired to join with them. In purſuance of this Order the Aſſembly wrote the following Letter, dated Nov. 30. 1643.

King Charles I. 1643.

To the Belgick, French, Helvetian, and other reformed Churches.

Right Rev. and dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ,

Assembly's Letter to foreign Churches. Rushw. P. 371.

"WE the Assembly of Divines, and others, convened "by the Authority of both Houses of Parliament, "with the Commissioners from the general Assembly of "the Church of Scotland, do heartily salute you in the "Lord. We doubt not, but the sad reports of the Mi- "series under which the Church and Kingdom of England "do bleed, and wherewith we are ready to be swallowed "up, is long since come to your ears; and 'tis probable, "the same instruments of Satan and Anti-Christ have by "their emissaries, endeavoured to represent us as black as "may be among yourselves.-----And we sometimes doubt, "whether we have not been wanting to our own inno- "cence, and your satisfaction, in being thus long silent; "but pardon us, dear Brethren, if this cup of trembling "wherewith our Spirits have been filled to amaze- "ment, and our wrestling with extream difficulties ever "since our meeting, has hinder'd from that which was our "duty; and give us leave now a little to ease our grief, "while we relate the desolation made by the antichristian "Faction, who are for hindring the work of Reformation, "and for introducing and cherishing Popery; and are now "arrived to that strength, that if the Lord do not speedily "help us, we shall be altogether laid waste by them.

"How great a hand they [the Prelates] have had, in "the miseries of other reformed Churches, in the de- "struction of the Palatinate, in the loss of Rochel, are so "fully known and felt by you all, that we need not speak "any thing of them. And we suppose their inveterate ha- "tred against you all is sufficiently manifest, in that mul- "titudes of them have refused to acknowledge any of you "for Churches of Christ because you are not prelatical, "and thereby (as they conceive) want a lawful vocation of "Ministers. Sure we are, that among ourselves, scarce "one thing can be thought of which may be supposed an "argument of their design to advance Popery, that has "not been attempted. The laws against Popery have "been suspended; Judges forbid to proceed against con- "demn'd Priests; Jesuits set free; houses of superstition "in Ireland and England have been set up and not dis- "countenanced; notorious Papists harbour'd about the

"Court

" Court and preferred; many releaſed from legal penal- King Charles I. 1643.
" ties and their proſecutors diſcountenanced; Agents have
" been ſent into Italy, and Nuncios from Rome received,
" while the moſt zealous Proteſtants have been perſecuted;
" many Prelates and Clergymen have publickly preached,
" and endeavoured to leaven the people with all points of
" Popery, except the Supremacy, and introduced abun-
" dance of corrupt innovations into the worſhip of God;
" for non-compliance with which many have been forced
" to fly for refuge to the remote parts of the World.

" They impoſed upon the Kingdom of Scotland a new
" popiſh ſervice-book and Canons, to which, when that
" Nation would not ſubmit, they prevailed with his Ma-
" jeſty to proclaim them Rebels, and raiſe an army againſt
" them, to which all the Papiſts, and thoſe who were po-
" piſhly affected, contributed; and had not the Lord, by
" his bleſſing on the Scots arms, and by the calling of this
" Parliament prevented it, the two Nations had been im-
" bruing their hands in each others blood.

" But though we hoped thaough the goodneſs of God,
" and his bleſſing apon this Parliament, whoſe hearts were
" inclined to a more perfect Reformation, that our winter
" had been paſt, yet, alas! we find it to be quite other-
" wiſe. We know our ſins have deſerved all, and if we
" die and periſh the Lord is righteous; to his hand we
" ſubmit, and to him alone we look for healing. The
" ſame antichriſtian Faction not being diſcouraged, by their
" want of ſucceſs in Scotland, have ſtirred up a bloody Re-
" bellion in Ireland, wherein above one hundred thouſand
" Proteſtants have been deſtroyed in one Province, within
" a few months. They have alienated the heart of his
" Majeſty from his Parliament, and prevailed with him to
" withdraw and raiſe an Army, which at firſt pretended
" only to be made up of Proteſtants-----but ſoon after Pa-
" piſts were armed by commiſſion from the King; many
" great Papiſts were put into places of publick command,
" and the body of all the Papiſts have joined his Majeſty
" with all their might; they profeſs and exerciſe their reli-
" gion publickly in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, and go
" up and down plundering, murdering, and ſpoiling the
" goods of all ſuch as adhere to the Parliament, and to the
" cauſe of Religion. Nor has the Parliament been able,
" by their Petitions and Remonſtrances, to recover his Ma-
" jeſty out of their hands, or bring theſe men to deſerved

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" punishment, but the Sword rages almost in every corner " of this woful Land.

" And to compleat our miseries, they have prevailed with " his Majesty so far to own the Rebels in Ireland, as not " only to call them his Roman Catholick Subjects now in " arms, but to grant them a cessation of arms for a year, " and to hold what they have gotten, with liberty to " strengthen themselves with men, money, arms, ammu- " nition, &c. whereby they are enabled not only to destroy " the remnant of Protestants in Ireland, but to come over " hither, (as many of them are already) to act the same " butchery upon us.

" In the midst of these troublesome times the two Houses " of Parliament have called this Assembly, to give them our " best counsel for the reformation of the Church, requiring " us to make God's Word only our rule, and to endeavour " the nearest Conformity to the best reformed Churches, and " Uniformity to all the Churches of the three Kingdoms.----

" The Church and Kingdom of Scotland have made of- " fer of their humble mediation to the King for a Pacifi- " cation, which being rejected, both Nations have enter'd " into a mutual League and Covenant; and the Scots have " resolved to join in arms with their brethren in England, " for their mutual preservation from the common enemy, " and so far as in them lieth for the safety of their native " King. They have also sent their Commissioners hither, " for uniformity of Religion in the Churches of both King- " doms.

" And we their Commissioners do exceedingly rejoice, " to behold the Foundation of the House of God, not only " in Doctrine, but in Church Government, laid before " our eyes in a reverend Assembly of so wise, learned, and " godly Divines. And we find ourselves bound in all chri- " stian duty, as well as by our late Covenant, to join in " representing to the reformed Churches abroad, the true " condition of affairs here, against all mistakes and misin- " formations.

" And now, dear Brethren, we beg of you, First, To " judge aright of our innocence and integrity in this our " just defence; if our Enemies say, that we are risen up " in rebellion to deprive the King of his just power and " greatness, and to bring Anarchy and Confusion into the " Church of Christ, we doubt not but our Solemn Co- " venant (a Copy of which we humbly present you here- with)

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" with) will ſufficiently clear us. Let the righteous Lord " judge between us, whom we implore to help us no fur- " ther than we can plead theſe things in ſincerity.

Secondly, " That you would ſympathize with us as " Brethren, who ſuffer in and for the ſame cauſe wherein " yourſelves have been oppreſſed.

Thirdly, " That you would conceive of our condition " as your own common cauſe, which, if it be loſt with us, " yourſelves are not like long to eſcape, the quarrel being " not ſo much againſt mens perſons, as againſt the power " of Godlineſs, and the purity of God's Word. The " way and manner of your owning us we leave to your- " ſelves, only we importunately crave your fervent pray- " ers, both publick and private, That God would bring " Salvation to us; that the bleſſings of Truth and Peace " may reſt upon us; that theſe three Nations may be " joined as one ſtick in the hands of the Lord; and that " we ourſelves, contemptible builders, called to repair the " Houſe of God, in a troubleſome time, may ſee the " pattern of this houſe, and commend ſuch a platform to " our Zerubbabels as may be moſt agreeable to his ſa- " cred word, neareſt in conformity to the beſt reformed " Churches, and to eſtabliſh Uniformity among ourſelves; " that all mountains may become plains before them, and " us; that then all who now ſee the Plummet in our " hands, may alſo behold the top Stone ſet upon the " Head of the Lord's Houſe among us, and may help us, " with ſhouting, to cry, Grace, Grace, to it.

" Thus much we have been commanded to inform you " of, Reverend Brethren (and by you all faithful Chri- " ſtians under your charge) by the honourable Houſe of " Commons, in whoſe name, and in our own, we bid you " heartily farewel in the Lord."

Your moſt affectionately devoted Brethren in Chriſt,

William Twiſſe, Prolocutor,

Cornelius Burges, John White, } Aſſeſſors,

Henry Roborough, Adoniram Byfield, } Scribes,

John

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John Maitland,
A. Johnſton,
Alex. Henderſon,
Sam. Rutherford,
Rob. Bailie,
Geo. Gilleſpie,
} Commiſſioners of the Church of Scotland.

The Inſcription was, "To the Reverend and Learned "Paſtors and Elders of the Claſſes and Churches of the "Province of Zealand, our much honoured Brethren."

Hiſt. Stuarts p. 232.

Letters of the ſame import were ſent to the ſeveral Churches of the Seven Provinces; to the Churches of Geneva; the Proteſtant Cantons of Switzerland; the Churches of Heſſe, Hannaw, and Anhalt; and to the Proteſtant Congregation at Paris; all which were received with reſpect, and anſwered by the reſpective Claſſes. But the Churches of Bohemia, Tranſilvania, Poland, Sileſia, and Auſtria, and other Cities and Principalities of Germany, were not written to.

M.S. penes me.

The anſwer from the French Church in Paris was read in the Aſſembly the beginning of March; from Switzerland June 12, 1644, and from Genevn at the ſame time; from the Claſſes of Amſterdam and Gelderland June 29, and Mr. Whitlock obſerves, That the Netherland Divines expreſs'd not only their approbation of the proceedings of the Parliament and Aſſembly touching the Covenant, but deſired to join with the two Kingdoms therein.

The King apprehending himſelf miſrepreſented to the foreign Churches, in that part of the Aſſembly's Letter which inſinuates a deſign to introduce Popery, and being adviſed to vindicate his Character from that imputation, cauſed a Manifeſto to be drawn up in Latin and Engliſh, to all foreign Proteſtants; which though not publiſhed till the beginning of next year, may be properly inſerted in this place.

"CHARLES, by the eſpecial Providence of Almighty God, "King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, De"fender of the Faith, &c. to all thoſe who profeſs the "true reformed Proteſtant Religion, of what Nation, "Degree, or Condition ſoever they be, to whom this "preſent Declaration ſhall come, Greeting,

King's Reply. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 752.

"WHEREAS we are given to underſtand, that "many falſe Rumours, and ſcandalous Letters, are "ſpread up and down among the reformed Churches in "foreign Parts, by the politick, or rather the pernicious "induſtry

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" induſtry of ſome ill affected perſons, that we have an " inclination to recede from that orthodox Religion which " which we were born, baptized, and bred in, and which " we have firmly profeſſed and practiſed throughout the " whole courſe of our life to this moment; and that we " intend to give way to the introduction, and publick " exerciſe of Popery again, in our Dominions; which " moſt deteſtable calumny being grounded upon no ima- " ginable foundation, hath raiſed theſe horrid tumults, and " more than barbarous wars, throughout this flouriſhing " Iſland, under pretence of a kind of Reformation which " is incompatible with the fundamental Laws and Go- " vernment of this Kingdom: We deſire that the whole " Chriſtian World ſhould reſt aſſured, that we never en- " tertained the leaſt thought to attempt ſuch a thing, or to " depart a jot from that holy Religion, which when we re- " ceived the Crown and Scepter of this Kingdom, we took a " moſt ſolemn ſacramental Oath to profeſs and protect. Nor " does our conſtant practice, and daily preſence in the exer- " ciſe of this Religion, with ſo many aſſeverations at the " head of our armies, and the publick atteſtation of our " Barons, with the Circumſpection uſed in the educa- " tion of our royal Offspring, beſides divers other unde- " niable arguments only demonſtrate this, but alſo that " happy alliance of Marriage we contracted between our " eldeſt Daughter and the illuſtrious Prince of Orange, " moſt cloſely confirms the reality of our intentions here- " in; by which it appears, that our endeavours are not " only to make a profeſſion thereof in our own Domi- " nions, but to ſtrengthen it abroad as much as lieth in our " power.

" This moſt holy Religion of the Anglicane Church, " ordained by ſo many Convocations of learned Divines, " confirmed by ſo many Acts of Parliament, and ſtrength- " ened by ſo many royal Proclamations, together with the " Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline and Liturgy, which the moſt " eminent Proteſtant Authors, as well as Germans, " French, Danes and Swedes, Dutch and Bohemians, do " with many Elogies, and not without a kind of envy, " approve and applaud in their publick writings, particu- " larly in the Tranſactions of the Synod of Dort, wherein " (beſides others of our Divines who were afterwards Pre- " lates) one of our Biſhops aſſiſted, to whoſe Dignity all " due reſpects and precedency were given: This Religion, " we ſay, which our royal Father, of bleſſed memory,

" doth

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" doth publickly assert in his famous Confession addressed " to all Christian Princes, with the Hierarchy and Liturgy thereof, we solemnly protest, that by the help of " God, we will endeavour to our utmost power, and " last period of our life, to keep intire and inviolable ; " and will be careful, according to our Duty to Heaven, " and the tenor of our Oath at our Coronation, That all " our Ecclesiasticks, in their several Degrees and Incumbencies, shall preach and practise. Wherefore we command " all our Ministers of State beyond the Seas, as well Ambassadors as Residents, Agents and Messengers; and " we desire all the rest of our loving subjects that sojourn " in foreign parts, to communicate and assert this our " solemn and sincere Protestation, when opportunity of " time and place shall be offered."

Given in our University and City of Oxford, May 14, 1644.

Remarks. This Declaration did the King little service among foreign Protestants ; for though it assured them his Majesty would not turn Papist, it convinced them that no alteration in the English Hierarchy was to be expected. His marrying his Daughter to the Prince of Orange was perhaps the only evidence of his charity for the Dutch Reformation ; but his appeal to the education of his Children was trifling, when all the world knew they were under Popish Instructors, in pursuance of a Marriage Contract, till twelve or fourteen years of age, and had received impressions not to be easily defaced. His insinuating to the foreign Churches, that their most learned Divines preferr'd the English Hierarchy to the government of their own Countries, convinced them they ought to be more sparing of their compliments for the future, to persons that would draw such conclusions from them. As to the Synod of Dort, no precedency was given to the Bishop on account of his episcopal character, but as a Baron of the English Parliament. Nor is there any thing in the Declaration that might encourage the foreign Clergy to hope his Majesty would own their Churches, Ministers, or Sacraments, or unite with them against the common enemy of the Reformation, any more than before these unhappy troubles began.

All the Episcopal Divines left the Assembly before the bringing in of the Covenant, except Dr. Featly, who was expell'd for holding correspondence with Archbishop Usher

at

at Oxford, and for revealing their Proceedings, contrary to the expreſs Words of the Ordinance, which obliges them "not to divulge by printing or writing, or otherwiſe, their "opinions or advices, touching the matters propoſed to them "by Parliament, without the conſent of both or either "Houſes." The Doctor was a learned man, and a Calviniſt, upon which account the Aſſembly paid him great regard, and indulged him in all his Speeches in favour of Epiſcopacy, and againſt the Covenant, ſome of which were afterwards publiſhed to the World. They appointed him to anſwer a Popiſh Pamphlet called the Safeguard; and he bore a part in the Annotations on the Bible, which go under the name of the Aſſembly. Lord Clarendon ſays, the King ſent him a Letter forbidding him to ſit any longer, but that the Doctor excuſed it in a Letter to Archbiſhop Uſher, which being intercepted, he was committed priſoner to Lord Peter's houſe in Alderſgate-ſtreet, as a Spy; the Archbiſhop at the ſame time being declared uncapable of ſitting in the Aſſembly for the like Reaſon. And here was an end of all the publick concern the Epiſcopal Party had in the Government of the Church till the Reſtoration. King. Charles I. 1643.

From the time of taking the Covenant we may date the entire diſſolution of the Hierarchy of the Church, though it was not as yet ſet aſide by an Ordinance of Parliament. There were no more Eccleſiaſtical Courts, no Viſitations, no wearing the Habits, no regard paid to the Canons or Ceremonies, nor even to the Common Prayer itſelf. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by an Ordinance of May 16, had been forbid to collate any Benefices in his gift, but to perſons nominated by Parliament; for diſobedience to which he was by another Ordinance of June 10, "ſuſpended ab Officio & "Beneficio, and from all Archiepiſcopal Juriſdiction, till he "ſhould be acquitted, or convicted of the high treaſon of "which he was impeached; and as to ſuch Livings, Digni "ties, Promotions, &c. in the ſaid Archbiſhop's gift or "Collation, as are, or ſhall hereafter become void, Inſti- "tution or Induction, ſhall henceforward be given by the "Archbiſhop's Vicar General, or any other having autho- "rity on this behalf, upon the Nomination and Recom- "mendation of both Houſes of Parliament." By this extraordinary method the Reverend Mr. Corbet was inducted into the Living of Chatham, "Ratione Suſpenſionis Dom. "Guil. Archiepiſcopi Cant. & Sequeſtrationis temporalium "Archiepiſcopatus in manibus ſupremae curiae Parliamenti, "jam exiſtentis. By reaſon of the Suſpenſion of the Arch- "biſhop Diſcipline of the Church diſſolved. Parliament nominate Men to Livings.

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" biſhop of Canterbury, and the Sequeſtration of the " Temporalities of his Archbiſhoprick into the hands of " the preſent high Court of Parliament, the ſame belong- " ing to their gift." But this Ordinance was of no long continuance, for upon the ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines all Church Buſineſs went through their hands; the Pariſhes choſe their Miniſters, the Aſſembly examined and approved, and the Parliament confirmed them in their Benefices without any regard to the Archbiſhop or his Vicar. Thus the Earl of Mancheſter filled the vacant Pulpits in the aſſociated Counties; and when Lord Fairfax was authorized to ſupply thoſe in the North, by an Ordinance of Feb. 27, the Preamble ſays, " The Houſes being credibly informed " that many Miniſters in the County of York were not " only of a ſcandalous life, but having left their Churches " and Cures, had withdrawn themſelves wilfully from the " ſame, and joined ſuch forces as had been raiſed againſt " the Parliament, and aſſiſted them with Men, Money, " Horſes, and Arms; therefore it is ordained, that Lord " Fairfax be authorized to fill up their places with ſuch " learned and godly Divines as he ſhall think fit, with Ad- " vice of the Aſſembly."

Parl. Chr. Part IV. p. 128.

This created a great deal of buſineſs; for though the Aſſembly had not a Parliamentary Authority to ordain, yet the examination and approbation of ſuch Clergymen already in orders, as petitioned for ſequeſter'd Livings, being by expreſs Order of the two Houſes referred to them, they were obliged to chuſe a ſelect Committee for this work; their Names were,

Committee to examine Clergymen.

The Rev. Dr. Gouge,	The Rev. Mr. Conant,
Dr. Staunton,	Mr. Gower,
Dr. Lightfoot,	Mr. Colman,
Dr. Smith,	Mr. Hill,
Dr. Temple,	Mr. Corbet,
Dr. Tuckney,	Mr. Gataker,
Dr. Hoyle,	Mr. Herle,
Dr. Burges,	Mr. Hall,
Dr. Spurſtow,	Mr. Whitaker,
Mr. Ley,	Mr. Bathurſt,
Mr. Reynolds,	Mr. Cheynel.

The

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Their method of Examination.

The method of Examination was this; the Names of the Ministers who petitioned for Livings, or were recommended by either House of Parliament, being published in the Assembly two or three Days before the Examination, Liberty was given in that time to make exceptions to their characters; if nothing was objected they were examined by the Committee, or any five of them, who reported their qualifications to the House, upon which each Candidate received a Certificate from the Assembly to the following Effect:

"According to an order bearing date-----from the Committee of the House of Commons for plundered "Ministers, to the Committee of Divines for the Examination of A. B. concerning his fitness to be admitted to "the Benefit of the Sequestration of the Church of -----, "in the County of --------, and so to officiate in the Cure "thereof, these are to certify the said Committee of plundered Ministers, that upon examination of the said A. B. "and some trial of his gifts and abilities, we conceive him "fit to officiate in the Cure of -----, in the County aforesaid. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed "our Names."

The Scribes of the Assembly were ordered to keep a Record of all Orders and Certificates concerning Ministers recommended to Sequestrations, and to enter them in a Register Book. This continued for about a year, till the new Directory and Form of Church Government took place.

Death of Mr. Chillingworth.

Towards the latter end of this year died William Chillingworth, A. M. whom I mention not as a Puritan, but as a Witness against some of those Hardships the present Dissenters complain of; he was born at Oxford, 1602, and educated in Magdalen College, of which he became Fellow in June 1628. He afterwards turned Roman Catholick, and went to the Jesuits College at St. Omer's, but not being thoroughly satisfied in some of their principles, he returned to England, 1631, and having embraced the Religion of the Church of England, published an excellent Treatise, entitled, "The Religion of Protestants a safe "Way to Salvation," for which he was preferred to the Chancellorship of the Church of Sarum, and made Master of Wygston Hospital in Leicester. He was put into the List with other Loyalists to be created D. D. in the year 1642, but came not hither to receive that Honour. It was the

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the general opinion of the times that he was a Socinian, but in his laſt Letter at the end of his Works, he appears an Arian. 'Tis very certain he refuſed to ſubſcribe the Thirty nine Articles for ſome years after his Converſion, (1.) Becauſe he did not believe the morality of the Fourth Commandment. (2.) Becauſe he did not agree to the Damnatory Clauſes in the Athanaſian Creed, and therefore could not read the Common Prayer. He objected alſo to the twentieth Article, "Of the Churches Power to decree "Rites and Ceremonies;" to the Nineteenth Article, "That Works done before the Grace of Chriſt, &c. are "not pleaſing to God;" and indeed ſays the Writer of his Life, to the Articles in general, as an impoſition on Men's Conſciences, much like the authority which the Church of Rome aſſumes. Mr. Chillingworth bleſſes God, that when he had entertained ſome thoughts of Subſcription, two unexpected impediments diverted him from it; "For "(ſays he) I profeſs ſince I entertained it I never enjoyed "quiet day nor night, till now that I have rid myſelf of "it again; and I plainly perceive, that if I had ſwallowed "this pill, howſoever gilded over with gloſſes and reſerva- "tions, and wrapt up in Conſerves of good Intentions and "Purpoſes, yet it would never have agreed nor ſtayed "with me, but I ſhould have caſt it up again, and with it "whatſoever preferment I ſhould have gained as the "wages of unrighteouſneſs; but now I thank God, I am "reſolved, that I will never do that while I am living and "in health, which I would not do if I was dying; and "this I am ſure I would not do, and therefore whenever "I make ſuch a prepoſterous choice, I will give you leave "to believe, that I am out of my wits or do not believe in "God ———." But notwithſtanding theſe Reſolutions, he was prevailed with to ſubſcribe, by his Godfather Archbiſhop Laud, to qualify him for the abovementioned preferments. How the Pill was gilded over is not certain; the writer of his life ſays, he ſubſcribed as Articles of peace, but not of Belief. Mr. Chillingworth was a quick Diſputant, and of very high principles, for in one of his Sermons before the King he ſays, that "the moſt unjuſt and ty- "rannical Violence of Princes may not be rejected; this "being unlawful, even though Princes be moſt impious, "tyrannical, and idolatrous." But though his political Principles were high, he was low enough with regard to the Authority of Councils, Fathers, and Convocations, in Matters of Faith; and declares roundly, "That

Chill. Life, p. 370.

Chill. Letter to Dr. Sheldon, at the End of his Works, p. 5.

p. 101.

Chillingworth's Life, p. 97.

p. 162.

"That the Bible alone is the Religion of a Proteſtant." He was an excellent Mathematician, and ſerved as Engineer in Arundel Caſtle in Suſſex, where he was taken priſoner, and when indiſpoſed had the Favour of being lodged in the Biſhop's Houſe at Chicheſter, where he died Jan. 20, 1643-4. 'Tis ſurpriſing, that Lord Clarendon ſhould ſay, "The Parliament Clergy proſecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable, ſo that by their barbarous uſage he died within a few days:" When, as he himſelf acknowledged, he wanted for nothing; and by the Intereſt of Dr. Cheynel, who attended him in his Sickneſs, was courteouſly uſed. The Doctor would have reaſoned him out of ſome of his principles but could not prevail, and therefore at his Interment, after a reflecting Speech upon the deceaſed, he threw his Book, entitled, "The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation," into the grave ſaying, "Get thee gone, thou curſed Book, which haſt ſeduced ſo many precious Souls; Earth to Earth, Duſt to Duſt; get thee into the place of rottenneſs, that thou mayſt rot with thy Author, and ſee Corruption." A moſt unchriſtian and uncharitable Imprecation!

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Chill. Life, Ib. p. 314.

Ib. p. 362.

Among the conſiderable States-men who died this year, may be reckoned John Hampden, Eſq; of Buckinghamſhire, a Gentleman of good Extraction, and one of the greateſt Patriots of his age, as appears by his ſtanding Trial with the King in the caſe of Ship-money, which raiſed his reputation to a very great height throughout the Kingdom. He was not a Man of many words, but a very weighty Speaker; his reputation for honeſty was univerſal, and his affections ſeemed ſo publickly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could biaſs them. He was indeed a very wiſe Man, of great parts and modeſty, and poſſeſſed of the moſt abſolute Spirit of popularity (ſays Lord Clarendon) I ever knew. He was one of the impeached Members of the Houſe of Commons, and in the beginning of the war took the command of a Regiment, and performed the duty of a Colonel on all occaſions punctually, being a Man of great perſonal courage, not to be tired out by the moſt laborious; and of parts not to be impoſed upon by the moſt ſubtle; but becauſe he fought againſt the Court, Lord Clarendon ſays (if this be not an interpolation of the Editors) that he had a Head to to contrive, a Tongue to perſwade, and a Hand to execute any miſchief. Which is very unaccountable in one whom his Lordſhip had commended as a perſon not only of chearfulneſs and affability, but of extraordinary ſobriety

Character of Mr. Hampden.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 227.

King Charles I. 1643.

and ſtrictneſs of life. Mr. Hampden was certainly in all reſpects one of the greateſt and beſt Men of the age, and the Parliament had an irreparable loſs in his death, which happened June 24, about a week after his Shoulder Bone had been broken by a muſket ball, in ſkirmiſh with Prince Rupert's Forces in Chalgrave Field.

Character of Mr. Pym.

John Pym, Eſq; Member of Parliament for Taviſtock in all the Parliaments of King Charles I. was a Man of the greateſt Experience in Parliamentary affairs of any Man of his time. He was an admirable Speaker, and by the gravity of his Countenance and graceful behaviour, could turn the Houſe which way he pleaſed; he was a Man of buſineſs and for moderate meaſures, according to Lord Clarendon, till the King impeached him of High Treaſon. In his private life he was a perſon of true piety and exactneſs of manners; and though enclined to the Puritan party, not averſe to the Hierarchy of the Church with ſome emendations. He was one of the Lay-members of the Aſſembly of Divines, and at the head of all publick buſineſs, the fatigue of which wore out his Conſtitution, and put an end to his life, December, 8, 1643, in the ſixtieth year of his age. The news of no Man's Death was more welcome to the Royaliſts than his, who ſpread a report, that he died of the Morbus pediculoſus, to confute which his body was expoſed to publick view for many days, and at laſt interred in the moſt honourable manner in Weſtminſter Abbey. A little before his Death he publiſhed his own Vindication to the world, againſt the many Slanders that went abroad concernihg him. " He declares himſelf a faithful Son of the Pro-

Ruſhw. p. 376.

" teſtant Religion, and of the Orthodox Doctrine of the " Church of England. He confeſſes he had been for re- " forming abuſes in the Government of the Church, when " the Biſhops, inſtead of taking care of Men's Souls, were " baniſhing their Bodies into the moſt deſolate places; bring- " ing in new Canons, Arminian and Pelagian errors, and " ſuch a number of rites and ceremonies as the people were " not able to bear.——— When ſince that time they had " as much as in them lay fomented the civil differences be- " tween the King and his Parliament, abetting and en- " couraging malignants with large ſupplies of Men and Mo- " ney, and ſtirring up the people to tumults by their ſe- " ditious Sermons. For theſe Reaſons (ſays he) I gave my " opinion for aboliſhing their Functions, which, I conceive " may as well be done as the diſſolution of Monaſteries, " Monks and Friars was in King Henry the Eighth's Time.

He

" He concludes with declaring, That he was not the Author " of the preſent diſtractions; with acknowledging the King " for his lawful Sovereign, but thinks, when he was pro- " ſcribed for a traitor, meerly for the ſervice of his Country, " no Man can blame him for taking care of his own Safety, " by flying for refuge to the protection of Parliament, who " were pleaſed to make his caſe their own." King Charles I. 1643-4.

CHAP. III.

The Oxford Parliament. Progreſs of the War. Viſitation of the Univerſity of Cambridge by the Earl of Mancheſter. Committees for plundered, ſequeſtered, and ſcandalous Miniſters.

THE Campaign being over without a proſpect of Peace, both parties endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves by new and ſovereign Acts of Power. The Parliament experiencing the want of a Great Seal for many purpoſes, gave orders that one ſhould be made. They continued to liſt Soldiers, to levy taxes, and to uſe every method they thought proper to ſupport their cauſe. On the other hand, the King raiſed Contributions without Form of Law; ordered the removal of the Courts of Juſtice from Weſtminſter; and that he might ſeem to act in a parliamentary way, ſummoned the Members who had been expelled the Houſes, and all others willing to withdraw from the rebellious City of London, to meet him at Oxford, Jan. 22. 1643-4, which was, in effect, diſannulling the Act for continuing of the preſent Parliament. In obedience to the Proclamation there appeared forty nine Peers and one hundred forty one of the Houſe of Commons, not reckoning thoſe employed in his Majeſty's Service, or abſent with leave. Lord Clarendon ſays, the appearance of both houſes with the King was ſuperior in number, as well as quality, to thoſe at Weſtminſter, which muſt be a miſtake; for tho' the majority of Peers were on his ſide, Mr. Whitlock aſſures us, that upon a call of the Houſe of Commons, the very day the others were to meet at Oxford, there were preſent two hundred and eighty Members, not reckoning one hundred more, who were engaged in their Service in the ſeveral Counties. This is a very conſiderable majority, though if there had been but Forty the King could not have prorogued or diſſolved them without their own conſent. However, the Oxford Members ſtiled themſelves the Parliament, The Oxford Parliament. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 560. Clar. Rem. p. 165. Mem. p. 76.

King Charles I. 1643-4.

ment, Lord Littleton being Speaker for the Peers, and Serjeant Evers for the Commons. Their first Step was to satisfy the world they desired Peace, such a Peace, to use the King's own Words, "Wherein God's true Religi-

Rushw. p. 567, 688. Rapin, p. 202, 230. Hist. Stuarts, p. 246.

"on may be secured from the danger of Popery, Sectaries, and Innovations; the Crown may possess those just "prerogatives which may enable me to govern my People "according to Law, and the Subjects be confirmed in those "rights which I have granted them in Parliament, to which "I shall be ready to add such new Graces, as I shall find "may most conduce to their Happiness." They laid an excise upon Tobacco, Wine, Strong Waters, Ale, Cyder, Grocery, and Mercery Wares, Soap, Salt, and Butcher's Meat, and subscribed considerable Sums of Money for support of the war; they declared the Scots then entering England with an Army, traytors, and the Lords and Commons at Westminster guilty of High Treason, for inviting them, as well as for counterfeiting the Great Seal. On the other hand, the Parliament at Westminster would not acknowledge the Oxford Members, nor receive a message from them under the Character of a Parliament, but expelled them the House, except they returned to their Seats within a limited time. April 16, the King prorogued his Oxford Members to November following, when they fell under his displeasure, for advising to pacifick measures at the treaty of Uxbridge, which was then upon the carpet, and in a fair way of producing an Accommodation. This was so disagreeable to the Queen, and her Roman Catholick Counsellors, that they never left off teazing the unhappy King till he had dismissed them, and broke off the treaty; an account of which he sent her in the following Letter, which seems to breath an air of too great satisfaction,

Rushw. Vol. V. p. 383. Rapin, p. 186, 192.

King's Letter to the Queen.

Dear Heart,

"WHAT I told thee last week, concerning a good "parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on "Monday last handsomely performed; now if I do any "thing unhandsome, or disadvantageous to myself or friends, "in order to a treaty, it will be meerly my own fault.—— "Now I promise thee, if the treaty be renewed (which "I believe it will not) without some eminent good Success on my side, it shall be to my honour and advantage, "I being now as well free from the place of base and mutinous motion (that is to say, our mungrel Parliament here) "as of the chief Causers, for whom I may justly expect

"to

" to be chidden by thee, for having ſuffered thee to be vex-
" ed by them.——— King Charles I. 1644.

Mr. Whitlock ſays, this Aſſembly ſat again at Oxford, in the year 1645, and voted againſt the Directory, and for the Common Prayer; but the King's Cauſe being grown deſperate they ſoon after ſhifted for themſelves, and made their peace at Weſtminſter upon the beſt terms they could.

On the 19th of Jan. 1643-4, the Scots Army, conſiſting of twenty one thouſand Men, under the command of General Leven, croſſed the Tweed at Berwick, and enter'd England. The two Houſes ſent a Committee to meet them, which being joined by another of that Nation, was called the Committee of both Kingdoms, and were a ſort of Camp Parliament, to direct the motions of the Army, which after ſome time united with the Lord Fairfax's Forces, and with the Earl of Mancheſter, and Lieutenant General Cromwel, from the aſſociated Counties; the united Armies laid ſiege to the City of York, which Prince Rupert having relieved, occaſioned the battle of Marſton Moor, wherein the Prince was routed, with the loſs of three thouſand Men, and his whole Train of Artillery; after which the Marquis of Newcaſtle left the royal Army, and embarked with divers Lords and Gentlemen for Hamburgh; Prince Rupert retired towards Cheſter, and deſerted all the Northern Garriſons to the mercy of the Enemy, which falling inro their hands next Summer, concluded the War in thoſe Parts. Scots Army enters England. Ruſhw. Vol. VI. p. 603.

But his Majeſty had better ſucceſs in the Weſt, where being ſtrengthen'd by Prince Maurice, he followed the Earl of Eſſex, and ſhut up his Army within the narrow parts of Cornwal, ſo that he could neither fight nor retreat. Here the King invited the Earl to make his peace, but he choſe rather to retire in a boat to Plymouth, leaving his men to the fortune of War. As ſoon as the General was gone, the Horſe under the command of Sir William Balfour, bravely forced their Way through the Royal Quarters by Night; but the Foot under the command of Major General Skippon, were obliged to ſurrender their Arms, Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage, conſiſting of forty Braſs Cannon, two hundred barrels of Powder, Match and Ball proportionable, ſeven hundred Carriages, and between eight and nine hundred Arms, and to ſwear not to bear Arms againſt the King till they came into Hampſhire. This was the greateſt diſgrace the Parliament's Forces under- E. of Eſſex defeated in Cornwall. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 691, 701, 705, 710.

King Charles I. 1644.

went in the course of the War, the Foot being forced to travel in a naked and starving condition to Portsmouth, where they were supplied with new Cloaths and Arms. And now again the King made offers of such a peace, as he says, he had been labouring for, that is, to be restored to his Prerogatives as before the War; but the Houses would not submit.

Rise of the Club-Men. Rapin, p. 239.

Upon the defeat of the Earl of Essex his Majesty resolved to march directly for London, and upon the Road issued out a Proclamation, Sept. 30, requiring all his loving Subjects to appear in Arms, and accompany him in his present expedition. This gave rise to a combination of Men, distinguish'd by the name of Club-men, who got together in Worcestershire and Dorsetshire, agreed to defend themselves against the orders both of King and Parliament. Their Increase was owing to the prodigious Ravages of the King's Forces in their march. Prince Rupert was a fiery youth, and with his flying Squadrons of Horse burnt Towns and Villages, destroy'd the Countries where he came, and indulged his Soldiers in plunder and blood. In Wales he drove away the people's Cattle, rifled their Houses, and spoiled their standing Corn. Aged and unarmed people were stript naked, some murdered in cold blood, and others half hanged and burnt, and yet suffer'd to live. "Lord "Goring, the King's General of the Horse, was one of "the most finished Debauchees of the Age, and wanted "nothing but instustry to make him as eminent and successful in the highest attempts of wickedness as ever any "Man was. Wilmot, the Lieutenant General, was as "great a Debauchee as the other, and had no more regard "to his promises, or any Rules of Honour or Integrity." Sir Richard Greenville, who commanded the Army before Plymouth, is represented by the noble Historian, as having been exceeding barbarous and cruel in Ireland, hanging up old Men and Women of Quality, even though they were bed-rid, if he did not find the plunder he expected; when he came into the West he exercised all kinds of Cruelty, and would sometimes make one of the Company hang all the rest, contrary to the Law of Arms.

Character of the King's Officers. Whitl. p. 87.

Claren. Vol. II. p. 555.

P. 537.

Ib. p. 534.

And Soldiers

The licentiousness of the King's Soldiers was not inferior to that of his Officers; for having no regular pay, they committed Rapines and Plunders, without distinction of Friends or Foes; and were infamous for the most execrable Oaths, and all kinds of Impiety. "Lord Goring's Horse "(says

" (ſays the noble Hiſtorian) committed horrid Outrages " and Barbarities in Hampſhire, and infeſted the borders of " Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Devon, with unheard " of Rapines, ſo that the people who were well devoted to " the King wiſhed for the Acceſſion of any Forces to re- " deem them." They raiſed vaſt Contributions in ſeveral Counties without any other pretence but the King's ſovereign pleaſure. In Cornwall they levied ſeven hundred pounds a Week, and proportionable in other Parts. As the Army marched along the Country, they ſeized the Farmers Horſes, and carried them away without any conſideration. At Barnſtable they plunder'd the Town, and hanged the Mayor, though it was ſurrender'd upon Articles. At Eveſham the King ſent away the Mayor and Aldermen priſoners to Oxford. At Woodhouſe in Devonſhire they ſeized fourteen ſubſtantial Weſt Country Clothiers, who were not in Arms, and hanged them, by way of Repriſal for ſome Iriſh Rebels that had been executed according to the Ordinance of Parliament. In ſhort, where-ever they came they lived at free Quarter, and took but every thing they could, and therefore no wonder the Club-men united in their own defence.

King Charles I. 1644. Claren. p. 631. Claren. p. 643.

The King thought to have reach'd London before the Parliament could recruit their Army, but the two Houſes ſent immediately ſix thouſand Arms, and a Train of Artillery to Portſmouth, with new Clothing for the Corniſh Soldiers. They ordered Sir William Waller and the Earl of Mancheſter to join them, and diſpatched thither five thouſand of the City Train Bands, under the command of Sir James Harrington, by which acceſſion they were enabled to face his Majeſty's Army at Newbury, Octob. 27, and having forced the Town, which the King had fortified, after a ſmart battle they took nine of his Cannon and ſeveral Colours, but under covert of the Night his Majeſty ſecured the reſt of his Artillery in Dennington Caſtle, and marched off with his broken Army to Oxford; the Parliament Generals left a body of Troops to block up the Caſtle, being aſſured it muſt ſurrender in the Winter for want of Proviſion; but on a ſudden a Party of the King's Horſe raiſed the blockade, and carried off the Artillery to Oxford. This occaſioned great murmurings at London, and quarrels among the Generals, Eſſex, Mancheſter, and Cromwel, which ended in the new modelling of the Army, as will be ſeen under the next year.

Fight of Newbury.

King Charles I. 1644.

As the royal Army was little better than a Company of Banditti, or publick Robbers; the Parliament's were kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and grew up, for the moſt part, into great diligence and ſobriety, which (ſays Lord Clarendon) begot courage and reſolution in them, and notable dexterity in Atchievements and Exerciſes. Moſt of their Officers were Men of Religion; their Soldiers were poſſeſs'd with the belief, that their cauſe was the cauſe of God, and that they fought for the Proteſtant Religion, and Magna Charta; but ſtill there were among them men of diſſolute Lives, who fought for nothing but pay and plunder; ſtrange complaints were ſent up from Bedfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Suſſex, of the diſorders of the common Soldiers, whereupon the Parliament appointed a Committee to enquire into the Facts, and make examples of the Offenders, which put an effectual ſtop to the growing miſchief. And as the Parliament were enabled, by the inexhauſtible Treaſure of the City of London, to give their Soldiers regular Pay, they had them under ſuch ſtrict Government that they were little or no burthen to the Towns and Villages where they quartered.

Character of the Parliament Army. Vol. III. p. 384.

State of Affairs at the End of the year.

Upon the whole, though the Parliament affairs were low at the end of the year, and their Counſels divided, by reaſon of the length of the War, the King's were much worſe; for though he had triumphed over the Earl of Eſſex in Cornwall, and was Maſter of the open Country in the Weſt, he had no acceſſion of real Strength, nor had taken any conſiderable Garriſons: The Entrance of the Scots broke his Army in the North, and loſt him that part of the Kingdom, whereby the Parliament were enabled to draw off their Forces to the Weſt; but the worſt Circumſtance of all was, that his Majeſty had exhauſted all his Treaſure, and had no way of raiſing a Supply, which obliged him to connive at his Soldiers living at free Quarter; his Officers being poor, quarrel'd in the royal Preſence, and carried their Reſentments to ſuch an height, that the King himſelf could not reconcile them, which had but an ill aſpect upon the following Campaign. The Parliament Generals alſo were cenſuring each others conduct in the Houſe, on occaſion of the eſcape of the King's Artillery from Dennington Caſtle. The Earl of Eſſex's Party were charg'd with a deſign to protract the War, in order to an Accommodation, while others being weary, were for putting it to a deciſive Iſſue. In ſhort, both Parties were in Confuſion

Clar. Vol. II. p. 389, 391.

sion and Distress; they were divided in their Judgments, some being for Peace, and others for carrying on the War to the last extremity. All property was in a manner lost, the Farmers paid no Rent to their Landlords; nor could any Man be secure of his property except he buried it under ground. The Spirits of the contending Parties were as much exasperated as ever, and there was no seeing the end of their Troubles. King Charles I. 1644.

To return to the Church; the State of the controversy about Ecclesiastical Discipline was now changed; for whereas before the Entrance of the Scots the Parliament insisted only upon a "Reformation of the Hierarchy," now they were obliged to attempt "the total Extirpation of "it," and to establish another Scheme for both Kingdoms in its room; but it was a considerable Time before this could be perfected. In the mean while, they resolved to purge the University of Cambridge, which was the Head Quarters of their Forces, that they might have a Succession of Clergymen training up in the principles they had espoused. Affairs of the Church.

The Town of Cambridge was in the Interest of the Parliament, but the Colleges were so many little Garrisons for the King, and Sanctuaries of Disaffection; the University Press was at his Majesty's Disposal, and their Sermons were filled with Invectives against the two Houses. Frequent Quarrels happened between the Townsmen and Scholars, which would have ended in the Ruin of the University, had not the Parliament forbid the offering any Violence to the Colleges, Chapels, Libraries and Schools, under severe penalties. Indeed the Committee enjoined the proper Officers of the Parish to put in execution, the Ordinance for destroying the Relicks of Superstition, whereby the Paintings in Windows, Images of the Deity, and a great deal of carved Work was demolished, at which the Masters and Fellows were so incensed, that when they were ordered to repair the damages they peremptorily refused, and were fined forty Shillings a College, as the Ordinance directed. Behaviour of the University of Cambridge. Suff. Clergy, p. 168. Suff. Cler. p. 111.

The Heads of the University raised a great Clamour at this pretended Invasion of their Rights, as if the Parliament intended to seize all their Revenues, and destroy the very Fountains of Learning; whereupon the Houses published the following Ordinance, January 6, 1643-4, declaring, "That none of the Estates, Rents, and Revenues of the University, or of the Colleges and Halls respectively, Husb. Col. p. 409.

King Charles I. 1644.

" ſpectively, ſhall be ſequeſtered or ſeized upon, or in " any wiſe diſpoſed of by vertue of the Ordinance for ſe- " queſtring the Eſtates, Rents, and Revenues of Delin- " quents, but ſhall remain to the Univerſity, and the re- " ſpective Halls and Colleges, to all intents and purpoſes, as " if the ſaid Ordinance had not been made; and the Rents " and Revenues, &c. are ordered to be paid to the uſual " Receivers or Treaſurers, being approved of by the Earl " of Mancheſter, and to be applied to their proper Uſes " as heretofore. But if any of the Heads, Fellows, Scho- " lars, or other Officers, were convicted of Delinquency, " the Receiver was to pay their dividend into the hands of " the Committee of Sequeſtrations."

Cambridge Viſitation. Ordinance for the Committee of Sequeſtration. Huſb. Col. p. 415.

This Committee was founded upon an Ordinance of Jan. 22, for regulating the Univerſity of Cambridge, and removing ſcandalous Miniſters in the ſeven aſſociated Counties; the Preamble ſets forth, " That the Service of the " Parliament was retarded, the People's Souls ſtarved, " by the idle, ill-affected, and ſcandalous Clergy of the " Univerſity of Cambridge, and the aſſociated Counties; " and that many who were willing to give Evidence a- " gainſt them not being able to bear the Charges of a " Journey to London, the Earl of Mancheſter was there- " fore empowered to appoint Committees in all the aſſo- " ciated Counties, to conſiſt of ten Perſons, being Depu- " ty-Lieutenants, or ſuch as had been nominated to Com- " mittees by ſome former Ordinance of Parliament; Five " of theſe were a Quorum, and they were empowered to " call before them all Provoſts, Maſters and Fellows of " Colleges, all Students and Members of the Univerſity, " all Miniſters in any of the Counties of the Aſſociation, " all School-Maſters, that were ſcandalous in their Lives, " or ill-affected to the Parliament, or Fomenters of this " unnatural War, or that ſhall wilfully refuſe Obedience " to the Orders of Parliament, or that have deſerted their " ordinary Places of Reſidence, not being employed in " the Service of the King and Parliament. The ſaid " Committee were alſo empowered to ſend for Witneſſes, " and to examine any Complaints againſt the fore-menti- " oned Delinquents upon Oath, and to certify the Names " of the Perſons accuſed to the Earl of Mancheſter, " with the Charge and Proof, who ſhall have Power to " eject ſuch as he ſhall judge unfit for their places; to ſe- " queſter their Eſtates, Means, and Revenues, and to diſ-

" poſe

" pose of them as he shall think fit, and place others in " their room, being first approved by the Assembly of Di- " vines sitting at Westminster. He had also power to order " the Covenant to be administered where he thought fit, and " to assign the Fifths of sequestered Estates for the bene- " fit of their Wives and Children." The Ordinance makes no mention of the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church, but seems to be levelled only against those who took part with the King in the war. King Charles I. 1644.

The Earl of Manchester, who was at the Head of these Sequestrations, was in the Life time of his Father, Lord Kimbolton, and one of the impeached Members of the House of Commons: Lord Clarendon observes, " That he " was of a genteel and generous nature; that his natural " civility and good manners flowed to all Men, and that he " was never guilty of any Rudeness even to those whom he " was obliged to oppress; that he long and heartily wished " for the Restoration, and never forfeited that Grace and " Favour to which his Majesty received him after his re- " turn." The Earl repaired in Person to Cambridge about the middle of February, with his two Chaplains, Mr. Ashe and Mr. Good, and by his Warrant of the 24th instant, required the heads of the several Colleges and Halls to send him their Statutes, with the Names of all their Members, and to certify who were present, and who absent, with the express time of their discontinuance. Two days after, the Officers of each College and Hall were ordered to give speedy Advertisement to the Masters, Fellows, Scholars, &c. to repair to Cambridge by the 10th of March, in order to answer such enquiries as should be made by himself or by his Commissioners. But the Earl being informed, that this notice was too short, the time was prolonged to the 3d of April, when the Earl summoned Mr. Tunstal and Mr. Palgrave, Fellows of Corpus Christi College, to appear before the Commissioners at the Bear Inn in Cambridge, on penalty of Ejectment. Warrants of the same nature were sent to several of the Fellows of Caius, St. John's, Queen's, Peter House, Sidney, Trinity, Christ's, Magdalen, and Jesus Colleges; and to Pembrook and Clare Hall; who not appearing according to the Summons, were by a Warrant of April 8, ejected, to the Number of Sixty five. The Reasons assigned for their expulsion were, Non-residence, and not returning upon due Summons, and several other political Misdemeanors. If the parties ejected returned after this, they were required not

Character of Earl of Manchester.

Clarend. Vol. I. p. 183. Vol. II. p. 211.

Manner of his Proceeding.

Suff. Cler. p. 112.

Suff. Cler. p. 151, 160.

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not to continue in the Univerſity above three days, on pain of Impriſonment, and Confiſcation of Goods; their Names were put out of the Butteries, and the profits of their places reſerved for their Succeſſors. Not one Fellow or Student in Trinity Hall, or Katherine Hall, was turned out, but all Queen's College was evacuated.

Covenant not tendered to the whole Univerſity. Introd. Suff. Cler. p. 113.

The Covenant, which was read March 18, in the Churches and Chapels of the Town and Univerſity, and tendered to the Inhabitants and Soldiers, was not offered to the whole Univerſity, but only to ſuch of whoſe diſaffection they had ſufficient proof. Archbiſhop Tillotſon ſays, the greateſt part of the Fellows of King's College were exempted by the intereſt of Dr. Witchcott; and no doubt, others that had behaved peaceably obtained the ſame Favour. Dr. Barwick, Author of the Querela Cantabrigienſis, a famous Loyaliſt, mentions an Oath of Diſcovery for the Univerſity, like that of an Oath Ex Officio; but Mr. Fuller the Hiſtorian, about the year 1653, having requeſted an account of this Oath from Mr. Aſhe the Earl's Chaplain, he returned for anſwer, That he remembered no ſuch thing. Mr. Fuller adds, That he is upon juſt grounds daily confirmed in his Confidence, that neither the Earl of Mancheſter, nor any under him by his command or conſent, enforced ſuch an Oath.

Appeal p. 72.

Numbers ejected. Introd. Suff. Cler. p. 114.

The whole number of Graduates expelled the Univerſity in this and the following year, by the Earl of Mancheſter and his Commiſſioners, including Maſters and Fellows of Colleges, were, according to Dr. Walker, near two hundred, beſides inferior Scholars, which was ſomething more than one half; for the ſame Author tells us in another place, there were about three hundred fifty five Fellowſhips in the ſeveral Houſes of the Univerſity; above one hundred and fifty therefore kept their Places, and far the greateſt part of the reſt had deſerted their Stations and fled to the King. There were ſix heads of Colleges out of ſixteen that complied, (viz.) Dr. Bainbrigge, of Chriſt's College, Dr. Eden, of Trinity Hall, Dr. Richard Love, of Bennet College, Dr. Brownrigge, of Katherine Hall, ejected in the year 1645, Dr. Bachcroft, of Caius College, and Dr. Rainbow of Magdalen College. The ten that were ejected by the Earl of Mancheſter, March 13, or ſome little time, after, with the names of their Succeſſors, are contained in the following Table.

Suff. Cler. p. 163.

Maſters

Masters turned out.	Colleges:	Succeeded by	King Charles I. 1644.
Dr. John Cosins, from	Peter House	Dr. Laz. Seaman,	
Dr. Tho. Pask,	Clare Hall,	Dr. R. Cudworth,	
Dr. Benj. Laney,	Pembrook Hall	Mr. Rich. Vines,	
Dr. Sam. Collins,	King's College	Dr. Ben. Witchcott,	
Dr. Edw. Martin,	Queen's College	Mr. Herb. Palmer,	
Dr. Rich. Stern,	Jesus College	Dr. T. Young,	
Dr. William Beale,	St. John's Coll.	Dr. J. Arrosmith,	
Dr. Tho. Comber,	Trinity Hall	Dr. Tho. Hill,	
Dr. R. Holdsworth,	Eman. College	Dr. Ant. Tuckney,	
Dr. Samuel Ward,	Sidney College	Dr. Rich. Minshull,	
Anno 1645. Dr. Ralph Brownrigge,	Kath. Hall	Dr. W. Spurstow, and afterwards, Dr. Lightfoot.	

It has been objected to the Proceedings of the Commissioners, that they were not according to the statutes of the University; to which it was replied, That the Nation was in a State of War; that these Gentlemen were declared Enemies to the proceedings of Parliament; "They instilled into their Pupils (says Fuller) the unlawfulness of "resisting the King upon any pretence whatsoever," and preached upon these Subjects to the People. It was therefore necessary to take the education of the youth out of their hands, which could not be done any other way at present; but in all future Elections they returned to the statutes -----It has been said further, That it was a great loss to Learning, because those who succeeded were not equal to those who were ejected. If this had been true, 'tis no sufficient Reason for keeping them in their places, in a time of war, when the Constitution and Liberties of their Country were at stake. But the best way of determining this fact is by comparing the characters of both.

Reasonableness of it.

Hist. Camb. p. 170.

Walker's Attempt, p. 114.

Dr. Cosins had been sequester'd by the Parliament in the year 1640, for his high Principles, and was retired to France where he continued till the Restoration, and was then preferr'd to the rich Bishoprick of Durham: He was a learned Man, of an open, frank, and generous temper, and well versed in the Canons, Councils and Fathers.

Characters of the ejected Professors. Suff. Clergy, p. 68.

Dr.

King Charles I. 1644.

Dr. Paſke lived peaceably and chearfully under the Parliament, and was reſtored to all his Livings at the Reſtoration, except the Maſterſhip of this College, which he quitted to his Son. The Querela Cantab. ſays, he was eminent for Learning; but I don't remember that he has given any Specimens of it to the World.

Ibid. p. 141.

Ib. p. 153. Calamy's Abridg. p. 173.

Dr. Laney was firſt Chaplain to Dr. Neil, and afterwards Prebendary of Weſtminſter; he was one of the King's Divines at the Treaty of Uxbridge, and attended upon King Charles II. in his exile; after the Reſtoration he was ſucceſſively Biſhop of Peterborough, Lincoln, and Ely, and was more favourable to the Non-conformiſts than ſome of his Brethren; he has ſome Sermons extant, and a ſmall Treatiſe againſt Hobbes.

Dr. Collins was Regius Profeſſor, Provoſt of King's College, and Rector of Fenny Ditton; of which laſt he was deprived by the Earl of Mancheſter, for his ſteady adherence to the Royal Cauſe. He kept his Provoſtſhip till the year 1645, and his Profeſſorſhip much longer. He died in the year 1651, and had the reputation of a great Scholar (ſays Dr. Barwick) and his name was famous in foreign Univerſities, though he has tranſmitted very little down to poſterity.

Suff. Clergy, p. 150.

Dr. Martin was one of Archbiſhop Laud's Chaplains, and is one of Mr. White's ſcandalous Miniſters; he was accuſed not only of practiſing the late Innovations, and of being in the Scheme of reconciling the Church of England with Rome; but of ſtealing Wheat Sheaves out of the field in Harveſt on the Sabbath day, and laying them to his Tithe Stock. He was very high in his principles, and was impriſoned for ſending the Univerſity Plate to the King. After his enlargement he retired to France, and at the Reſtoration was preferred to the Deanery of Ely. Loyd ſays, he was a godly Man, and excellently well ſkilled in the Canon, Civil, and Common Law; but Mr. Prynne gives him but a very indifferent character; and Biſhop Kennet acknowledges his Principles were rigid, and his temper ſour.

Ken. Chr. p. 670.

Dr. Stern was another of Archbiſhop's Laud's Chaplains, and was impriſoned for the ſame Reaſon as the former. He afterwards aſſiſted the Archbiſhop on the Scaffold, and lived retired till the Reſtoration, when he was made Biſhop of Carliſle, and in 1664, Archbiſhop of York. He had a ſober, honeſt, mortified aſpect, but was of very arbitrary principles, and a very uncharitable temper; for when Mr. Baxter,

Suff. Clergy, p. 146.

Baxter, at the Savoy Conference, was entreating the Bishops not to cast out so many Ministers in the Nation, he made this mean remark to his Brethren, that Mr. Baxter would not use the word Kingdom lest he should own a King. King Charles I. 1644.

Dr. Beale was also imprisoned for sending the University Plate to the King; after his enlargement he retired to Oxford, and was one of the Preachers before the Court, but upon the declining of the King's cause he retired to Madrid, where he died about the year 1651. He was a man of very high principles; but if we may believe the Querela, a person of such worth, as rendered him above the reach of Commendation. Suff. Clergy, p. 148.

Dr. Comber was another of the King's Chaplains, but was imprisoned and deprived, for sending the University Plate to the King; after his enlargement he lived privately till the year 1653, when he died; he was a learned man, and of great piety and charity.

Dr. Holdsworth had been a celebrated Preacher, in the City of London, and Divinity Reader in Gresham College; he was afterwards chosen Master of Emanuel College Cambridge, and was a zealous Advocate for the King, for which he was sometimes under confinement. He attended his Majesty at Hampton-Court and the Isle of Wight, but soon after died with grief. He was a pious and charitable Man, but high in his principles, and of an hasty and passionate temper. He published but one Sermon in his Life-time, but after his death his friends published his Prælectiones, and a volume of Sermons.

Dr. Ward was one of the English Divines at the Synod of Dort, and nominated of the Committee of Divines that sat in the Jerusalem Chamber, and of the Assembly, at Westminster, tho' he never sat; he was a very learned man, and died soon after his ejectment.

Dr. Brownrigge was installed Bishop of Exeter, 1642, and deprived of his Mastership in the year 1645, for some expressions in his Sermon upon the King's Inauguration. He was an excellent man, and of a peaceable and quiet disposition; after the War he was allowed the Liberty of the Pulpit, and was chosen Master of the Temple, where he died about the year 1659.

Far be it from me to detract from the personal Merits of any of these Sufferers; or from their rank in the Commonwealth of Learning; but their political Principles, like those of Archbishop Laud, were certainly inconsistent with the

King Charles I. 1644.

the Conſtitution and Liberties of England, and expoſed them very juſtly to the reſentments of the Parliament in theſe boiſterous times.

Thoſe who ſucceeded the ejected Maſters, having been firſt examined, and approved by the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, were theſe;

And of their Succeſſors.

Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 16.

Dr. Lazarus Seaman, a very conſiderable Divine, according to Mr. Wood, a compleat Maſter of the oriental Languages, an excellent Caſuiſt, and a judicious moving Preacher. He was well verſed in the controverſy of Church Government, which made the Parliament ſend him with their Commiſſioners to the Iſle of Wight, where his Majeſty was pleaſed to take particular notice of his Abilities. He was ejected out of his Maſterſhip of Peter Houſe in 1662, and died in 1667. He printed ſeveral Sermons, and a "Vindication of the Judgment of the reformed Churches "concerning Ordination."

Dr. Ralph Cudworth is ſo univerſally known in the learned World, for his great Learning, which he diſcovered in his Intellectual Syſtem, that I ſhall only obſerve, he conformed at the Reſtoration, and a little before reſigned his Maſterſhip of Clare Hall into the hands of Dr. Dillingham, who continued in it to his death.

Dr. Richard Vines was a very learned and excellent Divine, a popular and laborious Preacher, one of the Parliament Divines at the Treaty of the Iſle of Wight, and a moſt induſtrious and uſeful Man in his College. He was turned out of his Maſterſhip for refuſing the Engagement, and died before the Reſtoration.

Dr. Benjamin Witchcott was Fellow of Emanuel College, and upon the ejectment of Dr. Collins preferr'd to the Maſterſhip of King's College, in which he continued till the Reſtoration, and then conformed. The account that Archbiſhop Tillotſon gives of him is this; "That he "was an excellent Tutor and Inſtructor of youth, and bred "up many Perſons of Quality, and others, who afterwards "proved uſeful and eminent; that he contributed more to "the forming the Students to a ſober ſenſe of Religion than "any Man of that age. He never took the Covenant, "and by his particular friendſhip and Intereſt with ſome of "the chief Viſitors, prevailed to have the greateſt part "of the Fellows of his College exempted from that Im-"poſition."

Til. Works, Vol. I. p. 277.

Mr.

Mr. Herbert Palmer, B. D. was one of the Univerſity Preachers in 1632, and Clerk in Convocation for the Dioceſe of Lincoln, at the beginning of this Parliament; he was one of the Aſſeſſors of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, and on April 11, 1644, conſtituted Maſter of Queen's College by the Earl of Mancheſter. He was very careful to appoint ſuch Perſons for Tutors of Youth as were eminent for Learning and Piety; and being poſſeſſed of a good paternal Eſtate was unbounded in his Liberality. He was a polite Gentleman, a compleat Maſter of the French Language, in which he could preach as well as in Engliſh; but his Conſtitution being infirm, he died in the year 1647, when he was but forty ſeven years of age. King Charles I. 1644. Cl. Lives, p. 183.

Dr. T. Young was an eminent Member of the Aſſembly of Divines (ſays Mr. Clarke) a Man of great Learning, of much prudence and piety, and of great ability and fidelity in the work of the Miniſtry. He was a Preacher at Duke's Place, in London, from whence he was preferr'd to the Maſterſhip of Jeſus College, where he behaved with great prudence and piety, till he was turn'd out for refuſing the Engagement. He was one of the Authors of the Pamphlet called "Smectymnuus." p. 194.

Dr. John Arrowſmith was Fellow of King's Hall, and of an unexceptionable character for Learning and Piety. He was an acute Diſputant, and a judicious Divine, as appears by his "Tactica Sacra," a Book of great Reputation in thoſe Times. He died before the Reſtoration.

Dr. Thomas Hill was Fellow of Emanuel College, and one of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter. He was firſt conſtituted Maſter of Emanuel, and afterwards removed to Trinity College, where he employed all his zeal in the advancement of Knowledge and Virtue, and in keeping up the College Exerciſes. He was twice Vice-Chancellor, and was as ſolicitous to preſerve the honour and privileges of the Univerſity as any of his Predeceſſors. He was a zealous Calviniſt, and after about ten years government of his College died in the year 1653. Cl. Lives, p. 230.

Dr. Antony Tuckney had been Vicar of Boſton in Lincolnſhire, from whence he was called up to ſit in the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter. In the year 1645, he was conſtituted Maſter of Emanuel College. In 1653, he was choſen Maſter of St. John's, and upon the death of Dr. Arrowſmith Regius Profeſſor, which place he enjoyed till the Reſtoration, when King Charles II. by Letter un- Calamy's Abrdg. p. 77.

King Charles I. 1644.

der the Hand of Secretary Nicolas, ordered him to reſign, promiſing him, in conſideration of his great pains and diligence in diſcharge of his duty, one hundred pounds per Ann. which was paid by his Succeſſor till his Death, in the year 1671. He left behind him the Character of a pious and learned Man, an indefatigable Student, a candid Diſputant, and a zealous promoter of Truth and Piety. He publiſhed ſome practical Treatiſes in his Life; and his "Prælectiones Theologicæ," with a Volume of Sermons, were printed after his Death.

Dr. Richard Minſhull was Fellow of Sidney College, and upon the Death of Dr. Ward choſen regularly, according to the Statutes, into the vacant Maſterſhip, and continued therein till the Reſtoration, when he conformed, and was confirmed in his Place, which he filled with Reputation to his Death.

Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 471.

Dr. William Spurſtow, one of the Aſſembly of Divines, and one of the Commiſſioners at the Savoy in the year 1662; he was a perſon of good learning, of a peaceable and quiet diſpoſition, and of great humility and charity. He was turn'd out of his Maſterſhip of Katherine Hall for refuſing the Engagement, and ſucceeded by the famous

Dr. Lightfoot, the moſt compleat Maſter of oriental Learning of his Age; the Doctor enjoyed this Maſterſhip, with the ſequeſter'd Living of Much Munden, given him by the Aſſembly of Divines, till the Reſtoration, when he would have reſign'd it back into the hands of Dr. Spurſtow, but he declining it, Lightfoot conformed, and upon his application to the King was confirmed in both his Preferments till his Death. His Works were publiſhed by Mr. Strype in two Volumes Folio.

Remarks.

If it ſhould be granted, that the new Profeſſors were not at firſt ſo expert in the Learning of the Schools as their Predeceſſors, that defect was abundantly ſupplied by their application and diligence in their places, for they obſerv'd a very ſtrict and ſevere Diſcipline; the Tutors were conſtant in reading Lectures not only in Term-time, but out of it; the Proctors and other Officers had a ſtrict eye over the Students to keep them within bounds, and oblige them to be preſent at Morning and Evening Prayer. The Lord's day was obſerved with uncommon rigour; there were Sermons and Prayers in all the Churches and Chapels both Morning and Afternoon. Vice and Profaneneſs were baniſhed, inſomuch, that an oath was not to be heard within the Walls of

of the Univerſity; and if it may be ſaid without offence, the Colleges never appeared more like Nurſeries of Religion and Virtue than at this time. The noble Hiſtorian confeſſes, the Univerſity of Oxford flouriſhed as much in Learning and learned Men at the Reſtoration, as before the Civil Wars, which is equally true of Cambridge. And it ought to be remember'd, that moſt of the great Divines and Philoſophers who flouriſhed in the reigns of King Charles the Second and King William the Third, owed their Education to the Tutors of thoſe times, for whom they always retained a great Veneration, though diſplaced afterwards for Non-conformity.

King Charles I. 1644.

Vol. V. p. 74.

Though the form of inducting the new Maſters was not according to the Statutes (as has been obſerved) becauſe of the diſtraction of the times, it is evident, this was not deſigned to be a Precedent for their Succeſſors, as appears by the manner of their Inveſtiture, which was this; Mr. Lazarus Seaman having been examined, and approved by the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, the Earl of Mancheſter came in perſon into the Chapel of Peter Houſe, April 11, and did there declare, and publiſh Mr. Lazarus Seaman to be conſtituted Maſter of the ſaid Peter Houſe, in the room of Dr. Coſins, late Maſter, but juſtly and lawfully ejected; requiring Mr. Seaman to take upon him that Office, putting him into the Maſter's Seat, and delivering to him the Statutes of the College in token of his Inveſtiture, ſtraitly charging the Fellows, &c. to acknowledge and yield obedience to him, "Notwithſtanding he was not "elected, nor admitted according to the ordinary courſe "preſcribed by the ſaid Statutes in this time of Diſtraction "and War, there being a neceſſity of reforming, as well "the Statutes themſelves, as the Members of the ſaid "Houſe." The Earl then gave him an inſtrument under his hand and Seal to the ſame effect, and adminiſter'd him an Oath or Proteſtation, which he took in the following words,

Form of Induction of the new Maſters.

Suff. Cler. p. 114.

Ib. p. 115.

"I Do ſolemnly and ſeriouſly promiſe, in the preſence of "Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, that du-"ring the time of my continuance in this Charge, I ſhall "faithfully labour to promote Learning and Piety in my "ſelf, the Fellows, Scholars, and Students, that do or "ſhall belong to the ſaid College, agreeably to the late "ſolemn, national League and Covenant, by me ſworn "and ſubſcribed, with reſpect to all the good and whole-"ſome Statutes of the ſaid College, and of the Univerſity

The Oath.

King Charles I. 1644.

" correſpondent to the ſaid Covenant; and by all means to " procure the good, welfare, and perfect Reformation both " of the College and Univerſity ſo far as to me appertain- " eth."

The other Maſters were introduced into their ſeveral Chairs after the ſame ſolemn manner, their Warrants bearing date the 11th, 12th, or 13th of April; but the Clauſe of the Covenant was left out by thoſe that did not take it, as in the Caſe of Dr. Witchcot, and others.

And of the Fellows. Suff. Cler. p. 114.

But the vacant Fellowſhips being more numerous were not ſo quickly filled, though the Earl took the moſt prudent method in that affair, for April 10th, he directed a paper to the ſeveral Colleges, declaring, that " his purpoſe " was forthwith to ſupply the vacant Fellowſhips, and de- " ſiring, that if there were any in the reſpective Colleges, " who in regard of Degree, Learning and Piety, ſhould " be found fit for ſuch preferment, they would, upon re- " ceipt of that paper, return him their Names, in order to " their being examined by the Aſſembly, and inveſted in " them." The perſons thus examined and preſented, were conſtituted Fellows by Warrant under the Hand and Seal of the Earl of Mancheſter, to the Heads of the ſeveral Colleges, in the ſeveral Colleges, in the following Form.

Ib. p. 115.

" WHEREAS A. B. has been ejected out of his Fellow- " ſhip in this College; and whereas C. D. has been " examined, and approved by the Aſſembly of Divines, " theſe are therefore to require you to receive the ſaid " C. D. as Fellow in the room of A. B. and to give him " place, according to his Seniority in the Univerſity, in " Preference to all thoſe that are, or ſhall hereafter be put " in by me."

MS. penes me.

I have before me the names of fifty five Perſons, who after they had been examined by the Aſſembly, were put into vacant Fellowſhips in the compaſs of the year 1644, and within ſix Months more all the Vacancies were in a manner ſupplied, with Men of approved Learning and Piety.

From this time the Univerſity of Cambridge enjoyed a happy Tranquillity, Learning revived, Religion and good manners were improved, at a time when the reſt of the Nation was in Blood and Confuſion. And though this Alteration was effected by a Mixture of the Civil and Military

Military power, yet in a little time things reverted to their former channel, and the Statutes of the Univerſity were as regularly obſerved as ever. Let the reader now judge of the candor and impartiality of the famous Dr. Barwick, Author of the Querela Cantabrigienſis, whoſe words are theſe: "Thus the Knipperdol- "lings of the Age reduced a glorious and renowned Uni- "verſity almoſt to a meer Munſter, and did more in leſs "than three years, than the Apoſtate Julian could effect "in his Reign, (viz.) broke the heart-ſtrings of Learning, "and all learned Men, and thereby luxated all the joints of "Chriſtianity in this Kingdom. We are not afraid to ap- "peal to any impartial judge, Whether if the Goths and "Vandals, or even the Turks themſelves, had over-run "this Nation, they would have more inhumanly abuſed a "flouriſhing Univerſity, than theſe pretended advancers "of Religion have done? Having thruſt out one of the "Eyes of this Kingdom, made Eloqueuce dumb, Philoſo- "phy ſottiſh; widdowed the Arts, drove the Muſes from "their ancient habitation, plucked the reverend and or- "thodox Profeſſors out of the Chairs, and ſilenced them "in Priſon or in their Graves; turned Religion into Re- "bellion; changed the Apoſtolical Chair into a Deſk for "Blaſphemy; tore the Garland from off the Head of "Learning to place it on the dull Brows of diſloyal Igno- "rance, and unhived thoſe numerous ſwarms of labouring "Bees, which uſed to drop honey-dews over all this King- "dom, to place in their room ſwarms of ſenſeleſs Drones." Such was the rant of this reverend Clergyman; and ſuch the language and ſpirit of the ejected Loyaliſts!

King Charles I. 1644.

Querela, Pref. p. 2, 26, 27. Walker's Attempt, p. 115.

While the Earl was ſecuring the Univerſity to the Parliament he appointed Commiſſioners for removing ſcandalous Miniſters in the ſeven aſſociated Counties, empowering them to act by the following Warrant.

Committee for ſcandalous Miniſters.

March 15.

"BY virtue of an Ordinance of both Houſes of Parlia- "ment, bearing date Jan. 22. 1643-4. I do autho- "rize and appoint you----, or any five of you, to call be- "fore you all Miniſters or School-maſters within the Coun- "ties of-----, That are ſcandalous in their lives, or ill-af- "fected to the Parliament, or fomenters of this unnatural "War: or that ſhall wilfully refuſe obedience to the Or- "dinances of Parliament; or that have deſerted their or- "dinary places of reſidence, not being employed in the

E. of Manchester's Warrant empowering them to act. Suff. Cler. p. 117.

King Charles I. 1644.

" ſervice of the King and Parliament, with full power " and liberty to ſend for any witneſſes, and to examine " complaints upon Oath. And you are to certify the " names of ſuch Miniſters, with the charge and proof " againſt them to me."

It is to be obſerved, that the Warrant is pointed only againſt thoſe " who were immoral, or diſaffected to the " Parliament, or had deſerted their Cures;" and was accompanied with Inſtructions, and a Letter, exhorting them to the faithful and effectual diſcharge of their truſt. The Inſtructions were to this effect.

E. of Manchester's Inſtructions to them Suff. Cler. p. 117.

Firſt, " That they ſhould be ſpeedy and effectual in executing the Ordinances, and ſit in ſuch places within " the County, that all parties, by the eaſineſs of acceſs, " may be encouraged to addreſs themſelves to them with " their complaints.

Secondly, " That they ſhould iſſue their Warrants, to " ſummon before them ſuch Miniſters and Witneſſes as " the articles preferr'd againſt them ſhould require.

Thirdly, " That the party accuſed ſhould not be preſent at the taking the depoſitions, becauſe of diſcountenancing the Witneſſes, and diſturbing the Service *; " but when the Depoſitions were taken upon oath the party accuſed ſhould have a copy, and have a day given him " to return his anſwer in writing, and to make his defence " within fourteen days, or thereabouts.

Fourthly, " They were to return both the Accuſation " and Defence to Mr. Good and Mr. Aſhe, the Earl's " Chaplains, and upon ſuch receipts they ſhould have further directions.

Huſb. Col. p. 311.

Fifthly, " If the party accuſed would not appear to " make his defence they were to certify the cauſe of his " abſence, becauſe if they were Non-reſidents, or in arms " againſt the Parliament, the Earl would proceed againſt " them.

Sixthly, " It being found by experience, that Pariſhioners were not forward to complain of their Miniſters, " though very ſcandalous; ſome being enemies to the intended Reformation, and others ſparing their Miniſters, " becauſe

* This was owing to the inſolent and unmannerly behaviour of the Clergy before the Commiſſioners; for the Ordinance of Sept. 6, 1643, appoints, That the Witneſſes ſhall be examined in their preſence; and, that ſufficient warning ſhall be given of the time and place where the charge againſt them ſhould be proved.

" becauſe they favoured them in their Tithes, and were " therefore eſteemed quiet Men; therefore they were re- " quired to call unto them, ſome well-affected men within " every Hundred, who having no private engagements, " were to be encouraged by the Committees to enquire af- " ter the Doctrines, Lives, and Converſations of all Miniſters " and School-maſters, and to give information what could " be depoſed, and who could depoſe the ſame. King Charles I. 1644.

Seventhly, " Each Commiſſioner ſhall have five ſhillings " for every day he ſits; and the Clerk to receive ſome pay, " that he might not have occaſion to demand fees for every " Warrant or Copy, unleſs the Writings were very large.

Eighthly, " Upon the ejecting of any ſcandalous, or ma- " lignant Miniſters, they were to require the Pariſhioners to " make choice of ſome fit and able perſon to ſucceed, who " was to have a Teſtimonial from the well-affected Gentry " and Miniſtry; and to take particular care that no Ana- " baptiſt, or Antinomian, be recommended.

Ninthly, " They were to certify the true value of each " Living; as alſo the eſtate, livelihood, and charge of " children which the accuſed perſon had, for his Lordſhip's " direction in the aſſignment of the fifths. And,

Laſtly, " They were to uſe all other proper ways and " methods for ſpeeding the Service."

With theſe Inſtructions the Earl ſent an Exhortation by Letter, in the following Words,

Gentlemen,

" I Send you by this bearer a Commiſſion, with Inſtruc- " tions, for executing the Ordinance, &c. within " your County. I neither doubt of your abilities, nor af- " fections, to further this ſervice, yet, according to the " great truſt impoſed on me herein by the Parliament, I " muſt be earneſt with you to be diligent therein. You " know how much the people of the Kingdom have for- " merly ſuffered in their perſons, ſouls, and eſtates, under " an idle, ill-affected, ſcandalous, and inſolent Clergy, up- " held by the Biſhops; and you can't but foreſee, that " their preſſures and burthens will ſtill continue, though " the form of Government be alter'd, unleſs great care be " taken to diſplace ſuch Miniſters, and to place orthodox " and holy men in every Pariſh; for let the Government " be what it will for the form thereof, yet it will never be " good unleſs the parties employed therein be good them- The Earl's Letter. Suff. Cler. p. 118.

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" ſelves. By the Providence of God it now lies in your " power to reform the former abuſes, and to remove theſe " offenders. Your Power is great, and ſo is your Truſt. " If a general Reformation follows not within your County, " aſſuredly the blame will be laid upon you, and you muſt " expect to be called to account for it, both here and here- " after. For my part, I am reſolved to employ the utmoſt " of my power, given to me by the Ordinance for pro- " curing a general Reformation in all the aſſociated Coun- " ties, expecting your forwardneſs, and heartily joining " with me herein." I reſt, &c.

Their Method of proceeding. Suff. Cler. p. 119.

When a Clergyman was convicted according to the inſtructions above-mentioned, report was made to the Earl who directed a warrant to the Church-wardens of the pariſh, to eject him out of his parſonage, and all the profits thereof; and another to receive the Tithes, and all the benefits into their own hands, and to keep them in ſafe cuſtody till they ſhould receive further orders from himſelf. At the ſame time he directed the Pariſhioners to chooſe a proper Miniſter for the vacant place, and upon their Preſentation his Lordſhip ſent him to the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, with an account of his character, for their trial and examination. And upon a Certificate from the Aſſembly, that they approved of him as an orthodox Divine, and qualified to officiate in the paſtoral function, his Lordſhip iſſued out his laſt Warrant, ſetting forth, that " ſuch " an one having been approved by the Aſſembly, &c. he " did therefore authorize and appoint him the ſaid ----, to " officiate as Miniſter, to preach, teach, and catechiſe in " ſuch a Pariſh during his (the Earl's) pleaſure, and then " empower him to take poſſeſſion of the Church, Parſonage " Houſes, Glebe Lands, and to receive the Tithes and " Profits, and enjoy the ſame, until his Lordſhip ſhould " take further order concerning the ſame, requiring all Of- " cers to aid and aſſiſt him for that purpoſe."

Remarks.

If the Committees obſerved theſe Articles there could be no reaſonable ground of complaint, except of the Sixth, which might be conſtrued as giving too much encouragement to informers; but the methods of conviction were unexceptionable; the perſons to be called before the Commiſſioners were ſcandalous, or enemies to the Parliament; the Depoſitions were upon oath; a copy of them allowed the Defendant, with time to give in his Anſwer in writing; then a day appointed to make his defence in preſence of

of the Witneſſes, to whom he might take exceptions; and after all, the final judgment not left with the Commiſſioners but with the Earl. The filling the vacant Benefice was no leſs prudent; the Pariſhioners were to chooſe their own Miniſter, who was to produce Teſtimonials of his Sobriety and Virtue; the Aſſembly were then to examine into his Learning and miniſterial Qualifications; and after all, the new Incumbent to hold his Living only during Pleaſure; the Parliament being willing to leave open a door, at the concluſion of a Peace, for reſtoring ſuch Royaliſts as were diſplaced meerly for adhering to the King, without prejudice to the preſent Poſſeſſor. One cannot anſwer for particulars under ſuch uncommon diſtractions and violence of Parties; but the orders were, in my opinion, not only reaſonable but neceſſary, for the ſupport of the cauſe in which the Parliament was engaged. King Charles I. 1644.

The Committees for the aſſociated Counties acted, I apprehend, no longer than the year 1644. The laſt Warrant of Ejectment mentioned by Dr. Nalſon, bearing date March 17, 1644-5, in which time affairs were brought to ſuch a ſettlement in thoſe Parts, that the Royaliſts could give them no diſturbance. The aſſociated Counties, ſays Mr. Fuller, eſcaped the beſt of all parts in this civil War, the Smoak thereof only offending them, while the Fire was felt in other Places. The chief Ejectments by the Commiſſioners in other parts of England, were in the years 1644, 1645, and till the change of Government in the year 1649, when the Covenant itſelf was ſet aſide, and changed into an Engagement to the new Commonwealth. Suff. Cler. P. 119.

'Tis hard to compute the number of Clergymen that might loſe their Livings by the ſeveral Committees during the War, nor is it of any great Importance, for the Law is the ſame whether more or fewer ſuffer by it; and the not putting it in Execution might be owing to want of power or opportunity. Dr. Nalſon ſays, that in five of the aſſociated Counties one hundred fifty ſix Clergymen were ejected in little more than a year; namely, in Norfolk fifty one, Suffolk thirty ſeven, Cambridgeſhire thirty one, Eſſex twenty one, Lincolnſhire ſixteen; and if we allow a proportionable number for the other two, the whole will amount to two hundred and eighteen; and if in ſeven Counties there were two hundred and eighteen Sufferers, the fifty two Counties of England, by a like proportion, will produce upwards of ſixteen hundred. Dr. Walker has faſciouſly Numbers ejected.

encreaſed

King Charles I. 1644.

encreaſed the number of ſuffering Clergymen to eight thouſand, even though the liſt at the end of his Book makes out little more than a fifth part. Among his Cathedral Clergy he reckons up ſeveral Prebends and Canonries, in which he ſuppoſes Sufferers without any Evidence. Of this ſort Dr. Calamy has reckoned above two hundred. If one Clergyman was poſſeſs'd of three or four Dignities there appear as many Sufferers. The like is to be obſerved in the caſe of Pluralities; for Example, Richard Stuart, L. L. D. is ſet down as as Sufferer in the Deanry of St. Paul's, as Prebendary of St. Pancras, and Reſidentiary; in the Deanry and Prebend of the third Stall in Weſtminſter; in the Deanry of the Royal Chapel; in the Provoſtſhip of Eaton College, and Prebend of Northalton in the Church of Saliſbury; all which Preferments he enjoyed (ſays Dr. Walker) or was entitled to together, and his name is repeated in the ſeveral places. By ſuch a calculation 'tis eaſy to deceive the Reader and ſwell the account beyond Meaſure. The Revd. Mr. Withers, a late Non-conformiſt Miniſter at Exeter, has taken pains to make an exact computation in the aſſociated Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeſhire, in which are one thouſand three hundred and ninety eight Pariſhes, and two hundred fifty three Sequeſtrations; ſo that if theſe may be reckon'd as a Standard for the whole Kingdom, the number will be reduced conſiderably under two thouſand. He has alſo made another computation from the County of Devon, in which are three hundred ninety four Pariſhes, and one hundred thirty nine Sequeſtrations, out of which thirty nine are deducted for Pluralities, &c. and then by comparing this County (in which both Doctor Walker and Mr. Withers lived) with the reſt of the Kingdom, the amount of Sufferers according to him, is one thouſand ſeven hundred twenty ſix; but admitting they ſhould ariſe to the number of the Doctor's names in his Index, which are about two thouſand four hundred, yet when ſuch are deducted as were fairly convicted upon oath, of immoralities of Life, &c. (which were a fourth in the aſſociated Counties) and all ſuch as took part with the King in the War, or diſowned the authority of the Parliament; preaching up Doctrines inconſiſtent with the cauſe for which they had taken Arms, and exciting the People to an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the authority of the Crown, the remainder that were diſplaced only for refuſing the Covenant, muſt be very inconſiderable; Mr. Baxter ſays, they caſt out the groſſer ſort of inſufficient and ſcan-

Ch. and Diſſenters compared, p. 52.

dalous

dalous Clergy, and some few civil men that had acted in the Wars for the King, and set up the late innovations, but left in near one half of those that were but barely tolerable. He adds further, "That in all the Counties in which he "was acquainted six to one at least, if not more, that "were sequester'd by the Committees, were by the Oaths "of Witnesses proved insufficient or scandalous, or both."

King Charles I. 1644.

Hist. of L. and Times, P. 74, 75.

But admitting their Numbers to be equal to those Puritan Ministers ejected at the Restoration, yet the cause of their Ejectment, and the Circumstances of the Times, being very different, the Sufferings of the former ought not to be compar'd with the latter; though Doctor Walker is pleased to say in his Preface, "That if the Sufferings of "the Dissenters bear any tolerable proportion to those of "the ejected Loyalists, in number, degrees, or circum-"stances, he will be gladly deemed not only to have lost "all his labour, but to have revived a great and unanswer-"able scandal on the cause he has undertaken to defend." I shall leave the Reader to pass his own judgment upon this Declaration, after I have produced the testimony of one or two Divines of the Church of England. "Who can an-"swer (says one) for the violence and injustice of Actions "in a civil War? those Sufferings were in a time of gene-"ral calamity, but these [in 1662.] were ejected not only "in a time of peace, but a time of joy to all the Land, "and after an act of Oblivion, to which common rejoicing "these suffering Ministers had contributed their earnest "Prayers, and great endeavours"——— "I must own "(says another of the Doctor's Correspondents) that though "both sides have been excessively to blame, yet that the "severities used by the Church to the Dissenters are less "excusable than those used by the Dissenters to the "Church; my reason is, that the former were used in "times of peace, and a settled Government, whereas the "latter were inflicted in a time of tumult and confusion, "so that the plundering and ravaging endured by the "Church Ministers were owing (many of them at least) to "the rudeness of the Soldiers, and the chances of War; "they were plunder'd, not because they were Conformists, "but Cavaliers, and of the King's Party." The case of those that were sober and virtuous, seems to me much the same with the Non-jurors at the late Revolution of King William III. and I readily agree with Mr. Fuller, that "moderate men bemoaned these severities, for as much "corruption was let out by these Ejectments (many scan-

Compared with the ejected Ministers in 1662.

Conform. first Plea, p. 12, 13.

Calamy's Ch. and Dissenters compared, p. 23, 24.

Hist. p. 207.

"dalous

King Charles I. 1644.

"dalous Miniſters being deſervedly puniſhed) ſo at the "ſame time the Veins of the Engliſh Church were alſo "emptied of much good Blood."

The Fifths.

We have already obſerved, that a fifth part of the Revenues of theſe ejected Clergymen were reſerved for the maintenance of their poor Families, "Which was a chriſ- "tian act, and which I ſhould have been glad (ſays the "Divine above-mentioned) to have ſeen imitated at the "Reſtoration." Upon this the Cavaliers ſent their Wives and Children to be maintained by the Parliament Miniſters, while themſelves were fighting for the King. The Houſes therefore ordained, Sept. 8, 1645. That the fifths ſhould not be paid to the Wives and Children of thoſe who came into the Parliament Quarters without their Huſbands or Fathers, or who were not bred in the Proteſtant Religion. But when the War was over all were allowed their fifths, though in ſome places they were ill paid, the Incumbent being hardly able to allow them, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of his Living, and the Devaſtation of the War. But when ſome pretended to excuſe themſelves on the forementioned Exceptions, the two Houſes publiſhed the following Explanation, November 11, 1647, (viz.) "That the Wives "and Children of all ſuch perſons whoſe Eſtates and Liv- "ings are, have been, or ſhall be ſequeſter'd by order of "either Houſe of Parliament, ſhall be comprehended "within the Ordinance which allows a fifth part for Wives "and Children, and ſhall have their fifth part allowed "them; and the Committee of Lords and Commons for "Sequeſtrations, and the Committees for plunder'd Mini- "ſters, and all other Miniſters, are requir'd to take notice "hereof, and yield obedience hereunto." Afterwards, when it was queſtion'd, whether the fifths ſhould pay their proportion of the publick Taxes, it was ordained, that the Incumbent only ſhould pay them. Under the Government of the Protector Cromwel it was ordained, that if the ejected Miniſter left the quiet poſſeſſion of his Houſe and Glebe to his Succeſſor within a certain time, he ſhould have his fifths, and all his arrears, provided he had not a real Eſtate of his own of thirty pounds per Annum, or five hundred pounds in money.

Calamy's Ch. and Diſſenters, p. 24.

Husb. Col. p. 726.

Suff. Cler. p. 100.

The Hardſhip on both Sides.

But after all, it was a hard caſe on both ſides; the Incumbents thought it hard to be obliged to all the Duties of their place, and another to go away with a fifth of the profit, at a time when the value of Church Lands was conſiderably leſſened by the neglect of Tillage, and exorbi-

exorbitant taxes were laid upon all the neceſſaries of Life. To which may be added, an opinion that began to prevail among the Farmers, of the unlawfulneſs of paying tithes: Mr. Selden had led the way to this in his book of tithes, whereupon the Parliament, by an Ordinance of Nov. 8, 1644. "Strictly enjoyned all perſons fully, truly, "and effectually to ſet out, yield, and pay reſpectively all "and ſingular Tithes, Offerings, and Oblations, Obventions, "rates for Tithes, and all other Duties commonly known "by the name of Tithes." Others that had no Scruple about the payment of Tithes, refuſed to pay them to the new Incumbent, becauſe the ejected Miniſter had the legal right, inſomuch that the Preſbyterian Miniſters were obliged in many places to ſue their Pariſhioners, which created diſturbances and diviſions, and at length gave riſe to ſeveral Petitions from the Counties of Buckinghamſhire, Oxfordſhire, Hertfordſhire, &c. praying, That their Miniſters might be provided for ſome other way. The Parliament referred them to a Committee, but came to no Agreement, becauſe they could not fix upon another fund, nor provide for the Lay-Impropriations.

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CHAP. IV.

Of the ſeveral Parties in the Aſſembly of Divines, Preſbyterians, Eraſtians, Independants. Their Proceedings about Ordination, and the Directory for Divine Worſhip. The Riſe, Progreſs, and Sufferings of the Engliſh Anabaptiſts.

BEFORE we proceed to the Debates of the Aſſembly of Divines it will be proper to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral Parties of which it was conſtituted. The Epiſcopal Clergy had entirely deſerted it before the bringing in of the Covenant, ſo that the Eſtabliſhment had not a ſingle Advocate. All who remained were for taking down the main Pillars of the Hierarchy, before they had agreed what ſort of Building to erect in its room.

Parties in the Aſſembly of Divines.

The Majority at firſt intended only the reducing Epiſcopacy to the Standard of the firſt or ſecond Age, but for the ſake of the Scots Alliance, they were prevailed with to lay

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lay aside the name and Function of Bishops, and attempt the establishing a Presbyterial Form upon the ruins of all others, which at length they advanced into Jus Divinum, or Divine Institution, derived expresly from Christ and his Apostles. But this engaged them in so many controversies, as prevented their laying the top Stone to their Building, so that it fell to pieces before it was perfected. The chief Patrons of Presbytery in the House of Commons were Denzil Hollis, Esq; Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Serjeant Maynard, Colonel Massey, Colonel Harley, John Glyn, Esq; and a few others.

Of the Erastians. Baxter's Life, P. 139.

The Erastians formed another branch of the Assembly, so called from Erastus, a German Divine of the sixteenth century. The Pastoral Office, according to him, was only perswasive, like a Professor of the Sciences over his Students, without any Power of the Keys annexed. The Lord's Supper and other Ordinances of the Gospel, were to be free and open to all. The Minister might dissuade the vicious and unqualified from the Communion, but might not refuse it, or inflict any kind of Censure; the punishment of all offences, either of a civil or religious nature, being reserved to the Magistrate. The pretended advantage of this Scheme was, that it avoided the erecting Imperium in Imperio, or two different Powers in the same civil Government; it effectually destroyed all that spiritual Jurisdiction and co-ercive Power over the Consciences of of Men which had been challenged by Popes, Prelates, Presbyteries, &c. and made the Government of the Church a Creature of the State. Most of our first Reformers were so far in these sentiments as to maintain, that no one Form of Church Government is prescribed in Scripture as an invariable Rule for future Ages; as Cranmer, Redmayn, Cox, &c. and Archbishop Whitgift, in his controversy with Cartwright, delivers the same opinion; "I deny (says he) "that the Scripture has set down any one certain Form "of Church Government to be perpetual.———Again, it "is well known, that the manner and form of Govern- "ment expressed in the Scriptures neither is now, nor can, "nor ought to be observed either touching persons or "functions.-----The charge of this is left to the Magistrate, "so that nothing be contrary to the Word of God. The "Government of the Church must be according to the "Form of Government in the Commonwealth." The

chief

chief Patrons of this Scheme in the Assembly were Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Colman, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Whitlock; and in the House of Commons, besides Selden and Whitlock, Oliver St. John, Sir Thomas Widdrington, John Crew, Esq, Sir John Hipsley, and others of the greatest Names. King Charles I. 1644.

The Independants, or Congregational Brethren, composed a third Party, and made a bold stand against the proceedings of the high Presbyterians; their numbers were small at first, but encreased prodigiously in a few years, and grew to considerable figure under the Protectorship of Oliver Cromwell. Of the Independants.

We have already related their original, and carried on their History, till they appeared in publick about the latter end of the year 1640. The Divines that passed under this denomination in the Assembly had fled their Country in the late times, and formed Societies, according to their own model in Holland, upon the States allowing them the use of their Churches, after their own Service was ended, with liberty of ringing a Bell to publick Worship. Here (as they declare) they set themselves to consult the Holy Scriptures as impartially as they could, in order to find out the discipline that the Apostles themselves practised in the very first Age of the Church; the condition they were in, and the melancholy prospect of their affairs affording no temptation to any particular bias. The rest of their history, with their distinguishing opinions, I shall draw from their Apologetical Narration, published at this time, and presented to the House of Commons.

"As to the Church of England (say they) we profess "before God and the World, that we do apprehend a "great deal of defilement in their way of Worship, and "a great deal of unwarranted power exercised by their "Church Governors, yet we allowed multitudes of their "Parochial Churches to be true Churches, and their "Ministers true Ministers. In the late times, when we "had no hopes of returning to our Country, we held "Communion with them, and offered to receive to the "Lord's Supper some that came to visit us in our exile, "whom we knew to be godly, upon that relation and "Membership they held in their Parish Churches in Eng- "land, they professing themselves to be Members thereof, "and belonging thereto. The same charitable disposition "we maintained towards the Dutch Churches among "whom Apologet. Narr. of the Independants, p. 78.

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" whom we lived. We mutually gave and received the " right hand of Fellowſhip, holding a brotherly correſpon- " dence with their Divines, and admitting ſome of the " Members of their Churches to Communion in the Sa- " crament, and other Ordinances, by virtue of their rela- " tion to thoſe Churches.

Ib. p. 12, 15. The Scheme they embraced was a middle way between Browniſm and Preſbytery, (viz.) that " every particular " Congregation of Chriſtians has an entire and compleat " power of Juriſdiction over its Members, to be exerciſed " by the Elders thereof within itſelf. This they are ſure " muſt have been the form of Government in the primitive " Church, before the numbers of Chriſtians in any City " were multiplied ſo far as to divide into many Congrega- " tions, which, 'tis dubious, whether it was the Fact in the " Apoſtles times.

" Not that they claim an entire Independency with re- " gard to other Churches, for they agree, that in all caſes " of offence the offending Church is to ſubmit to an open " examination, by other neighbouring Churches, and on " their perſiſting in their error or miſcarriage, they then Ib. p. 18. " are to renounce all Chriſtian Communion with them, " till they repent, which is all the Authority or Eccleſiaſti- " cal Power that one Church may exerciſe over another, " unleſs they call in the civil Magiſtrate, for which they " find no Authority in Scriptnre.

" Their method of publick wotſhip in Holland was the " ſame with other Proteſtants; they read the Scriptures " of the old and new Teſtament in their Aſſemblies, and " expounded them on proper occaſions; they offered up " publick and ſolemn prayers, for Kings, and all in Autho- " rity; and though they did not approve of a preſcribed " Form, they admitted that publick Prayer in their Aſſem- " blies ought to be framed by the meditation and ſtudy of " their Miniſters, as well as their Sermons; the Word of " God was conſtantly preached; the two Sacraments of " Baptiſm to Infants, and the Lord's Supper were fre- " quently adminiſter'd; to which was added, ſinging " of Pſalms, and a Collection for the Poor every Lord's " Day.

" They profeſs their agreement in Doctrine with the " Articles of the Church of England, and other reformed " Churches.

" Their

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"Their Officers, and publick Rulers in the Church, "were Paſtors, Teachers, ruling Elders (not Lay, but Eccle- "ſiaſtical Perſons, ſeparated to that ſervice) and Deacons.

"They practiſed no Church Cenſures but Admonition; "and excommunication upon obſtinate and impenitent Of- "fenders, which latter they apprehended ſhould not be pro- "nounced but for crimes of the laſt importance, and which "may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to be committed contrary to "the light and conviction of the perſon's Conſcience.

"In concluſion they call God and Man to witneſs, that p. 24, 25, "out of a regard to the publick peace they had forbore to 27. "publiſh their peculiar opinions, either from the Pulpit "or Preſs, or to improve the preſent diſpoſition of the "people to the increaſe of their party; nor ſhould they "have publiſhed that apology to the world, had not their "ſilence been interpreted as an acknowledgment of thoſe "reproaches and calumnies that have been caſt upon them "by their adverſaries; but ſhould have waited for a free "and open debate of their ſentiments in the preſent Aſ- "ſembly of Divines, though they are ſenſible they ſhall "have the diſadvantage with regard to numbers, learning, "and the ſtream of publick intereſt; however, they are "determined in all debates, to yield to the utmoſt latitude "of their conſciences, profeſſing it to be as high a point of "Religion, to acknowledge their miſtakes when they are "convinced of them, as to hold faſt the truth; and when "matters are brought to the neareſt agreement, to promote "ſuch a temper as may tend to Union, as well as Truth.

"They therefore beſeech the honourable Houſes of Par- p. 30. "liament, not to look upon them as diſturbers of the pub- "lick peace, but to conſider them as perſons that differ but "little from their Brethren; yea, far leſs than they do "from what themſelves practiſed three years ago. They "beſeech them likewiſe to have ſome regard to their paſt "exile, and preſent ſufferings, and upon theſe accounts to "allow them to continue in their native Country, with the "enjoyment of the Ordinances of Chriſt, and an indul- "gence in ſome leſſer differences, as long as they continue "peaceable ſubjects." Sign'd by

Tho. Goodwin,
Sydrach Simpſon,
Philip Nye,
Jer. Burroughs,
William Bridge.

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Remarks.

The reverend Mr. Herle, afterwards Prolocutor of the Assembly, in his Imprimatur to this Apology, calls it a Performance full of peaceableness, modesty and candor; and though he wrote against it, yet in the Preface to his Book, entitled, "The Independency upon Scripture of "the Independency of Churches," says, "The difference "between us and our Brethren who are for Independency, "is nothing so great as some may conceive; at most it does "but ruffle the Fringe, not any way rend the Garment of "Christ; it is so far from being a fundamental, that it is "scarce a material difference." But the more rigid Presbyterians attacked the Apology with greater severity; swarms of Pamphlets were published against it in a few months, some reflecting on the persons of the Apologists, and others on their principles, as tending to break the uniformity of the Church, under the pretence of liberty of Conscience. The most furious adversaries were Dr. Bastwick, old Mr. Vicars, and Mr. Edwards, Minister of Christ Church, London, who printed an Antapologia, of three hundred Pages in Quarto, full of such bitter Invectives, that the pacifick Mr. Burroughs said, "he questioned whether any "good Man ever vented so much malice against others, "whom he acknowledged to be pious and religious persons." But we shall have occasion to remember this Gentleman again hereafter.

Their Vindication, Vol. XII. p. 290.

Lord Clarendon and Mr. Eachard represent the Independants as ignorant and illiterate Enthusiasts; and though Mr. Rapin confesses, he knew nothing of their rise and progress, he has painted them out in the most disadvantagious Colours, affirming, "That their Principles were ex-"ceeding proper to put the Kingdom into a flame; that "they abhorred Monarchy, and approved of none but a "Republican Government, and that as to Religion, their "Principles were contrary to all the rest of the World; "that they would not endure ordinary Ministers in the "Church, but every one among them prayed, preached, "admonished, and interpreted Scripture, without any other "call, than what himself drew from his supposed gifts, "and the approbation of his hearers."

'Tis surprising so accurate an Historian should take such liberties with Men whose Principles he was so little acquainted with, as to say, "The Independants abhorred "Monarchy, and approved of none but a Republican Go-"vernment." Whereas they assured the World in their Apology, That they prayed publickly for Kings, and all in Authority.

Authority. This was no point of Controverſy between them and the Preſbyterians, for when they had the King in their cuſtody they ſerved him on the knee, and in all probability would have reſtored him to all the honours of his Crown, if he had complied with their propoſals. When they were reproached with being enemies to Magiſtracy, a Declaration was publiſhed by the Congregational Societies in and about London in the year 1647, wherein they declare, "That as Magiſtracy and Government in general "is the Ordinance of God, they do not diſapprove of any "form of civil Government, but do freely acknowledge, "that a kingly Government, bounded by juſt and wholeſome Laws, is both allowed by God, and a good Accommodation unto Men." And if we may believe Dr. Welwood, when the Army reſolved to ſet aſide the preſent King, the governing Party would have advanced the Duke of Glouceſter to the Throne, if they could have done it with ſafety. With regard to Religion he adds, "Their Principles were contrary to all the reſt of the World;" and yet they gave their conſent to all the doctrinal Articles of the Aſſembly's Confeſſion of Faith, and declared in their Apology, their agreement with the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, and with all the Proteſtant reformed Churches in their Harmony of Confeſſions, differing only about the juriſdiction of Claſſes, Synods and Convocations, and the point of liberty of Conſcience.—— Our Hiſtorian adds, that "They were not only averſe to Epiſcopacy, "but would not endure ſo much as ordinary Miniſters in "the Church. They maintained, that every man might "pray in publick, exhort his brethren and interpret Scripture, without any other call than what himſelf drew from "his zeal and ſuppoſed Gifts, and without any other authority than the approbation of his Hearers." But here his Annotator, Mr. Tindal, rightly obſerves, that he has miſtook the Independants for the Browniſts; the Independants had their ſtated Officers in the Church for publick prayer, preaching, and adminiſtring the Sacraments, as Paſtors, Teachers, and Elders, (who were Eccleſiaſticks) and Deacons to take care of the poor; nor did they admit of perſons unordained to any office, to exerciſe their gifts publickly, except as Probationers, in order to their devoting themſelves to the Miniſtry. The Words of their Confeſſion are; "The Work of Preaching is not ſo peculiarly "confined to Paſtors and Teachers, but that others alſo "gifted, and fitted by the Holy Ghoſt for it, and approved

King Charles I. 1644.

p. 8.

Savoy Conf. 4to. p. 24. Art. 14.

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" (being by lawful ways and means, by the providence of " God called thereunto) may publickly, ordinarily, and " conſtantly perform it, ſo that they give themſelves up " thereunto." 'Tis neceſſary the Reader ſhould make theſe remarks, to rectify a train of miſtakes which run through this part of Mr. Rapin's Hiſtory, and to convince him, that the King's death was not owing to the diſtinguiſhing tenets of any Sect or party of Chriſtians. There were indeed ſome Republicans and Levellers in the Army, whoſe numbers encreaſed after they deſpaired of bringing the King into their meaſures, but 'tis well known that at their firſt appearance, Cromwell by his perſonal valour, ſuppreſſed them with the hazard of his Life. Theſe were chiefly Anabaptiſts, and proved as great enemies to the Protector as to the King. But there is nothing in the Principles of the Preſbyterians, Independants, or Anabaptiſts (as far as I can learn) inconſiſtent with Monarchy, or that had a natural tendency to put the Kingdom into a flame.

Baxter's Life, p. 140, 143.

Mr. Baxter, who was no friend to the Independants, and knew them much better than the above-mentioned Writers, admits, " That moſt of them were zealous, and very many " learned, diſcreet and pious, capable of being very ſervice- " able to the Church, and ſearchers into Scripture and Anti- " quity;" though he blames them on other occaſions, for making too light of Ordination; for their too great ſtrictneſs in the qualification of Church-Members; for their popular form of Church-Government; and their too much exploding of Synods and Councils; but then adds, " I ſaw " a commendable care of ſerious Holineſs and Diſci- " pline in moſt of the Independant Churches; and I " found, that ſome Epiſcopal Men, of whom Archbi- " ſhop Uſher was one, agreed with them in this, that " every Biſhop was independent, and that Synods and " Councils were not ſo much for Government as Con- " cord." And I may venture to declare, that theſe are the Sentiments of almoſt all the Proteſtant Non-conformiſts in England at this day.

Of the Anabaptiſts.

Life, p. 140.

There was not one profeſſed Anabaptiſt in the Aſſembly, but their Sentiments began to ſpread wonderfully without doors. Their Teachers were for the moſt part illiterate, though Mr. Baxter ſays, " He found many of them ſober, " godly, and zealous, not differing from their Brethren but " as to Infant Baptiſm." Theſe joining with the Independants in the point of Diſcipline and Toleration, made them the

the more considerable, and encouraged their opposition to the Presbyterians, who were for establishing their own Discipline, without regard to such as differed from them. King Charles I. 1644.

It is not to be wondered, that so many Parties, with different views, should entangle the Proceedings of this venerable Body, and protract the intended Union with the Scots, though as soon as the Covenant was taken they enter'd upon that affair, the Parliament having sent them the following Order, dated Octob. 12, 1643. Proceedings of the Assembly.

" UPON serious Consideration of the present state " of affairs, the Lords and Commons assembled in " this present Parliament do order, That the Assembly of " Divines, and others, do forthwith confer, and treat a- " mong themselves, of such a discipline and Government " as may be most agreeable to God's holy Word, and most " apt to procure and preserve the Peace of the Church " at home, and a nearer agreement with the Church " of Scotland, &c. to be settled in this Church instead of " the present Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, " &c. which it is resolved to take away; and to deliver their " advice touching the same to both Houses of Parlia- " ment with all convenient speed." Order to confer about Discipline.

Hereupon the Assembly set themselves to enquire into the Constitution of the primitive Church in the days of the Apostles, which being founded upon the model of the Jewish Synagogues, gave the Lightfoots, the Seldens, the Colemans, and other Masters of Jewish Antiquities, an opportunity of displaying their superior Learning, by new and unheard of Interpretations of Scripture, whereby the warmer Presbyterians were frequently disconcerted, whose Plan of Discipline they had no mind should receive the Stamp of an Apostolick Sanction in the Church of England. Lightfoot's Remains, in Pref. p. 8.

But it was a capital mistake in the proceedings of Parliament, to destroy one building before they were agreed upon another. The ancient order of Worship and Discipline in the Church of England was set aside above twelve Months before any other Form was appointed; no wonder therefore, that in this time Sects and Divisions arrived to such a pitch, that it was not in their power afterwards to destroy. Committees indeed were appointed to prepare materials for the debate of the Assembly; some for Discipline, and others for Worship, which were argued in their order, but then laid

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laid aside without being perfected, or sent up to Parliament to receive the Sanction of a Law. Nothing can be alledged in excuse for this, but their backwardness to unite with the Scots, or the prospect the Parliament might yet have of an agreement with the King.

Of Ordination.

The first point that came upon the Carpet was the Ordination of Ministers; which was the more necessary, because the Bishops refused to ordain any who were not in the Interest of the Crown: This gave occasion to enquire into the "antient right of Presbyters to Ordain without a "Bishop," which meeting with some opposition, the Committee proposed a temporary provision, till the matter could be settled, and offered these two queries.

First, "Whether in extraordinary Cases something extra-"ordinary may not be admitted, till a settled order can be "fixed, yet keeping as near to the rule as possible?"

Secondly, "Whether certain Ministers of this City "may not be appointed to ordain Ministers in the City "and Neighbourhood, for a certain time, Jure Fraterni-"tatis?"

To the last of which the Independants entered their dissent, unless the Ordination was attended with the previous election of some Church. New difficulties being continually started, upon this and some other heads, the Scots Commissioners were out of all patience, and applied to the City Ministers to petition the Parliament to call for the Advice of the Assembly. The petition was presented Sept. 18, 1644, in which, having reminded the Commons of their Remonstrance, wherein they declare, it was not their intention to let loose the golden reins of discipline; and of their National Covenant, wherein they had engaged to the most high God, to settle an Uniformity in the Church, they add,

Rushw. Vol. V. p. 780.

"Give us leave, we beseech you, in pursuance of our Na-"tional Covenant, to sigh out our Sorrows at the foot of "this honourable Senate. Through many erroneous opi-"nions, ruinating Schisms, and damnable Heresies, un-"happily fomented in this City and Country, the orthodox "Ministry is neglected, the People are seduced, Congre-"gations torn asunder, Families distracted, Rights and "Duties of Relations, National, Civil, and Spiritual scan-"dalously violated, the Power of Godliness decayed, Parlia-"mentary Authority undermined, fearful Confusions intro-"duced, imminent Destruction threaten'd, and in part inflic-"ted upon us lately in the West. May it therefore please "your Wisdoms, as a sovereign remedy for the removal of

"our

" our preſent miſeries, and preventing their progreſs, to ex- King Charles I. 1644.
" pedite a Directory for publick Worſhip, to accelerate
" the Eſtabliſhment of a pure Diſcipline and Government,
" according to the Word of God, and the example of the
" beſt Reformed Churches, and to take away all obſtructi-
" ons that may impede and retard our humble Deſires."
Upon this the Aſſembly were ordered to ſend up their hum- Advice of the Aſſembly.
ble Advice upon this head; which was to the following Effect, [Sept. 22.] (viz.) That in this preſent exigency, while there were no Preſbyteries, yet it being neceſſary that Miniſters ſhould be ordained for the Army and Navy, and for the Service of many deſtitute Congregations, by ſome who having been ordained themſelves, have power to join in the ſetting apart of others: They adviſe,

(1.) That an Aſſociation of ſome godly Miniſters in and about the City of London be appointed by publick Authority, to ordain Miniſters for the City and the neighbouring parts, keeping as near to the rule as may be. Vol. Pamphlenes me, No. 68.

(2.) That the like Aſſociations be made by the ſame Authority in great Towns and neighbouring Pariſhes in the ſeveral Counties which are at preſent quiet and undiſturbed.

(3.) That ſuch as are choſen, or appointed for the Service of the Army or Navy, being well recommended, be ordained as aforeſaid, by the aſſociated Miniſters of London, or ſome others in the Country; and the like for any other Congregations that want a Miniſter.

According to this advice the two Houſes paſt an Ordinance, Octob. 2, for the Ordination of Miniſters Pro Tempore, which appoints the following ten Perſons, being Preſbyters, and Members of the Aſſembly, to examine and ordain, by impoſition of hands, all thoſe whom they ſhall judge qualified to be admitted into the ſacred Miniſtry, (viz.)

Dr. Cornelius Burgeſs, Aſſeſſor,	Mr. Starkey Gower,
Dr. William Gouge,	Mr. John Conant,
Mr. John Ley,	Mr. Humphrey Chambers,
Mr. George Walker,	Mr. Henry Roborough,
Mr. Edmund Calamy,	Mr. Dan. Cawdrey.

And the following thirteen being Preſbyters of the City of London, but not Members of the Aſſembly, viz.

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The Rev. Mr. John Downham,	The Rev. Mr. Tho. Glendon,
Mr. Charles Offspring,	Mr. Sam. Clarke,
Mr. Richard Lee,	Mr. Arthur Jackſon,
Mr. Tim. Dod,	Mr. Em. Bourne,
Mr. James Cranford,	Mr. Fulk Billers,
Mr. Tho. Horton,	Mr. Fr. Roberts,
	Mr. Leon. Cooke.

Any ſeven, or more, to be a Quorum, and all Perſons ſo ordained to be reputed Miniſters of the Church of England, ſufficiently authorized for any Office or Employment therein, and capable of all advantages appertaining to the ſame. Their rules for examination, and trial of Candidates, will be ſeen the next year, when this affair was fully ſettled. In the mean time another Ordinance paſt the Houſes, for the benefit of the County of Lancaſter, whereby the Reverend Mr. Charles Herle, Mr. Richard Herrick, Mr. Hyet, Mr. Bradſhaw, Mr. Iſaac Ambroſe, and others, to the number of twenty one, had full power given them to ordain Pro Tempore in the County of Lancaſter. And to obviate the reproaches of the Oxford Divines, the following clauſe was added, that "If any Perſon do publickly preach, or otherwiſe exerciſe any miniſterial Office, that ſhall not be ordained, or thereunto allowed by ſeven of the ſaid Miniſters, their names ſhall be returned to both Houſes of Parliament, to be dealt with as they in their Wiſdom ſhall think fit." It was voted further, that "No Miniſter be allowed to preach, unleſs he has a Certificate of his Ordination, or at leaſt of his being examined and approved by the Aſſembly." And Feb. 16, at a Conference between the two Houſes it was agreed, That the Aſſembly of Divines be deſired to admit none into their Pulpits, but ſuch whoſe Doctrine they would be anſwerable for. Such was the concern of the Parliament in theſe diſtracted times, to have a ſober and well regulated Clergy.

Parl. Chr. p. 152.

Directory for publick Worſhip.

Next to the providing for a Succeſſion of Miniſters by Ordination, the Aſſembly conſulted about a Form of publick Devotion; for the old Liturgy being laid aſide there were no publick Offices in the Church: A Committee was therefore appointed, Octob. 17, 1643, to agree upon certain general heads, for the direction of the Miniſter in the diſcharge

charge of his Office, which having passed through the Assembly, were sent into Scotland, for the approbation of the General Assembly, and then established by an Ordinance of Parliament, bearing date Jan. 3, 1644-5, under the Title of "A Directory for publick Worship." King Charles I. 1644.

The Reasons which induced the Parliament to discard the old Liturgy, and form a new plan for the devotion of the Church, I shall transcribe from their own Preface. "'Tis evident (say they) after long and sad Experience, that the Liturgy used in the Church of England, notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the Compilers, has proved an offence to many of the godly at home, and to the reformed Churches abroad. The enjoining the reading all the prayers, heighten'd the Grievances; and the many unprofitable and burdensome Ceremonies has occasioned much mischief, by disquieting the Consciences of many, who could not yield to them. Sundry good people have, by this means, been kept from the Lord's Table, and many faithful Ministers debarr'd from the exercise of their Ministry, to the ruin of them and their Families. The Prelates and their Faction have raised their Estimation of it to such an height, as if God could be worshipped no other way but by the Service Book; in consequence of which the preaching of the Word has been depreciated, and in some places entirely neglected. Pref. to Directory.

"In the mean time the Papists have made their advantage this way, boasting, that the Common Prayer Book came up to a compliance with a great part of their Service; by which means they were not a little confirmed in their Idolatry and Superstition, especially of late, when new Ceremonies were daily obtruded on the Church.

"Besides, the Liturgy has given great Encouragement to an idle, and unedifying Ministry, who chose rather to confine themselves to forms made to their hands, than to exert themselves in the exercise of the gift of Prayer, with which our Saviour furnishes all those whom he calls to that Office.

"For these, and many other weighty considerations, relating to the Book in general, besides divers particulars, which are a just Ground of offence, it is thought advisable to set aside the former Liturgy, with the many Rites and Ceremonies formerly used in the Worship of God, not out of any Affectation of Novelty, nor with an intention

King Charles I. 1644.

"tion to disparage our first Reformers, but that we may "answer in some measure the gracious providence of God, "which now calls upon us for a further Reformation; that "we may satisfy our own consciences; answer the expec-"tations of other reformed Churches; ease the consciences "of many godly persons among ourselves; and give a pub-"lick Testimony of our Endeavours after an Uniformity "in divine Worship, pursuant to what we had promised in "our Solemn League and Covenant."

It has been observed, that the Directory is not an absolute form of Devotion, but agreeably to its title, contains only some general directions, taken partly from the Word of God, and partly from Rules of Christian Prudence; it points out the heads of publick Prayer, of preaching, and other parts of the Pastoral Function, leaving the Minister a discretionary Latitude to fill up the Vacancies according to his Abilities. It is divided into several Chapters, and being a Book of a publick Nature, comprehending all the peculiarities of the Presbyterian Reformation, I have given it a place in the Appendix. Mr. Fuller observes, that the Independants in the Assembly were hardly perswaded to consent to it, for fear of infringing the liberty of Prayer, but being admitted to qualify some things in the Preface they complied. The Committee that composed the Preface were Mr. Nye, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Burges, Mr. Tho. Goodwin, all Independants; Mr. Vines, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Marshall, and Dr. Temple, with the Scots Commissioners.

Appendix, No. II. ℔ 222.

The Directory passed the Assembly with great unanimity; those that were for set Forms of Prayer resolving to confine themselves to the very Words of the Directory, while others made use of them only as heads for their enlargement.

Variations in the Directory from the Common Prayer.

It may not be improper in this place to advise the Reader of the following Variations introduced into the Church upon this occasion. Instead of one prescribed form of Prayer, the Directory only points out certain Topicks on which the Minister might enlarge. The whole Apocrypha is rejected; Private and Lay Baptism, with the use of God-Fathers and God-Mothers, and the Sign of the Cross are discontinued. In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper no mention is made of private Communion, or administring it to the Sick. The Altar with Rails is changed into a Communion Table, to be placed in the body of the Church, about which the people might stand or sit, kneeling not being thought

thought so proper a posture. The Presbyterians were for giving the power of the Keys into the hands of the Ministers and Elders, as the Independants were, to the whole Brotherhood; but Lightfoot, Selden, Coleman, and others, were for an open Communion, to whom the Parliament were most inclinable, for all they would yield was. that the "Minister immediately before the Communion should warn "in the name of Christ, all such as are ignorant, scandalous, prophane, or that live in any Sin or Offence against "their Knowledge or Conscience, that they presume not "to come to the holy Table, shewing them, that he that "eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Judgment to himself." The prohibition of Marriage in Lent, and the use of the Ring, is laid aside. In the Visitation of the Sick, no mention is made of private Confession, or authoritative Absolution. No Service is appointed for the burial of the Dead. All particular Vestments for Priests or Ministers, and all Saints Days are discarded. It has been reckon'd a considerable omission, that the Directory does not enjoin reading the Apostles Creed and the Ten Commandments; Lord Clarendon reports, that when this was observed, in private conversation at the Treaty of Uxbridge, the Earl of Pembrook said, he was sorry for the omission, but that upon a debate in the House of Commons, it was carried in the Negative by eight or nine Voices. Which made many smile (says his Lordship;) but the Jest will be lost, when the Reader is informed, that the Question in the House was not; whether the Creed should be received or rejected, but whether it should be printed with the Directory for Worship; it being apprehended more proper for a Confession of Faith; and accordingly the Creed and Ten Commandments were added to the Assemblies Confession, published a year or two forwards. The Ordinance for establishing the Directory repeals and makes void the Acts of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, by which the old Liturgy was established, and forbids the use of it within any Church, Chapel, or place of publick Worship in England or Wales, appointing the use of the Directory in its room; and thus it continued till the Restoration of King Charles II. when the Constitution being restored, the old Liturgy took place again, the Ordinance for its Repeal having never obtained the Royal Assent.

King Charles I. 1644.

Clar. Vol. II. p. 588.

It was a considerable time before this great Revolution in the Form of publick Worship took place over the whole Kingdom. In some parts of the Country the Church-Wardens

The Success of it.

King Charles I. 1644.

Wardens could not procure a Directory, and in others they deſpiſed it, and continued the old Common Prayer Book; ſome would read no Form, and others would uſe one of their own. In order therefore to give Life to the Directory, the Parliament next Summer called in all Common Prayer Books, and impoſed a Fine upon thoſe Miniſters that ſhould read any other Form than that contained in the Directory. The Ordinance is dated Aug. 23d, 1645, and enacts, that "the Knights and Burgeſſes of the ſeveral Counties in England and Wales ſhall ſend printed Books of the Directory fairly bound to the Committee of Parliament in their ſeveral Counties, who ſhall deliver them to the Officers of the ſeveral Pariſhes in England and Wales, by whom they ſhall be delivered to the ſeveral Miniſters of each Pariſh. It ordains further, that the ſeveral Miniſters next Lord's Day after their receiving the Book of the Directory ſhall read it openly in their reſpective Churches before Morning Sermon.——

Ordinance for enforcing the Uſe of the Directory. Ruſhw. Part IV. Vol. I. p. 205.

"It then forbids the uſe of the Common Prayer Book in any Church, Chapel, or place of publick Worſhip, or in any private place or Family, under penalty of five Pounds for the firſt offence, ten for the ſecond, and for the third a year's impriſonment. Such Miniſters as do not obſerve the Directory in all Exerciſes of publick Worſhip ſhall forfeit forty Shillings; and they who with a deſign to bring the Directory into contempt, or to raiſe oppoſition to it, ſhall preach, write, or print any thing in derogation of it, ſhall forfeit a ſum of Money not under five Pounds, nor more than fifty, to be given to the Poor. All Common Prayer Books remaining in pariſh Churches or Chapels are ordered, within a month, to be carried to the Committee of the ſeveral Counties, to be diſpoſed of as the Parliament ſhall direct."

Remarks.

Theſe were the firſt Fruits of Preſbyterian Uniformity, and are equally to be condemned with the ſeverities and oppreſſions of the late times; for though it ſhould be admitted, that the Parliament or Legiſlature had a right to abrogate the uſe of the Common Prayer Book in Churches, was it not highly unreaſonable to forbid the reading it in private Families or Cloſets? ſurely the devotion of a private Family could be no diſturbance to the Publick; nor is it any excuſe to ſay, that very few ſuffered by it, becauſe the law is ſtill the ſame, and equally injurious to the natural rights of Mankind.

Though

Though his Majesty's Affairs were very desperate after the Battle of Naseby, yet he had the courage to forbid the use of the new Directory, and enjoin the continuance of the Common-prayer, by a Proclamation from Oxford, dated Novemb. 13, 1645, in which his Majesty takes notice, that "the Book of Common-prayer being a most excellent form of Worship, grounded on the Holy Scriptures, is a great help to Devotion, and tends to preserve an Uniformity in the Church of England; whereas the Directory gives liberty to ignorant, factious, and evil men, to broach their own fancies and conceits, and utter those things in their long Prayers that no conscientious man can assent to; and be the Minister never so pious, it breaks in upon the Uniformity of publick Service. And whereas this alteration is introduced by an Ordinance of Parliament, inflicting penalties on offenders, which was never pretended to be in their power without our consent: Now, least our silence should be interpreted as a connivance in a matter so highly concerning the worship of God, and the established laws of the Kingdom, we do therefore require and command all Ministers in all Cathedrals and Parish Churches, and all other places of publick worship, that the said Book of Common-prayer be kept and used in all Churches, Chapels,&c. according to the Statute Primo Eliz. and that the Directory be in no sort admitted, received, or used; and whensoever it shall please God to restore us to peace, and the Laws to their due course, we shall require a strict account and prosecution against the breakers of the said Law. And in the mean time, in such places where we shall come and find the Book of Common-prayer suppressed and laid aside, and the Directory introduced, we shall account all those that are aiders, actors, or contrivers therein, to be persons disaffected to the Religion and Laws established."

King Charles I. 1644.

King forbids the use of it. Rushw. Part. IV. Vol. I. p. 297.

His Majesty likewise issued out Warrants under his own hand, to the Heads of the University, commanding them to read divine Service as usual, Morning and Evening; and assured his Peers at Oxford, that he was still determined to live and die for the Privileges of his Crown, his Friends, and Church Government.

About this time the Anabaptists began to make a considerable figure, and spread themselves into several separate Congregations. We have already distinguished the German Anabaptists from the English, who differ'd only from their Protestant

Rise and Progress of the English Anabaptists.

King Charles I. 1644.

Proteſtant Brethren about the ſubject and mode of Baptiſm; theſe were divided into Generals and Particulars, from their different ſentiments upon the Arminian Controverſy; the former appeared in Holland, where Mr. Smith their Leader publiſhed a Confeſſion of Faith in the year 1611, which Mr. Robinſon, the Miniſter of the Independant Congregation at Leyden anſwered in 1614, but the ſeverity of thoſe Times would not admit them to venture into England. The Particular Baptiſts were ſtrict Calviniſts, and were ſo called, from their belief of the Doctrines of Particular Election, Redemption, &c. They ſeparated from the Independant Congregation about the year 1638, and ſet up for themſelves under the paſtoral care of Mr. Jeſſe, (as has been related) but having renounced their former Baptiſm, they ſent over one of their number, [Mr. Blunt] to be dipp'd by one of the Dutch Anabaptiſts of Amſterdam, that he might be qualified to baptize his Friends in England after the ſame manner. A ſtrange and unaccountable conduct! for unleſs the Dutch Anabaptiſts could prove their Pedigree in an uninterrupted Line from the Apoſtles, the firſt reviver of this uſage muſt have been unbaptized, and conſequently not capable of communicating the ordinance to others. But upon Mr. Blunt's return, he baptized Mr. Blacklock a Teacher, and Mr. Blacklock dipped the reſt of the Society, to the number of Fifty three, in this preſent year 1644. "Preſuming upon the patience of the State, "(ſays Dr. Featley) they have rebaptized one hundred Men "and Women together, in the Twilight, in Rivulets, and ſome "Arms of the Thames, and elſewhere, dipping them over "head and ears. They have printed divers Pamphlets in de-"fence of their Hereſy (ſays the ſame Author) and chal-"lenged ſome of our Preachers to a diſputation." Nay, ſo wonderfully did this Opinion prevail, that there were no leſs than forty ſeven Congregations in the Country, and ſeven in London at this time, who publiſhed a Confeſſion of their Faith, ſigned in the name of their Congregations, by William Kiffin, Thomas Patience, George Tipping, John Spilſbury, Thomas Sheppard, Thomas Munden, Thomas Gunn, John Mabbett, John Webb, Thomas Kilcop, Paul Hobſon, Thomas Gore, John Philips, and Edward Heath. In the year 1646, it was reprinted, with the additional names of Denis le Barbier and Chriſtopher Durell, Miniſters of the French Congregation in London, of the ſame judgment.

M S. penes me.

Their

Their Confeſſion conſiſted of fifty two Articles, and is ſtrictly Calviniſtical in the doctrinal part, and according to the Independant Diſcipline; it confines the ſubject of Baptiſm to grown Chriſtians, and the mode to Dipping; it admits of gifted Lay-preachers, and acknowledges a due ſubjection to the Civil Magiſtrate in all things lawful; and concludes thus, "We deſire to live quietly and peaceably, "as becomes Saints, endeavouring in all things to keep a "good Conſcience, and to do to every Man (of what "judgment ſoever) as we would they ſhould do to us; "as our practice is, ſo it may prove us to be a conſcio- "nable, quiet, and harmleſs People (no way dangerous or "troubleſome to human ſociety) and to labour to work "with our hands, that we may not be chargeable to any, "but to give to him that needeth, both Friend and Ene- "my, accounting it more excellent to give than to re- "ceive. Alſo we confeſs, that we know but in part, and "that we are ignorant of many things that we deſire "and ſeek to know; and if any ſhall do us that friendly "part, to ſhew us from the Word of God, that which we "ſee not, we ſhall have cauſe to be thankful to God and "them. But if any man ſhall impoſe upon us any thing "that we ſee not to be commanded by our Lord Jeſus "Chriſt, we ſhould, in his ſtrength, rather embrace all "reproaches, and tortures of men; to be ſtripped of all "our outward comforts, and, if it were poſſible, to die a "thouſand deaths, rather than do any thing againſt the "truth of God, or againſt the light of our own Conſciences. "And if any ſhall call what we have ſaid Hereſy, then do "we with the Apoſtle acknowledge, That after the way "they call Hereſy, ſo worſhip we the God of our Fathers; "diſclaiming all Hereſies (rightly ſo called) becauſe they "are againſt Chriſt; and deſiring to be ſtedfaſt and im- "movable, always abounding in obedience to Chriſt, as "knowing our labour ſhould not be in vain in the Lord."

King Charles I. 1644. Their Confeſſion of Faith.

When Dr. Featley had read this Confeſſion he owned, they were neither Hereticks nor Schiſmaticks, but tender-hearted Chriſtians, upon whom, through falſe ſuggeſtions, the hand of Authority had fallen heavy, whilſt the Hierarchy ſtood.

The Advocates of this Doctrine were, for the moſt part, of the meaneſt of the people; their Preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the Countries making Proſelytes of all that would ſubmit to their Immerſion, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of Religion,

Their Character.

King Charles I. 1644.

Religion, or their moral Characters. The Writers of these times represent them as tinctured with a kind of enthusiastick fury against all that oppos'd them. Mr. Baxter says, "There "were but few of them that had not been the Oppofers "and Troublers of faithful Ministers——That in this they "strengthen'd the hands of the profane, and that in gene- "ral, Reproach of Ministers, Faction, Pride, and scanda- "lous Practices, were fomented in their way." But still there were among them some learned, and a great many sober and devout Christians, who disallowed of the imprudence of their Country Friends. The two most learned Divines that espoused their cause were Mr. Francis Cornwall, M. A. of Emanuel College, and Mr. John Tombes, B. D. educated in the University of Oxford, a person of incomparable parts, well versed in the Greek and Hebrew Languages, and a most excellent disputant. He wrote several Letters to Mr. Selden against Infant Baptism, and published a Latin Exercitation upon the same subject, containing several Arguments, which he presented to the Committee appointed by the Assembly to put a stop to the Progress of this Opinion. The Exercitation being translated into English brought upon him a whole army of Adversaries, among whom were the reverend Dr. Hammond, Dr. Holmes, Mr. Marshal, Fuller, Geree, Baxter, and others. The People of this Perswasion were more exposed to the publick resentments, because they would hold Communion with none but such as had been dipped. All must pass under this Cloud before they could be received into their Churches; and the same narrow Spirit prevails too generally among them even at this day.

Baxter's Life, p. 102, 144.

Their Sufferings.

Besides the above-mentioned writers, the most eminent Divines in the City of London, as Mr. Vines, Calamy, and others, preached vigorously against these doctrines, which they had a right to do; but it was most unjustifiable to fight them at the same time with the Sword of the Civil Magistrate, and shut them up in prison, as was the case of several in this and the following year, among whom are reckon'd the Reverend Mr. Henry Denn, formerly ordain'd by the Bishop of St. David's and possessed of the Living of Peyton in Hertfordshire; Mr. Coppe Minister in Warwickshire, and sometime Preacher to the Garrison in Compton House; Mr. Hanserd Knollys, who was several times before the Committee for preaching Antinomianism and Antipœdobaptism; and being forbid to preach in the publick Churches, he opened a separate Meeting in Great St. Helen's, from whence

whence he was quickly diſlodged, and his Followers diſperſed. Mr. Andrew Wyke, in the County of Suffolk, was impriſoned on the ſame account; and Mr. Oates in Eſſex, tried for his Life at Chelmsford Aſſizes for the murder of Anne Martin, becauſe ſhe died a few days after her Immerſion, of a cold that ſeized her at that time. Lawrence Clarkſon was impriſoned by the Committee of Suffolk, and having lain in gaol ſix months ſigned a Recantation and was releaſed. The Recantation, as enter'd in the Committee's Books, was in theſe words; King Charles I. 1644.

July 15, 1645.

Mr. Clarkſon's Recantation.

"THIS day Lawrence Clarkſon, formerly committed for an Anabaptiſt, and for dipping, does now, before the Committee, diſclaim his errors. And whereas formerly he ſaid he durſt not leave his dipping, if he might gain all the Committees Eſtates, now he ſays, That he by the holy Scriptures is convinced, that his ſaid opinions were erroneous, and that he will not, nor dares not practiſe it again, if he might gain all the Committees Eſtates by doing it. And that he makes this Recantation not for fear, or to gain his Liberty, but meerly out of a Senſe of his Error, wherein he will endeavour to reform others."

Remarks.

It muſt be granted, That the impudent behaviour of the Baptiſt Lay Preachers, who declaimed againſt human Literature, and hireling Prieſts; crying down Magiſtracy, and a regular Miniſtry, and talking in the moſt exalted ſtrains of a fifth Monarchy, and King Jeſus, prejudiced the minds of many ſober People againſt them; but ſtill the impriſoning men meerly on account of religious principles, not inconſiſtent with the publick peace, nor propagated in a riotous and tumultuous manner, is not to be juſtified, in any light; and 'tis the more inexcuſable in this caſe, becauſe Mr. Baxter admits, that the Preſbyterian zeal was in a great meaſure the occaſion of it.

Baxter's Life, p. 103.

Charles Lewis, Elector Palatine, comes into the Aſſembly.

Before we leave the Aſſembly for this year, it will be proper to take notice, that it was honoured with the preſence of Charles Lewis Elector Palatine of the Rhine, eldeſt ſon of Frederick, &c. King of Bohemia, who married King James's Daughter, and loſt his Territories by the fatal battle of Prague in 1619. The unhappy Frederick died in 1632, and left behind him ſix Sons and five Daughters, among whom were Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, and

King Charles I. 1644.

the Princeſs Sophia. The young Elector and his Mother often ſolicited the Engliſh Court for Aſſiſtance to recover their dominions, and were as often complimented with empty promiſes. All the Parliaments of this reign mention with concern the calamitous condition of the Queen of Bohemia and her children, and offer to venture their lives and fortunes for the recovery of the Palatinate, but King Charles I. did not like his ſiſter's principles, who being a reſolved Proteſtant, had been heard to ſay (if we may believe L'Eſtrange) "That rather than have her Son bred "up in idolatry at the Emperor's Court, ſhe had rather "be his executioner." And Mr. Eachard adds, that the birth of King Charles II. in the year 1630, gave no great joy to the Puritans, becauſe as one of them ſaid, "God "had already provided for them in the family of the "Queen of Bohemia, who were bred up in the Proteſtant "Religion, while it was uncertain what Religion King "Charles's Children would follow, being to be brought "up by a Mother devoted to the Church of Rome." When the war broke out between the King and Parliament the Elector's younger Brothers Rupert and Maurice, ſerved the King, but the Elector himſelf being in Holland took the Covenant, and by a letter to the Parliament teſtified his approbation of the cauſe in which they were engaged. This Summer he made a tour to England, and was welcomed by a Committee of the two Houſes, who promiſed him their beſt advice and aſſiſtance; to whom the Prince made the following reply.

The Palatine Family Favourites of the Puritans.

Hiſt. p. 449.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 268.

"I Hold myſelf much obliged to the Parliament for their "favours, and my coming is to expreſs in perſon what "I have often done by letter, my ſincere affections to "them, and to take off ſuch jealouſies, as either the acti-"ons of ſome of my Relations, or the ill effects of what "my enemies might by my abſence caſt upon me. My "wiſhes are conſtant for the good ſucceſs of the great "work you have undertaken, for a thorough Reformation; "and my deſires are to be rul'd and govern'd by your "grave Counſels."

The Parliament ordered an apartment to be fitted up for the Prince at Whitehall, and voted him eight thouſand pounds a year for his maintenance, and ten thouſand for his Royal Mother, till he ſhould be reſtor'd to his Electorate. While he ſtayed here he frequently attended the

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 279.

Aſſembly

Assembly in their debates, and after some time had a pass for himself and forty horse into the Low Countries. His Sister, Princess Sophia, afterwards married the Duke of Brunswick and Hanover, whose Son upon the decease of Queen Anne, succeeded to the Crown of Great Britain, by the name of George I. the numerous posterity of King Charles I. being set aside as Papists, and the Children of the Queen of Bohemia, Electress Palatine, and daughter of King James I. advanced to the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms in their room, as a reward for their firmness to the Protestant Religion; and may the same illustrious Family continue to be the Guardians of our Liberties, both sacred and civil, to the end of time!

King Charles I. 1644.

Religion was the fashion of these times; the Assembly was often turned into a House of prayer, and hardly a week past without solemn fasting and humiliation, in several of the Churches of London and Westminster: the laws against profaneness were carefully executed; and because the former Ordinances for the observation of the Lord's Day were not effectual, it was ordained, April 6, that all persons should apply themselves to the exercise of Piety and Religion on the Lord's Day, "That no Wares, Fruit, "Herbs, or Goods, of any sort be exposed to sale, or cry'd "about the streets, upon penalty of forfeiting the Goods. "That no person, without Cause, shall travel, or carry "a Burden, or do any worldly labour, upon penalty of ten "shillings for the traveller, and five shillings for every Bur- "den. That no person shall, on the Lord's Day, use, or "be present at any Wrestling, Shooting, Fowling, Ring- "ing of Bells for pleasure, Markets, Wakes, Church- "Ales, Dancing, Games or Sports whatsoever, upon Pe- "nalty of five shillings, to every one above fourteen "years of age. And if children are found offending in the "premises, their parents or guardians to forfeit twelve "pence for every offence: That all May-poles be pulled "down, and none others erected. That if the several "fines above-mentioned can't be levied, the offending "party shall be set in the stocks for the space of three "hours. That the Kings declaration concerning lawful "sports on the Lord's Day be called in, suppressed, and "burnt.

State of Religion.

Ordinance for better observation of the Lord's Day. Scobel's Collect. p. 68.

"This Ordinance shall not extend to prohibit dressing "meat in private Families, or selling victuals in a mode- "rate way, in Inns or Victualling Houses, for the use of "such as can't otherwise be provided for; nor to the cry-

King Charles I. 1644.

" ing of milk before nine in the morning, or after four in " the afternoon."

Lond. Min. Teſtimony to the Truth of J. Chriſt, p. 26.

The Solemn League and Covenant was in ſuch highrepute at this time, that by an order of the Houſe of Commons, Jan. 29, 1644, it was appointed, " That on every Faſt " day, and Day of publick humiliation, the Covenant " ſhould be publickly read in every Church and Congre- " gation within the Kingdom; and that every Congrega- " tion be enjoined to have one of the ſaid Covenants fair- " ly printed, in a fair Letter, in a Table fitted to hang up " in ſome publick place of the Church to be read." Which was done accordingly, and they continued there till the Reſtoration.

But that which occaſioned the greateſt diſturbance over the whole Nation, was an order of both Houſes relating to Chriſtmas Day. Dr. Lightfoot ſays, The London Miniſters met together laſt year, to conſult whether they ſhould preach on that Day; when one of conſiderable name and authority oppoſed it, and was near prevailing with the reſt, but the Doctor convinced them ſo far of the lawfulneſs and expediency of it, that when the queſtion was put it was carried in the affirmative with only four or five diſſenting voices. But this year it happening to fall on the Monthly Faſt, ſo that either the Faſt, or the Feſtival, muſt be omitted, the Parliament, after ſome debate, thought it moſt agreeable to the preſent circumſtances of the Nation, to go on with faſting and prayer; and therefore publiſhed the following Order.

Die Jovis 19 Dec. 1644.

Order for laying aſide the Obſervation of Chriſtmas.

" WHereas ſome doubts have been rais'd, Whether the " next Faſt ſhall be celebrated, becauſe it falls on " the day which heretofore was uſually called the Feaſt of " the Nativity of our Saviour? The Lords and Commons " in Parliament aſſembled do order and ordain, that publick " notice be given, That the Faſt appointed to be kept the " laſt Wedneſday in every month ought to be obſerved, " till it be otherwiſe ordered by both Houſes; and that this " day in particular is to be kept with the more ſolemn hu- " miliation, becauſe it may call to remembrance our Sins, " and the Sins of our Fore-fathers, who have turned this " Feaſt, pretending the memory of Chriſt, into an ex- " treme forgetfulneſs of him, by giving liberty to car- " nal and ſenſual delights, being contrary to the life " which Chriſt led here on earth, and to the ſpiritual

Rushw. p. 817.

" Life

" Life of Chriſt in our Souls, for the ſanctifying and ſav- King
" ing whereof, Chriſt was pleaſed both to take a human Charles I.
" Life, and to lay it down again." 1644.

The Royaliſts rais'd loud clamours on account of the ſuppos'd impiety and profaneneſs of this Tranſaction, as what had never been heard of in the chriſtian World before, tho' they could not but know, that this, as well as other Feſtivals, is but of eccleſiaſtical appointment; that there is no mention of the obſervation of Chriſtmas in the firſt or ſecond age of Chriſtianity; that the Kirk of Scotland never obſerved it ſince the Reformation, but when under the power of the Biſhops, and do not regard it at this day. Some of the moſt learned Divines among the Preſbyterians, as well as Independants, were in this Sentiment. Mr. Edmund Calamy, in his Sermon before the Houſe of Commons on this day, has theſe Expreſſions. " This day is " commonly called Chriſtmas Day, a day that has hereto- " fore been much abuſed to Superſtition and Profaneneſs. " It is not eaſy to ſay, whether the Superſtition has been " greater, or the Profaneneſs. I have known ſome that " have preferr'd Chriſtmas Day before the Lord's Day. " Some that would be ſure to receive the Sacrament on " Chriſtmas Day though they did not receive all the year " after. Some thought, though they did not play at Cards " all the year long, yet they muſt play at Chriſtmas, there- " by, it ſeems, to keep in Memory the Birth of Chriſt. " This, and much more, hath been the profanation of this " Feaſt; and truly, I think the ſuperſtition and profaneneſs " of this day is ſo rooted into it, that there is no way to re- " form it, but by dealing with it as Hezekiah did with the " brazen Serpent. This year God, by his Providence, " has buried this Feaſt in a Faſt, and I hope it will never " riſe again. You have ſet out, Right Honourable, a " ſtrict Order for keeping of it, and you are here this day " to obſerve your own Order, and I hope you will do it " ſtrictly. The neceſſities of the times are great, never " more need of Prayer and Faſting. The Lord give us " Grace to be humbled in this day of Humiliation, for all " our own and England's Sins, and eſpecially for the old " Superſtition and Profaneneſs of this Feaſt. Remarks.

About Midſummer this year died Doctor Thomas Weſt- Death of
field, Biſhop of Briſtol; he was born in the Iſle of Ely, Biſhop Weſtfield.
1573, educated in Jeſus College Cambridge, and after- Walker's
wards Rector of Hornſey, and of St. Bartholomew the Suff. Cler. p.

King Charles I. 1644.

Great, London, and Arch-Deacon of St. Alban's. In the year 1641, he was advanced to the See of Briſtol, which he accepted, though he had refuſed it (as is ſaid) twenty five years before. He was a Gentleman of great modeſty, a good Preacher, and excellent Orator. The Parliament had ſuch an eſteem for him, that they named him one of the Aſſembly Divines, and he had the goodneſs to appear among them for ſome time. Upon the Biſhop's complaint, that the Profits of his Biſhoprick were detained, the Committee ordered them to be reſtored, and gave him a paſs to go to Briſtol, to receive them, wherein they ſtile him a perſon of great Learning and Merit. He died in poſſeſſion of his Biſhoprick, June 25, 1644, aged Seventy one, and compoſed his own Epitaph, one Line of which was,

" Senio & Mærore confectus,

" Worn out with Age and Grief.

And another;

" Epiſcoporum infimus, Peccatorum primus,

" The leaſt of Biſhops, the greateſt of Sinners.

Of Doctor Downing.

Dr. Calibute Downing was born of an ancient Family in Glouceſterſhire, about 1616, he was educated in Oriel College, Oxford, and at length became Vicar of Hackney, near London, by the procurement of Archbiſhop Laud; which is very ſtrange, if (as Mr. Wood ſays) he always look'd awry on the Church. In his Sermon to the Artillery Company, Sept. 1, 1640, he maintain'd, " That for de-" fence of Religion, and Reformation of the Church, it " was lawful to take up Arms againſt the King, if it could " be obtain'd no other way." For which he was forced to abſcond till the Beginning of this preſent Parliament. He was afterwards Chaplain in the Earl of Eſſex's Army, and a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, but died before he was forty years of age, having the Character of a pious Man, a warm Preacher, and very zealous for the Parliament.

CHAP.

King Charles I. 1644.

CHAP. V.

Abſtract of the Trial of Archbiſhop Laud; and, of the Treaty of Uxbridge.

NEXT day after the Eſtabliſhment of the Directory, Dr. William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, received Sentence of Death: he had been in the Tower almoſt three years, upon an impeachment of High Treaſon from the Houſe of Commons, without once petitioning for a Trial, or ſo much as putting in his anſwer to the Articles; but as ſoon as the Parliament had united with the Scots, it was reſolved to gratify that Nation by bringing him to the Bar; accordingly Serjeant Wild was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, Octob. 23, with ten additional Articles of High Treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors; and to pray, that his Grace might be brought to a ſpeedy Trial. We have already recited the fourteen original Articles under the year 1640. The additional ones were to the following purpoſe, Trial of Abp. Laud.

1. "That the Archbiſhop had endeavoured to deſtroy "the uſe of Parliaments, and to introduce an arbitrary "Government. Articles of Impeachment. Prynne's Compl. Hiſt. of the Trial of Abp. Laud, p. 38.

2. "That for ten years before the preſent Parliament, "he had endeavoured to advance the Council Table, the "Canons of the Church, and the King's Prerogative above "Law.

3. "That he had ſtopt Writs of Prohibition to ſtay "Proceedings in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, when the ſame "ought to have been granted.

4. "That he had cauſed Sir John Corbet to be committed to the Fleet for ſix Months, only for cauſing the Petition of Right to be read at the Seſſions.

5. "That judgment having been given in the Court of "King's Bench againſt Mr. Burley, a Clergyman of a bad "character, for Non-reſidence, he had cauſed the judgment to be ſtay'd, ſaying, "He would never ſuffer "Judgment to paſs upon any Clergyman by Nihil dicit."

6. "That large ſums of Money having been contributed for buying in impropriations, the Archbiſhop had cauſed the Feoffments to be overthrown in his Majeſty's "Exchequer, and by that means ſuppreſſed the Deſign.

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7. " That he had harboured and relieved divers Popiſh " Prieſts, contrary to Law.

8. " That he had ſaid at Weſtminſter, there muſt be a " Blow given to the Church, ſuch as had not been given " before it could be brought to conformity, declaring " thereby his intention to alter the true Proteſtant Religi- " on eſtabliſhed in it.

9. " That after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament he " had cauſed a Convocation to be held, in which ſundry " Canons were made contrary to the Rights and Privileges " of Parliament, and an illegal oath impoſed upon the " Clergy, with certain penalties, commonly known by the " Et cœtera Oath.

10. " That upon the abrupt diſſolving of the ſhort Par- " liament 1640, he had told the King, " He was now ab- " ſolved from all Rules of Government, and at liberty to " make uſe of extraordinary Methods for Supply."

I omit the charge of the Scots Commiſſioners, becauſe the Archbiſhop pleaded the Act of Oblivion.

Prynne, p. 45.

The Lords ordered the Archbiſhop to deliver in his Anſwer in Writing to the above-mentioned Articles in three Weeks, which he did, but took no notice of the original ones. The Trial was put off from time to time, at the requeſt of the Priſoner till Sept. 16, when the Archbiſhop appeared at the Bar, and having kneeled for ſome time and then ordered to ſtand, one of the Managers for the Commons moved the Lords, that their Articles of Impeachment, with the Archbiſhop's Anſwer, might be read; but when the Clerk of the Houſe had read the Articles, there was no Anſwer to the original ones. Upon which Serjeant Maynard ſtood up, and obſerved, " How unjuſt the Archbi- " ſhop's complaints of his long impriſonment, and of the " delay of his hearing muſt be, when in all this time he had " not put in his Anſwer to their original Articles, though he " had long ſince, Counſel aſſign'd him for that purpoſe. " That it would be abſurd in them to proceed on the ad- " ditional Articles, when there was no iſſue joyn'd on the " original ones; he therefore prayed, that the Arch- " biſhop might forthwith put in his Anſwer to all their " Articles, and then they ſhould be ready to confirm " their Charge, whenever their Lordſhips ſhould ap- " point."

The

King Charles I. 1644.

The Archbiſhop ſays, the Lords look'd hard one upon another, as if they would aſk where the miſtake was, but himſelf ſaid nothing, but that his Anſwer had not been called for. His Grace would have embarras'd them further, by deſiring them to hear his Counſel, Whether the articles were certain and particular enough to receive an anſwer. He moved likewiſe, That if he muſt put in a new Anſwer, his former might be taken off the File; and that they would pleaſe to diſtinguiſh which articles were Treaſon, and which Miſdemeanor. But the Lords rejected all his motions, and ordered him to put in a peremptory anſwer to the original articles of the Commons by the 22d Inſtant, which he did accordingly, to this effect. Wharton's Hiſt. of Abp. Laud's troubles, p. 214, 215.

Abp's Anſwer.

" As to the 13th Article, concerning the troubles in " Scotland, and all Actions, Attempts, Aſſiſtance, Coun- " ſel, or Device relating thereto, this defendant pleadeth " the late Act of oblivion, he being none of the perſons " excepted by the ſaid Act, nor are any of the offences " charged upon this Defendant excepted by the ſaid Act.

" And as to all the other Articles, both original and ad- " ditional, this Defendant ſaving to himſelf all advantages " of exception to the ſaid Articles, humbly ſaith, that he " is not guilty of all, or any the matters, by the ſaid Ar- " ticles charged, in ſuch manner and form as the ſame are " by the ſaid Articles charged againſt him."

Order and Method of the Trial.

The Trial was deferr'd all the month of February, as the Archbiſhop inſinuates, becauſe Mr. Prynne was not ready with his Witneſſes. When it came on, Lord Grey of Werk, Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, was appointed Preſident; but the Archbiſhop complained, that there was ſeldom above ſixteen or eighteen Peers preſent at a time. The managers for the Commons were Serjeant Wild and Mr. Maynard, Mr. Brown, Mr. Nicolas, Mr. Hill, whom the Archbiſhop calls Conſul Bibulus, becauſe he ſaid nothing; their Solicitor was Mr. Prynne, the Archbiſhop's grand enemy. His Grace's Counſel were, Mr. Hearne, Mr. Hales, Mr. Chute, Mr. Gerard; and his Solicitor was his own Secretary, Mr. Dell. The Trial was depending almoſt five months, in which time the Archbiſhop was heard twenty days with as much liberty and freedom of Speech as could be reaſonably deſired. When he complained of the ſeizure of his Papers, the Lord's ordered him a copy of

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of all such as he should say were necessary for his defence; and when he acquainted them, that by reason of the Sequestration of his estate, he was uncapable of seeing his Counsel, they moved the Committee of Sequestrations in his favour, who ordered him two hundred pounds. His Counsel had free access to him at all times, and stood by to advise him throughout his whole Trial.

The method of proceeding was thus, the Archbishop had three or four days notice of the day of his appearance, and of the Articles they designed to proceed on. He was brought to the Bar about ten in the morning, and the Managers were till one making good their charge; the House then adjourn'd to four, when the Archbishop made his defence, after which one of the Managers replied, and the Archbishop returned to the Tower between seven and eight of the clock at night.

'Tis unhappy that this remarkable Trial, which contains the chief heads of controversy between the Puritans and the Church was not publish'd by order of the House of Peers, that the World might have seen the arguments on both sides in their full strength. Mr. Prynne, by order of the House of Commons, has given us their evidence to that branch of the charge which relates to Religion, and the Archbishop has left behind him his own defence on every day's hearing, mixed with satyrical and stinging Reflections on his Adversaries; but these being broken performances, I have endeavoured to put the most material passages into a proper method, without confining myself to the exact order of time in which the Articles were debated.

Summary of the Charge.

All the Articles may be reduced to these three general heads or charges, according to which method we shall go through them.

First, " That the Archbishop had traiterously attempted, " and endeavoured to divert the rights of Parliament, and " to exalt the King's power above law.

Secondly, " That he had traiterously endeavoured to " subvert the fundamental temporal Laws and Government " of the Realm of England, and to introduce an arbitra- " ry Government against Law, and the Liberties of the " Subject.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, "That he had traiterouſly endeavoured, and "practiſed, to alter and ſubvert God's true Religion by "Law eſtabliſhed in this Realm, and inſtead thereof to ſet "up Popiſh Superſtition and Idolatry, and to reconcile us to "the Church of Rome. King Charles I. 1644.

The Trial began March 12, 1643-4, when Mr. Serjeant Wild, one of the Managers for the Houſe of Commons, opened the Impeachment with a ſmart Speech, in which he aggravated the ſeveral crimes charged upon the Archbiſhop, and concluded, with comparing him to Naaman the Syrian, who was a great Man, but a Leper. Serjeant Wild opens the Impeachment.

The Archbiſhop having obtained leave to reply, endeavoured to wipe of the aſperſions that were caſt upon him, in a laboured Speech, which he held in his hand. He ſaid, "It was no leſs than a Torment to him to appear in that "place, and plead for himſelf on that occaſion, becauſe "he was not only a Chriſtian but a Clergyman, and by "God's Grace advanced to the greateſt place this Church "affords. He bleſſed God, that he was neither aſhamed "to live, nor afraid to die; that he had been as ſtrict an "obſerver of the laws of his Country, both in publick and "private, as any man whatſoever; and as for Religion, that "he had been a ſteady Member of the Church of Eng-"land, as eſtabliſhed by Law, which he had endeavoured "to reduce to Decency, Uniformity, and Beauty, in the "outward face of it; but he had been as far from attempt-"ing any Alterations in favour of Popery, as when his "Mother firſt bore him into the World; and let nothing "be ſpoken but truth (ſays he) and I do here challenge "whatſoever is between Heaven and Hell, that can be "ſaid againſt me in point of my Religion, in which I have "ever hated Diſſimulation;" He then concludes with a liſt of twenty one Perſons whom he had converted from Popery to the Proteſtant Religion. The Abp's Speech. Wharton's Hiſt. of Laud's Troubles, p. 223.

It was obſerved by ſome, that if the paſſionate expreſſions in this Speech had been a little qualified, they would have obtained more credit with his Grace's Judges; but as they were pronounced, were thought hardly fit for the mouth of one who lay under the weight of ſo many Accuſations from the whole Repreſentative Body of the Nation.

The next day the Managers for the Commons enter'd on their firſt Charge, to the following purpoſe. March 13, 1643-4.

"That

King Charles I. 1644.

"That the Archbishop had traiterously attempted to subvert the rights of Parliament, and to exalt the King's power above the Laws."

First Branch of the Charge for subverting the Rights of Parliament. Laud's Hist. p. 229, 230, 231.

1. To support which they produced a passage out of his own Diary, Dec. 5, 1639. "A Resolution was voted at the Board to assist the King in extraordinary Ways, if (says he) the Parliament should prove peevish and refuse."

The Archbishop replied, That this was the Vote of the whole Council Table, of which he was but a single Member, and therfore could not be called his Counsel. Besides, the Words had relation to the Troubles of Scotland, and are therefore within the Act of Oblivion.

2. "They produced another expression in one of the "Archbishop's Papers under his own hand, in the beginning of which he says, that Magna Charta had an obscure birth, and was foster'd by an ill Nurse."

Laud's Hist. p. 409.

The Archbishop replied, That it was no disgrace to Magna Charta to say, it had an obscure Birth; our Histories confirm the Truth of it, and some of our Law-Books of good account use almost the same expressions; and shall the same Words be History and Law in them, and Treason in me?

Managers Charge.

3. They averr'd, "That he had said in Council, that "the King's Proclamation was of as great force as an Act "of Parliament; and that he had compared the King to the "Stone spoken of in the Gospel, That whosoever falls upon it shall be broken, but upon whosoever it falls it will "grind him to powder."

Abp's Reply, Laud's Hist. p. 234.

The Archbishop replied, That this was in the case of the Soap Business, twelve years ago; and he thinks it impossible these words should be spoken by him; nor does he apprehend the Gentlemen who press this evidence can believe it themselves, considering they are accusing him for a cunning Delinquent. So God forgive these men the falshood and malice of their oaths (says he)! but as to the Allusion to the Stone in the Scripture, if I did apply it to the King, it was far enough from Treason, and let them and their like take care, lest it prove true upon themselves, for Solomon says, "The Anger of a King is Death."

Arbitrary Speeches made for the King by the Abp. M. Charge.

4. In further maintenance of this part of their Charge the Managers produced "two Speeches which his Grace "framed for the King to be spoken to the Parliament; "and his Majesty's Answer to the Remonstrance of the "House of Commons in the year 1628, which was all written

" written with the Archbiſhop's own hand, and theſe words " endorſed by himſelf, My Anſwer to the Parliament's Re- " monſtrance. In which Papers were ſundry paſſages tend- " ing to ſet up an abſolute Power in the King, and to make " the calling of Parliaments in a manner uſeleſs. The King " is made to ſay, That his Power is only from God, and to " him only he is accountable for his Actions. That never " King was more jealous of his Honour, nor more ſenſible of " the neglect and contempt of his royal Rights. His Majeſty " bids the Commons remember, that Parliaments are alto- " gether in his power, for their Calling, Sitting and Diſſo- " lution; and that according as they behaved themſelves " they ſhould continue, or not be. When ſome of the " Members of Parliament had ſpoken freely againſt the " Duke of Buckingham, they were, by the King's Com- " mand, ſent to the Tower; and his Majeſty coming to " the Houſe of Peers, tells them, That he had thought fit " to puniſh ſome inſolent ſpeeches lately ſpoken againſt the " Duke, for I am ſo ſenſible of all your honours (ſays he) " that he that touches any of you touches me in a very " great meaſure. Further, when the Parliament was diſ- " ſolved in the year 1628, a Proclamation was publiſhed, " together with the above-mentioned Remonſtrance, in " which his Majeſty declares, That ſince his Parliament " was not ſo dutiful as they ought to be, he was reſolved to " live without them, till thoſe who had interrupted his pro- " ceedings ſhould receive condign puniſhment, and his peo- " ple come to a better temper; and that, in the mean " time, he would exact the duties that were received by " his Father, which his now Majeſty neither could nor " would diſpenſe with."

King Charles I. 1644.

King's Speech, March 29, 1626.

King's Speech, May 11, 1626.

March 27, 1629.

The Archbiſhop replied, That he did indeed make the above-mentioned Speeches, but was commanded to the ſervice, and followed his Inſtructions as cloſe as he could. As for the ſmart paſſages complained of, he hopes they will not be thought ſuch, when 'tis conſidered whoſe mouth was to utter them, and upon what occaſion. However, if they be, he is heartily ſorry for them, and humbly deſires they may be paſſed by. The Anſwer to the Remonſtrance was drawn by his Majeſty's command, as appears by the Endorſement; and the ſevere paſſages objected to, were in his Inſtructions. When a Parliament errs may not their King tell them of it? Or, muſt every paſſage in his Anſwer be ſour that pleaſes not?

Abp's Reply, Laud's Hiſt. p. 230, 403, 404, 406.

The

King Charles I. 1644.

The Managers went on to produce ſome other paſſages tending more immediately to ſubvert the Rights of Parliament, and among others, they inſiſted on theſe three.

Arbitrary Speeches of the Abp. himſelf. M. Charge. Abp's Reply, Laud's Hiſt. p. 231.

1. "That the Archbiſhop had ſaid at the Council Table, "after the ending of the late Parliament, that Now the "King might make uſe of his own Power. This was at- "teſted by Sir Henry Vane the Elder, who was a Privy- "Counſellor, and then preſent."

The Archbiſhop replied, That he did not remember the words; that if he did ſpeak them they were not treaſonable; or if they were, he ought to have been tried within ſix months, according to the Statute 1 Eliz. cap. 6. That Sir Henry Vane was but a ſingle Witneſs, whereas the Law requires two Witneſſes for Treaſon; beſides, he conceived that this advice relating to the Scottiſh Troubles was within the Act of Oblivion, which he had pleaded. "But "laſt of all, let it be remember'd, ſays the Archbiſhop, "for Sir Harry's Honour, that he being a Man in years, has "ſo good a Memory, that he alone can remember words "ſpoken at a full Council Table, which no Perſon of "Honour remembers but himſelf; but I would not have "him brag of it; for I have read in St. Auſtin, that "Some, even the worſt of Men, have great Memories, "and ſo much the worſe for having them. God bleſs Sir "Henry!

Parliament's Power in matters of Religion. M. Charge.

2. The Archbiſhop had affirmed, "That the Parlia- "ment might not meddle with Religion, without the aſ- "ſent of the Clergy in Convocation. Now, if this were "ſo (ſay the Managers) we ſhould have had no Reforma- "tion, for the Biſhops and Clergy diſſented."

Abp's Reply. Laud's Hiſt. p. 401.

The Archbiſhop in his Reply cited the Statute, 1 Eliz. cap. 1. which ſays, that "what is Hereſy ſhall be deter- "mined by the Parliament, with the aſſent of the Clergy "in Convocation," from whence he concluded, the Parliament could not by law determine the truth of Doctrine without the aſſent of the Clergy; and to this the Managers agreed, as to the point of Hereſy, but no further. The Archbiſhop added, that in his opinion, It was the Prerogative of the Church alone to determine Truth and Falſhood, but that the power of making laws for the puniſhment of erroneous perſons, was in the Parliament, with the aſſent of the Clergy. Indeed the King and Parliament may, by their abſolute Power, change Chriſtianity into Turciſm, if they pleaſe, and the Subjects that can't obey muſt fly, or endure the penalty of the Law; but of Right they can't

can't do this without the Church. Thus the Parliament in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, by abſolute power, aboliſh'd popiſh Superſtition; but when the Clergy were ſettled, and a form of Doctrine was to be agreed on, a Synod was called 1562. and the Articles of Religion were confirmed by Parliament. with the aſſent of the Clergy, which gave all Parties their juſt Right, and is ſo evident, that the Heathens could ſee the juſtice of it, for Lucullus ſays in Tully, that "the Prieſts were judges of Religion, "and the Senate of the Law." King Charles I. 1644.

3. "At a Reference between Dr. Gill, School-maſter of "St. Paul's, and the Mercers Company, the Archbiſhop "had ſaid, that the Company could not turn him out of "the School, without conſent of his Ordinary; and that "upon mention of an Act of Parliament, he replied, I ſee "nothing will down with you but Acts of Parliament, no "regard at all to the Canons of the Church; but I will "reſcind all Acts that are againſt the Canons, and I hope "ſhortly to ſee the Canons and the King's Prerogative of "equal force with an Act of Parliament." Of the K. Prerogative and the Canons of the Church. M. Charge.

The Archbiſhop was ſo provok'd with the Oath of this Witneſs [Mr. Samuel Blood] that he was going to Bind his Sin on his Soul, not to be forgiven him, till he ſhould aſk him forgiveneſs; but he conquered his paſſion, and replied, That ſince by a Canon no perſon is allowed to teach ſchool without the Biſhop's Licence, and that in caſe of offence, he is liable to Admonition and Suſpenſion, it ſtands good, that he may not be turned out without the ſaid Biſhop's knowledge and approbation. As for the words, that "he "ſaw nothing would down with them but an Act of Par-"liament, and that no regard was had to the Canons," he conceived them to be no offence; for though the Superiority belongs to Acts of Parliament in this Kingdom, yet certainly ſome regard is due to the Canons; and therefore he ſays again, that "if nothing will down with Men but "Acts of Parliament, the Government in many particu-"lars can't ſubſiſt." But as to the laſt words, of his reſcinding thoſe Acts that were againſt the Canons, he is morally certain he could not ſay them; nor does he believe any man that knows him will believe him ſuch a fool, as to ſay, He hoped to ſee the Canons and the King's Prerogative of equal force with an Act of Parliament, ſince he has lived to ſee ſundry Canons rejected, and the King's Prerogative diſcuſſed by Law, neither of which can be done by any Judges to an Act of Parliament. But however, if Abp's Reply Laud's Hiſt p. 236, 237 Can. 77, 79.

ſuch

King Charles I. 1644.

such Words should have escaped him, he observes, there is but one Witness to the Charge; and if they be within the danger of the Statute, then to that Statute which requires his Trial within six months he refers himself.

2d Charge, Attempts to set aside the Laws. Of Ship-money, Tonnage and Poundage. M. Charge.

The Managers went on to the Second Charge against the Archbishop, which was his design "To subvert the Fundamental Temporal Laws of the Kingdom, and to Introduce an Arbitrary Government against Law and the Liberty of the Subject. In maintenance whereof they alledged, "His illegal pressures of Tonnage and Poundage "without Act of Parliament, Ship-Money, Coat and Conduct-Money, Soap-Money, &c. and his Commitment "of divers persons to prison for non-payment; for proof "of which there appeared, among others, three Aldermen, "(viz.) Aldermen Atkins, Chambers, and Adams."

Abp's Reply. Laud's Hist. p. 232, 233, 234.

The Archbishop confessed, that as to the business of Ship-Money, he was zealous in that affair, but not with an intent to violate the Law, for though this was before Judgment given for the King, yet it was after the Judges had declared the legality of it under their hands, and he thought he might safely follow such Guides. He was likewise of opinion, that Tonnage and Poundage, Coat and Conduct-Money, were lawful on the King's Part; that he was led into this opinion by the express judgment of some Lords present, and by the silence of others; none of the great Lawyers at the Table contradicting it; however, that it was the common Act of the Council Table, and therefore All were as culpable as himself; but he was sure this could not amount to Treason, except it were against the three Aldermen, Atkins, Chambers, and Adams.

Depopulations and pulling down Houses. M. Charge.

They objected further, "Sundry Depopulations, and "pulling down Houses; that for the repair of St. Paul's "above sixty Dwelling-houses had been pulled down, by "Order of Council, without any satisfaction to the Tenants, because they did not accept of the Committee's "Composition. ——— That he had obliged a Brewer "near the Court not to burn Sea-coal, under penalty "of having his Brew-house pulled down; and that "by a like Order of Council many Shop-keepers were "forcibly turn'd out of their houses in Cheapside, to "make way for Goldsmiths, who were forbid to open "Shop in any other Places of the City. When a Commission was issued under the Broad Seal to himself to "compound with delinquents of this kind, Mr. Talboys was

"fined

" fined fifty Pounds for non-compliance; and when he plead- King
" ed the Statute of the 39th of Eliz. the Archbiſhop replied, Charles I.
" Do you plead Law here? Either abide the order, or take 1644.
" your trial at the Star Chamber. When Mr. Wakern had
" one hundered Pounds allowed him for the pulling down
" his houſe, he was ſoon after fined one hundred Pounds in
" the High Commiſſion Court, for Profanation; of which
" he paid thirty."

This the Archbiſhop admitted, and replied to the reſt, Abp's Reply: Laud's Hiſt. p. 235, 244, 246, 256.
that he humbly and heartily thanked God that he was counted worthy to ſuffer for the repair of St. Paul's which had coſt him out of his own purſe, above twelve hundred Pounds. As to the Grievances complained of, there was a Compoſition allotted for the ſufferers, by a Committee named by the Lords, not by him, which amounted to eight or nine thouſand Pounds, before they could come at the Church to repair it; ſo that if any thing was amiſs it muſt be imputed to the Lords of the Conncil, who are one Body, and whatſoever is done by the major part is the act of the whole; that however, here was ſome recompence made them, whereas in King James's time, when a Commiſſion was iſſued for demoliſhing theſe very houſes, no care was taken for Satisfaction of any private Man's Intereſt; and I cannot forbear to add (ſays the Archbiſhop) that the Biſhop and Dean, and Chapter, did ill in giving way to the buildings, to encreaſe their Rents by a ſacrilegious Revenue; there being no Law to build on conſecrated Ground. When it was replied to this. " That the King's Commiſ-
" ſion was no legal Warrant for pulling down houſes, with-
" out Authority of Parliament," he anſwered, That houſes more remote from the Church of St. Paul's had been pulled down by the King's Commiſſion only in King Edward the Third's Time. As to the Brew-Houſe, the Archbiſhop owned that he had ſaid to the Proprietor, that he muſt ſeal a Bond of two thouſand Pounds to brew no more with Sea-Coal; but was at the Council Table when he was delivering the ſenſe of the Board, which Office was uſually put upon him if preſent; ſo that this or any other hardſhip he might ſuffer ought not to be imputed to him, but to the whole Council; and he was very ſure it could not amount to Treaſon, except it were Treaſon againſt a Brew-Houſe. The like anſwer he made to the Charge about the Goldſmiths Shops, namely, That it was the order of Council, and was thought to be for the Beauty and Grandeur of the City, and he did apprehend the Council had a right to command in

King Charles I. 1644.

things of Decency, "and for the ſafety of the Subject, and "where there was no Law to the contrary." As to the words which he ſpoke to Mr. Talboys, they were not deſigned to derogate from the Law, but to ſhew, that we ſat not there as Judges of the Law, but to offer his Majeſty's Grace, by way of compoſition to them that would accept it, and therefore he had his option, whether he would agree to the fine he impoſed upon him, or take his trial elſewhere. But the Commons replied with great reaſon, That no Commiſſion from the King could juſtify the pulling down Men's houſes, or oblige them to part with their Eſtates without Act of Parliament.

Illegal Commitments and Prohibitions in the Spiritual Courts M. Charge.

The Managers objected further to the Archbiſhop, "ſeveral illegal commitments, and exorbitant fines and cenſures in the Star Chamber, and High Commiſſion Court, "as in the caſes of Prynne, Burton, Baſtwick, Huntley, "and others; and that when the Perſons aggrieved brought "Prohibitions he threatened to lay them by the heels, ſaying, Does the King grant us Power, and are we then "prohibited? Let us go and complain, I will break the "Back of prohibitions, or they ſhall break mine. Accordingly ſeveral perſons were actually impriſoned for delivering prohibitions, as was teſtified by many Witneſſes; "nay, Mr. Wheeler ſwore, that he heard the Archbiſhop "in a Sermon ſay, That they which granted prohibitions "to the diſturbance of the Church's Right, God will pro"hibit their entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven."

Abp's Reply. Laud's Hiſt. p. 270, 271. 273, 274.

The Archbiſhop replied, That the Fines, Impriſonments, and other Cenſures complained of, were the Acts of the ſeveral Courts that directed them, and not his. That the Reaſon why ſeveral Perſons were impriſoned for Prohibitions, was, becauſe they delivered them into Court in an unmannerly way, throwing them on the Table, or handing them over the heads of others on a ſtick to the affront of the Court; notwithſtanding which, as many Prohibitions had been admitted in his time as in his Predeceſſors; but after all, he apprehended theſe Prohibitions were a very great Grievance to the Church; nor was there the ſame reaſon for them now, as before the Reformation, for then the Biſhops Courts were kept under a foreign Power, whereas now all Power exerciſed in Spiritual Courts, is from the King, as well as in Temporal. As to the Words of his Sermon, though he did not remember them, yet he ſaw no great harm in them. And here the Archbiſhop put the Lords in mind, that nothing had been done of late in the

Star

Star Chamber, or Council Table, but what had been done in King James and Queen Elizabeth's times. Nor is there any one witneſs that ſays, what he did was with a deſign to overthrow the Laws, or introduce arbitrary Government; no, that is only the conſtruction of the Managers, "for which, and ſomething elſe in their proceedings, I am "confident, ſays he, they ſhall anſwer at another Bar." King Charles I. 1644.

The Managers objected further, "The Archbiſhop's "taking undue gifts, and among others, his receiving two "Butts of Sack, in a cauſe of ſome Cheſter Men, whom it "was in his power to relieve, by mitigating the fine ſet on "them in the High Commiſſion, and taking ſeveral large "Sums of Money by way of compoſition for fines in the "High Commiſſion Court, making uſe of the method "of Commutation, by virtue of a patent obtained from the "King, which took away all opportunity from his Maje-"ſty of doing Juſtice, and ſhewing Mercy to his poor Sub-"jects, and inveſted the Archbiſhop with the final deter-"mination." Bribery objected to the Abp. M. Charge.

His Grace heard this part of his charge with great reſentment and impatience. If I would have had any thing to do in the baſe, dirty buſineſs of bribery (ſays he) I needed not be in ſuch want as I now am. As to the Sack, he proteſted, as he ſhould anſwer it to God, that he knew nothing of it, and offered to give his Oath, if it might be admitted. He declared, that when his Steward told him of Mr. Stone's deſign, he abſolutely forbid his receiving it, or any thing from any Man that had buſineſs before him; but Mr. Stone watching a time when his Steward was out of Town, and the Archbiſhop at Court, brought the Sack, telling the Yeoman of the Wine-Cellar, that he had leave to lay it in. Afterwards, when his Steward acquainted him, that the Sack was brought in, he commanded it ſhould be carried back, but Mr. Stone entreated he might not be ſo diſgraced, and proteſted he did not do it on the account of the Cheſter Buſineſs, though after this he went home and put it to their account; for which they complained to the Houſe of Commons, and produced Mr. Stone for their witneſs. The Archbiſhop obſerves, that Mr. Browne in ſumming up his charge did him Juſtice in this particular, for neither to the Lords nor Commons did he ſo much as mention it. Abp's Reply. Laud's Hiſt. p. 274, 276, 300.

As to the other Sums of Money which he took by way of Compoſition, or otherwiſe, for fines in the High Commiſſion, he ſaid, that he had the Broad Seal form the King, for applying them to the repairing the Weſt End of St. Paul's, Commutation of Penance.

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for the ſpace of ten years, which Broad Seal is now in the hands of Mr. Holford, and is on Record to be ſeen. Now all fines in the High Commiſſion belonging to the Crown, his Majeſty had a Right to give them to what Uſe he pleaſed; that as for himſelf, he thought it his duty to get as much Money for ſo good a Work as he could, even by way of Commutation for certain crimes; which method of pecuniary Commutations is according to Law, and the ancient cuſtom and practiſe of this Kingdom, eſpecially where Men of quality are offenders, and is as legal in that Court as any other; but he had applied no part of it to his own benefit or advantage.

Alterations in the Coronation Oath. M. Charge.

It was next objected, "That he had made divers alterations in the King's Coronation Oath, and introduced ſeveral unwarrantable innovations with relation to that auguſt Ceremony; as particularly, that he had inſerted thoſe words into the Oath, "agreeable to the King's Prerogative," with about twenty other alterations of leſs moment which they apprehended to be a matter of moſt dangerous conſequence. That he had revived certain old Popiſh Ceremonies, diſuſed ſince the Reformation, as the placing a Crucifix on the Altar, the conſecrating the Holy Oil, the anointing the King in form of a Croſs, the offering up the Regalia on the Altar, without any Rubrick or Direction for theſe things, and inſerting the following charge, taken verbatim out of the Roman Pontifical, "Stand and hold faſt, from henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the Succeſſion of your Forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us, and all the Biſhops and Servants of God; and as you ſee the Clergy come nearer the Altar than others, ſo remember, that in place convenient you give them greater honour, that the Mediator of God and Man may eſtabliſh you in the Kingly Throne, to be the Mediator between the Clergy and the Laity, and that you may reign for ever with Jeſus Chriſt, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen."

Abp. Reply. Laud's Hiſt. p. 318. Prynne, p. 475.

The Archbiſhop replied, that he did not inſert the words above-mentioned into the Coronation Oath, but that they were firſt added in King Edward VI. or Queen Elizabeth's time, and had no relation to the Laws of the Kingdom, mentioned before in the beginning of the Oath, but to the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, whereby the King ſwears

to

to maintain his Prerogative againſt all foreign juriſdictions; but if this be not the meaning, he avers, that the Clauſe was in the Coronation Oath of King James. As to the other alterations they are admitted not to be material; but his Grace confeſſes, that when they met in the Committee they were forced to mend many ſlips of the Pen in ſome places, and to make ſenſe and good Engliſh in others, and the Book being intruſted with him he did it with his own Hand, openly in the Committee, and with their Approbation. As to the Ceremonies of the Coronation, they are nothing to him, ſince he did not crown the King, but his Predeceſſor, therefore he did not anoint him in form of a Croſs; indeed he ſupplied the place of the Dean of Weſtminſter, and was therefore obliged to look after the Regalia, and he conceives the offering them at the Altar could be no offence. He does not remember the Crucifix was brought out [though Heylin ſays it was] and as to the Prayer, it was not taken out of the Pontifical by him, for it was uſed at King James's Coronation, and being a good one 'tis no matter whence it was taken. To all which the Managers replied, that it appeared by his own Diary, that he had the chief direction of all theſe Innovations.

King Charles I. 1644.

The Managers went on, and charged the Archbiſhop, "with endeavouring to ſet up an independent power in the "Church, by attempting to exempt the Clergy from the "juriſdiction of the civil Magiſtrate; of which they pro- "duced ſeveral Examples; one was, the Archbiſhop's for- "bidding the Lord Mayor of the City of London to car- "ry the Sword upright in the Church, and then obtaining "an order of Council for ſubmitting it in time and place "of divine Service. Another was taken out of the Arch- "biſhop's Diary; upon making the Biſhop of London "Lord Treaſurer, he ſays, "No Churchman had it ſince "Henry VII. and now, if the Church will not hold up "themſelves, under God, I can do no more." A third "was, his ſaying in the High Commiſſion, that no Con- "ſtable ſhould meddle with Men in holy Orders. A "fourth was, his calling ſome Juſtices of Peace into the "High Commiſſion, for holding the Seſſions at Tewkſ- "bury in the Church-yard, being conſecrated Ground, "though they had Licence from the Biſhop, and though "the eighty eighth Canon of the Church of England gives "leave, that temporal Courts or Leets may be kept in the "Church or Church-yard. And a fifth was, that he had "caus'd certain Church-Wardens to be proſecuted, for

Attempt to ſet up an Independent Power in the Clergy, Managers charge.

Laud's Hiſt. p. 293.

King Charles I. 1644.

"executing the Warrant of a Juſtice of Peace upon an "Ale-houſe Keeper, contrary to the Statutes of 7 Jacob. "Cap. 3."

Abp's Reply. Laud's Hiſt. p. 287, 292.

The Archbiſhop replied in general, that he never attempted to bring the temporal Power under the Clergy, nor to free the Clergy from being under it; but this he confeſs'd, that he had labour'd to preſerve the Clergy from ſome Lay-men's oppreſſions, for Vis Laica has been an old, and a juſt complaint; and this I took to be my Duty (ſays he) aſſuring myſelf that God did not raiſe me to that place of Eminency to ſit ſtill, and ſee his Miniſters diſcountenanced and trampled upon. To the firſt particular he replied, that it was an order of Council, and therefore not his; but it was a reaſonable one, for the Sword was not ſubmitted to any foreign, or home power, but to God only, and that in the place, and at the performance of his holy Worſhip, at which time and place Kings ſubmit themſelves, and therefore can't inſiſt upon the Emblems of their Power. To the ſecond and third Examples he replied, that he ſaw no Treaſon nor Crime in them. To the fourth he replied, that no temporal Courts ought to be kept upon conſecrated Ground; and that, though ſome ſuch might upon urgent occaſions be kept in the Church with leave, yet that is no Warrant for a Seſſions, where there might be a Trial for Blood; and certainly it can be no crime to keep off Profanation from Churches; but be it never ſo criminal it was the act of the High Commiſſion, and not his; nor is there any thing in it that looks towards Treaſon. To the proſecuting the Church-Wardens he anſwer'd, that thoſe Statutes concern'd Ale-houſe Keepers only, and the reaſon why they were proſecuted was, becauſe being Church-Officers they did not complain of it to the Chancellor of the Dioceſe, for certainly ſtanding in ſuch a Relation to the Church they ought to have been as ready to inform the Biſhop as to obey the Juſtice of the Peace.

Sitting of the Convocation after the Parliament. M. Charge. Article 5.

Laſtly, "The Managers objected to the Archbiſhop, "the Convocation's ſitting after the Parliament was diſſol-"ved, contrary to Law; their impoſing an oath on the "Subject, and their making ſundry Canons, which had "ſince been voted by both Houſes of Parliament contrary "to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws of "the Realm, to the Rights of Parliament, to the Proper-"ty and Liberty of the Subject, and containing matters "tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Conſequence."

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The Archbiſhop replied, that the ſitting of the Convocation after the diſſolution of the Parliament was, in the opinion both of Judges and other Lawyers, according to Law; that as they were called to ſit in Convocation by a different Writ from that which called them as Biſhops to ſit in Parliament, ſo they could not riſe till they had a Writ to diſcharge them. As for the Oath ſo much complain'd of, it was according to Law, or elſe they were miſled by ſuch Precedents as were never excepted againſt, for in the Canons made in King James's time, there was an oath againſt Simony, and an oath for Licences for Marriages, and an oath for Judges in eccleſiaſtical Courts, and all theſe eſtabliſhed by no other authority than the late one. As to the Vote of both Houſes, which condemn'd the Canons, ſince their Lordſhips would not ſuffer him to debate the Juſtice and Equity of it, he could only reply, that all theſe Canons were made in open and full Convocations, and are Acts of that Body, and cannot be aſcribed to him, though Preſident of that Synod, ſo by me (ſays the Archbiſhop) they were not made. King Charles I. 1644. Abp's Reply, Laud's Hiſt. P. 282.

Theſe were the principal Evidences produced by the Commons in maintenance of the firſt branch of their charge (viz.) his Grace's Endeavours to ſubvert the Rights of Parliament, and the fundamental temporal Laws of the Kingdom. From whence it is eaſy to obſerve, that beſides the ſharpneſs of the Archbiſhop's Temper, there are three capital Miſtakes which run through this part of his Defence.

1. A groundleſs ſuppoſition, that "where the Law is "ſilent the Prerogative takes place;" and that in all ſuch Caſes, a Proclamation, an order of Council, or a Decree of the Star-chamber, &c. is binding upon the Subject; and that diſobedience to ſuch Proclamations or Orders might be puniſhed at diſcretion. This gave riſe to moſt of the unwarrantable Orders by which the Subject was inſufferably oppreſs'd in the former part of this Reign, and to the exorbitant Fines that were levied for Diſobedience, in which the Archbiſhop himſelf was notoriouſly active. Remarks.

2. "The falſe concluſions drawn from his being but a "ſingle Member of the Council or High Commiſſion (viz.) that therefore he was not anſwerable for their Votes or Orders, even tho' he had ſet his hand to them; becauſe "What is carried by a Majority is ſuppoſed to be the Act "of the whole Body, and not of any particular Member." According to which way of reaſoning the conſtitution Laud's Hiſt. P. 437.

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might be destroy'd, without a possibility of punishing the Authors.

3. " His wilful Misconstruction of the Managers Reasonings;" as when he replies with an air of Satisfaction and Triumph, he hopes this or the other particular will not be construed Treason, unless it be against a Brew-house or an Alderman, or the like; though he was told over and over, by the Managers for the Commons, that they did not object these things to him as so many treasonable Acts, but as proofs and evidences of one general charge, which was, " a traiterous attempt and endeavour to subvert the " fundamental temporal Laws, Government, and Liberties " of the Realm;" and how far they have made good this part of their Charge must be left with the Reader.

3d general Charge. Subverting Religion.

The Commons proceeded next to the third general Charge, relating to Religion, in which our History requires us to be more particular; and here they aver, " That the " Archbishop had traiterously endeavoured and practised to " alter and subvert God's true Religion by Law Established in this Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popish " Superstition and Idolatry, and to reconcile us to the " Church of Rome."

This was divided into two Branches,

First, " His introducing and practising certain Popish Innovations, and superstitious Ceremonies, not warranted " by Law, nor agreeable to the practice of the Church of " England since the Reformation.

Secondly, " His countenancing and encouraging sundry " doctrinal Errors in favour of Arminianism and Popery."

The Managers began with Popish Innovations and Ceremonies, in Maintenance of which they insisted on the following Proofs.

Paintings, and Images, and Crucifixes. M. Charge. Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 60, &c. 462.

(1.) " His countenancing the setting up of Images in " Churches, Church Windows, and other places of religious Worship. That in his own Chapel at Lambeth " he had repaired the Popish Paintings on the Windows " that had been destroy'd at the Reformation, and made up " the History of Christ crucified between two Thieves; of " his rising out of the Grave; of his Ascension into Heaven; of the Holy Ghost descending in form of a " Dove; of Christ raising Lazarus out of the Grave; and " of God himself raining down Manna from Heaven;

" of

" of God's giving the Law to Moſes on Mount Sinai; of " fire deſcending from Heaven at the Prayer of Elliſha, of " the Holy Ghoſt over-ſhadowing the Virgin, &c. all taken " from the Roman Miſſal, with ſeveral ſuperſtitious motto's " and inſcriptions. That he had cauſed divers Crucifixes " to be ſet up in Churches over the Communion Table, " in his Chapel at Lambeth, at Whitehall, and at the " Univerſity of Oxford, of which he was Chancellor. " That in the Pariſh of St. Mary's there was ſince his " time erected a ſtatue of the Virgin Mary cut in ſtone, " with a Child in her Arms, to which divers people bow'd " and did reverence as they went along the ſtreets, which " could not be done without his allowance; nay, ſo zea- " lous was this Prelate (ſay the Managers) in defence of " Images, that he procured Mr. Sherfield to be ſentenced " in the Star-Chamber, for defacing a Church window in " or near Saliſbury, becauſe there was an Image in it " of God the Father; all which is contrary to the ſtatute " of the 3d and 4th of Edward VI. and the injunctions of " Queen Elizabeth, which enjoin, " All Pictures, Paint- " ings, Images, and other monuments of Idolatry and Su- " perſtition to be deſtroy'd, ſo as that there remain no me- " mory of them in Walls, Glaſs-windows, or elſewhere, " within any Church or Houſe."

King Charles I. 1644.

The Archbiſhop anſwer'd in general, that Crucifixes and Images in Churches were not ſimply unlawful; that they were in uſe in Conſtantine's time and long before, and therefore there could be no Popery in them. Tertullian ſays they had the picture of Chriſt engraven on their Chalice in form of a Shepherd carrying home a loſt Sheep; and even Mr. Calvin allows an hiſtorical uſe of Images, Inſtit. l. 1. cap. 11. Sect. 12. " Neque tamen ea Superſtitione teneor ut " nullas prorſus Imagines ferendas cenſeam, ſed quia ſculp- " tura & pictura, Dei dona ſunt, purum & legitimum utri- " uſque uſum requiro." The Archbiſhop appealed likewiſe to the Homilies, p. 64, 65. for an hiſtorical uſe of Images; but if it ſhould be granted (ſays he) that they are condemn'd by the Homilies, yet certainly one may ſubſcribe to the Homilies as containing a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, neceſſary for thoſe times, without approving every paſſage or ſentence, or ſuppoſing it neceſſary for all times. I do not approve of Images of God the Father, though ſome will juſtify them from Dan. vii. 22. but as for the Images of Things viſible, they are of uſe, not only for the beautifying and adorning the places of divine Wor-

Abp's Anſwer. Laud's Hiſt. p. 311. Prynne, p. 462, 463, 479.

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ſhip, but for Admonition and Inſtruction; and can be an offence to none but ſuch as would have God ſerved ſlovenly and meanly, under a pretence of avoiding Superſtition.

Prynne, p. 462.

As to the Particulars, the Archbiſhop allowed his repairing the Windows of his Chapel at Lambeth, and making out the Hiſtory as well as he could, but not from the Roman Miſſal, ſince he did not know the Particulars were in it, but from the fragments of what remained in the Windows ſince the Reformation; but if they had been originally painted by his order, as in the Caſe of the new Chapel at Weſtminſter, he knows no crime in it. The Image of the Virgin Mary in Oxford was ſet up by Biſhop Owen, and there is no evidence that I countenanced the ſetting it up, nor that any complaint was made to me of any abuſe of it.

Laud's Hiſt. p. 329.

Ib. p. 434.

As to Mr. Sherfield's Caſe, one of the Witneſſes ſays, it was the picture of an old man with a budget by his ſide, pulling out Adam and Eve, 'tis not therefore certain that it was the Image of God the Father; but if it was, yet Mr. Sherfield ought not to have defaced it but by Command of Authority, though it had been an Idol of Jupiter; the orders of the Veſtry which Mr. Sherfield pleads, being nothing at all without the Biſhop of the Dioceſe. The ſtatute of Edward VI. has nothing to do with Images in Glaſs Windows, the words of the ſtatute are, "Any Images of "Stone, Timber, Alabaſter, or Earth, graven, carved, "or painted, taken out of any Church, &c. ſhall be de-"ſtroy'd." So here is not a Word of Glaſs Windows, nor Images in them.

M. Reply to Antiq. of Images in Churches. Prynne, p. 463, 464.

The Managers for the Commons replied, that it was notoriouſly falſe, that the primitive Chriſtians approved of Images, for Juſtin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, and all the antient Fathers agree, that they had none in their Churches. Lactantius ſays, There can be no Religion in a place where any Image is. Epiphanius rent in pieces an Image painted on Cloth, which he found in a Church, out of holy Indignation. All the ancient Councils are againſt Images in Churches; and many godly Emperors caſt them out, after they began to be in uſe in later times, as our own Homilies expreſly declare, Peril of Idolatry, Part II. p. 38. As for Tertullian, all that can be proved from him is, that thoſe Hereticks againſt whom he writ had ſuch a Chalice, not that the orthodox Chriſtians allowed of it. Calvin only ſays, That he is not ſo ſuperſtitious as to think it altogether unlawful to make Images of Men

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or Beasts for a civil use, because painting is the gift of God. But he affirms in the very next Section, that there were no Images in Churches for five hundred years after Christ; and says expressly, that they were not in use till the Christian Religion was corrupted and depraved. He then adds, that he accounts it unlawful and wicked to paint the Image of God, because he has forbid it. But the Homiles are so express, that they wonder the Archbishop can mention them without blushing; as well as his not knowing that the paintings were according to the Mass-Book, when his own Mass-book was marked in those places with his own hand. The Images in those Windows were broken and demolished at the Reformation, by virtue of our Statutes, Homilies and Injunctions, and remained as monuments of our Indignation against Romish Idolatry, till the Archbishop repaired them. The Managers observed further, that the Archbishop had confessed the Particulars of this part of their Charge, and had only excused himself as to the University of Oxford, though they conceive it impossible he could be ignorant of those Innovations, being Chancellor and Visitor, and having entertain'd the King, Queen, and Elector Palatine there for several days. As for Mr. Sherfield's case, they apprehend the authority of the Vestry was sufficient in a place exempt from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop, as St. Edmund's Church was. And the Managers are still of opinion, that the Statute of Edward VI. extends to Images in Glass Windows; and that which confirms them in it is, that the Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth made in pursuance of this Law, extend in direct terms to Images in Glass Windows; and the practice of those times in defacing them infallibly proves it.

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Peril of Idol. p. 41, 42, 43.

(2.) Another Popish Innovation charged on the Archbishop, was, "His superstitious manner of consecrating Chapels, Churches, and Church-yards; they instanced in Creed-Church, of which the Reader has had an account before; and in St. Giles's in the Fields, which being fallen to decay, was in part re-edified and finish'd in Bishop Mountaine's time, Divine Service, and Administration of Sacraments having been performed in it three or four years before his death; but no sooner was the Archbishop translated to the See of London, but he interdicted the Church, and shut up the doors for several Weeks, till he had re-consecrated it, after the manner of Creed-Church, to the very great cost and charge of the Parish, and contrary

Consecration of Churches and Altars, and Feasts of Dedication. M. Charge. Prynne, p. 114, 49

King Charles I. 1644.

" trary to the Judgment of Biſhop Parker, and our firſt " Reformers.

" They objected further, his conſecrating of Altars, with " all their furniture, as Pattens, Challices, Altar-cloths, &c. " even to the knife that was to cut the ſacramental bread; " and his dedicating the Churches to certain Saints, toge- " ther with his promoting annual Revels, or Feaſts of " Dedication on the Lord's day in ſeveral parts of the " Country, whereby that holy Day was profaned, and the " people encouraged in ſuperſtition and ignorance.

Abp's Anſwer to the conſecrating Churches. Laud's Hiſt. p. 339, 340.

The Archbiſhop anſwer'd to the conſecration of Churches, that the practice was as antient as Moſes, who conſecrated the Tabernacle, with all its veſſels and ornaments; that the Temple was afterwards conſecrated by King Solomon; that as ſoon as Chriſtian Churches began to be built, in the Reign of Conſtantine the Great, they were conſecrated, as Euſebius teſtifies concerning the Church of Tyre, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, l. 10. cap. 3. and ſo it has continued down to the preſent time. Beſides, if Churches were not conſecra- ted they would not be holy; nor does Archbiſhop Parker ſpeak againſt Conſecrations in general, but againſt Popiſh Conſecrations, which mine were not (ſays the Archbiſhop) for I had them from Biſhop Andrews.

Prynne, p. 115.

The Feaſts of Dedica- tion.

As to the manner of conſecrating Creed-Church, St. Gile's, &c. his Grace confeſſed, that when he came to the Church door, that paſſage in the Pſalms was read, " Lift " up your heads, O ye Gates, even lift them up, ye ever- " laſting Doors, that the King of Glory may come in;" that he kneel'd and bow'd at his entrance into the Church, as Moſes and Aaron did at the Door of the Tabernacle; that he declared the place holy, and made uſe of a prayer like one in the Roman Pontifical; that afterwards he pro- nounced divers curſes on ſuch as ſhould profane it, but denied his throwing Duſt into the air, in which, he ſaid, the witneſſes had forſworn themſelves, for the Roman Pontifical does not preſcribe throwing Duſt into the air, but Aſhes; and he conceives there is no harm, much leſs treaſon in it. The practice of giving the names of Angels and Saints to Churches at their Dedication, for diſtinction ſake, and for the honour of their memories (ſays his Grace) has been very ancient, as appears in St. Auſtin, and divers others of the Fathers, but the Dedication ſtrictly ſpeaking is only to God; nor is the obſerving the annual Feaſts of Dedication leſs ancient; the Feaſt of the Dedication of the Temple was obſerved in our Saviour's time, and though no doubt,

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it was abuſed by ſome among the Jews, yet our Saviour honoured it with his Preſence. Judge Richardſon, indeed, had made an order, in his circuit, for putting down theſe Wakes, but he was obliged to revoke it by authority, and under favour (ſays the Archbiſhop) I am of opinion, that the Feaſts ought not to be put down for ſome abuſes, any more than all Vines ought to be rooted up becauſe ſome will be drunk with the juice of them. The Feaſts are convenient for keeping up hoſpitality and good Neighbourhood; nor can there be a more proper time for obſerving them, than on Sundays after divine Service is ended.

King Charles I. 1644. Laud's Hiſt. p. 269.

And as the conſecrating of Churches, and dedicating them to God, has been of ancient uſage, ſo has the conſecration of Altars, and their furniture, and ſuch conſecrations are neceſſary, for elſe the Lord's Table could not be called holy, nor the Veſſels belonging to it holy, as they uſually are; yea, there is an holineſs in the Altar which ſanctifies the gift, which it could not do, except itſelf was holy; if there be no Dedication of theſe Things to God, no ſeparation of them from common uſe, then there can be no ſuch Thing as Sacrilege, or difference between an holy Table, and a common one. And as to the Form of conſecrating theſe Things, I had them not from the Romau Pontifical, but from Biſhop Andrews.

To conſecrating Altars and their Furniture. Ibid. p. 313.

The Managers for the Commons replied, that if the Temple was conſecrated it was by the King himſelf, and not by the High Prieſt; and if the Tabernacle was conſecrated, it was by Moſes, the civil Magiſtrate, and not by Aaron the High Prieſt; but we read of no other conſecrating the Tabernacle and its utenſils, but anointing them with oil, for which Moſes had an expreſs command; nor of any other conſecrating the Temple, but of Solomon's making an excellent Prayer in the outward Court, not in the Temple itſelf, and of his hallowing the middle Court by offerings and Peace-offerings; and 'tis obſervable, that the Cloud and Glory of the Lord filled the Temple, ſo as the Prieſts could not ſtand to miniſter before Solomon made his Prayer, which ſome call his Conſecration. But if it ſhould be allowed, that the Temple was conſecrated in an extraordinary manner, we have no mention either in Scripture, or Jewiſh Writers, of the conſecration of their Synagogues, to which our Churches properly ſucceed. And after all, 'tis no concluſive way of arguing, to derive a Chriſtian Inſtitution from the Practice of the Jewiſh Church, becauſe many of their Ordinances were temporary,

Managers Reply to the Antiquity of Conſecrating Churches. Prynne, p. 115, 499, &c.

King. Charles I. 1644.

porary, ceremonial, and abolished by the Coming of Christ.

Prynne, p. 501.

From the beginning of Christianity we have no credible authority for consecrating Churches for three hundred years. Eusebius, in the life of Constantine the Great, indeed, mentions his consecrating a Temple that he built over our Saviour's Sepulchre at Jerusalem; but how? With Prayers, Disputations, Preaching, and Exposition of Scripture, as he expressly defines it, cap. 45. Here were no Processions, no knocking at the Doors by the Bishop, crying, Open, ye everlasting Doors; no casting Dust or Ashes into the Air, and pronouncing the ground holy; no reverencing towards the Altar, nor a great many other Inventions of later ages; no, these were not known in the Christian Church till the very darkest times of Popery; nay, in those very dark times, we are told by Otho, the Pope's Legate, in his Ecclesiastical Constitutions, that in the Reign of King Henry III. there were not only divers Parish Churches, but some Cathedrals in England, which had been used for many years, and yet never consecrated by a Bishop. But it's plain to a Demonstration, that the Archbishop's method of consecrating Churches is a modern Popish invention, for 'tis agreed by Gratian, Platina, the Centuriators, and others, that Pope Hyginus, Gelasius, Silvester, Felix, and Gregory, were the first inventors and promotors of it; and it is no where to be found but in the Roman Pontifical, publish'd by command of Pope Clement VIII. De Ecclesiæ Dedicatione, p. 209, 280. for which reasons it was exploded and condemned by our first Reformers, and particularly by Bishop Pilkington, in his Comment upon Haggai, ch. i. ver. 7, 8. and Archbishop Parker, who in his Antiq. Britan. expressly condemns the Archbishop's method of Consecration as Popish and Superstitious, p. 85, 86, 87.

Prynne, p. 116, 117.

Ib. p. 115.

But the Archbishop says, if Churches are not consecrated they can't be holy, whereas many places that were never consecrated are stiled holy, as the most holy Place, and the holy City Jerusalem; and our Homilies say, that the Church is called Holy, not of itself, but because God's People resorting thither are Holy, and exercise themselves in holy things; and 'tis evident that Sanctification, when applied to places, is nothing else but a separating them from common use to a religious and sacred one, which may be done without the superstitious method above-mentioned;

Ib. p. 502.

tioned; and though the Archbiſhop avers, he had not his form of Conſecration from the Roman Pontifical, he acknowledges, he had it from Biſhop Andrews, who could have it no where elſe. King Charles I. 1644.

As for conſecrating Altars, Pattens, Chalices, Altar-cloths, and other Altar Furniture; their original is no higher than the Roman Miſſal and Pontifical, in both which there are particular Chapters, and ſet forms of Prayer for this purpoſe; but to imagine that theſe Veſſels may not be reputed Holy, though ſeparated to an holy Uſe, unleſs thus conſecrated, is without any Foundation in Reaſon or Scripture, and contrary to the practice of the Church of England, and the opinion of our firſt Reformers. To conſecrating Altars and the Furniture. Prynne, p. 65, &c. 467, 470.

To the Archbiſhop's account of Feaſts and Dedication we anſwer as before, that an Example out of the Jewiſh Law is no Rule for the Chriſtian Church. Ezra kept a Feaſt at the Dedication of the Temple, when it was rebuilt, and offered a great many Burnt-Offerings, Ezra vi. 16, 17. but it was not made an annual Solemnity; for the Feaſt of Dedication mentioned John x. 22. was not of the Dedication of the Temple, but of the Altars, inſtituted by Judas Maccabæus, to be kept annually by the ſpace of eight days, 1 Mac. iv. 56, 59. which being of no divine Inſtitution, but kept only by the ſuperſtitious Jews, not by Chriſt or his Apoſtles (who are only ſaid to be at Jeruſalem at that time) can be no Precedent for our modern Conſecrations. To Antiq. of Feaſts of Dedication, Prynne, p. 128.

Pope Felix and Gregory are the firſt that decreed the annual Obſervation of the Dedication of Churches ſince our Saviour's Time, which were obſerved in England under the names of Wakes and Revels, but were the occaſion of ſo much idleneſs and debauchery, that King Henry VIII. Ann. 1536, reſtrained them all to the firſt Sunday in October, not to be kept on any other day; and afterwards, by the Statute 5 and 6 Edward VI. cap. 3. of holy Days, they were totally aboliſh'd. But theſe Feaſts being revived again, by degrees, in ſundry places of this Realm, and particularly in Somerſetſhire, Judge Richardſon, when he was on the Circuit, at the Requeſt of the Juſtices of the Peace for the County, publiſh'd an order for ſuppreſſing them; but was obliged the next year as publickly to revoke it, and to declare ſuch Recreations to be lawful; and as a further puniſhment on the Judge, the Archbiſhop obtain'd his Removal from that Circuit. 'Tis very certain, that

King Charles I. 1644.

that at these Revels there were a great many disorders; as Drunkenness, Quarrelling, Fornication and Murder, 'tis therefore very unlikely they should answer any good purpose, and how fit they were to succeed the publick Devotions of the Lord's Day, we shall leave to your Lordships Consideration.

Antiq. of Altars, their Situation and Railing them in. M. Charge. Prynne, p. 62, 91, &c.

(3.) The Managers charged the Archbishop further, "with giving orders to Sir Nath. Brent, his Vicar-General, "to enjoin the Church-wardens of all Parish Churches "within his Diocese, that they should remove the Communion Table from the middle of the Chapel to the "upper end, and place it in form of an Altar, close to the "wall, with the ends North and South, and encompass it "with rails, according to the model of Cathedrals. They "objected likewise to his furnishing the Altar in his own "Chapel, and the King's at Whitehall, with Basins, Candlesticks, Tapers, and other Silver Vessels, not used in his "Predecessors time; and to the Credentia or Side-Table, "in conformity to the Roman Ceremoniale, on which the "Elements were to be placed on a clean Liuen Cloth before they were brought to the Altar to be consecrated; "and to the hanging over the Altar a piece of Arras with "a large Crucifix."

Abp's Answer. Laud's Hist. p. 310.

The Archbishop answer'd, that the placing the Communion Table at the east end of the Chancel was commanded by Queen Eliabeth's Injunctions, which say, that the holy Table shall be set in the place where the Altar stood, which all that are acquainted with Antiquity know, was at the east end of the Chancel, with the ends North and South, close to the Wall, and thus they were usually placed both in this and other Churches of Christendom; the Innovation therefore was theirs who departed from the Injunctions, and not mine who have kept to them. Besides, Altars, both Name and Thing, were in use in the Primitive Churches long before Popery began; yea, they are to be found both in the Old and New Testament, and that there can be no Popery in railing them in, I have proved in my Speech in the Star Chamber. However I aver, that I gave no orders nor directions to Sir Nath. Brent, my Vicar-General, neither by Letter, nor otherwise, to remove or rail in Communion Tables in all Parish Churches; and I desire

fire Sir Nath. may be called to teſtify the truth upon his oath. Sir Nath. being ſworn, the Archbiſhop aſked him upon his oath, whether he had ever given him ſuch orders? to which he replied, "My Lords, upon the oath I have taken, I "received an expreſs direction and command from the "Archbiſhop himſelf to do what I did of this kind, other-"wiſe I durſt never have done it." The Archbiſhop inſiſting that he never gave him ſuch orders, and wondering that he ſhould be ſo unworthy as to affirm it upon oath, Sir Nath. produced the following Letter under the Archbiſhop's own hand, directed to himſelf at Maidſtone. King Charles I. 1644.

SIR,

"I Require you to command the Communion Table at "Maidſtone to be placed at the Eaſt, or upper end of "the Chancel, and there railed in, and that the Commu-"nicants there come up to the Rail to receive the bleſſed "Sacrament; and the like you are required to do in all "Churches, and in all other places where you viſit Metro-"politically."

W. Cant.

To which the Archbiſhop, being out of countenance, made no other reply, but that he had forgot it.

As to the furniture upon the Altar, he added, that it was no other than was uſed in the King's Chapel at Whitehall before his time, and was both neceſſary and decent; as is likewiſe the Credentia or Side-table, the form of which he took from Biſhop Andrew's Model; and the piece of Arras that was hung up over the Altar in Paſſion Week, he apprehended, was very proper for the place and occaſion, ſuch Repreſentations being approved by the Lutherans, and even by Calvin himſelf, as had been already ſhown.

The Managers replied to the antiquity of Altars, that though the name is often mentioned in Scripture, yet 'tis never applied to the Lord's Table; but Altars and Prieſts are put in oppoſition to the Lord's Table, and Miniſters of the New Teſtament, 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14. Chriſt himſelf celebrated the Sacrament at a Table, not at an Altar, and he calls it a Supper, not a Sacrifice; nor can it be pretended by any Law or Canon of the Church of England, that it is called an Altar more than once, Stat. 1. Edward VI. cap. 1. which Statute was repealed within three years, and M. Reply to Antiq. of Altars, and Railing them in. Prynne, p. 480, 481.

King Charles I. 1644.

Life of Bp. Williams.

another made, in which the Word Altar is changed into Table. 'Tis evident from the unanimous Suffrage of moſt of the Fathers that lived within three hundred years after Chriſt; and by our moſt learned Reformers, that for above two hundred and fifty years after Chriſt there were no Altars in Churches but only Lord's Tables, Pope Sixtus II. being the firſt that introduced them; and the Canons of the Popiſh Council of Aix, 1583, being the only ones that can be produced for railing them in; one of which preſcribes thus, "Unumquodque Altare ſepiatur omnino ſepto ferreo, "vel lapideo vel ligneo." Let every Altar be encompaſſed with a Rail of Iron, Stone or Wood. The Text, Heb. xiii. 10. "We have an Altar, whereof they have no right "to eat which ſerve the Tabernacle," is certainly meant of Chriſt himſelf, and not of the Altar of Wood or Stone, as our Proteſtant Writers have proved at large; agreeably to which all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken away and removed, as ſuperſtitious and Popiſh, by publick Laws and Injunctions at the Reformation, and Tables were ſet up in their ſtead, which continued till the Archbiſhop was pleas'd to turn them again into Altars.

Prynne, p. 62.

To their Situation. Altars anciently not fixed to the Eaſt Wall of the Chancel. Prynne, p. 482, 484.

But the Archbiſhop is pleaſed to maintain, "That the "Queen's Injunctions preſcribe the Communion Table to "be ſet in the place where the Altar ſtood, and that this "was anciently at the Eaſt end of the Choir;" whereas we affirm, that he is not able to produce one Precedent or Authority in all Antiquity for this Aſſertion; on the contrary, we are able to demonſtrate to your Lordſhips, that Altars and Lord's Tables amongſt Jews and Chriſtians, ſtood anciently in the midſt of their Churches or Choirs; * where the people might ſit, ſtand, and go conveniently round them. So it was certainly in the Jewiſh Church, as every one allows; and it was ſo in the Chriſtian Church, till the very darkeſt times of Popery, when private Maſſes were introduced. Euſebius, Dionyſius, Areopagita, Chryſoſtom, Athanaſius, Auguſtine, &c. affirm, that the Table of the Lord ſtood in the middle of the Chancel, ſo that they might

Vide Bp. William's Life, p. 109.

* Choir or Chorus has its Denomination from the Multitude ſtanding round about the Altar [in modum Coronæ] in the form of a Ring or Circle. In the ancient Liturgies they prayed for all thoſe that ſtood round about the Altar.——The Prieſts and Deacons ſtood round about the Altar when they officiated, and ſo did the Biſhops when they conſecrated it.

might compass it about; nay, Durandus, a Popish Writer informs us, that when a Bishop consecrates a new Altar, he must go round about it seven times; by which 'tis evident, it could not stand against a Wall; but our most eminent Writers against Popery, as Bucer, Bishop Jewel, Bishop Babington, Bishop Morton, and Archbishop Williams, have proved this so evidently, that there is no room to call it in question; and we are able to produce several Authorities from venerable Bede, St. Austin the first Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, that they stood thus in England in their times. King Charles I. 1641.

Nor do Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions in the least favour the Archbishop's Practice, of fixing the Communion Table to the East Wall with Rails about it, for they order "the Table to be removed when the Sacrament is to be distributed, and placed in such sort within the Chancel, as "whereby the Minister may be more conveniently heard "of the Communicants, and the Communicants may more "conveniently, and in greater numbers, communicate with "him." Now, if it be to be removed at the time of Communion, 'tis absurd to suppose it to be fix'd to the Wall, and encompass'd with Rails. Besides, the Rubrick of the Common Prayer Book, and the eighty second Canon of 1603, appoint the Communion Table to be placed in the Body of the Church, where the Chancel is too small, or near the middle of the Chancel, where 'tis large enough; and thus they generally stood in all Churches, Chapels, and in Lambeth Chapel itself till the Archbishop's time, which puts the matter out of question. And if it be remember'd, that the saying of private Masses brought in this situation of Altars into the Church of Rome, contrary to all Antiquity, the Archbishop's imitating them in this particular must certainly be a Popish Innovation. Prynne, p. 467, 481.

The Furniture upon the Altar which the Archbishop pleads for, is exactly copied from the Roman Pontifical and the Popish Council of Aix, and is condemned by our Homilies and Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, which censure, condemn, and abolish as Superstitious, Ethnical, and Popish, all Candlesticks, Trendals, Rolls of Wax, and setting up of Tapers, as tending to Idolatry and Superstition, Injunct. 2, 23, 25. Therefore instead of conforming to the Chapel at Whitehall, he ought, as Dean of that Chapel, to have reformed it to our Laws, Homilies, and Injunctions. To their Furniture.

The like may be said of the Credentia [or Side-table] which is taken expresly out of the Roman Ceremonial and Prynne, p. 63, 468.

King Charles I. 1644.

Pontifical, and is uſed amongſt the Papiſts only in their moſt ſolemn Maſſes. It was never heard of in any Proteſtant Church, nor in the Church of England, till the Archbiſhop's time; and as for the ſtale pretext, of his having it from Biſhop Andrews; if it be true, we are certain that Biſhop could have it no where elſe but from the Roman Miſſal.

Ib. p. 62.

The Arras hangings, with the Picture of Chriſt at his laſt Supper, with a Crucifix, are no leſs Popiſh than the former, being enjoin'd by the Roman Ceremoniale, Ed. Par. 1633. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 69, 70. in theſe Words, "Quod ſi Altare parieti adhæreat, applicari poterit ipſi parieti ſupra Altare pannus aliquis cæteris nobilior & ſpecioſior, ubi intextæ ſint D. N. Jeſu Chriſti aut glorioſæ Virginis, vel ſanctorum Imagines. If the Altar be fix'd to the Wall, let there be ſome hangings more noble and beautiful than the reſt, faſten'd upon the Wall over the Altar, in which are wrought the Images of Chriſt, the bleſſed Virgin, or the Saints." Beſides, theſe things being condemned by our Statutes, Homilies, and Injunctions, as we have already proved, ought not certainly to have been introduced by a Prelate, "who challenges all that is between Heaven and Hell, juſtly to tax him in any one particular favouring of Popiſh Superſtition or Idolatry."

Antiquity of Bowing towards the Altar. M. Charge. Prynne, p. 72, &c.

"Another Innovation charged on the Archbiſhop, was "his introducing divers Superſtitions into divine Worſhip, "as bowing towards the Altar, bowing at the Name of "Jeſus, enjoining people to do Reverence at their entrance "into Church, reading the ſecond Service at the Communion Table, ſtanding up at the Gloria Patri, and introducing the uſe of Copes and Church Muſick. They "objected further, his repairing old Crucifixes, his new "Statutes of the Univerſity of Oxford, among which, "ſome were arbitrary, and others very ſuperſtitious; of the "former ſort, are the impoſing new oaths; the Statute of "Bannition; referring ſome Miſdemeanors to arbitrary Penalties, and obliging Students to go to Priſon on the Vice "Chancellor's or Proctor's command. Of the latter ſort, "are bowing to the Altar, ſinging the Litany, and reading "Latin Prayers in Lent; together with the above-mention'd Superſtitions in the manner of divine Worſhip."

Abp's Anſwer. Laud's Hiſt. p. 313, 361.

The Archbiſhop anſwered, that bowing in divine Worſhip was practiſed among the Jews, 2 Chron. xxix. 29. and the Pſalmiſt ſays, "O come, let us worſhip, and bow "down, let us kneel before the Lord our Maker, Pſal. xcv. "6." that it was uſual in Queen Elizabeth's time; and, that

that the Knights of the Garter were obliged to this practice by the Orders of their Chapter. Beſides, the Altar is the chief Place of God's Reſidence on Earth, for there it is, "This is my Body; whereas in the Pulpit 'tis only, "This "is my Word." And ſhall I bow to Men in each Houſe of Parliament, and not bow to God in his Houſe whither I come to worſhip him? Surely I muſt worſhip God, and bow to him, though neither Altar nor Communion Table be in the Church. King Charles I. 1644.

Bowing at the Name of Jeſus is preſcribed in direct Terms by Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, N° 12. and by the 18th Canon of our Church; and tho' ſtanding up at the Gloria Patri is not preſcribed by any Canon of the Church, 'tis, nevertheleſs, of great Antiquity; nor is the reading the ſecond Service at the Communion Table an Innovation, it being the conſtant practice in the Cathedrals, and warranted by the Rubrick. Bowing at the Name of Jeſus.

The uſe of Copes is preſcribed by the 24th Canon of 1603, which ſays, "That in all Cathedrals, and Collegiate Church-"es, the Communion ſhall be adminiſtered on principal "feaſt days, ſometimes by the Biſhop if preſent, ſometimes "by the Dean, and ſometimes by the Canon or Prebenda-"ry, the principal Miniſter uſing a decent Cope;" ſo that here is no Innovation, any more than in the uſe of Organs, which our Church has generally approved and made uſe of. Of Copes.

As to the Statutes of the Univerſity of Oxford, 'tis honour more than enough for me, that I have finiſhed and ſettled them; nor did I any thing in them but by the conſent of the Convocation; and as to the particulars, there is nothing but what is agreeable to their Charters, and the ancient cuſtom and uſage of the Univerſity. Laud's Hiſt. p. 304.

The managers replied, that Bowing to the Altar, is Popiſh, Superſtitious, and Idolatrous, being preſcribed only by Popiſh Canons, and introduced on purpoſe to ſupport the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, which the Archbiſhop's Practice ſeems very much to countenance, when at his coming up to the Altar to conſecrate the Bread, he makes three low bows, and at his going away three more, giving this Reaſon for it, "Quia hoc eſt corpus meum," becauſe, "This is my Body;" whereas he does not bow to the Pulpit, becauſe a greater Reverence is due to the Body than to "the Word of the Lord." Beſides, it has no foundation in Antiquity, nor has it been approved by any Proteſtant writers, except the Archbiſhop's Creatures, ſuch as Dr. M. Reply to Bowing to the Altar. Prynne, p. 63, 64, 474, 477, 487.

King Charles I. 1644.

Heylin, Pocklington &c. but has been condemned by the beſt writers as Popiſh and Superſtitious. The black Book of the Knights of the Garter at Windſor, is but a ſorry Precedent for a Proteſtant Archbiſhop to follow, being made in the darkeſt times of Popery (viz.) in the reign of King Henry V. and if they bow Deo & Altari, to God and to his Altar, as the Archbiſhop in his Speech in the Star Chamber is of opinion Chriſtians ought to do, we can't but think it both Popiſh and Idolatrous. His paſſages of Scripture are nothing to the purpoſe, for "Kneeling before the Lord our "Maker" has no relation to bowing to the Altar; nor is there any Canon or Injunction of the Church to ſupport the practice.

To the Gloria Patri and Bowing at the Name of Jeſus. Prynne, p. 64.

The Archbiſhop confeſſes, that there is neither Canon nor Injunction for ſtanding up at the Gloria Patri, which muſt therefore be an Innovation, and is of no greater Antiquity than the Office of the Maſs, for 'tis derived from the Ordo Romanus, as appears from the works of Caſſander, p. 98. And tho' Bowing at the Name of Jeſus be mentioned in the Canons, yet theſe Canons are not binding, not being confirmed by Parliament, eſpecially ſince the Homilies, the Common-Prayer-Book, the Articles of Religion, and the Book of Ordination, which are the only authentick Rules of the Church, make no mention of it; nor was it ever introduced before the time of Pope Gregory X. who firſt preſcribed it; and from the Councils of Baſil, Sennes, and Auguſta, it was afterwards inſerted into the Roman Ceremoniale; beſides, our beſt Proteſtant Writers have condemned the practice.

A. D. 1431. To Reading the ſecond Service. Prynne, p. 492.

Reading the ſecond ſervice at the Altar when there is no Communion, is contrary to the Canons of 1571, and 1603, contrary to the Queen's Injunctions, the Homilies, and Rubrick in the Common-Prayer-Book, and was never practiſed in Pariſh Churches till of late, tho' uſed in ſome Cathedrals, where the Rubrick enjoins the Communion to be adminiſtered every Sunday in the year, which being omitted, the ſecond Service at the Table was left to ſupply it. The Lord's Table was ordained only to adminiſter the Sacrament, but the Epiſtle and Goſpel, which are the chief parts of the ſecond Service, are appointed to be read with the two Leſſons in the Reading Pew.

To Copes. Ib. p. 64, 479, 480.

As for Copes, neither the Common-Prayer-Book, nor Book of Ordination, nor Homilies, confirmed by Parliament, nor Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions in her firſt year, make any mention of them, they are evidently derived from the

the Popiſh Ward-robe, and the laſt Common-Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. expreſly prohibits them. The 24th Canon of 1603, enjoins only the chief Miniſter to wear a Cope at the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament, whereas the Archbiſhop preſcribed them to be worn by others, beſides the chief Miniſter, and as well when the Sacrament was not adminiſtered, as when it was. But as we obſerved before, thoſe Canons not being confirmed by Parliament, expired with King James, and therefore can be no Warrant for their preſent uſe. Nor is the uſe of Muſick in Churches, or chaunting of Prayers, of any great Antiquity, being firſt introduced by Pope Vitalian, and encouraged only by Popiſh Prelates.

King Charles I. 1644.

Ib. p. 65. A. D. 666.

And though the Archbiſhop pleads, that the Statutes of Oxford are agreeable to ancient cuſtom and uſage, we affirm they contain ſundry Innovations, not only with regard to the Liberty of the Subject, but with regard to Religion, for Latin Prayers were formerly ſaid only on Aſh Wedneſdays before the Batchelors of Arts, whereas now, none others are to be ſaid throughout all Lent; the Statute for ſinging in ſolemn proceſſions was made in time of Popery, and renewed in theſe Statutes to keep up the practice of ſuch ſuperſtitious Perambulations; and though the Archbiſhop with his wonted aſſurance wonders what theſe things have to do with Treaſon, we apprehend, that if they appear ſo many proofs of a deſign "to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed Reli-" gion of the Church of England, they will be judged ſo " in the higheſt degree."

To the Univerſity Statutes.

Prynne, p. 478.

Further they charged the Archbiſhop with adviſing the King "to publiſh his Declaration for the uſe of Sports on " the Lord's day, in order to ſuppreſs Afternoon Sermons; " with obliging the Clergy of his dioceſe to read it in their " Pulpits, and puniſhing thoſe that refuſed."

Book of Sports. M. Charge. Prynne, p. 128, 156, 382.

The Archbiſhop anſwered, that he had the King's Warrant for printing the Book of Sports; that there is no proof that it was by his procurement, nor that it was done on purpoſe to take away Afternoon Sermons, ſince the Recreations are not allowed till they are over; beſides, the Declaration allows only lawful Recreations, which is no more than is practiſed at Geneva, though for his own part "he " always obſerved ſtrictly the Lord's Day." What he enjoned about the reading the Declaration was by his Majeſty's command, and he did not puniſh above three or four for not reading it.

Abp's Anſwer. Laud's Hiſt. p. 343, 344.

King Charles I. 1644.

The Commons replied, That it was evident by the Archbishop's Letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that the Declaration was printed by his procurement, the Warrant for printing it being written all with his own hand, and without date, and therefore might probably be obtained afterwards; moreover, some of the Recreations mentioned in it are unlawful on the Lord's Day, according to the opinion of Fathers, Councils, and Imperial Laws; and though Calvin differs from our Protestant writers about the morality of the Sabbath, yet he expressly condemns dancing and pastimes on that day. As for his Grace's own strict observation of the Lord's Day, 'tis an averment without truth, for he sat constantly at the Council Table on that day; and it was his ordinary practice to go to bowls in the Summer time, and use other Recreations upon it; nor is it probable, that the Archbishop would have punished conscientious Ministers for not reading the Book of Sports, if the thing had been disagreeable to his practice, especially when there is no Warrant at all in the Declaration that Ministers should publish it, or be punished for refusing it; and that he punished no more, was not owing to his Clemency, who gave command to suspend all that refused, but to the Clergy's compliance; for so zealous was this Archbishop, and some of his Brethren in this affair, that it was inserted as an Article of enquiry in their Visitations, "Whether the King's Declara-" tion for Sports has been read and published by the Mini-" ster?" And defaulters were to be presented upon oath. Now we appeal to the whole Christian World, Whether ever it has been known, that any who have been called, "Fathers of the Church," have taken so much pains to have the Lord's Day prophaned, as first to advise the King to publish a Declaration to warrant it, then to enjoin the Clergy to read it in their Pulpits, and to suspend, sequester and deprive, all whose Consciences would not allow them to comply, and this not only contrary to the Laws of God, but to the Laws of the Land.

Managers Reply, Prynne, p. 505.

Remarks.

The Reader will, no doubt, remark upon this part of the Archbishop's Trial, that those Rites and Ceremonies which have bred such ill Blood, and been contended for with so much fierceness, as to disturb the peace of the Church, and divide its Communion, have no Foundation in Scripture, or primitive Antiquity, but had their rise for the most part, in the darkest and most corrupt times of the Papacy. I speak not here of those Rites that are established by Law, as the Cross in Baptism, and kneeling at the Com-

munion,

munion, &c. becauſe the Commons could not charge theſe upon the Archbiſhop as criminal. But it will be obſerved further, that when men claim a right to invent Ceremonies for decency of worſhip, and impoſe them upon the people, there is no knowing where to ſtop. Archbiſhop Laud would, no doubt, by degrees, have introduced all the follies of the Roman Church; and indeed, if we admit of an authority to impoſe Rites and Ceremonies not mentioned in Scripture, 'tis not eaſy to give a reaſon why fifty may not be enjoined as well as five. King Charles I. 1644.

The Managers went on next to the ſecond Branch of their Charge, to prove the Archbiſhop's deſign to ſubvert the Proteſtant Religion, "by Countenancing and Encouraging ſundry Doctrinal Errors in favour of Arminianiſm and Popery." Doctrinal Errors.

And here they charged him, Firſt, "With being the great Patron of that part of the Clergy who had declared themſelves in favour of theſe Errors, and with procuring their advancement to the higheſt Stations in the Church, even though they were under cenſure of Parliament, as Dr. Manwaring, Montague, &c. They averr'd, that the beſt Preferments in his Majeſty's Gift, ever ſince the Archbiſhop's adminiſtration in 1627, had, by his advice, been beſtow'd on perſons of the ſame principles; and that he had adviſed the King to publiſh a Declaration, prohibiting the Clergy to preach on the Five controverted Points, by virtue of which the mouths of the orthodox Preachers were ſtopt, and ſome that ventur'd to tranſgreſs the King's Declaration were puniſhed in the High Commiſſion, when their adverſaries were left at large to ſpread their opinions at their pleaſure." Arminianiſm. M. Charge.

The Archbiſhop anſwered, that he had not defended any points of Arminianiſm, though he heartily wiſhed for the peace of Chriſtendom, that theſe differences were not purſued with ſuch heat and animoſity. He confeſſed, that he had been taxed in a Declaration of the Houſe of Commons as a favourer of Arminians, but without proof, and he took it as a very great ſlander. Nor had he, to the beſt of his remembrance, advanced any ſuch to Eccleſiaſtical Livings; if they proved ſo afterwards it was more than he could foreſee; but he had preferr'd divers orthodox Miniſters, againſt whom there was no exception. He denied that he had any hand in the preferment of Dr. Manwaring or Montague, who were under cenſure of Parliament, nor Abp's Anſwer. Laud's Hiſt. p. 352. Prynne, P. 529.

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King Charles I. 1644.

is the Pocket Book a ſufficient proof of it; he was of opinion, that Neale, Lindſey, Wren, Bancroft, Curle, and others mentioned in the charge, were worthy men, and every way qualified for their preferments, though it does not appear he had any hand in beſtowing them. As for the King's Declaration, prohibiting the Clergy to preach on the Five Points, it was his Majeſty's own, and not his; and ſince the publiſhing of it, he had endeavour'd to carry it with an equal hand, and to puniſh the tranſgreſſors of it on one ſide as well as the other.

Prynne, p. 508.

Managers Reply. Prynne, p. 529.

The Commons replied, that they wonder'd at the Archbiſhop's aſſurance in denying his endeavours to promote Arminianiſm in the Church; that the Remonſtrance of the Commons was a ſufficient evidence of his guilt, being confirmed by many proofs, though his anſwer to it was full of bitterneſs and ſawcineſs, as throwing ſcandal on the whole repreſentative Body of the Nation.

As to the particulars, they ſay, that his preferring Mr. Downham and Taylor, orthodox men, to ſome Benefices, was but a blind to cover his advancing ſo many popiſhly affected Clergymen. 'Tis known to all the world that Montague and Manwaring were his Creatures; the Pocket-book ſays, that his Majeſty's royal Aſſent to their preferment was ſignified by order of this Prelate, when only Biſhop of London, and himſelf was the perſon that conſecrated them. It would be too long to go into particulars, but every body knows, that the diſpoſal of all, or moſt of the Biſhopricks, Deanries, and moſt conſiderable Benefices ſince the year 1627, have been under the direction of this Archbiſhop; and what ſort of perſons have been preferr'd, is apparent to all men, by the preſent diſtracted condition of the Church and Univerſities.

Preachiug on the five Points. Prynne, p. 172, 511.

The King's Declaration for prohibiting preaching on the five controverted Points, was an artifice of the Archbiſhop's to introduce the Arminian errors, by preventing orthodox Miniſters from awakening the minds of people againſt them. And whereas he avers, that he has carried it with an even hand, and could bring Witneſſes from Oxford to prove it, we challenge him to name one Scholar or Miniſter that was ever impriſoned, deprived, ſilenced, proſecuted in the high Commiſſion, or caſt out of favour on this account; there was indeed one Rainsford, an Arminian, who in the year 1632, was obliged publickly to confeſs his error, in diſobeying his Majeſty's Declaration, but that was all his puniſhment; whereas great numbers of the other ſide have been

perſecuted,

perſecuted, ſo as to be forced to abandon their native Country, at a time when the moſt notorious and declared Arminians were advanced to the beſt preferments in the Church. as Montague made a Biſhop, Harſnet an Archbiſhop, Lindſey promoted to two Biſhopricks; Potter to a Deanry, and Duppa to a Deanry and a Biſhoprick, and made Tutor to the Prince, &c. King Charles I. 1644.

The Managers objected further to the Archbiſhop, "That "having obtained the ſole licenſing of the Preſs, by a De- "claration of the Star-Chamber in the year 1637, he had "prohibited the reprinting ſundry orthodox books formerly "printed, and ſold by authority, as the Geneva Bible with "notes, Gillibrand's Proteſtant Almanack, in which the "Popiſh Saints were left out of the Kalendar, and Proteſtant "Martyrs put in their places; that his Chaplains had refuſed "to licence the Confeſſion of Faith of the Palatine Churches, "Fox's book of Martyrs, Biſhop Jewel's works, ſome part "of Dr. Willet's, and the Hiſtory of the Gun-powder- "Treaſon, as was atteſted by the Clerks of Stationer's "Hall, and this reaſon given for the refuſal, That we "were not now ſo angry with the Papiſts as formerly, and "therefore it was not proper to exaſperate them, there "being a deſign on foot to win them with mildneſs. That "the Archbiſhop had ſuppreſs'd ſundry new books written "againſt Arminianiſm and Popery, and had caſtrated others, "expunging ſuch paſſages as reflected upon the Superſtition "and Idolatry of that Church;" a large catalogue of which the Commons produced; many Authors appeared in maintenance of this part of the charge, and among others, Dr. Featley, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Jones, Mr. Ward, &c. It was ſaid in particular, "that he had expunged divers paſ- "ſages which bore hard upon the Papiſts out of the col- "lection of publick prayers for a general Faſt againſt the "Plague; and that in the Prayer-book appointed by au- "thority for the 5th of Nov. inſtead of "Root out that Ba- "byloniſh and Antichriſtian Sect, whoſe Religion is Rebel- "lion, whoſe Faith is Faction, aad whoſe Practice is mur- "dering of Soul and Body;" he had altered that paſſage, and artfully turn'd it againſt the Puritans, thus, "Root "out the Antichriſtian Sect of them, who turn Religion "into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction.

Abuſe of the Preſs by prohibiting Books. M. Charge; Prynne, p. 180, 182, &c.

By caſtrating them.

Prynne, p. 257, 258, &c.

"And as the Archbiſhop had caſtrated ſome books, be- "cauſe they refuted the Doctrines he would countenance; "ſo he gave full licence to others, wherein the groſſeſt "points

By licenſing Popiſh Books. Prynne, p. 188, 201.

King Charles I. 1644.

" points of Arminianism and Popery were openly asser-
" ted; as Cosins's Hours of Prayer, Sales's Introduc-
" tion to a devout Life, Christ's Epistle to a devout
" Soul, and others, in which the following Doctrines were
" maintained. (1.) The necessity of auricular Confession,
" and the power of Priests to forgive Sins. (2.) The law-
" fulness and benefit of Popish Penance, as wearing Hair-
" cloth, and other corporal punishments. (3.) Absolute
" submission to the commands of Priests as directors of Con-
" science. (4.) That in the Sacrament, the Body and Blood
" of Christ is a true and proper sacrifice; that the natural
" Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially pre-
" sent in the Eucharist; and that there can be no true Sa-
" crament or Consecration of it where there is no Altar.
" (5.) That Crucifixes, Images and Pictures, may be law-
" fully set up in Churches, and ought not to be removed.
" (6.) That the Pope is not Antichrist. (7.) That there
" are venial sins. (8.) That there is a Purgatory or Limbus
" Patrum. (9.) That the Reliques of Saints are to be pre-
" served and reverenced. (10.) That the Virgin Mary and
" Saints are to be invoked and prayed to. (11.) That the
" Church of Rome is the Mother Church, and never erred
" in fundamentals. (12.) That there are written Tradi-
" tions of equal authority with the Word of God." To which were added sundry articles of Arminian Doctrine, as of Free-will, total and final Apostacy from Grace; examples of which the Managers produced from the several Authors.

And conniving at their Importation. Prynne, P. 349.

And as a further encouragement to Popery, they objected his Grace's " conniving at the importation of popish Books,
" and restoring them to the owners when seized by the
" searchers, contrary to the Statute of 3 Jacob. I. by which
" means many thousands of them were dispersed over the
" whole Kingdom; whereas he gave the strictest com-
" mands to his Officers to seize all imported Bibles with
" Notes, and all books against Arminian and Popish In-
" novations. All which put together, amount to no less
" than a demonstration of the Archbishop's design to sub-
" vert our established Religion, by introducing doctrinal
" Arminianism and Popery."

Abp's Answer. Laud's Hist. P. 350.

The Archbishop answered, That the Decree of the Star Chamber for regulating the Press was the act of the whole Court, and not his; that the Stationers themselves gave him thanks for it; and he is still of opinion, that it was both a necessary and useful Act, being design'd to sup-

suppress seditious, schismatical, and mutinous books. As to the particulars, he replied, that the Geneva Bible was only tolerated, not allowed by authority, and deserved to be suppressed for the marginal note on Exod. i. 17. which allows disobedience to the king's command. Gillibrand's Almanack had left out all the Saints and Apostles, and put in those named by Mr. Fox, and therefore deserved to be censured. As to the Book of Martyrs, it was an abridgment of that Book, I opposed (says his Grace) lest the book itself should be brought into disuse, and lest any thing material should be left out. But the licensing of books was left in general to my Chaplains, for an Archbishop had better grind than take that work into his own hands; and whereas it has been inferr'd, that what is done by my Chaplain must be taken as my act, I conceive no man can by law be punished criminally for his servants fact, unless it be proved that he had a hand in it. King Charles I. 1644.

The like answer the Archbishop gave to the castrating and licensing Books, his Chaplains did it; and since it was not proved they did it by his express command they must answer for it. He admits, that he altered the prayers for the 5th of Nov. and for the general Fast, by his Majesty's command; and he is of opinion, the expressions were too harsh, and therefore ought to be changed.

He denied that he ever connived at the importation of popish books; and if any such were restored to the owners, it was by order of the High Commission, and therefore he is not answerable for it.

The Commons replied, that the decree for regulating the Press was procured by him, with a design to enlarge his jurisdiction; and though some things in it might deserve the thanks of the Stationers, they complain'd loudly that Books formerly printed by Authority, might not be reprinted without a new Licence from himself ——As to particulars, they affirm, that the Geneva Bible was printed by authority of Queen Elizabeth and King James, Cum Privilegio; and in the 15th Jacob. there was an impression by the King's own Printer, notwithstanding the note upon Exodus, which is warranted both by Fathers and Canonists. Gillibrand's Almanack was certainly no offence, and therefore did not deserve that the Author should be tried before the High Commission; and if the Queen and the Papists were offended at it, it was to be liked never the worse by all Managers Reply. Prynne, p. 515.

good

King Charles I. 1644.

good Proteſtants. The Archbiſhop is pleaſed, indeed, to caſt the whole blame of the Preſs on his Chaplains; but we are of opinion (ſay the Managers) that the Archbiſhop is anſwerable for what his Chaplains do in this caſe; the truſt of licenſing books being originally inveſted in him, his Chaplains being his Deputies, he muſt anſwer for them at his peril. When the Archbiſhop of York, in the Reign of Edward I. was queſtion'd in Parliament for excommunicating two Servants of the Biſhop of Durham, employed in the King's Service, the Archbiſhop threw the blame on his Commiſſary, who was the perſon that excommunicated them; but it was then reſolved in Parliament, that the Commiſſary's act was his own, and he was fined four thouſand marks to the King. Now the Commiſſary was an Officer eſtabliſhed by Law; but the Archbiſhop's Chaplains are not Officers by Law, and therefore dare not licenſe any thing without his privity and command.

Beſides, 'tis apparent, theſe Books were caſtrated by the Archbiſhop's approbation, for otherwiſe he would have puniſhed the Licencers, Printers, and publiſhers, as he always did when information was given of any new Books publiſhed againſt the late Innovations. His Grace has forgot his refuſing to licence the Palatine Confeſſion of Faith, which is his peculiar happineſs, when he can make no anſwer; and it looks a little undutiful in him to caſt the Alteration of the Prayers for Nov. 5, on the King, when every body knows by whom the King's Conſcience was directed.

But whereas the Archbiſhop denies his conniving at the Importation of Popiſh Books, he does not ſo much as alledge, that he ordered ſuch Books to be ſeized, as he ought to have done; he confeſſes, that ſuch Books as were ſeized, had been reſtored, by order of the High Commiſſion, whereas it had been ſworn to be done by his own order; but if it had not, yet he being Preſident of that Court ought to have croſs'd thoſe orders, that Court not daring to have made any ſuch Reſtitutions without his conſent; ſo that we cannot but be of opinion, that the whole of this Charge, which ſhows a manifeſt partiality on the ſide of Arminianiſm and Popery, and the ſtrongeſt and moſt artificial attempts to propagate theſe Errors in the Nation, ſtill remains in its full ſtrength.

The

King Charles I. 1644.

Prosecuting Puritans. M. Charge. Prynne p. 361, 362, &c.

The Managers went on to charge the Archbishop with his "severe prosecution of those Clergymen who had dared "to preach against the dangerous increase of Arminianism "and Popery, or the late Innovations; they instanced in "Mr. Chancey, Mr. Workman, Mr. Davenport, and others; "some of whom were punished in the High Commission for "not railing in the Communion Table, and for preaching "against Images; and when Mr. Davenport fled to New "England, to avoid the storm, the Archbishop said "His "Arm should reach him there." They objected further, "his suppressing afternoon Sermons on the Lord's Day, "and the laudable design of buying in Impropriations, "which was designed for the encouraging such Lectures."

Abp's Answer. Laud's Hist. p. 332, 348.

The Archbishop answer'd, that the Censures past on the Ministers abovementioned was the Act of the High Commission, and not his; but he confesses their Sentences appeared to him just and reasonable, in as much as the passages that occasioned them were against the laudable Ceremonies of the Church, against the King's Declaration, tending to infuse into the minds of people groundless Fears and Jealousies of Popery, and to cast aspersions on the Governors of the Church; that therefore if he did say, his Arm should reach Mr. Davenport in New England, he sees no harm in it, for there is no reason that the Plantations should secure offenders against the Church of England from the edge of the Law; and he meddled with none but such as were Puritanical, Factious, Schismatical, and enemies to the good orders of the Church.

Prynne, p. 388.

As to the Suppressing Afternoon Sermons, the Instructions for turning them into catechizing was before his time, and he could not but approve of the Design, as a proper expedient for preserving peace between Ministers and People, the Lecturers being for the most part factious, and the occasion of great contentions in the Parishes where they preached.

He confessed, that he overthrew the design of buying up Impropriations, and thanked God he had destroyed it, because he conceived it a plot against the Church, for if it had succeeded, more Clergymen would have depended on these Feoffees than upon the King, and on all the Peers and Bishops of the Kingdom beside; but he proceeded against them according to Law, and if the sentence was not just it must be the Judges fault, and not his.

The

King Charles I. 1644.

The Commons replied, that it was notorious to all Men, how cruel he had been towards all Men who had dared to make a ſtand againſt his proceedings. They put him in mind of Prynne, Burton, and Baſtwick, and of great numbers, whom he had forced into Holland, and into the Plantations of America, to avoid the ruin of themſelves and families; yea, ſo implacable was this Prelate, that he would neither ſuffer them to live in the Land, nor out of it, an embargo being laid on all Miniſters going to New England; and if any ſuch got over clandeſtinely, he threaten'd "his Arm "ſhould reach them there." In vain does he ſhelter his ſevere proceedings under the authority of the Court, for if this Plea be admitted, no corrupt Judges or Counſellors can be brought to Juſtice for the moſt arbitrary proceedings; but in reality, "the Act of the Court is the Act of every par- "ticular Perſon that gives his Vote for it, and every indi- "vidual Member is accountable." Many inſtances of this might be produced; but there has been one very lately, in the caſe of Ship-money, which is freſh in the Memory of all Men; and we do aver, that the Sermons or Books, for which the abovementioned perſons ſuffer'd ſo ſeverely, were neither factious nor ſeditious, but neceſſary for theſe times, wherein the Proteſtant Religion runs ſo very low, and Superſtition and Popery is coming in like a flood.

M. Reply. Prynne, p. 535, &c.

As to the Inſtructions for ſuppreſſing Afternoon Sermons, whenſoever they were drawn up, 'tis evident he was the Man that put them in execution, and levell'd them againſt thoſe conſcientious Perſons who ſcrupled reading the Prayers in their Surplice and Hood, or taking a Living with Cure of Souls, all ſuch perſons, how orthodox ſoever in Doc- trine, or how diligent ſoever in their Callings, and pious in their Lives, being reputed factious, ſchiſmatical, and unwor- thy of the leaſt employment in the Church.

Prynne, p. 370. 537, 538.

As to the Impropriations, there was no deſign in the Fe- offees to render the Clergy independent on the Biſhops, for none were preſented but conformable Men, nor did any preach but ſuch as were liceuſed by the Biſhop; indeed, the deſign being to encourage the preaching of the Word of God, the Feoffees were careful to employ ſuch perſons as would not be idle; and when they perceived the Arch- biſhop was bent on their ruin, Mr. White went to his Grace, and promiſed to rectify any thing that was amiſs, if the thing itſelf might ſtand. But he was determined to deſtroy it, and by his mighty influence obtain'd a decree,

Prynne, P. 357.

that

that the money ſhould be paid into the King's Exchequer, by which an end was put to one of the moſt charitable deſigns for the good of the Church that has been formed theſe many years. King Charles I. 1644.

The laſt Charge of the Managers, was "his Grace's open attempts to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome, as appears, Firſt, By the papal Titles he ſuffered the Univerſities to give him in their letters, as Sanctitas veſtra, your Holineſs; Sanctiſſima Pater, moſt holy Father; Spiritus ſancti effuſiſſime plenus, full of the Holy Ghoſt; Summus Pontifex, optimus maximuſque in terris, &c. Agreeably to this he aſſumed to himſelf the Title of Patriarch, or Pope of Great Britain, Alterius Orbis Papa; which gave the Romaniſts ſuch an opinion of him, that they offered him twice a Cardinal's Hat; though as things then ſtood, he did not think it prudent to receive it. But Sir H. Mildway, and Sir N. Brent, ſwore, that both at Rome and elſewhere, he was reputed a Papiſt in his heart; which opinion was not a little confirm'd, (1.) By his forbidding the Clergy to pray for the Converſion of the Queen to the Proteſtant Faith. (2.) By his owning the Church of Rome to be a true Church; by denying the Pope to be Antichriſt, and wiſhing a Reconciliation with her; and affirming, that ſhe never erred in Fundamentals, no, not in the worſt of times. (3.) By his ſowing Diſcord between the Church of England and foreign Proteſtants, not only by taking away the Privileges and Immunities of the French and Dutch Churches in theſe Kingdoms, but by denying their Miniſters to be true Miniſters, and their Churches true Churches. (4.) By maintaining an intimate correſpondence with the Pope's Nuncio and with divers Prieſts and Jeſuits, conniving at the Liberties they took in the Clink, and elſewhere, and threatning thoſe Purſuivants, who were diligent in apprehending them; to all which they added, the Influence the Archbiſhop had in marrying the King to a Papiſt, and his Concealment of a late Plot to reduce theſe Kingdoms to Popery and Slavery." Reconciling the Church of England with Rome, and aſſuming Papal Titles, and diſcouraging foreign Proteſtants. M. Charge. Ib. p. 421. Prynne, p. 539.

To this long Charge the Archbiſhop anſwered ſome things in general, in ſatyrical and provoking Language: My Lords (ſays he) I am charged with an endeavour to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome; I ſhall recite the ſum of the evidence, and of the arguments Abp's Anſwer. Laud's Hiſt. p. 285, 286, 325, &c. Prynne, p. 543. Laud's Hiſt. p. 418, 419,

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to prove it, (1.) I have reduced several persons from Popery, whom I have named in my Speech; ergo, I have endeavoured to bring in Popery. (2.) I have made a Canon against Popery, and an oath to abjure it; ergo, I have endeavoured to introduce it. (3.) I have been twice offer'd a Cardinalship and refused it, because I would not be subject to the Pope; ergo, I have endeavoured to subject the Church of England to him. (4.) I writ a Book against Popery; ergo, I am inclinable to it. (5.) I have been in danger of my life from a Popish Plot; ergo, I cherish'd it, and endeavoured to accomplish it. (6.) I endeavoured to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists; ergo, I laboured to bring in Popery.

To his assuming Papal Titles.

To the Particulars he answer'd thus, that whatever papal power he had assumed, he assumed it not in his own right, as the Popes did, but from the King. That the stile of Holiness was given to St. Augustine, and others, and therefore not peculiar to the Pope; why then should so grave a Man as Mr. Brown (says he) disparage his own Nation, as if it was impossible for an English Bishop to deserve as good a Title as another? As for the other Titles, they must be taken as compliments for my having deserved well of the University; but after all, 'tis one thing to assume papal Titles, and another to assume papal Power. As to the Title of Patriarch, or Pope of the other World; 'tis the Title that Anselm says belongs to the Archbishops of Canterbury, and not so great an one as St. Jerom gave to St. Augustine, when he writ to him with this Title, Beatissimo Papæ Augustino. I confess I have been offered a Cardinal's Hat, but refused it, saying, "I could not accept it till Rome "was otherwise than it now is." If after this, Others will repute me a Papist I can't help it, I hope I shall not be answerable for their uncharitableness. Sir Henry Mildmay will witness how much I am hated and spoken against at Rome. It does not appear that I forbad Ministers praying for the Queen's Conversion; but when I was told the Queen was pray'd for in a factious and seditious manner I referr'd the matter to my Visitors, and do acknowledge that Mr. Jones was punished in the High Commission on this Account.

Laud's Hist. p. 383.

To the Church of Rome's being a true Church. Ib p. 392.

To the Objection, of the Church of Rome's being a true Church, I confess myself of that opinion, and do still believe, that she never erred in Fundamentals; for the foundations of the Christian Religion are in the Articles of the Creed, and she denies none of them; and it would be sad if she should, for "'tis through her that the Bishops "of

" of the Church of England, who have the honour to be " capable of deriving their Calling from St. Peter, muſt " deduce their Succeſſion." She is therefore a true Church, though not an orthodox One; our Religion and theirs is one in eſſentials, and people may be ſaved in either. It has not been proved, that I deny the Pope to be Antichriſt, though many learned Men have denied it; nor do I conceive that our Homilies affirm it; and if they did I don't conceive myſelf bound to believe every Phraſe that is in them. I confeſs, I have often wiſh'd a Reconciliation between the Churches of England and Rome in a Juſt and Chriſtian way, and was in hopes in due time to effect it; but a Reconciliation without Truth and Piety I never deſired.

King Charles I. 1644.

Prynne, P. 556.

To the Objection of the foreign Proteſtant Churches, I deny that I have endeavoured to ſow diſcord between them, but I have endeavoured to unite the Calviniſts and Lutherans; nor have I abſolutely unchurched them. I ſay indeed, in my book againſt Fiſher, according to St. Jerom, " No Biſhop, no Church;" and that none but a Biſhop can ordain, except in caſes of inevitable neceſſity; and whether that be the caſe with the foreign Churches the World muſt judge. The Judgement of the Church of England is, that Church Government by Biſhops is unalterable; for the Preface to the Book of Ordination ſays, That from the Apoſtles time there have been three orders of Miniſters in the Church, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons; now, if Biſhops are the Apoſtles Succeſſors, and have continued in the Church above ſixteen hundred years, what authority have any Chriſtian States to deprive them of that Right which Chriſt has given them? As to the French and Dutch Churches in this Kingdom, I did not queſtion them for their antient Privileges, but for their new Encroachments, for it was not the deſign of the Queen [Elizabeth] to harbour them, unleſs they conformed to the Engliſh Liturgy; now, I inſiſted on this only with reſpect to thoſe who were of the ſecond Deſcent, and born in England; and if all ſuch had been obliged to go to their Pariſh Churches as they ought, they would not have done the Church of England ſo much harm as they have ſince done.

To the Unchurching foreign Proteſtants.

Laud's Hiſt. p. 374.

Prynne, p. 540.

Ibid. p. 378.

To the fourth Objection I anſwer, that I had no intimate Correſpondence with Prieſts or Jeſuits, nor entertained them at my Table, knowing them to be ſuch. I never put my hand to the releaſing any Prieſt out of Priſon, nor have I connived at the Liberties they aſſumed; the Witneſſes that pretend to prove this are either mean perſons, or

To his corresponding with Popiſh Prieſts.

Laud's Hiſt. P. 394.

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ſtrongly prejudiced; and to moſt of the facts there is but one Witneſs. As to the Nuncios from Rome, it was not in my power to hinder their coming, the King having condeſcended to it, at the earneſt requeſt of the Queen; nor had I any particular intimacy with them whilſt they were here; nor do I remember my checking the Purſuivants in doing their duty. But if it could be ſuppoſed that I ſaid, "I will have nothing to do with any Prieſt-catching "Knaves," I hope the Words are not Treaſon; nor is it any offence not to be a perſecutor, or not to give ill Language to Jeſuits; and I do affirm, that I never perſecuted any orthodox Miniſters or Puritans, though I may have proſecuted ſome for their Schiſms and Miſdemeanors.

As to the King's marrying, 'tis not proved that I had any hand in it, though I acknowledge the Duke of Buckingham did me the honour to make me his Confeſſor. Nor did I conceal the late Plot to bring in Popery, but diſcovered it to the King as ſoon as I had intelligence of it; for the truth of which I appeal not only to my Letters, but to the Earl of Northumberland here preſent; who ſtood up, but ſaid he remembered no ſuch thing.

M. Reply. Prynne, P. 543.

The Commons replied to the Archbiſhop's general defence, that he had been fighting with his own ſhadow, for they never objected thoſe things to him for the purpoſes which he mentions; they never objected his reducing any from Popery, but that many were hardened in it by his means. Nor did they object the Canons or Oath to prove him guilty of introducing Popery, but to quite different purpoſes. So that the Archbiſhop in theſe, and the other Particulars abovementioned, has given us a Specimen of his Sophiſtry and Jeſuitiſm, transforming his own Defence into our Charge and Evidence, and making our Objections ſtand as proofs of a Fact which they were not in the leaſt intended to ſupport.

To his aſſuming Papal Titles and Honours.

To the Particulars they replied, that the Titles he had aſſumed were peculiar to the Papacy; that they were never aſſumed by any Proteſtant Archbiſhop before himſelf; nay, that in the times of Popery there are hardly any examples of their being given to Engliſh Biſhops, and that it is Blaſphemy to give the Title of Holineſs in the Abſtract to any but God himſelf; the Archbiſhop therefore ought, in his Anſwers to the Letters of the Univerſity, to have check'd them, whereas he does not ſo much as mention theſe exorbitances, nor find the leaſt fault with them. And though there be a difference between papal Titles and papal

papal Power, yet certainly his claiming the Title of "Alterius Orbis Papa," Pope of the other World, is a demonstration that he was grasping at the same power in Great Britain as the Pope had in Italy; and though for prudent Reasons he refused the Cardinal's Hat when it was offer'd, yet when he had made his terms, and accomplished that Reconciliation between the two Churches that he was contriving, no doubt he would have had his Reward. Sir Henry Mildmay being summoned, at the Archbishop's Request, to give in evidence, how much he was hated and spoke against at Rome, swore, that when he was at Rome some of the Jesuitical Faction spoke against the Archbishop, because they apprehended he aimed at too great an ecclesiastical Jurisdiction for himself; but the Seculars commended and applauded him, because of the near approaches he made to their Church, and shewed himself favourable to their Party. The like Evidence was given by Mr. Challoner, and others.

King Charles I. 1644.

Prynne, p. 413.

And whereas the Archbishop had said, that it was not proved, that he had forbid Ministers to pray for the Queen's conversion, the Managers produced Mr. Hugh Ratcliffe of St. Martin's Ludgate, who swore, that Sir Nath. Brent his Vicar General, at a Visitation at Bow Church, gave in charge to the Clergy in his hearing, these Words, "Where-"as divers of you, in your Prayers before Sermon, used to "pray for the Queen's conversion, you are to do so no "more, for the Queen does not doubt of her conversion." And both before and after, the Archbishop himself caused Mr. Bernard, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Jones, to be prosecuted in the High Commission on this account. The Archbishop having said, that he never put his Hand to the releasing any Priest out of Prison, the Managers produced a Warrant under his own Hand, dated Jan. 31, 1663, for the Release of William Walgrave, deposed to be a dangerous seducing Priest, in these Words:

To his Forbidding to pray for the Queen's Conversion. Prynne, p. 418.

Ib. p. 444.

"THESE are to will and command you, to set at "full Liberty, the Person of William Walgrave, "formerly committed to your custody, and for your so "doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant."

W. Cant.
R. Ebor.

King Charles I. 1644.

But the Archbiſhop's Memory frequently fail'd him on theſe occaſions.

Church of Rome no true Church. Prynne, p. 552, &c.

His Grace confeſſes the Church of Rome to be a true Church, whereas we aver her to be a falſe and antichriſtian one, for ſhe has no ſure Foundation, no true Head, no Ordinances, Sacraments nor Worſhip, no true Miniſtry, nor Government of Chriſt's Inſtitution; ſhe yields no true ſubjection to Chriſt's Laws, Word, or Spirit, but is overſpread with damnable Errors in Doctrine, and Corruptions in Manners and Worſhip, and is therefore defined by our Homilies to be a falſe Church. Muſt ſhe not err in Fundamentals, when ſhe affirms the Church to be built on Peter, not upon Chriſt, and reſolves our Faith into the Church, and not into the Scriptures? when ſhe deifies the Virgin Mary, and other Saints, by giving them divine Worſhip, and obliges us to adore the conſecrated Bread in the Sacrament as the very Body and Blood of Chriſt; when ſhe denies the Cup to the Laity, obliges people to pray in an unknown Tongue, and ſets up a new Head of the Church inſtead of Chriſt, with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven at his Girdle? what are theſe, but fundamental Errors, which nullify the Church that maintains them? the Religion of the Church of Rome and ours is not one and the ſame, for theirs is no Chriſtian Religion, but a Heap of Superſtition and Idolatry; and his affirming Salvation may be had in that Church, is contrary to the opinion of our beſt Proteſtant Writers, who make her damnable Errors the foundation of our Separation from her. And though the Archbiſhop makes light of his not believing the Pope to be Antichriſt, we do aver, that our Statutes and Homilies do either in direct or equivalent expreſſions define him to be Antichriſt, and particularly in the Subſidy Act, 3 Jac. penn'd by the Convocation.

To his Reconciling the Church of England to Rome.

But can any thing more fully demonſtrate the Archbiſhop's deſign to reconcile the Church of England with Rome than his own confeſſion? he ſays, he has laboured this matter with a faithful and ſingle Heart, Reply to Fiſher, p. 388, though not to the prejudice of Truth and Piety. But it muſt be obſerved, that the Archbiſhop's deſign was not to bring over the Church of Rome to us, but to carry us over to them; and what large advances he has made that way appears, by his ſetting up Altars, Crucifixes, Images, and other Innovations. What advance has the Church of Rome made towards us? why none at all; nor is it poſſible ſhe ſhould, till ſhe lays aſide her Infallibili-

ty.

ty. The pretence, therefore, of the Church of Rome's meeting us half way, was a meer Blind to deceive the people of England, till he had carried them wholly over into her Territories. King Charles I. 1644.

The Archbishop has denied his Endeavours to sow discord among foreign Protestants, and asserted his Endeavours to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists, though he has produced no Evidence of it; but his late Behaviour towards the Scots, on the account of their having no Bishops, and to the foreign Settlements among ourselves, is a sufficient proof of the contrary. The maxim that he cites from St. Jerom, No Bishop, no Church, is a plain perverting of his Sense, for his Words are, "Ubi non est sacerdos, non est "ecclesia;" but 'tis well known, that according to St. Jerom, Bishops and Presbyters are one and the same in Jurisdiction and Office, and Presbyters have the power of Ordination as well as Bishops; and therefore this is a conclusion of the Archbishop's framing, which if it be true, must necessarily unchurch all the foreign reformed Churches, and render all the Ordinations of their Ministers invalid, which is a sufficient Evidence of his Enmity to them. To his Unchurching foreign Protestants. Prynne, p. 541.

As to the French and Dutch Churches, who were settled by Charter in the reign of King Edward VI. Mr. Bulteel's Book, of the manifold troubles of those Churches by this Archbishop's Prosecutions, evidently proves, that he invaded and diminished their ancient Immunities and Privileges in all Parts; and that he was so far from being their Friend, that they accounted him their greatest Enemy.

To the fourth Objection, relating to the Archbishop's correspondence with Popish Priests, we reply, that the Archbishop's intimacy with Sir Toby Mathew, the most active Jesuit in the Kingdom, has been fully proved; that he was sometimes with him in his Barge, sometimes in his Coach, sometimes in private with him in his Garden, and frequently at his Table. The like has been proved of Sancta Clara, St. Giles Leander, Smith, and Price, and we can't but wonder at his denying that he knew them to be Priests, when the Evidence of his Knowledge of some of them has been produced under his own Hand; and the Witnesses for the others were no meaner Persons than the Lords of the Council, and the High Commissioners, (amongst which was himself) employed to apprehend Priests and Delinquents; from whence we conclude, that all the Archbishop's Predecessors since the Reformation had not half the intimacy with Popish Priests and Jesuits as himself, To his countenancing Popish Priests. Prynne p. 448, 456, 559, 561.

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and his harbouring ſome of them that were native Engliſh Men, is within the Statutes of 23 Eliz. cap. 1. and 27 Eliz. cap. 2. 'Tis very certain, that the Liberty the Jeſuits have enjoyed in priſon, and elſewhere, was owing to his Connivance; and though the Archbiſhop is ſo happy as not to remember his checking the Officers for their Diligence in apprehending Popiſh Prieſts, yet his diſtinction between not perſecuting Papiſts, and proſecuting Puritans, beſides the Quibble, is an unanſwerable argument of his affection to the one beyond the other.

Prynne, p. 485, 448.

And diſcountenancing their Proſecutors. Prynne, p. 446.

The Managers produced ſix or eight Witneſſes to prove the Archbiſhop's diſcountenancing, and threatening ſuch as were active in apprehending Prieſts and Jeſuits. And tho' he would waſh his Hands of the affair of the Pope's Nuncio, reſiding here in Character, and holding an intimate correſpondence with the Court, becauſe himſelf did not appear in it, yet 'tis evident, that Secretary Windebank, who was the Archbiſhop's Creature and Confidant, held an avowed correſpondence with them. If he had no concern in this affair, ſhould he not, out of regard to the Proteſtant Religion, and Church of England, even to the hazard of his Archbiſhoprick, have made ſome open Proteſtation, when Gregorio Panzani reſided here in Character two years; Gregorio Con, a Scot, for three years and two months; and laſt of all, Count Roſetti, till driven away by the preſent Parliament.

It had been ſufficiently proved, that the Archbiſhop was concern'd in the Spaniſh and French Matches, and in the Inſtructions given to the Prince at his going to Spain, to ſatisfy the Pope's Nuncio about King James's having declared the Pope to be Antichriſt; for the Duke of Buckingham was the Prince's Director, and himſelf acknowledged that he was the Duke's Confeſſor.

To his concealing Habernfield's Plot. Prynne, p. 564, &c.

And as to the late Plots of Habernfield we have own'd in our Evidences, that at firſt he diſcover'd it to the King, becauſe he imagined it to be a Plot of the Puritans, but when he found the Parties engaged in it to be Papiſts, and among others, Secretary Windebank and Sir Toby Mathew, his own Creatures, he then concealed his Papers, called it a ſham Plot, and Brow-beat the Informers, whereas he ought at leaſt to have laid it before the Parliament, that they might have ſifted it to the Bran. But that it was a real Plot, his own Diary, together with our later diſcoveries,

discoveries, fully prove; and his concealment of it, we conceive to be an high and treasonable offence, tending to subvert the Protestant Religion, and subject us to the Church of Rome. King Charles I. 1644.

Thus we humbly conceive, we have made a satisfactory reply to all the Archbishop's Answers, and have fully made good the whole of our charge, namely, "That the Archbishop has traiterously endeavored to destroy our civil Liberties, and to introduce tyranny and arbitrary power; and, secondly, that he has endeavoured to subvert the Protestant Religion established by Law in these Kingdoms, and to subject us to the Church of Rome;" wherefore we do, in the name of all the Commons of England, pray Judgment against him as a traytor. The Managers Conclusion.

Before the Archbishop withdrew from the Bar he moved the Lords, that considering the length of his Trial, and the distance of time between the several days of hearing, they would allow him a day that he might set before their Lordships in one view the whole of the Commons charge, and his defence; to which they condescended, and appointed Sept. 2, which was five weeks from the last day of his Trial. When the Archbishop appeared at the Bar he began with a moving address, beseeching their Lordships to consider his Calling, his Age, his long Imprisonment, his Sufferings, his Patience, and the Sequestration of his estate. He then complained, (1.) Of the uncertainty and generality of the Commons charge. (2.) Of the short time that was allowed him for his Answer. (3.) That he had been sifted to the Bran, and had his Papers taken from him. (4.) That the things he had taken most pains in, were for the publick good, and done at his own great expence, as the repair of St. Paul's, and the Statutes of Oxford. (5.) That many of the Witnesses were Sectaries and Schismaticks, whereas by the Canon Law, "No Schismatick should be heard against his Bishop." He complained also of the number of witnesses produced against him, which were above one hundred and fifty; whereas the Civil Law says, That the Judges should moderate things so as no Man should be oppressed with the multitude of witnesses. (6.) That he had been charged with passionate and hasty words, which he hopes their Lordships will pardon as human frailties. (7.) That other Men's actions had been laid to his charge, as those of his Chaplains and the actions of the High Commission and Star Chamber, which he insists cannot by any Law be put upon him, it being a known rule, Abp's Speech at the close of the Trial. Laud's Hist. 412, 419.

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rule, "Refertur ad univerſos quod publice fit per majorem "partem." He then went over the particular charges abovementioned, and concluded with a requeſt, that when the Commons had replied to the facts, his Council might be heard as to matters of Law. The Commons replied to the Archbiſhop's Speech Sept. 11, and the ſame day his Council delivered in theſe two Queries, (1.) "Whether in "all, or any of the Articles charged againſt the Archbiſhop, "there be contained any Treaſon by the eſtabliſhed Laws "of this Kingdom. (2.) Whether the Impeachment and Ar-"ticles did contain ſuch Certainties and Particularities as is "required by Law in Caſes of Treaſon." The Lords ſent down the Queries to the Commons, who, after they had referr'd them to a Committee of Lawyers, agreed that the Archbiſhop's Council might be heard to the firſt Query, but not to the ſecond. Accordingly, Octo. 11, the Archbiſhop being preſent at the Bar, Mr. Hearn propoſed to argue theſe two general Queſtions.

Laud's Hiſt. p. 422.

Points of Law debated.

Laud's Hiſt. p. 423.

Mr. Hearn's Argument.

(1.) "Whether there be at this day any other Trea-"ſon than what is enacted by the Statute of 25th Ed-"ward III. cap. 2. or enacted by ſome other ſubſequent "Statute?

(2.) "Whether any of the matters, in any of the Articles "charged againſt the Archbiſhop, contain any of the Trea-"ſons declared by that Law, or enacted by any ſubſequent "Law."

Ib. p. 424, 425.

And for the clearing of both theſe he humbly inſiſted, that an "Endeavour to ſubvert the Laws, the Proteſtant "Religion, and the Rights of Parliament, which are the "three general Charges to which all the particulars alledg-"ed againſt the Archbiſhop may be reduced, is not Trea-"ſon within the Statute of 25 Edward III. nor any other "particular Statute."

In Maintenance of this Propoſition he obſerved, Firſt, "That the particulars alledged againſt the Archbiſhop "were not within the Letter of the Statute of the 25th "Edward III. and then argued, that the Statutes of this "Land ought not to be conſtrued by Equity or Inference, "becauſe they are declarative Laws, and were deſigned "for the ſecurity of the Subject in his Life, Liberty and "Eſtate; and becauſe ſince the time of Henry IV. no "Judgment has been given in Parliament for any Treaſon "not expreſly contained, or declared in that, or ſome other "Statute, but by Bill; from whence it will follow, that

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" the particulars charged againſt the Archbiſhop, being " only " an endeavour to ſubvert fundamental Laws," are " of ſo great Latitude and Uncertainty, that every Acti- " on not warranted by Law may be extended to Trea- " ſon, though there is no particular Statute to make it ſo. " If it be replied, that the Statute of 25th Edward III. " takes no notice of " compaſſing or imagining," we anſwer, " it confines it to the death of the King; but an " Endea- " vour to ſubvert the Laws of the Realm is no determinate " crime by the Laws of England, but has been eſteem- " ed an Aggravation of a crime, and has been uſual- " ly joined as the reſult of ſome other offence below Trea- " ſon." King Charles I. 1644. Laud's Hiſt. p. 427.

" The like may be obſerved to the ſecond Charge of " Endeavouring to ſubvert Religion; 'tis not Treaſon by " the Letter of any Law eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom; for " the Statute of 1 Edward VI. cap. 12. makes it but Felony " to attempt an Alteration of Religion by force, which is " the worſe kind of Attempt. Ib. p. 429.

" As to the third Charge, of Endeavouring to ſubvert the " Rights of Parliament. We inſiſt on the ſame reply that " was made under the firſt head. We allow, that by the " Statute of 5 Jac. cap. 4. 'tis provided, that if any Man " ſhall put in practice to reconcile any of his Majeſty's Sub- " jects to the Pope or ſee of Rome it ſhall be deemed Trea- " ſon; but we conceive this does not reach the Archbiſhop, " becauſe, (1.) He is charged only with an Endeavour, where- " as in the Statute it is putting in practice. (2.) Becauſe the " Archbiſhop is charged with reconciling the Church of " England with the Church of Rome, whereas in the Sta- " tute it is reconciling any of his Majeſty's Subjects to the " See of Rome; now reconciling with, may as well be con- " conſtrued a reducing Rome to England, as England to " Rome. Ib. p. 430.

" Thus, ſays Mr. Hearn, we have endeavoured to make " it appear, that none of the matters in any of the Articles " charged are Treaſon within the letter of the law; indeed, " the crimes, as they are laid in the charge, are many and " great, but their number cannot make them exceed their " nature; and if they be but crimes and miſdemeanors a- " part, below Treaſon, they cannot be made Treaſon by " putting them together."

Theſe arguments of the Archbiſhop's Council ſtagger'd the Houſe of Lords; nor could the Managers for the Commons ſatisfy

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satisfy them in their reply; they had no doubts about the truth of the facts, but "whether any of them were Treason by the "Laws of the land?" This the Judges very much questioned, and therefore the Lords deferred giving Judgment till the Commons thought fit to take another method to obtain it.

Censures of the Abp's Behaviour.

Various are the accounts of the Archbishop's behaviour on his Trial; his friends and admirers flattered him beyond measure, and said, that he perfectly triumphed over his Accuser's; and his Grace seems to be of the same mind, when he tells us, that "all Men magnified his answer to the House "of Commons, but he forbore to set down in what language, "because it was high." Mr. Prynne allows, that "he "made as full, as gallant and pithy a defence, and spake as "much for himself as was possible for the wit of Man to "invent; and that with so much art, sophistry, vivacity, "oratory, audacity and confidence, without the least blush, "or acknowledgment of guilt in any thing, as argued him "rather obstinate than innocent, impudent than penitent, "and a far better Orator and Sophister than Protestant or Christian." But then he imputes his boldness to the King's Pardon, which he had in his pocket.

Laud's Hist. p. 441.

Prynne, p. 462.

Bishop Burnet is of opinion, that "in most of the particulars the Archbishop made but frivolous excuses; as, "that he was but one of many, who either in Council, "Star Chamber, or High Commission, voted illegal "Things. Now, though this was true, yet a chief Minister, and one in high Favour, determines the rest so "much, that they are little better than Machines acted by "him. On other occasions he says, the Thing was proved "but by one witness. Now, how strong soever this defence "may be in Law, it is of no force in the appeal to the "world; for if a thing be true, 'tis no matter how full or "defective the proof is."

Hist. of his Life, Vol. I. p. 50.

His Character of the Witnesses.

The Archbishop himself has informed us of his great Patience under the hard usage he met with at his Trial; but his Diary furnishes too many examples to the contrary; for it appears from thence, that he sometimes gave the witnesses very rude Language at the bar, insinuating to the Court, that many of them were perjured; that their evidence was the effect of malice, envy, and a thrist after his blood: Sometimes he threatened them with the Judgments of God, and once he was going to bind their Sins upon one of them, not to be forgiven till he asked pardon; but he recovered himself. He is pleased sometimes to observe, that his crimes were

were proved but by one Witneſs; and yet, at laſt, he complains, that he was oppreſſed with numbers, no leſs than one hundred and fifty, and calls them, "A pack of ſuch Witneſſes as were never produced againſt any man of his place and calling; Purſuivants, Meſſengers, Pillory-men, Bawds, and ſuch as had ſhifted their Religion to and again." And yet there were among them men of the beſt faſhion and quality in the Kingdom, as Sir H. Vane, ſen. Sir H. Mildmay, Sir William Balfore, Sir Nath. Brent, Vicar General; ſundry Aldermen of the City of London, and many excellent Divines, as Dr. Feately, Dr. Haywood the Archbiſhop's Chaplain, Mr. Dell his Secretary, Mr. Oſbaldiſton, and others, of an equal, if not ſuperior character. When his Grace was check'd at the Bar for reflecting upon the witneſſes, and put in mind by the Managers that ſome of them were Aldermen, ſome Gentlemen, and ſome Men of Quality, he replied ſmartly, "That is nothing, there is not an active Separatiſt in England but his hand is againſt me; both Gentlemen, Aldermen, and Men of all Conditions are Separatiſts from the Church of England, and I would to God ſome of my Judges were not."

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Laud's Hiſt. p. 237.

Ib. p. 417.

Ib. p. 434.

After this it can hardly be expected, that the Managers for the Commons ſhould eſcape his Grace's cenſure; it muſt be admitted, that in the courſe of their evidence they made uſe of ſome harſh expreſſions, which nothing but the character they ſuſtained could excuſe; but it was no argument of the Archbiſhop's patience and diſcretion, to fight them at their own Weapons. The Managers were Serjeant Maynard, one of the ableſt Lawyers of his Age; he lived to be the Father of his Profeſſion; and when the Prince of Orange [afterwards King William III.] complimented him upon his having out-lived all his Brethren of the Law, he made this handſome reply, that if it had not been for the wonderful Revolution that his Highneſs had brought about, he ſhould have out-lived the Law itſelf. He managed the firſt part of the Evidence March 13th, 16th, 18th, and 28th. "This Gentleman (ſays the Archbiſhop) pleaded, though ſtrongly, yet fairly againſt me."

His Cenſure of the Managers.

Laud's Hiſt. p. 330.

Serjeant Wild was the Son of Serjeant George Wild, of Droitwich in Worceſterſhire; he was afterwards Reader of the Inner Temple, a great Lawyer, and of unblemiſhed Morals. After the Reſtoration of King Charles II. he was made Lord Chief Baron, and eſteemed a grave and venerable Judge. He managed that part of the evidence which concerned Religion, May 20, 27. June 6, 11, 17, 20, and 27.

Ib. p. 330, 320.

July

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July 20 and 24. But "this Gentleman (says the Archbishop) "tho' he had language good enough sometimes, he had little "or no sense. I had a character given me before of him, "which I forbear to express, but by his proceedings with "me I found it exactly true."

Samuel Brown, Esq; was an able and grave Lawyer; in the Reign of King Charles II. he was knighted, and made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; he summed up the whole evidence at the Lord's Bar. "His behaviour "towards the Archbishop was decent and civil, but his "Pleadings (according to his Grace) very unfair; the "Archbishop blames him for not using his own notes, but "copying other Mens. This is most christian-like in Mr. "Browne (says he) but it may be he learn'd it out of the "Notes his Father-in-law takes at Sermons."

Robert Nicolas, Esq; press'd the Archbishop very hard, and therefore no wonder that he was displeased with him. The Archbishop allows, that he had some Sense, but extream virulent and foul Language. He managed the second and fourth branches of the Evidence April 16, May 4, 16, July 29. This Gentleman happening to call the Archbishop "Pander to the Whore of Babylon;" the Archbishop bids him remember, "That one of his zealous "witnesses against the Whore of Babylon got all his means "by being a Pander to other lewd Women, and was not "long since taken in bed with one of his Wife's maids. "Good Mr. Nicolas (says he) do not dispense with all "whores but the Whore of Babylon!"

Laud's Hist. p. 390.

As for Mr. Hill, the other Manager, he is called Consul Bibulus, because he said nothing. Upon the whole the Archbishop is of opinion, that the Managers for the Commons fought his blood; "and made false constructions, for "which (says he) I am confident they shall answer at "another Bar, and for something else in these Proceedings."

Ib. p. 271.

Such was the unhappy spirit of this Prelate, who, "tho' "he had seen the violent effects of his ill counsels, and "had been so long shut up, and so much at leisure to re-"flect upon what had past in the hurry of passion, and in "the exaltation of his prosperity, yet (as Bishop Burnet "observes) he does not in any one part of his Diary acknow-"ledge his own errors, nor mix any wise or pious reflec-"tions upon the unhappy steps he had made." It was, no doubt, a great mortification to his high spirit, to

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be expoſed to the people, and to wait ſometimes an hour or two before he was called to the Bar; but as for his charity and patience under his ſufferings, I muſt leave it with the reader. King Charles I. 1644.

While the proceedings againſt the Archbiſhop were at a ſtand, by reaſon of the Lords being diſſatisfied, "Whether "the Facts proved againſt him were Treaſon by Statute "Law;" the Citizens of London got together, and preſented a Petition to the Houſe of Commons, Octob. 28th, ſign'd with great numbers of hands, praying for ſpeedy juſtice againſt Delinquents, and particularly againſt the Archbiſhop; which was, no doubt, an artful contrivance of his enemies. The Commons, to prevent all further delays, determined not to preſs the Lords for judgment upon the trial, but ordered a Bill of Attainder to be brought in; and when it had been twice read, the Archbiſhop was brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, to hear the Evidence on which it proceeded, and to make what further defence he thought proper; Mr. Browne ſummed up the charge, Nov. 2. and the Archbiſhop had nine days given him to prepare his Defence. Nov. 11. he ſpoke for himſelf ſome hours at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, and Mr. Browne replied before the Archbiſhop withdrew; after which the Bill of Attainder paſt the Houſe the very ſame day with but one diſſenting voice, and that not upon the matter of the Charge but upon the manner of proceeding. The Bill being ſent up to the Lords they made an Order, Dec. 4. "That all books, Writings, &c. concern-"ing the Archbiſhop's Trial, ſhould be brought in to the "Clerk of the Parliament," which being done, they examined over again all the heads and principal parts of the Evidence, and voted each particular as they went forward; ſo tender were they of the Life of this Prelate, and ſo careful to maintain the honour and juſtice of their Proceedings. When they had gone through the whole, they voted him guilty of all the facts charged againſt him, in three branches, namely, "Guilty of endeavouring to ſubvert the Laws;---"Of endeavouring to overthrow the Proteſtant Religion,---"And the Rights of Parliaments." After this they ſent a meſſage to the Commons, to deſire them to anſwer the argument of the Archbiſhop's Council, as to the Point of Law, which they accordingly did at a Conference, Jan. 2, when Serjeant Wild, Mr. Browne, and Mr. Nicolas, having given the reaſon of the Commons for their Attainder, the Lords were ſatisfied, and Jan. 4, paſſed the Bill, whereby it

Petitions for Juſtice againſt him.

Condemned by Bill of Attainder.

was

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was ordained, that he ſhould ſuffer death as in caſes of high Treaſon. To ſtop the conſequence of this Attainder the Archbiſhop produced the King's Pardon under the Great Seal, ſign'd April 12. 19th Car. but it was over-ruled by both Houſes, 1. Becauſe it was granted before conviction. And, 2. If it had been ſubſequent, yet in the preſent caſe of Treaſon they argued, that the King could not pardon a Judgment of Parliament, eſpecially as the Nation was in a ſtate of war; for, if the King's pardon was a protection, not a Deſerter, nor a Spy, nor an Incendiary of any kind againſt the Parliament, would have ſuffer'd in his life or liberty.

Whitl. Mem. p. 117.

All the favour therefore the Archbiſhop could obtain, was, upon his petition, to have his Sentence altered from hanging to being beheaded on Tower Hill, which was appointed to be on Friday Jan. 10, when the Archbiſhop, being conducted to the Scaffold, attended by his Chaplain, Dr. Stern, and by Mr. Marſhal and Palmer, ſent by the Parliament, read his laſt Speech to the people, which was a ſort of Sermon, from Heb. xii. 2. "Let us run with patience "the race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus, the "author and finiſher of our Faith, who, for the joy that "was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the "ſhame, and is ſat down at the right hand of the Throne "of God." In which he acknowledges himſelf to have been a great ſinner; but having ranſacked every corner of his heart he thanks God, that he has not found any of his ſins deſerving of death by any of the known Laws of the Kingdom, though he does not charge his Judges becauſe they are to proceed according to evidence——He thanks God that he is as quiet within, as ever he was in his life, and hopes that his Cauſe in Heaven will look of another colour than it does here. "It is clamour'd againſt me (ſays "he) that I deſigned to bring in Popery, but I pray God, "that the Pope does not come in by means of theſe Secta-"ries which clamour ſo much againſt me." As for the King, he aſſures the world, that he is as ſound a Proteſtant as any Man in the Kingdom, and would venture as freely for it. He complains of the Citizens for gathering hands to Petitions, and particularly againſt himſelf, whereby they were bringing the guilt of innocent blood upon themſelves and their City. He laments the ruins of the Hierarchy, and concludes with declaring himſelf a true Proteſtant, according to the Church of England eſtabliſhed by law, and takes it upon his death, that "he never endeavoured the "ſubverſion

His laſt Speech.

" ſubverſion of the Laws of the Realm, nor any change " of the Proteſtant Religon into Superſtition; nor was he " an Enemy to Parliaments." King Charles I. 1644.

In his laſt prayer he deſires that God would give him patience to die for his honour, for the King's happineſs, and the Church of England. He then prays for the preſervation of the King in his juſt Rights; for the Parliament in their antient and juſt power; for the Church, that it may be ſettled in truth and peace, and in its patrimony; and for the people, that they may enjoy their antient laws, and other liberties; and then, having forgiven his enemies, he concluded with the Lord's Prayer. After which he gave his paper to Dr. Sterne, ſaying, Doctor, I give you this, to ſhew your fellow Chaplains, that they may ſee how I am gone out of the World, and God's Bleſſing, and his Mercy be upon them. When the ſcaffold was cleared, he pulled off his doublet, and ſaid, " God's Will be done, I am " willing to go out of the World; no man can be more " willing to ſend me out." Then turning to the Executioner he gave him ſome money, and bid him do his office in mercy; he then kneeled down, and after a ſhort prayer, laid his head on the block, and ſaid, " Lord Jeſus receive " my Spirit;" which being the ſign, the Executioner did his office at one blow. The Archbiſhop's Corpſe was put into a coffin, and by the permiſſion of Parliament buried in Barkin Church, with the Service of the Church read over him. The inſcription upon the Coffin was this, " In hac " ciſtula conduntur Exuviæ Gulielmi Laud, Archiepiſcopi " Cantuarienſis, qui ſecuri percuſſus Immortalitatem adiit, " die x° Januarii, Ætatis ſuæ 72. Archiepiſcopatus xii." But after the Reſtoration, his body was removed to Oxford, and depoſited with great ſolemnity in a brick vault, according to his laſt Will and Teſtament, near the altar of the Chapel of St. John Baptiſt College, July 24, 1663. And Prayer.

Thus died Dr. William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan; ſometime Chancellor of the Univerſities of Oxford and Dublin, one of the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Exchequer, and Privy Counſellor to the King, in the ſeventy ſecond year of his age, and 12th of his Archiepiſcopal Tranſlation. He was of low ſtature, and a ruddy countenance; his natural temper was ſevere and uncourtly, his ſpirit active and reſtleſs, which puſh'd him upon the moſt hazardous enterprifes. His conduct was raſh and precipitate, for according His Character.

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to Dr. Heylin, he attempted more alterations in the Church in one year, than a prudent man would have done in a great many. His Counſels in State Affairs were high and arbitrary, for he was at the head of all the illegal projects, of Ship-money, Loans, Monopolies, Star-Chamber Fines, &c. which were the ruin of the King and Conſtitution.

His maxims in the Church were no leſs ſevere, for he ſharpen'd the ſpiritual Sword, and drew it againſt all ſorts of offenders, intending (as Lord Clarendon obſerves) that the diſcipline of the Church ſhould be felt as well as ſpoken of. There had not been ſuch a Crowd of Buſineſs in the High Commiſſion Court ſince the Reformation, nor ſo many large Fines impoſed, as under this Prelate's Adminiſtration, with little or no abatement, becauſe they were aſſigned to the repair of St. Paul's, which gave occaſion to an unlucky Proverb, that the "Church was repaired with the "ſins of the people."

As to the Archbiſhop's Religion, he declared himſelf, upon the Scaffold, a Proteſtant, according to the Conſtitution of the Church of England, but with more Charity to the Church of Rome than to the foreign Proteſtants; and though he was an avowed enemy to Sectaries and Fanaticks of all ſorts, yet he had a great deal of ſuperſtition in his Make, as appears from thoſe paſſages in his Diary, in which he takes notice of his Dreams, of the falling down of Pictures, of the bleeding of his Noſe, of auſpicious and inauſpicious Days of the Year, and of the Poſition of the Stars; a variety of which may be collected out of that performance.

Diary, p. 56.

His Grace muſt be allowed to have had a conſiderable ſhare of Knowledge, and to have been a learned man, though he was more a Man of Buſineſs than of Letters. He was a great Benefactor to the College in which he was educated, enriching it with a variety of valuable Manuſcripts, beſides five hundred pounds in money. He gave eight hundred pounds to the repair of the Cathedral of St. Paul, and ſundry other Legacies of the like nature. But with all his accompliſhments he was a cruel perſecutor, as long as he was in Power, and the chief incendiary in the War between the King and Parliament, the calamities of which are in a great meaſure chargeable upon him. "That "which gave me the ſtrongeſt prejudices againſt him (ſays "Biſhop Burnet) is that, in his Diary, after he had ſeen the "ill effects of his violent counſels, and had been ſo long ſhut "up,

" up, and so long at leisure to reflect on what had passed " in the hurry of passion, in the exaltation of his prosperi- " ty, he does not in any one part of that great work ac- " knowledge his own errors, nor mix any wise or serious " reflections on the ill usage he met with, or the unhappy " steps he had made." The Bishop adds withal, " That " he was a learned, sincere, and zealous man, regular in " his own life, and humble in his private deportment, but " hot and indiscreet, eagerly pursuing such Matters as " were either very inconsiderable or mischievous; such as " settling the Communion Table by the east Wall of the " Church, bowing to it, and calling it an Altar, suppres- " sing the Walloon privileges, breaking of Lectures, and " encouraging of Sports on the Lord's Day, &c. His se- " verity in the Star Chamber, and in the High Commissi- " on Court; but above all his violent, and indeed inexcusa- " able injustice, in the prosecution of Bishop Williams, " were such visible blemishes, that nothing but the put- " ting him to death in so unjust a manner could have raised " his character. His Diary represents him as an abject " fawner upon the Duke of Buckingham, and as a super- " stitious regarder of dreams; his defence of himself, " writ with so much care when he was in the Tower, is " a very mean performance; and his friends have really " lessen'd him; Heylin by writing of his life, and Whar- " ton by publishing his vindication of himself." Mr. Ra- pin adds, " Let the Archbishop's Favourers say what they " please, he was one of the chief authors of the troubles " that afflicted England, First, By supporting with all his " might the principles of that arbitrary Power which the " Court strove for several years to establish. Secondly, " By using too much strictness and rigidness in the ob- " servance of trifles in divine Service, and in compelling " every body to conform themselves thereto." To which I would beg leave to add, that since nothing relating to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England established by law was objected to him at his Trial, but only certain Innovations in the Church, without or contrary to Law, I cannot conceive with what propriety of language his friends and admirers have canonized him as the blessed Martyr of the Church of England.

King Charles I. 1644.

Hist of his Life. Vol. I. P. 49, 50.

Rapin, Vol. XII. p. 254.

The last, and most memorable transaction of this year, was the treaty of Uxbridge. His Majesty had sent the two Houses sundry Propositions for Peace last Summer, which

Treaty of Uxbridge. 1644-5.

King Charles I. 1644-5.

took them up a great deal of time to form into propoſitions for his Majeſty's aſſent. The Commiſſioners were two Lords, four Commoners, and thoſe of the Scots Commiſſioners; they arrived at Oxford Nov. 26, but though the King had given them a ſafe conduct, Mr. Whitlock obſerves, they met with very rude treatment from the populace, who ſaluted them as they paſſed along the ſtreets with the names of Traytors, Rogues, and Rebels, throwing ſtones and dirt into their coaches; when they came to their inn they were inſulted by the ſoldiers, ſo that they were obliged to ſhut up the doors till the King ordered them a guard. When they delivered their propoſitions, his Majeſty received them but coldly; and becauſe they were only to receive his anſwer, told them, "a Letter Carrier might "have done as well." Next day his Majeſty gave them his anſwer in writing ſealed up; and when they deſired to ſee it, he replied with a frown, "What is it to you, "who are but to carry what I ſend; if I will ſend the "ſong of Robin Hood, or Little John, you muſt carry "it." But at length they obtained a Copy, which was only to deſire a ſafe conduct for the Duke of Lenox and Earl of Southampton to come to London with his Majeſty's anſwer; but the Letter not being directed to the Parliament of England, the Houſes would not conſent but upon that condition. The King's Council adviſed him to yield, but could not prevail, till his Majeſty had found out an evaſion, and enter'd it upon Record in the Council Books, as appears by his Letter to the Queen, dated Jan. 2. in which he ſays, "That his calling them a "Parliament did not imply his acknowledging them as ſuch; "upon which conſtruction, and no other (ſays he) I called "them, as it is regiſter'd in the Council Books, and if "there had been but two of my opinion (ſays the King) I "would not have done it." In another intercepted letter to the Queen he tells her, "He could not prevail with his "Parliament at Oxford to vote thoſe at Weſtminſter no "Parliament, but aſſures her, he would not make peace "without her Approbation, nor go one jot beyond the pa-"per ſhe ſent him." In another the King informs his Queen, "That the Parliament were ſending him propoſi-"tions for peace, which if ſhe likes, he thinks may be "the beſt way for Settlement as things ſtand;" ſo that the Fate of England was to be determined by the Queen and her popiſh Council. Beſides, his Majeſty was unhappily

Whitlock, p. 114.

King's Cabinet opened Whitlock, p. 277.

happily elevated at this time by the Diviſions at Weſtminſter, which produced the new modeling the Army; and with a falſe romantick account of the Succeſſes of the Marquis of Montroſs in Scotland, which were ſo magnified, that it was expected the Scots ſhould immediately march back into their own Country; whereas, in reality, they were not ſo conſiderable, as to oblige them to draw off a ſingle Regiment. King Charles I. 1644-5.

In this ſituation of affairs it was agreed, according to the Propoſals of the King's Commiſſioners, that there ſhould be a Treaty of Peace at Uxbridge, to commence Jan. 30, 1644-5, and to continue twenty days.

There were ſixteen Commiſſioners for the King, (viz.) nine Lords, ſix Commoners, and one Divine; twelve for the Parliament, and ten for the Scots, and one Divine, (viz.) Mr. Henderſon; the King's Divine was Dr. Steward, who was aſſiſted by Dr. Sheldon, Laney, Fern, Potter, and Hammond. Aſſiſtant Divines for the Parliament were Mr. Vines, Marſhal, Cheynel, and Chiefly. Theſe with their Retinue, to the number of one hundred and eight Perſons, were included in the ſafe conduct. The Commiſſioners.

The Propoſitions to be treated of were Religion, the Militia, and Ireland; each of which were to be debated three days ſucceſſively, till the twenty days were expired.

The Treaty was preceeded by a day of faſting and Prayer on both ſides for a bleſſing, but was interrupted the very firſt day, by a Sermon preached occaſionally in the Church of Uxbridge by Mr. Love, then preacher to the garriſon of Windſor, wherein he had ſaid, that they [his Majeſty's Commiſſioners] "came thither with hearts full of Blood, "and that there was as great a diſtance between this Treaty "and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell. The Commiſſioners having complained of him next day, the Parliament Commiſſioners laid it before the two Houſes, who ſent for him to London, where he gave this account of the affair; that the people being under a diſappointment at their Lecture, he was deſired unexpectedly to give them a Sermon; which was the ſame he had preached at Windſor the day before. He admits that he cautioned the People not to have too great a dependance upon the Treaty, becauſe, "whilſt our enemies (ſays he) go on in their wicked Prac- "tices, and we keep to our Principles, we may as ſoon "make fire and water to agree; and I had almoſt ſaid, re- "concile Heaven and Hell, as their Spirits and ours. "They muſt grow better, or we muſt grow worſe, before Treaty begins. Mr. Love's Sermon. Dugdale's Treaty of Uxbridge, p. 764.

King Charles I. 1644 5.

"'tis possible for us to agree." He added further, "That "there was a generation of Men that carried blood and "revenge in their hearts against the well affected in the "Nation, who hated not only their bodies but their souls, "and in their cups would drink an health to their damna- "tion." Though there might be some Truth in what the Preacher said, yet these expressions were unbecoming a private person in so nice a conjuncture; he was therefore confined to his House during the treaty, and then dis- charged.

Rapin, p. 278.

It was too evident, that neither party came to the Treaty with a healing Spirit; the King's Commissioners were under such Restraints, that little good was to be expected from them, and the Parliament Commissioners would place no manner of confidence in his Majesty's Promises, nor abate any thing of a full security for themselves and the constitution. The King therefore, in his Letter to the Queen of Jan. 22. assures her of the utter improbability that this present Treaty should produce a peace, "Considering the great, "and strange difference, if not contrariety of Grounds "that were between the Rebels Propositions and his; and "that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, but "by force."

Of the Militia.

We shall but just mention the Propositions relating to the Militia and Ireland, our principal View being to Religion. The King's Commissioners proposed to put the Militia "into the hands of Trustees for three years, half to "be named by the King, and half by the Parliament, and "then to revert absolutely to the Crown on pain of High "Treason. But the Parliament Commissioners replied, that by the King's naming half the Commissioners, the Militia would be render'd unactive, and that after three years they should be in a worse condition than before the war; they therefore proposed, that "the Parliament should Rapin, p. 287. "name the Commissioners for seven years, and then to be "settled as the King and Parliament should agree, or else "to limit their Nomination three years after the King and "Parliament should declare the Kingdom to be in a set- "tled peace." It had been easy to form this Proposition, so as both parties might have complied with honour and safety, if they had been in earnest for an accommodation; but his Majesty's Commissioners could yield no further.

Of Ireland.

As to Ireland, the King's Commissioners justified his Majesty's Proceedings in the Cessation, and in sending for the Rebels

Rebels over to fill up his Armies; and when the Commiſſioners on the other ſide put them in mind of his Majeſty's ſolemn Promiſes to leave that Affair to the Parliament, and to have thoſe Rebels puniſhed according to law; the others reply'd, "They wiſhed it was in his Majeſty's power "to puniſh all Rebellion according as it deſerved; but "ſince it was otherwiſe, he muſt condeſcend to treaties, "and to all other expedients neceſſary to reduce his re- "bellious Snbjects to their duty and obedience." Admirable arguments to induce the Parliament to put the Sword into the King's hands! King Charles I. 1644-5.

The Article of Religion was, in the opinion of Lord Clarendon, of leſs conſequence with many in the Parliament Houſe, for if they could have obtained a Security for their Lives and Fortunes, he apprehends this might have been accommodated, tho', conſidering the influence of the Scots, and the growing ſtrength of the Preſbyterian and Independant parties, 'tis very much to be doubted. However, this being the firſt thing debated in the Treaty, and a Church Controverſy, it will be proper to repreſent the Inſtructions on both ſides. While this was upon the Carpet Dr. Steward, Clerk of the Cloſet, and a Commiſſioner for the King, ſat covered without the Bar, behind the Commiſſioners; as did Mr. Henderſon behind thoſe of the Parliament. The aſſiſtant Divines were preſent in places appointed for them, oppoſite to each other. Of Religion.

His Majeſty's inſtructions to his Commiſſioners on the head of Religion were theſe: "Here (ſays the King) the "Government of the Church will be the chief Queſtion, "wherein two things are to be conſidered, Conſcience and "Policy; for the Firſt, I muſt declare, that I can't yield "to the change of the Government by Biſhops, not only "becauſe I fully concur with the moſt general opinion of "Chriſtians in all ages, in Epiſcopacy's being the beſt Go- "vernment, but likewiſe I hold myſelf particularly bound "by the oath I took at my Coronation, not to alter the "Government of this Church from what I found it; and "as for the Church Patrimony, I can't ſuffer any Dimi- "nution or Alienation of it, it being, without peradven- "ture, Sacrilege, and likewiſe contrary to my Coronation "oath; but whatſoever ſhall be offered for rectifying Abu- "ſes, if any have crept in, or for the eaſe of tender Con- "ſciences, (provided the Foundation be not damaged) I "am content to hear, and willing to return a gracious An- King's Inſtructions to his Commiſſioners. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 887.

King Charles I. 1644-5.

" ſwer. Touching the Second, That is the point of Policy, " as it is the King's duty to protect the Church, ſo the " Church is reciprocally bound to aſſiſt the King in the " maintenance of his juſt Authority. Upon theſe Views " my Predeceſſors have been always careful (eſpecially ſince " the Reformation) to keep the dependence of the Clergy " entirely upon the Crown, without which it will ſcarce ſet " faſt on the King's head, therefore you muſt do nothing to " change or leſſen this natural dependance."

Parliament's Inſtructions. Dugdale, p. 766.

The Commiſſioners from the two Houſes of Parliament at Weſtminſter, inſtead of being inſtructed to treat about a Reformation of the Hierarchy, were ordered to demand the paſſing of a bill for aboliſhing and taking away Epiſcopal Government; for confirming the Ordinance for the calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines; that the Directory for publick Worſhip, and the Propoſitions concerning Church Government, hereunto annexed, be confirmed as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity; that his Majeſty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that an Act of Parliament be paſſed, enjoining the taking it by all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms.

The Propoſitions annex'd to theſe demands were theſe, (viz.) " That the ordinary way of dividing Chriſtians into " diſtinct Congregations, as moſt expedient for edification, " be by the reſpective bounds of their dwellings.

" That the Miniſters and other Church-Officers in each " particular Congregation, ſhall join in the Government " of the Church in ſuch manner as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by " Parliament.

" That many Congregations ſhall be under one Preſby- " terial Government.

" That the Church be governed by Congregational, Cla- " ſical, and Synodical Aſſemblies, in ſuch manner as ſhall " be eſtabliſhed by Parliament.

" That Synodical Aſſemblies ſhall conſiſt both of Provin- " cial and National Aſſemblies."

One may eaſily obſerve the diſtance between the Inſtructions of the two Parties; one being determined to maintain Epiſcopacy, and the other no leſs reſolute for eſtabliſhing Preſbytery. After ſeveral Papers had paſt between the Commiſſioners, about the bill for taking away Epiſcopacy, it was debated by the Divines for two days together.

Mr.

Mr. Henderſon, in a labour'd Speech, endeavour'd to ſhew the neceſſity of changing the Government of the Church for the preſervation of the State.—— "That "the queſtion was not, whether the Government of the "Church by Biſhops was lawful, but whether it was ſo ne- "ceſſary that Chriſtianity could not ſubſiſt without it?— "That this latter Poſition could not be maintain'd in the "affirmative, without condemning all other reformed "Churches in Europe.——That the Parliament of Eng- "land had found Epiſcopacy a very inconvenient and cor- "rupt Government.——That the Hierarchy had been a "publick Grievance from the Reformation downwards.— "That the Biſhops had always abetted Popery, had re- "tained many ſuperſtitious Rites and Cuſtoms in their "Worſhip and Government; and over and above had late- "ly brought in a great many Novelties into the Church, "and made a nearer approach to the Roman Communion, "to the great ſcandal of the Proteſtant Churches of Ger- "many, France, Scotland, and Holland. That the Pre- "lates had embroil'd the Britiſh Iſland, and made the two "Nations of England and Scotland fall foul upon each "other.——That the Rebellion in Ireland, and the civil "War in England, may be charged upon them.——That "for theſe Reaſons the Parliament had reſolved to change "this inconvenient, miſchievous Government, and ſet up "another in the room of it, more naturally form'd for the "advancement of Piety.——That this Alteration was the "beſt expedient to unite all Proteſtant Churches, and ex- "tinguiſh the Remains of Popery.——He hoped therefore "the King would concur in ſo commendable and godly an "undertaking; and conceived his Majeſty's conſcience "could not be urged againſt ſuch a compliance, becauſe "he had already done it in Scotland; nor could he believe "that Epiſcopacy was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſupport of "the Chriſtian Religion."

King Charles I. 1644-5.

Mr. Henderſon's Speech againſt Bps. Clar. Vol. II. P. 584.

Dr. Steward, Clerk of the King's Cloſet, addreſſing himſelf to the Commiſſioners, replied, "He knew their Lord- "ſhips were too well acquainted with the Conſtitution of "the Church of England, and the Baſis upon which it "ſtood, to imagine it could be ſhaken by the force of Mr. "Henderſon's Rhetorick.——That he was firmly of opi- "nion, that a Government, which from the firſt planting "of Chriſtianity in England had continued without Inter-

Doctor Steward's Reply.

"ruption

King Charles I. 1644-5.

" ruption; that a Government under which Chriſtianity " had ſpread and flouriſhed to a remarkable degree, could " have nothing vicious or antichriſtian in its Frame; that " he expected, that thoſe who had ſworn themſelves to an " Abolition of this primitive Conſtitution, and came hither " to perſwade their Lordſhips and his Majeſty to a Concur- " rence, would have endeavoured to prove the unlawful- " neſs of that Government they preſſed ſo ſtrongly to re- " move.——But though in their Sermons and Prints they " gave Epiſcopacy an antichriſtian addition, Mr. Henderſon " had prudently declined charging ſo deep, and only argu- " ed from the Inconveniences of that Government, and " the advantages which would be conſequent on an alterati- " on.——Foraſmuch as an union with the Proteſtant " Churches abroad was the chief Reaſon for this change, " the Doctor deſired to know what foreign Church they " deſigned for a pattern.——That he was ſure the model " in the Directory had no great reſemblance to any foreign " reform'd Church.——And though he would not enter up- " on a cenſure of thoſe Communions, yet it was well " known that the moſt learned Men of thoſe Churches had " lamented a defect in their Reformation; and that the " want of Epiſcopacy was an unhappy circumſtance—That " they had always paid a particular Reverence to the " Church of England, and look'd on it as the moſt perfect " conſtitution, upon the ſcore of its having retained all " that was venerable in Antiquity.—From hence he pro- " ceeded to enlarge upon the Apoſtolical Inſtitution of E- " piſcopacy, and endeavoured to prove, that without Bi- " ſhops the ſacerdotal Character could not be conveyed, " nor the Sacraments adminiſtred to any ſignificancy.

" As to his Majeſty's conſenting to put down Epiſcopacy " in Scotland, he would ſay nothing, though he knew his " Majeſty's preſent thoughts upon that Subject. But he " obſerved that the King was further obliged in this King- " dom than in the other; that in England he was tied by " his Coronation Oath to maintain the Rights of the " Church, and that this ſingle engagement was a reſtraint " upon his Majeſty's Conſcience, not to conſent to the " abolition of Epiſcopacy, or the Alienation of Church " Lands."

Ruſhw. p. 848.

Mr. Henderſon and Mr. Marſhal declared it " to be falſe " in fact, and a downright impoſition upon the Commiſſi- " oners,

" oners, that the foreign Proteſtants lamented the want of " Epiſcopacy, and eſteemed our Conſtitution more perfect " than their own." They then ran out into a high Commendation of Preſbyterial Government, as that which had the only claim to a divine Right. Upon which the Marquis of Hertford ſpoke to this effect. King Charles I. 1644-5.

My Lords,

" HERE is much ſaid concerning Church Govern- " ment in the general; the Reverend Doctors on " the King's part affirm, that Epiſcopacy is Jure Divino; " the Reverend Miniſters on the other part affirm, that " Preſbytery is Jure Divino; for my part, I think neither " the one nor the other, nor any Government what- " ſoever to be Jure Divino; and I deſire we may leave this " Argument, and proceed to debate on the particular Pro- " poſals."

Dr. Steward deſired they might diſpute Syllogiſtically, as became Scholars, to which Mr. Henderſon readily agreed; in that way they proceeded about two days; the points urged by the King's Doctors were ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. Henderſon, Mr. Marſhal, and Mr. Vines, and very learnedly replied to by his Majeſty's Divines, who ſeverally declared their Judgments upon the apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy; but neither Party were convinced or ſatisfied.

When the debate concerning Religion came on a ſecond time, his Majeſty's Commiſſioners delivered in their anſwer to the Parliament's demands in writing, with their Reaſons why they could not conſent to the Bill for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, and eſtabliſhing the Directory in the room of the Common Prayer, nor adviſe his Majeſty to take the Covenant: But for the uniting and reconciling all difference in matters of Religion, and procuring a bleſſed peace, they were willing to conſent.

(1.) " That freedom be left to all Perſons, of what o- " pinion ſoever, in matters of Ceremony, and that all " the penalties of the Laws and Cuſtoms which enjoin " thoſe Ceremonies be ſuſpended. King's Conceſſions. Ruſhw. p. 872, 818.

(2.) " That the Biſhop ſhall exerciſe no act of Juriſdiction " or Ordination, without the conſent and counſel of the " Preſby- Dugdale, p. 780.

King Charles I. 1644-5.

" Preſbyters, who ſhall be choſen by the Clergy of each " Dioceſe, out of the moſt learned and grave Miniſters of " the Dioceſe.

(3.) " That the Biſhop keep his conſtant reſidence in his " Dioceſe, except when he ſhall be required by his Majeſ- " ty to attend him on any occaſion, and that (if he be not " hinder'd by the infirmities of old age, or ſickneſs) he " preach every Sunday in ſome Church within his Dio- " ceſe.

(4.) " That the Ordination of Miniſters ſhall be always " in a publick and ſolemn manner, and very ſtrict Rules " obſerved cocerning the ſufficiency, and other qualifi- " cations of thoſe Men who ſhall be received into holy Or- " ders, and the Biſhops ſhall not receive any into holy Or- " ders, without the approbation and conſent of the Preſby- " ters, or the major part of them.

(5.) " That a competent maintenance and proviſion be " eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, to ſuch Vicarages as " belong to Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, out of the im- " propriationss and according to the value of thoſe impro- " priations of the ſeveral Pariſhes.

(6.) " That for time to come no Man ſhall be capable of " two Perſonages or Vicarages, with cure of Souls.

(7.) " That towards ſettling the publick peace, one hun- " dred thouſand pounds ſhall be raiſed by Act of Parlia- " ment, out of the Eſtates of Biſhops, Deans, and Chap- " ters, in ſuch manner as ſhall be thought fit by the King " and two Houſes of Parliament, without the Alienation " of any of the ſaid Lands.

(8.) " That the juriſdiction in cauſes Teſtamentary, De- " cimal, Matrimonial, be ſettled in ſuch manner as ſhall " ſeem moſt convenient by the King and two Houſes of " Parliament.

(9.) " That one or more Acts of Parliament be paſſed " for regulating of Viſitations, and againſt immoderate " fees in eccleſiaſtical Courts, and abuſes by frivolous ex- " communications, and all other abuſes in the exerciſe of " Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in ſuch manner as ſhall be a- " greed upon by rhe King and both Houſes of Parlia- " ment.

" And if your Lordſhips ſhall inſiſt upon any other " Thing, which your Lordſhips ſhall think neceſſary for " Reformation, we ſhall very willingly apply ourſelves " to the conſideration thereof." But they abſolutely refuſed

refuſed their conſent to the main points (viz) the aboliſhing Epiſcopacy, eſtabliſhing the Directory, confirming the Aſſembly of Divines, and taking the Covenant. King Charles I. 1644-5.

Mr. Rapin obſerves upon the firſt of theſe conceſſions, that ſince the penal laws were not to be aboliſhed, but only ſuſpended, it would be in the King's power to take off the ſuſpenſion whenſoever he pleaſed. Upon the third, fourth, and fifth, that they were ſo reaſonable and neceſſary, that it was not for the King's honour to let them be conſidered as a condeſcenſion to promote the peace; and the remainder, depending upon the joint conſent of King and Parliament, after a peace, it would always be in the King's breaſt to give or with-hold his aſſent, as he thought fit. Remarks.

The Commiſſioners for the Parliament replied to theſe conceſſions, that they were ſo many new propoſitions, wholly different from what they had propos'd that they contained little or nothing, but what they were already in poſſeſſion of by the laws of the Land; that they were no way ſatisfactory to their deſires, nor "conſiſting with that Reformation to "which both Nations are obliged by the Solemn League "and Covenant;" therefore they can give no other anſwer to them, but muſt inſiſt to deſire their Lordſhips, that the Bill may be paſſed, and their other demands concerning Religion granted. The Parliament Commiſſioners, in their laſt papers, ſay, that all objections in favour of the preſent Hierarchy, ariſing from conſcience, law, or reaſon, being fully anſwered, they muſt now preſs for a determinate anſwer to their propoſition concerning Religion. Parliament's Reply. Dugdale, p. 883.

The King's Commiſſioners deny, that their Objections againſt paſſing the Bill for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy have been anſwered, or that they had received any ſatisfaction in thoſe particulars, and therefore cannot conſent to it.

The Parliament Commiſſioners add, that after ſo many days debate, and their making it appear, how great a hindrance Epiſcopal Government is, and has been to a perfect Reformation, and to the growth of Religion; and how prejudicial it has been to the State, they hoped their Lordſhips would have been ready to anſwer their expectations. Ib. p. 787.

The King's Commiſſioners replied, "'Tis evident, and "we conceive conſented to on all ſides, that Epiſcopacy "has continued from the Apoſtles time, by a continued ſucceſſion, in the Church of Chriſt, without intermiſſion or "interruption, and is therefore Jure Divino."

The

King Charles I. 1644-5.

The Parliament Commiſſioners anſwer, "So far were "we from conſenting that Epiſcopacy has continued from "the Apoſtles time, by a continued ſucceſſion, that the "contrary was made evident to your Lordſhips, and the "Unlawfulneſs of it fully proved."

Dugdale, p. 788.

Ib. p. 790, 878.

The King's Commiſſioners replied, That they conceived the ſucceſſion of Epiſcopacy from the Apoſtles was conſented to on all ſides, and did not remember that the unlawfulneſs of it had been aſſerted and proved. However, they apprehend all the inconveniencies of that Government are remedied by the alterations which they had offered. Nor had the Parliament Commiſſioners given them a view in particular of the Government they would ſubſtitute in place of the preſent; if therefore the alterations propoſed do not ſatisfy, they deſire the matter may be ſuſpended till after the diſbanding the Armies, and both King and Parliament can agree in calling a national Synod.

Remarks upon them.

The above-mentioned Conceſſions would ſurely have been a ſufficient foundation for peace, if they had been made twelve months ſooner, before the Scots had been called in with their Solemn League and Covenant, and ſufficient ſecurity had been given for their performance; but the Commiſſioners hands were now tied; the Parliament apprehending themſelves obliged by the Covenant to aboliſh the Hierarchy; and yet if the Commiſſioners could have agreed about the Militia, and the puniſhment of evil Counſellors, the affair of Religion would not, in the opinion of Lord Clarendon, have hindered the ſucceſs of the Treaty; his words are theſe, "The Parliament took none of

Claren. p. 581.

"the points of controverſy leſs to heart, or were leſs united "in any thing than in what concerned the Church; the "Scots would have given up every thing into the hands of

Ib. p. 594.

"the King for their beloved Preſbytery; but many of the "Parliament were for peace, provided they might have "indemnity for what was paſt, and ſecurity for time to "come." And were not theſe reaſonable requeſts? Why then did not the Commiſſioners prevail with the King to give them ſecurity, and divide the Parliament, or put an end to the War.

Treaty breaks up.

The laſt day of the Treaty the Parliament continued ſitting till nine of the clock at night, in hopes of hearing ſomething from their Commiſſioners that might encourage them to prolong the Treaty; but when an Expreſs brought word, that the King's Commiſſioners would not yield to one of their Propoſitions they broke up without doing any thing

thing in the buſineſs. Each Party laid the blame upon the other; the King's Commiſſioners complain'd, that the Parliament would not conſent to prolong the Treaty; and the others, that after twenty days conference not one Propoſition had been yielded. All ſober men, and even ſome of the King's Commiſſioners, were troubled at the event; but conſidering the ſtate of the King's affairs, and his ſervile attachment to the counſels of a Popiſh Queen, it was eaſy to foreſee it could not be otherwiſe. King Charles I. 1644-5.

Biſhop Burnet in the Hiſtory of his Life and Times, ſays, that Lord Hollis, who was one of the Commiſſioners, told him, "That the King's affairs were now at a criſis, for "the Treaty of Uxbridge gave him an opportunity of "making peace with the Parliament, but all was undone "by the unhappy ſucceſs of the Marquis of Montroſs at "this time in Scotland, which being magnified to the King "far beyond what it really was, prevailed with his Majeſty "to put ſuch limitations on his Commiſſioners as made the "whole deſign miſcarry." Reaſons of it.

Moſt of the King's Commiſſioners who were not excepted out of the article of Indemnity, were for accommodating matters before they left Uxbridge. The Earl of Southampton rid poſt from Uxbridge to Oxford, to preſs the King to yield ſomething to the neceſſity of the times; ſeveral of his Council preſs'd him to it on their knees; and 'tis ſaid his Majeſty was at length prevailed with, and appointed next morning to ſign a Warrant to that purpoſe, but that Montroſs's romantick letter, of his conqueſt in Scotland, coming in the mean time, made the unhappy King alter his reſolution.

But there was ſomething more in the Affair than this: Lord Clarendon is of opinion, that if the King had yielded ſome things to the demands of the Parliament, relating to Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, there were ſtill other Articles in reſerve that would have broke off the Treaty; in which I cannot but agree with his Lordſhip; for not to mention "the giving up Delinquents to the juſtice of Par-"liament," of which himſelf was one, there had been, as yet, no debate about the Roman Catholicks, whom the Parliament would not tolerate, and the King was determined not to give up, as appears from the correſpondence between himſelf and the Queen at this time. In the Queen's Letter, Jan. 6, 1644-5, ſhe deſires his Majeſty "to have a care of his Honour, and not to abandon thoſe "who had ſerved him—— for if you agree upon ſtrictneſs Remarks. Rapin, p. 275.

"againſt

King Charles I. 1644-5.

" againſt Roman Catholicks it will diſcourage them from " ſerving you; nor can you expect relief from any Roman " Catholick Prince.——" In her Letter of Jan. 27, ſhe adds, " Above all have a care not to abandon thoſe who " have ſerved you, as well the Biſhops as the poor Catho- " licks." In anſwer to which the King writes Jan. 30. " I deſire thee to be confident, that I ſhall never make " peace by abandoning my Friends." And Feb. 15. " Be " confident, that in making peace I ſhall ever ſhew my " confidence, in adhering to the Biſhops, and all our " Friends.——" March 5. " I give thee power in my " name, to declare to whom thou thinkeſt fit, that I will " take away all the penal Laws againſt the Roman Catho- " licks in England, as ſoon as God ſhall make me able " to do it, ſo as by their means, I may have ſo powerful " aſſiſtance as may deſerve ſo great a favour, and enable " me to do it.——" As for Ireland, his Majeſty had already commended the Duke of Ormond, by his Letter of Feb. 27, to make peace with the Papiſts, coſt what it would, " If the ſuſpending Poyning's Act will do it (ſays he) and " taking away the penal Laws, I ſhall not think it a hard " bargain.—— When the Iriſh give me that aſſiſtance " they have promiſed I will conſent to the repeal by " Law."

Rushw. Vol. V. p. 942, 944, 946, 947.

Ib. p. 712, 978.

It appears from hence, that the peace which the King ſeemed ſo much to deſire was but an empty ſound. The Queen was afraid he might be prevailed with to yield ſomething; but his Majeſty bids her be confident of the contrary, for " his Commiſſioners would not be diſputed from " their ground, which was according to the note ſhe re- " members, and which he would not alter." When the Treaty was ended he writes thus to the Queen, March 13. " Now is it come to paſs what I foreſaw, the fruitleſs End of " this Treaty———Now if I do any thing unhandſome to " myſelf or my friends it will be my own fault——— I was " afraid of being preſſed to make ſome mean overtures to " renew the treaty, but now if it be renewed it ſhall be to " my honour and advantage." Such was the Queen's aſcendant over the King, and his Majeſty's ſervile attachment to her imperious dictates; the fate of three Kingdoms was at her diſpoſal; no Place at Court or in the Army muſt be diſpoſed of without her allowance; no peace muſt be made but upon her terms; the Oxford mungrel Parliament (as his Majeſty calls it) muſt be diſmiſſed with Diſgrace, becauſe they voted for peace; the Iriſh Proteſtants muſt be

Rapin, p. 283.

Claren. Vol. III. p. 364.

deſtroyed

destroyed and given up, and the English must go on to destroy each other with Fire and Sword, to make way for the Toleration or Establishment of a Popish Religion and an arbitrary Government. King Charles I. 1644-5.

As a farther demonstration of this melancholy remark, his Majesty authorized the Earl of Glamorgan, by a Warrant under his Royal Signet, dated March 12, 1644, to conclude privately a peace with the Irish Papists upon the best Terms he could, though they were such as his Lieutenant the Duke of Ormond might not well be seen in, nor his Majesty himself think fit to own publickly at present, engaging on the Word of a King and a Christian, to ratify and perform whatsoever he should grant under his Hand and Seal, on condition they would send over into England a body of ten thousand Men, under the command of the said Earl. The date of this warrant is remarkable, for it was at a time when his Majesty's affairs were far from being desperate; when he thought the divisions in the Parliament-House would quickly be their ruin, and that he had little else to do but to sit still and be restored upon his own Terms, for which reason he would yeild very little at the treaty of Uxbridge; and yet the Earl, by his Majesty's Commission, yielded every thing to the Irish even to the establishing the Roman Catholick Religion, and putting it upon a level with the Protestant; he gave them all the Churches and Revenues they were possessed of since the Rebellion, and not only exempted them from the Jurisdiction of the Protestant Clergy, but allowed them their own Jurisdiction over their several Flocks, so that the Reformed Religion in that Kingdom was in a manner sold for ten thousand Irish Papists to be transported into England, and maintained for three years. Let the Reader now Judge, what prospect there could be of a well grounded peace by the treaty of Uxbridge! What security there was for the Protestant Religion! How little Ground there was to rely upon the King's Promises! and consequently, to whose account the calamities of the war, and the confusions that followed after this time ought to be placed.

E. of Glamorgan's Treaty with the Irish. Rushw. Vol. VI. p. 239, &c. Rapin, p. 330. Hist. Stuarts, p. 305.

The day before the commencement of the treaty of Uxbridge the Members of the House of Commons attended the Funeral of Mr. John White, Chairman of the Grand Committee of Religion, and Publisher of the Century of Scandalous Ministers; he was a grave Lawyer (says Lord Clarendon) and made a considerable Figure in his Profession. He had been one of the Feoffees for buying in Impropriations,

Death of Mr. White.

King Charles I. 1645.

propriations, for which he was cenſured in the Star Chamber. He ſerved in Parliament for the Borough of Southwark; having been a Puritan from his youth, and in the opinion of Mr. Whitlock, an honeſt, learned, and faithful Servant of the publick, though ſomewhat ſevere at the Committee for plundered Miniſters. He died Jan. 29, and was buried in the Temple Church with great Funeral Solemnity.

Mem. p. 122.

CHAP. VI.

The Progreſs of the War. Debates in the Aſſembly about Ordination. The Power of the Keys. The divine Right of Preſbyterian Government. Committees for Comprehenſion and Toleration of the Independants.

Clarend. p. 595.

THE King's Commiſſioners had been told at the treaty of Uxbridge, that the Fate of the Engliſh Monarchy depended upon its Succeſs; that if the treaty was broken off abruptly there were a ſet of Men in the Houſe who would remove the Earl of Eſſex, and conſtitute ſuch an Army as might force the Parliament and King to conſent to every thing they demanded, or change the Government into a Commonwealth; whereas, if the King would yield to the neceſſity of the times, they might perſerve the General, and not only diſappoint the deſign of the enemies to Monarchy, but ſoon be in Circumſtances to enable his Majeſty to recover all he ſhould part with. However, the Commiſſioners looked upon this as the language of deſpair, and made his Majeſty believe the diviſions at Weſtminſter would ſoon replace the Scepter in his own hands.

Earl of Eſſex removed, and the Army new modelled.

The Houſe of Commons had been diſſatisfied with the conduct of the Earl of Eſſex and Mancheſter laſt Summer, as tending to lengthen out the War, leaſt one party ſhould eſtabliſh itſelf upon the ruins of the other; but the warmer Spirits in the Houſe ſeeing no period of their calamities this way, apprehended a deciſive Battle ought to be fought as ſoon as poſſible, for which purpoſe, after a ſolemn Faſt, it was moved that all the preſent Officers ſhould be diſcharged, and the Army intruſted in ſuch hands as they could confide in. Dec. 9, it was reſolved, That no Member of either Houſe ſhould execute any Office Civil or Military, during the preſent war; accordingly the Ordinance commonly called the "Self-denying Ordinance" was brought in,

in, and paſt the Commons ten days after, but was laid aſide by the Lords till after the treaty of Uxbridge, when it was revived and carried, with ſome little oppoſition. The Earls of Eſſex, Mancheſter, Warwick, and Denbigh, the Lord Roberts, Willoughby, and others, were diſſmiſſed by this Ordinance, and all Members of the Houſe of Commons, except Lieutenant General Cromwell, who after a few Months was diſpenſed with, at the requeſt of the new General. All the Regiments were diſbanded, and ſuch only liſted under the new Commanders as were determined to conquer or die. Sir Tho. Fairfax was appointed General, and Oliver Cromwell, after ſome time, Lieutenant General; the Clauſe "for preſervation of the King's Perſon" was left out of Sir Thomas's Commiſſion; nor did it run in the Name of the King and Parliament, but of the Parliament only. The Army conſiſted of twenty one thouſand reſolute Soldiers, and was called in contempt by the Royaliſts "the new nodelled Army;" but their courage quickly revenged the contempt. King Charles I. 1645.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was a Gentleman of no quick parts or Elocution; but religious, faithful, valiant, and of a grave, ſober, reſolute diſpoſition; neither too great, nor too cunning to be directed by the Parliament. But Oliver Cromwell was more bold and aſpiring; and being a Soldier of undaunted courage and intrepidity, proved at length too powerful for his Maſters. The Army was more at his diſpoſal than at Fairfax's, and the wonders they wrought ſprung chiefly from his Counſels. Character of the Generals. Baxer's Life, p. 49.

When the old Regiments were broken the Chaplains being diſcharged of courſe, returned to their Cures; and as new ones were formed, the Officers applied to the Parliament and Aſſembly for a freſh recruit; but the Preſbyterian Miniſters being poſſeſſed of warm Benefices, were unwilling to undergo the fatigues of another Campaign, or it may be, to ſerve with Men of ſuch deſperate meaſures. This fatal accident proved the ruin of the Cauſe, in which the Parliament were engaged; for the Army being deſtitute of Chaplains, who might have reſtrained the Irregularities of their Zeal, the Officers ſet up for Preachers in their ſeveral Regiments, depending upon a kind of miraculous Aſſiſtance of the divine Spirit, without any ſtudy or preparation; and when their Imaginations were heated, they gave vent to the moſt crude and undigeſted abſurdities; nor did the evil reſt there, for from preaching at the Head of their Regiments, they took poſſeſſion of the Country Pulpits Riſe of Enthuſiaſm in the Army.

King Charles I. 1645

where they were quartered, till at length they ſpread the Infection over the whole Nation, and brought the regular Miniſtry into contempt. Moſt of the common Soldiers were religious and orderly, and when releaſed from Duty ſpent their Time in Prayer and religious Conferences, like Men who carried their Lives in their Hands; but for want of prudent and regular inſtruction, were ſwallowed up in the depths of Enthuſiaſm. Mr. Baxter therefore obſerves very juſtly, "It was the Miniſters that loſt all by forſaking the "Army, and betaking themſelves to an eaſier and quieter "way of Life. When the Earl of Eſſex's Army went "out each Regiment had an able Chaplain, but after "Edge-Hill Fight moſt of them went home, and left the "Army to their own conduct." But even after the deciſive Battle of Naſebay he admits, great numbers of the Officers and Soldiers were ſober and orthodox; and from the little Good which he did whilſt among them, concludes, that if they had but had Miniſters, who would have followed his meaſures, the King, the Parliament, and Religion, might have been ſaved.

Baxter's Life, p. 51, 56.

Their ſtrict Diſcipline.

The new modelled Troops were kept under the ſevereſt Diſcipline, Commiſſioners being appointed to take care that the Country was not oppreſſed; that no Soldiers were quartered in any place but by appointment of the Quarter-maſter; that ready Money be paid for all Proviſions and Ammunition; every Soldier had ſix Pence a day for his diet, and every Trooper eight Pence. No inhabitants were compelled to furniſh more Proviſions than they were able and willing to ſpare, under the ſevereſt Penalties; wheras the Royal Army having no regular Pay, lived upon the plunder of thoſe places that had the misfortune to receive them.

Progreſs of the King's Forces. Whitl. Mem. p. 140, 144.

May 30, the King took the Town of Leiceſter, by ſtorm, with a very great Treaſure, which the Country People had brought thither for Security, but his Soldiers divided the Spoil and treated the Inhabitants in a moſt cruel and unmerciful manner; After this conqueſt, his Majeſty writ to the Queen, that his "Affairs were never in ſo hopeful a "Poſture ſince the Rebellion" The Parliament Army were preparing to lay ſiege to the City of Oxford, but upon news of this diſaſter had orders to follow the King, and hazard a Battle at all events; whereupon Sir Tho. Fairfax petitioned the two Houſes to diſpenſe with their "Self-denying Ordi-"nance" with reſpect to Lieutenant General Cromwell, whoſe courage and counſels would be of great ſervice in the preſent criſis; Cromwell was accordingly diſpenſed with during pleaſure,

sure, and having joined the Army with six hundred Horse, and Dragoons, they overtook the King, and gave him battle, June 14, at Naseby, about three miles from Harborough in Leicestershire. King Charles I. 1655.

The Battle began about ten in the morning, and ended about three or four in the Afternoon, in an absolute defeat of the King's Forces, which was owing, in a great measure, to the wise conduct and resolution of Lieutenant General Cromwell on one hand, and to the indiscreet fury and violence of Prince Rupert on the other. The Armies were pretty equal in number, about twelve or fourteen thousand on a side, but the Parliament Soldiers were better disciplin'd, and fought with all the bravery and magnanimity that an enthusiastick zeal could inspire. General Fairfax having his helmet beat off rode up and down the field bare-headed; Major General Skippon received a wound in the beginning of the fight, upon which being desired to go off, he answered, "He would not stir as long as a "Man would stand." Ireton was run through the thigh with a pike, had his horse killed under him, and was made a prisoner, but found means to escape upon the turn of the Battle. The King shewed himself a couragious General, but his Soldiers were struck with such a panick, that when they were once disordered they would never rally, whereas if the others were beaten from their ground they presently returned, and kept their ranks till they received new instructions. When Prince Rupert had routed Ireton's left wing, he lost his advantage; First, by following the chase almost three miles, and then by trying to become Master of the Train of Artillery, before he knew the success of the main body; whereas when Cromwell had broke the right wing of the enemy, he pursued them but a quarter of a mile, and leaving a small party of Horse to prevent their rallying, returned immediately to the Battle, and with his victorious troops charged the Royal Infantry in Flank, and drove them entirely out of the field. The Parliament Army took above five thousand prisoners; all the King's Train of Artillery, Bag and Baggage, with his Cabinet of Letters, some of which were afterwards published to the World; but not above six or seven hundred of his Men were killed, with about one hundred and fifty Officers. The King with a party of Horse, fled into Wales, and Prince Rupert to Bristol; but the Parliament Forces pursued their Victory with such eagerness, and marched with that rapid swiftness over the whole West of England, to the very

Battle of Naseby.

Whitl. p. 145. Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 658.

Rapin, p. 310.

King Charles I. 1645.

very Land's End, that in a few months all the Royal Forces were diſperſed, and his Majeſty's Garriſons ſurrender'd almoſt before they were ſummon'd. The City of Briſtol, into which Prince Rupert had thrown himſelf, capitulated before the Beſiegers approached the Walls, which provoked the King to that degree, that he commanded him by Letter to depart the Land; as did alſo the Prince of Wales, for the Security of his Perſon; ſo that by the end of the Campaign the unhappy King was expoſed to the mercy of his enemies, and ſhut up all the Winter little better than a Priſoner in his Garriſon of Oxford.

Parliament's Care for a regular Clergy.

To return to the affairs of the Church. When it is recollected what great numbers of Clergymen had deſerted to the King, or were otherwiſe diſſatisfied with the new Terms of Conformity, we muſt conclude it very difficult to ſupply the vacant Pulpits in the Country with a learned and regular Clergy: One of the Univerſities was entirely uſeleſs, and the young Students that adher'd to the Parliament could not obtain Ordination in a legal Way, becauſe all the Biſhops were in the oppoſition, and would ordain none but thoſe of their own Principles, which was another cauſe of the increaſe of unqualified Preachers. To put ſome ſtop to the clamours of the Royaliſts, and to the miſchiefs of Lay-preaching, which began to appear in the Army, the Parliament ordained April 26, "That no per-

Husb. Col. p. 645.

"ſon ſhall be permitted to preach who is not ordained a "Miniſter in this or ſome other reformed Church, ex-"cept ſuch as intend the Miniſtry who ſhall be allowed for "the trial of their Gifts, by thoſe that ſhall be appointed "thereunto by both Houſes of Parliament; and it is ear-"neſtly deſired, that Sir Tho. Fairfax take care, that this "Ordinance be put in execution in the Army. It is fur-"ther ordered to be ſent to the Lord Mayor, and Com-"mittee of the Militia in London; to the Governors and "Commanders of all Forts, Garriſons, Forces, Cities and "Towns, with the like Injunction; and the Mayor, She-"riffs, and Juſtices of the Peace, are to commit all Of-"fenders to ſafe cuſtody, and give notice to the Par-"liament, who will take a ſpeedy courſe for their Pu-"niſhment."

Directory for Ordination of Miniſters.

At the ſame time the Lords ſent to the Aſſembly, to prepare a new Directory for the Ordination of Miniſters in the Church of England, without the preſence of a Dioceſan Biſhop. This took them up a great deal of time, by reaſon of the Oppoſition it met with from the Eraſtians and Indepen-

Independants, but was at laſt accompliſhed, and paſſed into an Ordinance, bearing date Nov. 8, 1645, and was to continue in force by way of Trial for twelve months; after which, on the 28th of Auguſt following, it was prolonged for three years, at the expiration of which it was made perpetual. King Charles I. 1645.

The Ordinance ſets forth, "That whereas the words "Preſbyter and Biſhop do in Scripture ſignifie the ſame "Function, though the Title of Biſhop has been, by cor- "rupt cuſtom, appropriated to one, who has aſſumed to "himſelf, in the matter of Ordination, that which was "not meet; which Ordination, notwithſtanding, being "performed by him, we hold for Subſtance to be valid, "and not to be diſclaimed by any that have received it; "and whereas it is manifeſt, that Ordination, that is, An "outward, ſolemn ſetting apart of Perſons for the Office "of the Miniſtry in the Church by preaching Pteſbyters, "is an Inſtitution of Chriſt, it is therefore ordained by the "Lords and Commons, with the advice of the Aſſembly "of Divines at Weſtminſter, that the ſeveral and reſpec- "tive Claſſical Preſbyters within their reſpective bounds "may examine, approve, and ordain Preſbyters, accord- "ing to the following Directory," which I have placed in the Appendix, and is in Subſtance as follows: Rushw. Part IV. Vol. I. p. 212. Appendix, No III.

Firſt, "The perſon to be ordained muſt apply to the "Preſbytery, with a Teſtimonial of his taking the Cove- "nant, of his proficiency in his ſtudies," &c.

Secondly, "He is then to paſs under an examination as "to his Religion and Learning, and call to the Miniſtry.

"Then follow Rules for examination, as in the Ap- "pendix.

"After Examination he ſhall receive a publick Teſtimo- "nial from his Examiners, which ſhall be read publickly "before the People, and then fixed to the Door of the "Church where he preaches for Approbation, with Liber- "ty to any Perſon or Perſons to make Exceptions.

Upon the Day of Ordination a ſolem Faſt ſhall be kept "by the Congregation, in which, after a Sermon, the "perſon to be ordained ſhall make a publick Confeſſion of "his Faith, and declare his Reſolutions to be diligent and "conſtant in the diſcharge of his paſtoral Duty. After "which he ſhall be ſeparated, or ſet apart to the Paſtoral "Office with a ſhort prayer, and the laying on of the "hands of the Miniſters preſent. After the Ordination

King Charles I. 1645.

" there is to be an exhortation to Miniſter and People, and " the whole Solemnity to conclude with a Pſalm and " Prayer.

Former Ordinations valid.

It is further ordained, " That all Ordinations, according " to the former uſage of the Church of England, as well " as thoſe of Scotland, and other reformed Churches ſhall " be eſteemed valid.

" A Regiſter is to be kept by every Preſbytery of the " names of the Perſons ordained by them, of the Mini- " ſters concerned, and of the Time and Place where they " were ſettled. No Money or Gift whaſoever ſhall be re- " ceived from the perſon ordained, or from any on his be- " half, for his Ordination, or any thing relating to it, ex- " cept for the Inſtruments or Teſtimonials, which ſhall not " exceed ten ſhillings.

" Laſtly, It is ordained, " That all perſons ordained ac- " cording to this Directory, ſhall be for ever reputed and " taken, to all intents and purpoſes, for lawfully, and ſuf- " ficiently authorized Miniſters of the Church of England, " and as capable of any miniſterial Employment in the " Church, as any other Preſbyter already ordained, or " hereafter to be ordained."

Debates upon it.

To give a ſhort Specimen of the debates upon this Ordi- nance; when the Paſſage in Timothy, of " Laying on of " the hands of the Preſbytery," was voted a full proof for

Lightf. Rem. Pref.

Preſbyters ordaining without a Biſhop, Mr. Selden, Light- foot, and ſome others, enter'd their diſſent, declaring, That the impoſition of hands there ſpoken of was only for admiſſion to be an Elder; and though Elders might ordain Elders, it did not neceſſarily follow they might ordain a Biſhop.

With the Independants.

The Independants argued for the right of every particu- lar Congregation to ordain its own Officers; this was de- bated ten days; the Arguments on both ſides were after- wards publiſhed by conſent of the ſeveral Parties, in a book,

Grand Debate, p. 185.

entitled, " The grand debate between Preſbytery and In- " dependancy." At length the Queſtion being put, " That " it is requiſite no ſingle Congregation that can conveni- " ently aſſociate with others, ſhould aſſume to itſelf the " ſole right of Ordination," it was carried in the affirmative, but the following Independant Miniſters enter'd their Diſſent.

Tho. Goodwin,	William Bridge,
Phil. Nye,	William Greenhill,
Jer. Burroughs,	William Carter.
Sidrach Simpſon,	

It

It was next debated, whether Ordination might precede Election to a particular Charge; Dr. Temple, Mr. Herle, Vines, Palmer, Whitaker, and Calamy, argued for the affirmative. 1. From the Ordination of Timothy, Titus and Apollos, without any particular charge. 2. Becauſe 'tis a different thing to ordain to an Office, and to appropriate the exerciſe of that Office to any particular place. 3. If Election muſt precede Ordination, then there muſt be a new Ordination upon every new Election. 4. It would then follow, that a Miniſter was no Miniſter out of his own Church or Congregation. And, 5. Then a Miniſter could not gather or plant Churches, or baptize new Converts, becauſe, according to the Independants, there muſt firſt be a Church before there can be a Miniſter. King Charles I. 1645. M. S. penes me.

Mr. Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, and the reſt of the Independants, replied to the foregoing Reaſons, That Timothy and Titus were extraordinary Officers——That it appeared to them abſurd, to ordain an Officer without a Province to exerciſe the Office in——That they ſaw no great inconvenience in Re-ordinations, though they did not admit the conſequence, that a perſon regularly ordained to one Church, muſt be re-ordained upon every removal; but they affirmed, that a Paſtor of one particular Church might preſerve his character in all places; and if there was extraordinary ſervice to be done in planting new Churches, or baptizing new Converts, the Churches might ſend out their Officers, or create new for that purpoſe. The grand difficulty with the Independants lay here, that Ordination without Election to a particular Charge ſeemed to imply a conveyance of Office-Power, which, in their opinion, was attended with all the difficulties of a lineal Succeſſion. The debates upon this article continued ſeveral days, and iſſued at laſt in a compromiſe in theſe words; "It is agreeable to "the Word of God, and very expedient, that thoſe who "are to be ordained Miniſters, be deſigned to ſome parti-"cular Church, or other miniſterial Charge." And with regard to the Ceremony of Impoſition of Hands, the Independants admitted it, provided it was attended with an "open declaration, "That it was not intended as a Con-"veyance of Office-Power."

It might ſeem abſurd to begin the Reformation of the Church, with an Ordinance appointing Claſſical Preſbyters to ordain Miniſters within their ſeveral Bounds, when there was not as yet one Claſſical Preſbytery in all England; but the urgency Power of Ordination given to the Aſſembly pro tempore Vide App. No. III. p. ult.

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urgency of affairs reqnired it; the ſcarcity of Miniſters would not ſuffer a delay till the whole Fabrick of Preſbytery was erected; therefore, to ſupply this defect for the preſent, the whole buſineſs was committed to the Aſſembly, who voted December 24, that a Committee for examination of Miniſters ſhould ſit every Tueſday and Thurſday in the afternoon at two of the clock, and the Members of the Aſſembly are to attend in their turns, as they ſhall be nominated and appointed by the Scribe, according to the order of their names in the Regiſter-Book, five at a time, and each to attend a week.

The Divine Right of Presbytery: Vide App. No. III. Chapter of Ch. Gevernment.

While the affair of Ordination was depending in the Aſſembly, Committees were choſen to prepare materials for a new Form of Diſcipline and Church Government; a point of the greater conſequence, becauſe the old form was diſſolved, and no other as yet eſtabliſhed in its room. Here the Independants agreed with the Preſbyterians, that "there was a certain Form of Church Government laid "down in the New Teſtament, which was of Divine In-"ſtitution;" but when they came to the Queſtion, "What that Government was? and, Whether it was "binding in all ages of the Church?" Both the Eraſtians and Independants divided againſt them. The Propoſition was this, "That the Scripture holds forth, that many "particular Congregations may, and by Divine Inſtitution "ought to be under one Preſbyterial Government." The Debate laſted thirty days; the Eraſtians did not except againſt the Preſbyterial Government as a political Inſtitution, proper to be eſtabliſhed by the Civil Magiſtrate, but they were againſt the Claim of a Divine Right. Upon this occaſion Bulſtrode Whitlock, Eſq; one of the Lay-Commiſſioners, ſtood up, and made the following ſpeech.

Mr. Prolocutor,

Objections of the Eraſtians. Whitl. Mem. p. 95.

"I Might bluſh to ſpeak in this reverend Aſſembly, upon "the queſtion now in debate before you, had I not, by "the honour of being one of your Members, ſeen your "candor to others, and obſerved you to be moſt capable "to give ſatisfaction to any ſcruple here, and to enable "ſuch as I am to ſatisfy Objections abroad, whereof I have "met with ſome, your queſtion not being under ſecrecy.

"By government all Men underſtand the prudent and "well ordering of perſons and affairs, that men may live "well and happily; and by the Government of the "Church, the ordering and ruling of perſons and matters having

" having relation to the Worſhip of God in ſpiritual mat- King Charles I. 1645.
" ters.

" The word Preſbyter was in great honour among the " Jews, being given to the members of their great Sanhe- " drim, and therefore is not now ſo properly to be attri- " buted to the Rulers of every ſmall Congregation. I am " none of thoſe, Mr. Prolocutor, who except againſt the " Preſbyterian Government; I think it has a good founda- " tion, and has done much good in the Church of Chriſt.

" But, Sir, whether this Form of Government be Jure " Divino, or not, may admit of ſome diſpute? and, Whe- " ther it be now requiſite for you to declare, that it is ſo?

" If the meaning be, that it is Jure Divino Eccleſiaſtico, " then the queſtion will be raiſed, of the Magiſtrates im- " poſing Forms upon Mens Conſciences, for then they will " be only the Magiſtrates impoſition, But if the meaning " be Jure Divino abſolute, it muſt then be the Precept of " God, and they are in a ſad condition who are not under " this Government.

" But it is objected, that no Form of Government is " Jure Divino, but that in general, all things muſt be done " decently, and in order. A Government is certainly Jure " Divino, but whether Preſbytery, Epiſcopacy, Indepen- " dency, or any other Form of Government be Jure Di- " vino, or not; that is, whether there be a præſcript, " rule or command of Scripture, for any of thoſe Forms, " will not be admitted by many as a clear thing.

" It may therefore not be unworthy your Conſideration, " Whether it be not more prudent at this time to forbear " to declare your Judgments in this point? the Truth " will nevertheleſs continue the ſame.

" If this Government be not Jure Divino, no Opi- " nion of any Council can make it ſo; and if it be Jure " Divino it continues ſo ſtill, though you do not declare it " to be ſo.

" I therefore humbly ſubmit it to your Judgments, " whether it be not better at this time to avoid giving " occaſion to diſputes of this nature, and only to preſent " your Judgment to the Parliament, " That the Govern- " ment of the Church by Preſbyteries is moſt agreeable " to the Word of God, and moſt fit to be ſettled in this " Kingdom?" or, in what other expreſſions you may " think fit to cloath your Queſtion? and I hope you may " ſoon have a deſired iſſue."

Mr.

King Charles I. 1645.

Mr. Selden and St. John were of this mnid; and the Reverend Mr. Colman was ſo zealous upon this head, that he declaimed againſt the Divine Right, not only in the Aſſembly, but in the Pulpit, apprehending Preſbytery would prove as arbitrary and tyrannical as Prelacy, if it came in with a Divine Claim. He therefore propoſed, that the Civil Magiſtrate ſhould have the ſole power of the Keys by way of Interim, till the Nation was at peace.

And of the Independants.

But the Independants oppoſed the propoſition of the Divine Right of Preſbytery, by advancing a counter Divine Right of their own Scheme; fifteen days they took the part of Opponents, and fifteen days they were upon the Defenſive. To give a ſhort ſpecimen of their debates.

Grand debate, p. 13, &c.

The chief enquiries were, about the Conſtitution and Form of the firſt Church of Jeruſalem; the Subordination of Synods, and of Lay-Elders. Upon the firſt queſtion the Independants maintained, "That the firſt Church at "Jeruſalem was not larger than could meet in one place." In ſupport of which they produced ſeveral paſſages in the New Teſtament; as, Acts i. 15. The whole number of Diſciples being about one hundred and twenty met together with one accord. And Acts ii. 1. They were all with one accord in one place. When they were multiplied to three thouſand 'tis ſtill ſaid, they met with one accord, and in one place, Acts ii. 46. When they were further increaſed, multitudes being added to them, both men and women, they ſtill met together with one accord, and in one place, Acts v. 12, 14. When the number of Diſciples was yet further multiplied, ſo that it became neceſſary to chooſe Deacons to take care of the poor, the whole multitude were called together, and choſe out ſeven men from among themſelves, and ſet them before the Apoſtles, Acts vi. 2, 5. And even after the general diſperſion of the Diſciples, mentioned Acts viii. 'tis recorded, that thoſe who remained met together in one place as a Church, Acts xv. 4, 22. Then pleaſed it the Apoſtles and Elders, with the Whole Church, to ſend choſen men of their own company to Antioch. They allowed, that there was mention of a Preſbytery in Scripture, but that it was no other than the Preſbytery or Elders of one particular Church or Congregation, for it is no where written, that God has ſet in the Church, diſtinct ſorts of Preſbyteries, ſuch as Conſiſtories, Claſſes, Provincial Synods, and General Aſſemblies, one above another. They objected alſo to the high powers claimed by the Preſbyteries, as the right of admiſſion

Admiſſion and Excluſion from the Chriſtian Church with pains and penalties, which, as they have no foundation in Scripture, are not very conſiſtent with the powers of the Civil Magiſtrate. King Charles I. 1645.

To remove theſe difficulties the Preſbyterians maintained, "That the Church of Jeruſalem was made up of more "Congregations than one," as appeared from the multitude of Diſciples mentioned in divers places;— from the many Apoſtles and Teachers in the Church of Jeruſalem, who could not exerciſe their gifts in one Aſſembly;— and from the diverſity of Languages mentioned Acts ii. and Acts vi. Now it being granted, that the Diſciples were too numerous to aſſemble in one place, it muſt follow, that they were under one Preſbyterial Government, becauſe they are ſtill called but one Church, Acts viii. 1. the Elders of which are often mentioned in the ſame book. The moſt learned Criticks in the Aſſembly were divided upon this head, as Dr. Temple, Lightfoot, Selden, Colman, Vines, and others; but it was carried for the Preſbyterians. Preſbyterians Reply. Grand Debate, p. 41.

It was argued in favour of the Subordination of Synods, that the Scripture ſpeaks of an appeal from one or two brethren to the whole Church, Matth. xviii. 15. and of the appeal of the Church at Antioch to the Apoſtles and Elders at Jeruſalem, Acts xv. 2. But the Independants affirmed, that a Synod of Preſbyters is no where called a Church; and that the appeal of the Church of Antioch was only for advice, not for a judicial determination: But ſuppoſing the Aſſembly of the Apoſtles at Jeruſalem to be a Synod, it could neither be Provincial nor National to the Church at Antioch, and conſequently no proof of a Subordination. The Maſters of Jewiſh Antiquities diſplayed all their learning upon this debate, for the Jewiſh Sanhedrim being deſigned as the model of their Chriſtian Preſbytery, it was neceſſary to enquire, what were the powers of the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Courts under the Law. Moſes having appointed, that he that would not hearken to the Prieſt, or the Judge, ſhould die, Deut. xvii. 12. it was argued in favour of Church Power, that the Prieſt held one Court, and the Civil Magiſtrate another: but Mr. Selden obſerved, that the vulgar Latin till within theſe forty years read thus, "Qui non obe-"diverit ſacerdoti ex decreto judicis morietur. He that "will not obey the Prieſt ſhall die by the ſentence of the "Judge;" and Mr. Lightfoot added, that when the Judges of inferior Courts went up to Jeruſalem by way of Appeals it was only for Advice and Conſultation; but when the Queſtion Subordination of Synods. Grand Debate, p. 115, 128, &c. Lightf. Rem. p. 17.

King Charles I. 1645.

Question was put, Dec. 12. for a "Subordination of Sy-"nods with Lay-Elders, as so many Courts of Judicature, "with power to dispense Church Censures," it was carried in the affirmative, and inserted in their humble Advice, with this addition; "So Christ has furnished some in "his Church (besides Ministers of the Word) with gifts "for government, and with commission to execute the "same, when called thereunto, who are to join with the "Minister in the government of the Church, which Offi-"cers the reformed Churches generally call Elders."

Vide App. No. III. Chapter of Ch. Government.

Thus the main Pillars of the Presbyterial Government were voted of Divine Appointment by a very great majority; but the Independants enter'd their dissent in writing, and complained to the World of the unkind usage they met with in the Assembly; that the Papers they offered were not read; that they were not allowed to state their own Questions, but were told they set themselves industriously to puzzle the Cause, and render the cleareſt Propositions ob-"scure, rather than argue the truth or falseness of them.---"That it was not worth the Assembly's while to spend so "much time in debating with so inconsiderable a number of "men; they also declared, that the Assembly refused to "debate their main Proposition, (viz) Whether a divine "Right of Church Government did not remain with every "particular Congregation----" To all which it was replied, that the Assembly were not conscious they had done them any injustice, and as for the rest, they were the most proper judges of their own method of proceeding.

Complaints of the Independants.

Conduct of the Erastians.

The Erastians seeing how things were managed in the Assembly, reserved themselves for the House of Commons, where they were sure to be joined by all the Patrons of the Independants. The English and Scots Commissioners being no less solicitous about the event, gave their friends notice to be early in their places, hoping to carry the Question before the House should be full; but Mr. Glyn perceiving their intention, spoke an hour to the point of Jus Divinum; and after him Mr. Whitlock stood up and enlarged upon the same argument, till the House was full, when the Question being put, it was carried in the Negative; and that the proposition of the Assembly should stand thus, "That it is lawful and agreeable to the Word of "God, that the Church be governed by Congregational, "Classical and Synodical Assemblies.

Whitl. Mem. p. 106. The Clause of Divine Right lost in the House of Commons.

The

The disappointment of the Scots Commissioners and their Friends in the Assembly at the loss of this Question is not to be expressed; they alarmed the Citizens with the danger of the Church, and prevailed with the Common Council to petition the Parliament [Nov. 15.] that "the Presbyterian "Discipline might be established, as the Discipline of Jesus "Christ;" but the Commons answered with a frown, "That the Citizens must have been misinformed of the "proceedings of the House, or else they would not have "precipitated the judgment of Parliament." Not discouraged at this rebuke they prevailed with the City Ministers to petition, but when they came to the House the Speaker told them, "They need not wait for an answer, but go "home and look to the charges of their several Congrega-"tions;" and immediately appointed a Committee to enquire into the rise of these Petitions.

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Several Petitions to Parliament to admit it.

The Presbyterian Ministers despairing of success with the Commons, instead of yielding to the times, resolved to apply to the House of Lords, who received them civilly, and promised to take their Request into consideration; but no advances being made in two months they were out of all patience, and determined to renew their application; and to give it the greater weight, prevailed with the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to go at their head, Jan. 16, with an Address, "For a speedy settlement of Church-govern-"ment, according to the Covenant, and that no tolera-"tion might be given to Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, "Heresy, Profaneness, or any thing contrary to sound "Doctrine, and that all private Assemblies might be re-"strained." The Lords thanked them for their zeal, and recommended it to the City to suppress all such unlawful Assemblies; but the Houses were not to be moved as yet by such forcible methods; however, this laid the Foundation of those jealousies and misunderstandings between the City and Parliament, which proved the ruin of the Presbyterian Cause.

Vol. Pamp. No. 34. p. 3.

But the fiercest contention between the Assembly and Parliament arose upon the Power of the Keys, which the former had voted to be in the Eldership or Presbytery, in these Words, "The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were "committed to the Officers of the Church, by virtue "whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit "Sins, to shut the Kingdom of Heaven against the impe-"nitent both by the word and censures, and to open it to "the penitent by Absolution, and to prevent the profanation

Of the Power of the Keys in Excommunication. Vide App. No. III. Chapter of Cong. Assembly.

of

King Charles I. 1645.

" of the Holy Sacrament by notorious and obſtinate offenders, " the ſaid Officers are to proceed by admonition, ſuſpenſion " from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper for a ſeaſon, and " by excommunication from the Church, according to the " nature of the crime and demerit of the perſon;" all which power they claimed, not by the Laws of the Land, but Jure Divino, or by divine appointment.

The Independants Opinion.

The Independants claimed a like power for the brotherhood of every particular Congregation, but without any civil ſanctions or penalties annexed; the Eraſtians were for laying the Communion open, and referring all crimes to the Civil Magiſtrate. When the Queſtion therefore came into

And Selden's Ruſhw. p. 203.

debate in the Houſe of Commons, the learned Mr. Selden delivered his opinion againſt all Suſpenſions and Excommunications to this effect, " That for four thouſand years there " was no Law to ſuſpend perſons from religious exerciſes. " Strangers, indeed, were kept from the Paſſover, but they " were Pagans, and not of the Jewiſh Religion. The que- " ſtion is not now for keeping away Pagans in times of " Chriſtianity, but Proteſtants from Proteſtant Worſhip. " No Divine can ſhew, that there is any ſuch command as " this to ſuſpend from the Sacrament. No man is kept from " the Sacrament Eo Nomine, becauſe he is guilty of any " ſin, by the Conſtitution of the Reformed Churches, or " becauſe he has not made ſatisfaction. Every man is a ſin- " ner; the difference is only, that one is in private, and the " other in publick. Dic Eccleſiæ in St. Matthew were " the Courts of Law which then ſat at Jeruſalem. No " man can ſhew any Excommunication till the Popes Victor " and Zephorinus (two hundred years after Chriſt) firſt " began to uſe them upon private quarrels, whereby it ap- " pears that Excommunication is an human invention, " taken from the heathens."

And Whitl. p. 203.

Mr. Whitlock ſpake on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, and ſaid, " The Aſſembly of Divines have petitioned and " adviſed this Houſe, That in every Preſbytery, or Preſ- " byterian Congregation, the Paſtors and ruling Elders " may have the power of Excommunication, and of ſuſ- " pending ſuch as they ſhall judge ignorant or ſcandalous. " By Paſtors, I ſuppoſe, they mean themſelves, and others " who are or may be Preachers, and would be Biſhops or " Overſeers of their Congregations. By ruling Elders " they mean a ſelect number of ſuch in every Congrega- " tion as ſhall be choſen for the execution of Government " and

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" and discipline therein. A Pastor is one who is to feed " his sheep; and if so, how improper must it be for such " to desire to excommunicate any, or keep them from " food; to forbid any to eat, or whomsoever they shall " judge unworthy, when Christ has said, take, eat, and " drink ye all of it, tho' Judas was one of them. But " some have said, 'tis the duty of a Shepherd, when he " sees a sheep feeding upon that which will do him hurt, to " chase him away from that pasture, and they apply this " to suspending those from the Sacrament whom they fear, " by eating and drinking unworthily, may eat and drink " their own Damnation. But it ought to be observed, that " it is not receiving the Sacrament, but the unworthiness of " the Receiver that brings destruction, and this cannot be " within the judgment of any but the person himself, who " alone can examine his own heart; nor can any one pro- " duce a Commission for another to be judge thereof. But " it is said, that ruling Elders are to be joined with the Pas- " tors; now, in some country Villages and Congregations, " perhaps, they may not be very learned, and yet the au- " thority given them is very great: The word Elders, " amongst the Hebrews, signified Men of the greatest " power and dignity; so it was among the Romans, whose " Senate was so called, from Senes, Elders. The highest " Title among the French, Spaniards, and Italians, Seig- " neur, and Seigniori, is but a corruption of the Latin " word Senior, Elder. The same may be observed in our " English Corporations, where the best and most substan- " tial Persons are called Aldermen or Eldermen. Thus " the Title of Elders may be given to the chief men of " every Presbytery, but if the power of Excommunicati- " on be given them they may challenge the Title of Elders " in the highest signification.

" Power is desired to be given to suspend from the Sa- " crament two sorts of Persons, the ignorant and scandal- " ous; now 'tis possible, that they who are judged to be " competent in one place may be deemed ignorant in an- " other; however, to keep them from the Ordinances is " no way to improve their Knowledge. Scandalous Per- " sons are likewise to be suspended, and this is to be left to " the discretion of the Pastors and ruling Elders; but " where have they such a Commission? scandalous sinners " should be admonished to forsake their evil ways, and " amend their Lives; and how can this be done better, " than by allowing them to hear good Sermons, and par-

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" take of the holy Ordinances. A Man may be a good " Phyſician though he never cut off a Member from his " patient; and a Church may be a good Church, though " no Member of it has ever been cut off. I have heard " many complaints of the juriſdiction of the Prelates, who " were but few; now in this Ordinance there will be a " great multiplication of ſpiritual Men in Government, but " I am of opinion, that where the temporal Sword is ſuf- " ficient for puniſhment of offences there will be no need " of this new diſcipline."

Though the Parliament did not think it prudent wholly to reject the Ordinance for Excommunication, becauſe it had been the popular complaint in the late times, " That Paſ- " tors of Churches had not power to keep unworthy Com- " municants from the Lord's Table;" yet the ſpeeches of theſe learned Gentlemen made ſuch an impreſſion, that they reſolved to render it ineffectual to all the purpoſes of Church Power; accordingly, they ſent to the Aſſembly, to ſpecify in writing, " What degrees of Knowledge in the Chriſtian " Religion were neceſſary to qualify perſons for the Com- " munion? and what ſorts of ſcandal deſerved ſuſpenſion " or excommunication?" Which, after much Controverſy, they preſented to the Houſes, who inſerted them in the Body of their "Ordinance for ſuſpenſion from the Lord's " Supper," dated Octob. 20. 1645, together with certain Proviſos of their own.

Ordinance for Suſpenſion and Excommunication. Ruſhw. Part. IV. Vol. I. p. 211.

The Ordinance ſets forth, that the ſeveral Elderſhips within their reſpective Limits, ſhall have power to ſuſpend from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, all ignorant and ſcandalous perſons, within the Rules and Directions hereafter mentioned, and others.

RULES for ſuſpending from the Sacrament in caſe of Ignorance.

1. " All that do not know and believe the Being of a " God, and the Holy Trinity.

2. " They that are not acquainted with original Sin, and " the Fall of Man.

3. " They that don't believe Chriſt to be God and Man, " and our only Mediator and Redeemer.

4. — " That Chriſt and his Benefits are applied only by " Faith, which Faith is the gift of God, and implies a " truſting

" truſting in him, for the remiſſion of Sins, and Life ever- King Charles I. 1645.
" laſting.

5. — " The neceſſity of ſincere Repentance, and a holy " Life, in order to Salvation.

6. — " The Nature and Importance of the two Sacra- " ments, eſpecially of the Lord's Supper.

7. — " That the Souls of the Faithful do immediately " live with Chriſt after Death; and the Souls of the Wick- " ed immediately go to Hell.

8. — " The Reſurrection of the Body, and a final Judg- " ment."

RULES for Suſpenſion in caſe of Scandal.

" The Elderſhips ſhall have power to ſuſpend from the " Sacrament all ſcandalous Perſons hereafter mentioned, and " no others, being duly convicted by the Oaths of two " Witneſſes, or their own Confeſſion; that is to ſay,

1. " All Blaſphemers againſt God, his holy Word or Sa- " craments.

2. " Inceſtuous Perſons.

3. " Adulterers.

4. " Fornicators.

5. " Drunkards.

6. " Profane Swearers and Curſers.

7. " Murderers.

8. " Worſhippers of Images, Croſſes, Crucifixes, or " Relicks.

9. " All that make Images of the Trinity, or of any Per- " ſon thereof.

10. " All religious Worſhippers of Saints, Angels, or " any meer Creature.

11. " Such as declare themſelves not to be in Charity " with their Neighbours.

12. " Such as challenge others to a Duel, or that ſhall ac- " cept ſuch a Challenge.

13. " Such as knowingly ſhall carry a Challenge either by " Word, Meſſage, or Writing.

14. " Such as profane the Lord's Day by dancing, play- " ing at Cards or Dice, or any other Game; or that ſhall " on the Lord's Day uſe Maſking, Wakes, Shooting, Bowl- " ing, playing at Foot-ball, or Stool-ball, Wreſtling; or " that ſhall reſort to Plays, interludes, Fencing, Bull-bait- " ing, or Bear-beating; or, that ſhall uſe Hawking,

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" Hunting, Courſing, Fiſhing, or Fowling; or, that ſhall " publickly expoſe any Wares to ſale, otherwiſe than " is provided by the Ordinance of April 6th, 1644, or, " that ſhall travel on the Lord's Day without reaſonable " cauſe.

15. " Such as keep known Stews, or Brothel-houſes; " or, that ſhall ſolicit the chaſtity of any perſon for him- " ſelf, or another.

16. " Such Parents as give their conſent to marry their " Children to Papiſts; and ſuch as do themſelves marry a " Papiſt.

17. " Such as conſult for Advice, Witches, Wizards, or " Fortune-Tellers.

18. " Such as aſſault their Parents, or any Magi- " ſtrate, Miniſter, or Elder, in the Execution of his Of- " ſice.

19. " Such as ſhall be legally attainted of Barretry, For- " gery, Extortion, or Bribery."

" And the ſeveral Elderſhips ſhall have power to ſuſpend " all Miniſters who ſhall be duly convicted of any of the " crimes abovemention from giving or receiving the Lord's " Supper.

" Perſons ſuſpended by one congregation ſhall not be ad- " mitted to the Sacrament by another, without Certificate " from that Congregation of which he was a Member. But " in all caſes of Suſpenſion, if the party ſuſpended ſhall ma- " nifeſt his Repentance before the Elderſhip by whom he " was ſuſpended, he ſhall be re-admitted to the Lord's Sup- " per, and the Suſpenſion taken off."

But then follow the Proviſo's, which ſtripp'd the Preſbyters of that Power of the Keys which they were reaching at.

Parliament's Proviſo's.

Provided always, " That if any Perſon find himſelf " aggrieved with the Proceedings of the Preſbytery to " which he belongs, he may appeal to the Claſſical El- " derſhip; from them to the Provincial Aſſembly; from " them to the National; and from them to the Parlia- " ment.

'Tis further provided, " That the Cognizance and Ex- " amination of all capital Offences ſhall be reſerved en- " tire to the Magiſtrate appointed by the Laws of the " Kingdom, who, upon his committing the Party to " Priſon,

" priſon, ſhall make a certificate to the Elderſhip of the " Congregation to which they belonged, who may there- " upon ſuſpend them from the Sacrament. King Charles I. 1645.

" The Preſbytery or Elderſhip ſhall not have cognizance " of any thing relating to Contracts, Payments, or De- " mands; or of any Matter of Conveyance, Title, Inte- " reſt, or Property in Lands or Goods.

" No uſe ſhall be made of any Confeſſion, or proof made " before an Elderſhip, at any Trial at Law of any perſon " for any offence.

" And 'tis further ordained, That thoſe Members of " Parliament who are Members of the Aſſembly of Di- " vines, or any ſeven of them, ſhall be a ſtanding Com- " mittee, to conſider of ſuch other offences or ſcandals " not mentioned in this Ordinance, which may be con- " ceived to be a ſufficient Cauſe of Suſpenſion from the " Sacrament, and ſhall lay them before the Parliament.

By an Ordinance of June 5, 1646, a diſcretionary power was lodged in a Committee of Lords and Commons, not leſs than nine to adjudge and determine ſcandalous offences, not formerly enumerated, and report them to the two Houſes, that if they concurred with the Committee they might be added to the Catalogue.

Presbyterians diſſatisfied.

By theſe Proviſo's 'tis evident the Parliament were determined not to part with the Spiritual Sword, or ſubject their civil properties to the power of the Church, which gave great offence to the Scots Commiſſioners, and to moſt of the Engliſh Preſbyterians, who declaimed againſt the Ordinance, as built upon Eraſtian Principles, and depriving the Church of that which it claimed by a Divine Inſtitution. They allowed of Appeals from one ſpiritual Court to another, but declared openly from the Pulpit and Preſs, that Appeals to the Parliament or Civil Magiſtrate, as the dernier Reſort, were inſufferable. The Parliament obſerving their ambition, of making the Church independent on the State, girt the Laws cloſer about them, and ſubjected their determinations more immediately to the Civil Magiſtrate, by an Ordinance dated March 14, 1645-6, which enacts, " That " an appeal ſhall lie from the deciſions of every Claſſis to " the Commiſſioners choſen by Parliament out of every Pro- " vince, and from them to the Parliament itſelf. That if " any Perſon commit any ſcandalous offences not mention- " ed in the Ordinance, the Miniſter may forbear to admini- " ſter the Sacrament to him for that time; but then he ſhall,

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" within eight days, certify the ſame to the Commiſſioners, " who hall ſend up the caſe, with their opinions, to the " Parliament, by whoſe determination the Elderſhip ſhall " abide."

This Ordinance of Suſpenſion from the Sacrament was extorted from the two Houſes before the time, by the importunate Sollicitations of the City Clergy, for as yet there were no Claſſes or Preſbyteries in any part of England, which ought to have been before they had determined their Powers. The Houſes had voted, that there ſhould be a choice of Lay-Elders throughout England and Wales, and " had laid down ſome Rules for this purpoſe, Aug. 19, 1645, but it was the 14th of March following, before it paſſed into a law.

Ordinance for erecting Presbyteries. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 226.

It was then ordained, 1. " That there be forthwith a " choice of [Ruling] Elders throughout the Kingdom of " England and Dominion of Wales.

2. " That publick notice be given of ſuch Election in " every Pariſh, by the Miniſter of the Church, a Fortnight " before; and that on the Lord's Day on which the " choice is to be made a Sermon be preached ſuitable to " the occaſion.

3. " Elections ſhall be made by the Congregation, or the " major part of them then aſſembled, being heads of Fa- " milies, and ſuch as have taken the Covenant.

4. " That certain perſons be appointed Triers in every " Claſſis, viz. ſix Miniſters and three Lay-men, whereof " ſeven to be a Quorum, to determine the validity of elec- " tions. All Members of Parliament, and Peers of the " Realm to be Triers in the Pariſhes wherein they live.

5. " No man to be a Ruling Elder but for one Congrega- " tion, and that in the Pariſh where he lives.

6. " The Qualifications of a Ruling Elder are, that he " be of good Underſtanding in Religion, ſound in the Faith, " prudent, diſcreet, grave, of unblameable converſation, " willing to undergo the office, and in communion with the " Church.

7. " All Pariſhes, privilege Places, exempt Juriſdictions, " and all other Places whatſoever, ſhall be brought under " the exerciſe of Congregational, Claſſical, Provincial, and " National Aſſemblies, except Chapels within any of the " King's Houſes, or the Houſes of Peers, which ſhall con- " tinue free for the exerciſes of Religion, according to the " Directory, but not otherwiſe.

8. " The

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8. " The Province of London ſhall be divided into twelve " Claſſical Elderſhips, each to contain about twelve Pa- " riſhes of the City, and Parts adjacent, and theſe to be " the boundaries of the Province of London.

9. " The ſeveral Counties of England and Wales ſhall " be divided into Claſſical Preſbyteries by perſons to be ap- " pointed by Parliament for this purpoſe, who ſhall ſettle " the Boundaries of each Claſſis, and certify the ſame to " the Parliament for their Approbation.

10. " The Preſbytery or Elderſhip of every Pariſh, ſhall " meet once a week; the Claſſical Aſſemblies of each " Province once a Month, by adjournment, in ſuch Places " as may be moſt convenient; Provincial Aſſemblies ſhall " meet twice a year; National Aſſemblies as often as they " ſhall be ſummoned by Parliament, and ſhall continue " ſitting as long as the Parliament ſhall direct and appoint, " and not otherwiſe.

11. " Every Congregational or Parochial Elderſhip, ſhall " ſend two Elders, or more, not exceeding four, and one " Miniſter, to the Claſſical Aſſembly; every Claſſical As- " ſembly within the Province ſhall ſend two Miniſters, and " four ruling Elders at leaſt, but not to excceed nine, to " the Provincial Aſſembly. Every Provincial Aſſembly " ſhall appoint two Miniſters, and four ruling Elders, which " ſhall conſtitute a National Aſſembly, when ſuch an one " ſhall be ſummoned by Parliament.

When this Ordinance had paſſed the Commons it ſtuck a conſiderable Time with the Lords, inſomuch that the Preſbyterian Clergy thought it neceſſary to quicken them by a petition May 29, under the hands of three hundred Miniſters of Suffolk and Eſſex, lamenting the decay of Religion, and the want of Church Diſcipline, and beſeeching their Lordſhips to put the finiſhing hand to the bill ſo long depending; which they did accordingly, June 6. 1646.

Thus the Preſbyterian Form of Church Government became the National Eſtabliſhment, by way of Probation, as far as an Ordinance of Parliament could make it, for the preamble ſets forth, " That if upon Trial it was not found " acceptable it ſhould be reverſed or amended. It declares " further, That the two Houſes found it very difficult to " make their new Settlement agree with the Laws and " Government of the Kingdom, that therefore it could not " be expected that a preſent Rule in every particular ſhould

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" be ſettled at once, but that there will be need of Supple-
" ments and Additions, and perhaps Alterations, as ex-
" perience ſhall bring to light the neceſſity thereof."

Remarks.

The Parliament apprehended they had now eſtabliſhed the Fundamentals of the Preſbyterian Diſcipline, though it proved not to the ſatisfaction of any one party of Chriſtians; ſo hard is it to make a good Settlement when Men dig up old Foundations all at once. The Preſbyterian Government was as narrow as the Prelatical; and as it did not allow a Liberty of Conſcience, but claimed a Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical Authority over Men's Perſons and Properties, was equally, if not more inſufferable. Biſhop Kennet obſerves, that the ſettling Preſbytery was ſupported by the fear and Love of the Scots Army, and that when they were gone home it was better managed by the Engliſh Army, who were for Independancy, and a better principle of Toleration; but as things ſtood nobody was pleaſed; the Epiſcopalians and Independants were excluded; and becauſe the Parliament would not give the ſeveral Preſbyteries an abſolute Power over their Communicants, but reſerved the laſt appeal to themſelves, neither the Scots nor Engliſh Preſbyterians would accept it.

When the Scheme was laid before the Scots Parliament, and General Aſſembly, as a Plan for Uniformity between the two Nations, they inſiſted upon the following Amendments.

Exceptions of the Scots to the new Diſcipline. Ruſhw. p. 253.

(1.) " That no godly Miniſter may be excluded from
" being a Member of Claſſical, Provincial, or National
" Aſſemblies.

(2.) " That the ordinary Time for the meeting of the
" National Aſſembly may be fixed; with a reſerve of
" Power to the Parliament to convene them when they
" pleaſe, and a Liberty to the Church to meet oftner on
" neceſſary occaſions.

(3.) " That the Congregational Elderſhip may have
" Power to judge in caſes of Scandal not expreſſed. This
" they conceive can't be conſtrued lodging an arbitrary power
" in the Church; whereas on the other hand, the appoint-
" ing ſuch Provincial Commiſſioners as are ſettled in the Or-
" dinance will occaſion diſputes, create a diſconformity be-
" tween this and other Churches, and is a mixture in
" Church Government altogether without Precedent. This
" Buſineſs therefore they conceive may be better manag'd
" by Aſſemblies of Miniſters and Ruling Elders.

(4.)

(4.) " That the Ordinance for Ordination of Mini- King Charles I. 1645.
" ſters may be perpetual.

(5.) " The manner of ſubjecting Church Aſſemblies to
" the controul and deciſion of Parliament, being very lia-
" ble to miſtakes; the Exemption likewiſe of perſons of di-
" ſtinction from eccleſiaſtical Cenſures; and the adminiſtring
" the Sacrament to ſome perſons, againſt the Conſcience of
" the Miniſtry and Elderſhips; theſe, and ſome other par-
" ticulars, being more than they can admit, they deſire
" may be alter'd to general ſatisfaction.

(6.) " As to the Articles, relating to the perpetual Offi-
" cers of the Church, with their reſpective Functions; the
" Order and Power of Church Aſſemblies; the Directions
" for publick Repentance or Penance; the Rules for Ex-
" communication and Abſolution;" all theſe they deſire may be fixed and ſettled, purſuant to the Covenant, and with the joint advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms [i. e. the Aſſembly at Weſtminſter] long ſince offered to both Houſes.

After the delivery of theſe papers by the Scots Commiſſioners, and before the Houſes had returned an Anſwer, they were publiſhed in print with a Preface, by a private hand, which provoked the Houſes to ſuch a degree, that April 14. they voted it to be burnt by the hands of the common Hangman, which was done accordingly. April 17. the Commons publiſhed their Anſwer to the Commiſſioners papers, in which they declare to the world, " That Parliament's Reply.
" their real intentions are to ſettle Religion according to
" the Covenant, and to maintain the antient and funda-
" mental Government of this Kingdom. They think
" it ſtrange that any ſober and modeſt men ſhould imagine,
" they are unwilling to ſettle any Government in the
" Church, after they have declared ſo fully for the Preſby-
" terian; have taken ſo much pains for the ſettling it; have
" paſſed moſt of the particulars brought to them by the
" Aſſembly of Divines, without any material alteration,
" ſave in the point of Commiſſioners; and have publiſhed
" ſo many Ordinances for putting the ſame in execution,
" only becauſe they cannot conſent to the granting an arbi-
" trary and unlimited Power and Juriſdiction to near ten
" thouſand Judicatories to be erected within this Kingdom,
" and this demanded in ſuch a way as is not conſiſtent with
" the fundamental Laws and Government of the ſame,
" and by neceſſary conſequence excluding the Parliament
" of England from the exerciſe of all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſ-
" diction."

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" diction." This, say they, has been the great cause that " Church Government has not been long since settled; " and we have the more reason not to part with this power " out of the hands of the Civil Magistrate, since the ex- " perience of all ages will manifest, that the Reformation " and Purity of Religion, and the preservation and protecti- " on of the people of God in this kingdom, has, under " God, been owing to the Parliament's exercise of this " power. If then the minds of any are disturbed for want " of the present settling of Church Government, let them " apply to those [Ministors] who having sufficient power " and direction from the Houses on that behalf, have not, " as yet, put the same in execution."

English Presbyterians petition against the Ordinance. MS. penes me, Sess. 608.

The English Presbyterians having resolved to stand and fall with the Scots, refused peremptorily to comply with the Ordinance, relying upon the assistance and support of that nation. Mr. Marshall stood up in the Assemhly, March 20. and said, That since an Ordinance of Parliament for Church Government was now published, and speedily to be put in execution; and since there were some things in that Ordinance which lay very hard upon his Conscience, and upon the Consciences of many of his Brethren (though he blessed God for the zeal of the two Houses in settling the Government of the Church thus far) yet being much pressed in spirit with some things contained in the Ordinance, he moved, that a Committee might be appointed to examine what things in the Ordinance were contrary to their Consciences, and to prepare a Petition to present them to the two Houses——— A Petition was accordingly drawn up, and presented March 23. by the whole Assembly, with Mr. Marshal at their head. In this Petition they assert the Divine Right of the Presbyterian Government, and complain of a Clause in the late Ordinance, which establishes " an Appeal from the Censures of the Church to a Com- " mittee of Parliament." It was a bold and daring attempt of these Divines, who were called together only for their Advice, to examine and censure the Ordinances of Parliament, and dispute in this manner with their Superiors; the Commons, alarmed at this Petition, appointed a Committee to take into consideration the matter and manner of it, who after some time reported it as their Opinion, that the Assembly of Divines in their late Petition had broken the Privileges of Parliament, and were guilty of a Præmunire; and whereas they insisted so peremptorily on the Jus Divinum of the Presbyterian Government, the Committee had

They are threaten'd with a præmunire.

drawn

drawn up certain Queries, which they desired the Assembly might resolve for their satisfaction; the House agreed to the Report of the Committee, and on the 30th of April sent Sir John Evelin, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, and Mr. Browne, to the Assembly, to acquaint them with their Resolutions. These Gentlemen set before them their rash and imprudent Conduct, and in several Speeches shewed wherein they had exceeded their Province, which was, "to advise the Houses "in such points as they should lay before them, but not to "dictate to those to whom they owed their being an As-"sembly." Then they read the Votes abovementioned, and delivered in the following Questions, with the Orders of the House thereupon.

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Questions propounded to the Assembly of Divines by the House of Commons, touching the point of Jus Divinum in the matters of Church Government.

Questions sent to the Assembly relating to the Jus Divinum. Rushw. p. 260.

1. "Whether the Congregational or Presbyterial Elder-"ships appointed by Ordinance of Parliament, or any o-"ther Congregational or Presbyterial Elderships are Jure "Divino, and by the Will and Appointment of Jesus "Christ? and, Whether any particular Church Govern-"ment be Jure Divino? and, What that Government is?

2. "Whether all the Members of the said Elderships, as "Members thereof, or which of them, are Jure Divino, "and by the Will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

3. "Whether the Classical, Provincial, and National As-"semblies, all, or any of them, and which of them are Jure "Divino, and by the Will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

4. "Whether Appeals from Congregational Elderships "to Classical, Provincial, and National Assemblies, or any "of them, and to which of them, are Jure Divino, and "by the Will and Appointment of Jesus Christ? and, Whe-"ther their Powers upon such Appeals are Jure Divino, and "by the Will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

5. "Whether Oecumenical Assemblies are Jure Divi-"no? and, Whether there be Appeals from any of the "former Assemblies to the said Oecumenical Jure Di-"vino, and by the Will and Appointment of Jesus Christ?

6. "Whether by the Word of God, the Power of "judging and declaring what are such notorious and scan-"dalous Offences, for which persons guilty thereof are to "be kept from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and

"of

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" of convening before them, trying, and actually ſuſpend-
" ing from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ſuch Of-
" fenders, is either in the Congregational Elderſhip, Preſ-
" bytery, or in any other Elderſhip, Congregation, or
" Perſons? and, Whether ſuch Powers are in them on-
" ly, or any of them, and in which of them Jure Divi-
" no, and by the Will and Appointment of Jeſus Chriſt?

7. " Whether there be any certain and particular Rules
" expreſſed in the Word of God to direct the Elderſhips,
" or Preſbyteries, Congregations, or Perſons, or any of
" them, in the exerciſe and execution of the Powers afore-
" ſaid, and what are thoſe Rules?

8. Is there any thing contained in the Word of God,
" that the ſupreme Magiſtracy in a Chriſtian State may not
" judge and determine what are the aforeſaid notorious and
" ſcandalous Offences, and the manner of Suſpenſion for
" the ſame; and in what particulars concerning the pre-
" miſes is the ſaid ſupreme Migiſtracy by the word of God
" excluded?

9. " Whether the Proviſion of Commiſſioners to judge
" of Scandals not enumerated (as they are authorized by
" the Ordinance of Parliament) be contrary to that way
" of Government which Chriſt has appointed in his Church?
" and, Wherein are they ſo contrary."

In the Aſſembly's Anſwer to theſe particulars the Houſe of Commons ordered, the Proofs from Sciipiure to be ſet down, with the ſeveral Texts at large, in the expreſs words of the ſame; and that every Miniſter of the Aſſembly that ſhould be preſent at the Debate of any of theſe Queſtions ſhould ſubſcribe his reſpective name in the Affirmative or Negative, according as he gave his Vote: And that thoſe who diſſented from the major part ſhould ſet down their poſitive Opinions, with the expreſs Texts of Scripture upon which their Opinions are grounded.

Remarks. 'Tis eaſy to diſcover the Hand of Mr. Selden and Whitlock in theſe Queſtions; which were ſent to the Aſſembly not with any proſpect of a ſatisfactory anſwer, but to employ, and, it may be, to divide them, till they ſaw how they were like to ſettle with the King. The Houſes were afraid of being fetter'd with the Scots Diſcipline, and yet the Scots were not to be diſguſted, becauſe they had an Army in the North, to whom the King had committed the Cuſtody of his Royal Perſon.

As

As soon as the Assembly had heard the Resolutions of the House of Commons abovementioned, and the Questions read, first by Sir J. Evelin, and then by their Scribe, they adjourned in a very great fright till next morning, in order to consult their Brethren in the City; and then appointed a day of Fasting and Humiliation for themselves in reference to their present circumstances, and sent letters to all the Members to give their attendence. The Fast was observed within their own walls on Wednesday May 6, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon; and Committees were appointed to consider of an answer to the questions, whose report we shall hear under the next year.

King Charles I. 164c.

They are terrified, and appoint a Fast.

In the mean time, we must go back a little, to take a view of the attempts that were made to comprehend the Independants or dissenting Brethren in the Assembly within the new Establishment, or at least to obtain a Toleration for them; the Parliament had ordered, September 13, 1644, that the "Committee of Lords and Commons appointed to treat with the Scots Commissioners, and the Committee of Divines, do take into consideration the differences of the opinions of the Members of the Assembly in point of Church Government, and endeavour an Union if possible; and if that cannot be accomplished, to endeavour to find out some way how far tender Consciences, who cannot in all things submit to the same rule, may be born with, according to the Word of God, and consistent with the publick Peace." This was called the "Grand Committee of Accommodation," which met the first time, Sept. 20, and chose a Sub-Committee of six Divines of the Assembly, to consider the points of difference, and to prepare materials for the consideration of the Grand Committee; the names of the Divines were the Reverend Mr. Marshal, Mr. Herle, Mr. Vines, Dr. Temple, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Nye, who after several consultations among themselves, delivered to the Committee certain propositions [Octob. 15, 1644.] which were read by Mr. Vines, their Chairman: The Independants would have stated the difference between the two parties, and endeavoured a compromise while the discipline of the Church was depending; but the Presbyterians insisted, That the new Form of Government should first pass into a Law as a Standard, and then the exceptions of the Independants be considered; upon which they were adjourned by order of the House of Commons, till the affair should be determined in the Assembly, who agreed, April 4, 1645, "That the Brethren who had entered "their

Committee of Accommodation. Papers for Accommodation, p. 1.

Remonst. p. 3.

King Charles I. 1645.

" their diſſent againſt the Preſbyterian Government ſhould " be a Committee to bring in the whole frame of their Go- " ment in a Body, with their grounds and reaſons." The Independants deſired liberty to bring it in by parts, as the Preſbyterians had done their advices; but this not being admitted, they deſired time to perfect their plan before any other ſcheme paſſed into a Law; but the Preſbyterians, without any regard to the compromiſe, by the Aſſiſtance of their Scots friends, puſhed the affair to a concluſion in Parliament; upon which the Independants laid aſide their model, and publiſhed a Remonſtrance, complaing of the artful conduct of the Aſſembly, and that the Diſcipline of the Church being fixed, it was too late to think any more of a comprehenſion. But the Houſe of Commons having ſeen their miſtake took the affair in hand, and revived the Committee of Accommodation by an order of Nov. 6, 1645, which, beſides the Scots Commiſſioners, conſiſted of the following Peers, viz.

Earl of Northumberland,
Earl of Mancheſter,
Lord Viſc. Say and Seale,
Lord Wharton, and
Lord Howard.

Theſe were to be met by the following Members of the Aſſembly, viz

Dr. Burges,
Mr. Marſhal,
Mr. Herle,
Mr. Reynolds,
Dr. Hoyle,
Mr. White,
M. Vines,
Mr. Hill,
Dr. Temple,
Mr. Palmer,
Mr. Tuckney,
Mr. Arrowſmith,
Dr. Smith,
Mr. Seaman,
Mr. Newcomen,
Mr. Young.

with the diſſenting Brethren of the Aſſembly.

Mr. Tho. Goodwin,
Mr. Simpſon,
Mr. Nye,
Mr. Burroughs,
Mr. Bridge,
Mr. Dury.

The Committees revived. Papers for Accommodation. p. 14, 24.

The Committee met in the Jeruſalem Chamber Nov. 17, and would have entered upon a Scheme for comprehenſion, but the Independants moved only for an Indulgence or Toleration, for they ſaid they had already moved in the Aſſembly, and elſewhere, that their ſcheme of Government, might be debated before the Preſbyterian had paſſed into a law, and for this purpoſe had offered to prepare a compleat model, if they

they might have been indulged but a few days, but this being over-ruled, and another Form of Government settled, they apprehended themselves shut out from the Establishment, and precluded from any further attempts towards an Union or Comprehension; but still, they were willing to enter upon the second Part of the Parliament's order, which was to consider, "How far tender Consciences; who "cannot in all things submit to the establish'd Rule, may "be indulged, consistent with the Word of God and the "publick Peace." Accordingly in their next meeting Dec. 4, they offered the following Propofals

King Charles I. 1645.

Taking for granted that both Sides shall agree in one Confession of Faith, they humbly crave.

1. That their Congregations may have the Power of Ordination within themselves.

Propofals of the Independants.

2. That they may not be brought under the Power of Classes, nor forced to communicate in those Parish Churches wherein they dwell, but that they may have Liberty to join with such Congregations as they choose, which Congregations shall have Power of all Church Censures within themselves, subject only to Parliament; and be as so many exempt, or privileged places.

To the preamble the Presbyterians replied, That none but such as agreed to their Confession of Faith and Directory should have the Benefit of the Forbearance to be agreed on, with whom the Committee agreed; but the Independants would admit only of the Affirmative, "That "such as agreed with them should be tolerated;" and would not consent to the Negative, so as to set Bounds or Limits of Forbearance to tender Consciences, nor make such an agreement a necessary Qualification for receiving the Sacrament.

Reply of the Presbyterians. Papers of Accommodation. p. 18, 19, 26, 27.

To the desire of the Independants, of being exempted from the Jurisdiction of their Classes, and having a Liberty of erecting separate Congregations, the Presbyterians replied,

1. That this implied a total separation from the established Rule. Ib. p. 20, 21.

2. The lawfulness of gathering Churches out of other true Churches.

3. That the Parliament would then destroy what they had set up.

4. That Members of Independant Churches would then have greater privilege than those of the Establishment.

5. That

King Charles I. 1645.

5. That this would countenance a perpetual Schism. And,

6. Introduce all manner of confusion in Families.

They therefore offered, That such as after conference with their Parish Minister were not satisfied with the Establishment, should not be compelled to communicate in the Lord's Supper, nor be liable to censurs from Classes or Synods provided they join'd with the Parish Congregation where they lived, and were under the Government of it in other respects.

Answer of the Independants. Papers for Accommodation. p.29,30.

The Independants replied, That they did not intend a total Separation, but should agree with their Brethren in the most essential points; as in worshipping according to the Directory, in chooſing the same Officers, Pastors, Teachers, Ruling Elders, with the same Qualifications as in the Rule. That they should require the same Qualifications in their members as the Assembly had advised, that is, "visible "Saints, professing Faith in Christ, and obedience to him, "according to the Rules of Faith and Life taught by Christ "and his Apostles;" that they should practise the same Church censures, being accountable for their conduct to their civil Superiors. They would also hold occasional Communion with the Presbyterian Churches, in Baptism and the Lord's Supper, communicating occasionally with them, and receiving their Members to Communion as occasion required. Their Ministers should preach for each other, and in cases of difficulty they would call in their assistance and advice; and when an Ordination falls out, they would desire the presence and approbation of their Ministers with their own. Now surely, say they, this does not imply a total separation; but if in some things Men cannot comply with the established Rule without Sin, we think such Persons ought not to live without communicating in the Lord's Supper all their days rather than gather into Churches where they may enjoy all Ordinances without offence to their Consciences ——— Nor ought such Separation to be accounted Schism, which is a Name of Reproach we desire not to be branded with, when we are willing to maintain Christian Love and Communion with our Neighbours, as far as our Consciences will permit ——— They add further, that if the State is pleased to grant them this Liberty, they will refer themselves to the Wisdom of the Legislature to consider of limiting their Congregations to a certain Number, to be as so many Receptacles for pious Persons of tender Consciences.

Ib. p. 35,36.

Ib. p. 40.

The

King Charles I. 1645.

The Presbyterians in their next Reply, Dec. 23d, after having blamed the Independants for not going upon a comprehension, argue against the lawfulness of a Separation after this manner: "That if a pretence of conscience be a "sufficient ground of Separation, Men may gather impure "and corrupt Churches out of purer, because upon the dic- "tate of an erring Conscience they may disallow that "which is pure, and set up that which is agreeable to their "erring Consciences; and we very much doubt (say they) "whether tenderness of conscience in doubtful points will "justify a Separation; it may oblige Men to forbear Com- "munion, but not to set up a contrary practice. If a "Church impose any thing that is sinful we must forbear "to comply, yet without Separation, as was the practice "of the Puritans in the late times."——They then argue from the Concessions of the Independants, that because they agree with them in so many material points, therefore they should not separate. "If, say they, you can commu- "nicate with our Church occasionally, once, or a second "and third time without sin, we know no reason why you "may not do it constantly, and then Separation will be "needless.-----As for such a Toleration as our Brethren de- "sire, we apprehend it will open a door to all Sects; and "though the Independants now plead for it, their Brethren "in New England don't allow it."

The Presbyterians Reply. Papers for Accommodation. p. 51.

Ib. p. 56.

As to the charge of Schism they admit, that difference in judgment in some particular points is not Schism; nor does an inconformity to some things enjoin'd deserve that name; but our Brethren desire further to set up separate Communions, which is a manifest rupture of our Societies into others, and is therefore a Schism in the Body. This is setting up Altar against Altar, allowing our Churches (as the Independants do) to be true Churches; for St. Austin says, "Schismaticos facit non diversa Fides, sed communionis "disrupta Societas." And we conceive, it is the Cause of the Separation itself; if then the cause of our Brethrens Separation be not sufficient, by what other name can it be called? to all which they add, that this indulgence, if granted, will be the Mother of all Contentions, Strifes, Heresies, and confusions in the Church; and contrary to their Covenant, which obliges them to endeavour to their utmost an Uniformity.

Ib. p. 65, 73, 74.

King Charles I. 1645.

When the Committee met the next time, Feb. 2, 1645-6, the Independants replied chiefly to the point of Uniformity, and argued, that it was not neceſſary to the peace of the Churches; and ought not to extend beyond peoples Light, according to the Apoſtolical Canon, "As far as we have "attained let us walk by the ſame Rule, Phil. iii. 15." As for a meer exemption from the cenſures of the Claſſes, they declared frankly they could not acquieſce in it, becauſe it would deprive them of the enjoyment of the Lord's Supper; and that it was very hard to urge, that becauſe they came ſo near their Brethren, therefore they ſhould be obliged to a total and conſtant Conformity.

Anſwer of the Independants. Papers for Accommodation, p. 86.

Concluſion of the Preſbyterians.

The Committee met the laſt time, March 9, when the Sub-committee of Preſbyterian Divines anſwered the laſt Paper of the Independants, maintaining all their former poſitions in the beſt manner they could, and concluding in this ſtrange and wonderful Manner: "That whereas their "Brethren ſay, that Uniformity ought to be urged no fur-"ther than is agreeable to all Mens Conſciences, and to "their Edification; it ſeems to them, as if their Brethren "not only deſired Liberty of Conſcience for themſelves, "but for all Men, and would have us think, that we are "bound by our Covenant to bring the Churches in the "three Kingdoms to no nearer a Conjunction and Unifor-"mity than is conſiſtent with the liberty of all Mens Con-"ſciences; which whether it be the ſenſe of the Cove-"nant, we leave with the honourable Committee."

Ib. p. 123.

Upon which the Reverend Mr. Jer. Burroughs, a Divine of great Candor and Moderation, declared in the name of the Independants, "That if their Congregations might "not be exempted from that coercive power of the Claſſes; "if they might not have liberty to govern themſelves in "their own way, as long as they behaved peaceably to-"wards the civil Magiſtrate, they were reſolved to ſuffer, "or go to ſome other place of the World, where they "might enjoy their Liberty. But while Men think there "is no way of peace but by forcing all to be of the ſame "mind (ſays he) while they think the civil Sword is an Or-"dinance of God to determine all Controverſies of Divini-"ty, and that it muſt needs be attended with fines and im-"priſonment to the diſobedient; while they apprehend "there is no medium between a ſtrict Uniformity, and a "general confuſion of all things; while theſe ſentiments "prevail there muſt be a baſe ſubjection of Mens Conſci-

ences

" ences to Slavery, a ſuppreſſion of much truth, and great " diſturbances in the Chriſtian World. King Charles I. 1645.

Thus ended the laſt Committee of Lords and Commons, and Aſſembly of Divines, for Accommodation, which adjourned to a certain day, but being then diverted by other Affairs met no more. Little did the Preſbyterian Divines think, that in leſs than twenty years all their Artillery would be turned againſt themſelves; that they ſhould be excluded the Eſtabliſhment by an act of prelatical Uniformity; that they ſhould be reduced to the Neceſſity of pleading for that Indulgence which they now denied their Brethren; and think it their duty to gather Churches for ſeparate Worſhip out of others, which they allowed to be true ones. If the leading Preſbyterians in the Aſſembly and City had come to a temper with the Independants, on the foot of a limited Toleration, they had, in all likelihood, prevented the diſputes between the Army and Parliament, which were the ruin of both; they might have ſaved the Conſtitution, and made their own Terms with the King, who was now their Priſoner; but they were enchanted with the beauties of Covenant Uniformity, and the Divine Right of their Preſbytery, which, after all, the Parliament would not admit in its full extent. Mr. Baxter, who was no friend of the Independants, ſays, " That the Preſbyterian Miniſters were ſo lit- Baxter's " tle ſenſible of their own Infirmities, that they would not Life, p. 103. " agree to tolerate thoſe who were not only tolerable, but " worthy inſtruments and Members in the Churches. Pru- " dent Men were for " Union in things neceſſary, for Li- " berty in things unneceſſary, and for Charity in all ;" but " they could not be heard."

Remarks.

Great was the reſort of the City Divines to Sion College at this time, where there was a kind of Synod every Monday, to conſult proper methods to propagate Religion, and ſupport the Aſſembly at Weſtminſter in their oppoſition to the Toleration of Sectaries; for this purpoſe they writ them a Letter, dated Jan. 15, 1645-6, in which they recite the Arguments of the Committee, and beſeech them to oppoſe with all their Might the great Diana of the Independants, and not to ſuffer their new Eſtabliſhment to be ſtrangled in the Birth by a lawleſs Toleration.

Debates about Toleration and Liberty of Conſcience.

The whole Scots Nation was alſo commanded into the Service; the Parliament of that Kingdom writ to the two Houſes at Weſtminſter, Feb. 3, telling them, that

King Charles I. 1645.

Rushw. p. 234.

"it was expected the honourable Houses would add the "civil Sanction to what the pious and learned Assembly "have advised; and I am commanded by the Parliament "of this Kingdom (says the President) to demand it, and "I do in their names demand it." And the Parliament of "this Kingdom is perswaded, that the piety and wisdom of "the honourable Houses will never admit Toleration of "any Sects or Schisms contrary to our solemn League and "Covenant." At the same time they appeal'd to the people, and published a Declaration "Against Toleration of "Sectaries and Liberty of Conscience;" in which, after having taken notice of their great Services, they observe that there is a Party in England who are endeavouring to supplant the true Religion by pleading for Liberty of Conscience, which (say they) is the Nourisher of all Heresies and Schisms. They then declare against all such notions as are inconsistent with the truth of Religion, and opening a door to Licentiousness, which, to the utmost of their power, they will endeavour to oppose; and as they have all enter'd into one Covenant, so to the last Man in the Kingdom they will go on in the Preservation of it. And however the Parliament of England may determine in point of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, they are resolved not to make the least Start, but to live and die, for the glory of God, in the entire Preservation of the Truth.

Scots Declaration against Toleration.

Most of the Sermons before the House of Commons, at their monthly Fasts, spoke the language of Severity, and call'd upon the Magistrate to draw his Sword against the Sectaries. The Press abounded with Pamphlets of the same Nature; Mr. Prynne against J. Goodwin says, that if the Parliament and Synod establish Presbytery, the Independants, and all others, are bound to submit, under pain of Obstinacy. Another writes, that to let Men serve God according to the perswasion of their own Consciences, is to cast out one Devil that seven worse may enter.

Independants for a limited Toleration.

But the cause of Liberty was not destitute of Advocates at this time; the Independants pleaded for a Toleration so far, as to include themselves and the sober Anabaptists, but did not put the Controversy on a general Foot; they were for tolerating all that agreed in the fundamentals of Christianity, but when they came to enumerate Fundamentals they were sadly intangled, as all those must be who do not keep the religious and civil Rights of Mankind on a separate Basis: A Man may be an orthodox Believer, but deserve

ſerve death as a Traytor to his King and Country; and on the other hand, a Heretick or Non-Conformiſt to the eſtabliſhed Religion may be a moſt loyal and dutiful Subject, and deſerve the higheſt preferment his Prince can beſtow. King Charles I. 1645.

The Letter of the City Divines to the Aſſembly received a quick reply from a Writer of more generous principles, who complains, "That the Presbyterians not content with their own Freedom and Liberty, nor with having their "Form of Government made the National Eſtabliſhment, "were graſping at as much power as the Prelates before "them had uſurped; for this purpoſe they had obtained "the privilege of licenſing the Preſs, that nothing might "be writ againſt them but what they ſhould pleaſe to ap- "prove; they were continually ſolliciting the Parliament "to eſtabliſh their Church Government, which they called "the Government of Chriſt, with a coercive power; "they were always buſy in framing Petitions, and engaging "the Magiſtrates of the City to preſent them to the "Houſes; and not content with this, they were now mov- "ing the Aſſembly of Divines, of whom themſelves are "a conſiderable part, to become the Patrons of Oppreſ- "ſion." Our Author maintains, that "Liberty of Con- "ſcience is the natural Right of every Man, though of all "parties of Men thoſe deſerve leaſt the countenance of "the State, who would perſecute others if it were in "their power, becauſe they are enemies of the Society "in which they live. He that will look back on paſt times, "and examine into the true cauſes of the Subverſion and "Devaſtation of the States and Countries, will find it ow- "ing to the tyranny of Princes, and the perſecution of "Prieſts. All Governments therefore which underſtand "their true Intereſts, will endeavour to ſuppreſs in every "Sect, or Diviſion of Men, whether Papiſt, Epiſcopal, "Presbyterian, Independant, or Anabaptiſt, the Spirit of "Dominion and Perſecution, which is the diſturber of "Mankind, and the off-ſpring of the Devil. But the Mi- "niſters ſay, if we tolerate one Sect we muſt tolerate "all; which our Author admits, and adds, that they "have as good a right to the Liberty of their Conſciences "as to their Clothes or Eſtates; no opinions or ſentiments "of Religion being cognizable by the Magiſtrate, any "further than they are inconſiſtent with the peace of the "Civil Government. The way to put an end to diverſity "of Opinions is not by fines and impriſonments; can

Anſwer to the Reaſons of the London Clergy. Vol. Pamph: No. 52.

King Charles I. 1645.

" Bedlam, or the Fleet, open Mens underſtandings, and " reduce them from error? No certainly, nothing but " ſound reaſon and argument can do it, which, 'tis to be " feared, they are not furniſhed with, who have recourſe " to any other weapons. Schiſm and Hereſy are to be " rooted out, not by oppreſſion, but by Reaſon and De- " bate; by the Sword of the Spirit, not of the Fleſh; by " Argument not by Blows, to which Men have recourſe " when they are beat out of the other. Schiſm and Here- " ſy are words of Terror thrown upon the Adverſary by all " parties of Men; and perhaps, there may need an infal- " lible Judge to determine where the Schiſm lies, before " we venture upon extraordinary methods to extirpate it." He adds, " That Perſecution will breed more confuſion and " diſturbance than Toleration; and that their ſolemn " League and Covenant ought to bind them no farther " than it is conſiſtent with the Word of God. Now, that " Toleration, or Liberty of Conſcience, is the Doctrine of " Scripture, is evident, 1. From the Parable of the Tares " and Wheat growing together till the Harveſt. 2. From " the Apoſtle's direction. Let every Man be perſwaded " in his own mind. 3. That whatſoever is not of Faith is " Sin. 4. From our Saviour's Golden Rule, Whatſo- " ever ye would that Men ſhould do to you, that do ye " to them——"

This pamphlet was anſwered by another, called Anti-Toleration, in which the Author endeavours to vindicate the moſt unbounded lengths of perſecution; but neither the Aſſembly, nor the City Divines, nor the whole Scots Nation, could prevail with the Parliament to deliver the Sword into their hands. The high behaviour of the Presbyterians loſt them the affections of great numbers of people, who began to diſcover that the contention between them and the Prelates was not for liberty but power, and that all the ſpiritual Advantage they were like to get by the war was to ſhift hands, and inſtead of Epiſcopal Government to ſubmit to the yoke of Presbyterial Uniformity.

The King foments their Diviſions. Vol. II. p. 746.

Lord Clarendon admits, that the King endeavoured to make his Advantage of theſe Diviſions, by courting the Independants, and promiſing ſome of them very valuable Compenſations for any Services they ſhould do him; intimating, that it was impoſſible for them to expect relief in their ſcruples from perſons who pretended they were erecting the Kingdom of Chriſt; but though the Independants

dants were enemies to the Presbyterian Discipline, they durst not trust the King's Promises. Mr. Whitlock agrees with the noble Historian, that the King was watchful to make his Advantage of these Divisions, and commanded one Ogle to write to Mr. Tho. Goodwin, and Phil. Nye, two of the Independant Ministers, and make them large overtures, if they would oppose the Presbyterian Government intended to be imposed upon England by the Scots; but these two Gentlemen very honestly acquainted their Friends with it, which put an end to the Correspondence; all which might have convinced the Presbyterians of the necessity of coming to some terms with Dissenters; but the King's affairs were so low, that they were under no apprehensions of Disturbance from that quarter at present. King Charles I. 1645. p. 176.

The Assembly perfected nothing further this year; but complaint being made of the obsolete version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, the Parliament desir'd them to recommend some other to be used in Churches; accordingly they read over Mr. Rouse's Version, and after several Amendments sent it up to the House, Nov. 14, 1645, with the following Recommendation: "Whereas the honourable "House of Commons, by an order bearing date Nov. 20, "1643, have recommended the Psalms published by Mr. "Rouse to the consideration of the Assembly of Divines, "the Assembly has caused them to be carefully perused, "and as they are now alter'd and amended do approve "them and humbly conceive they may be useful and pro- "fitable to the Church, if they be permitted to be pub- "lickly sung;" accordingly they were authorized by the two Houses. The like care was taken to prevent the importation of incorrect Bibles printed in Holland. New Version of the Psalms in Metre appointed. M. S. Sess. 535. Parl. Chr. p. 319.

To return to the proceedings of Parliament; the Committee for plunder'd Ministers having reported to the House of Commons, Jan. 28, 1645, certain blasphemies of Paul Best, who denied the Holy Trinity; the House order'd an Ordinance to be brought in [March 28,] to punish him with Death; but several Divines being appointed to confer with him, in order to convince him of his error, he confessed his Belief of that Doctrine in general terms before he was brought to his trial, and that he hoped to be saved thereby, but denied the Personality, as being a Jesuitical Tenet; upon this confession his trial was put off, and he was at length dismissed. Censures of Paul Best. Whitlock, p. 176.

King Charles I. 1645.

The Government of the Church being now changed into a Presbyterian Form, and the War almoſt at an end, the Parliament reſolved to apply the Revenues of the Cathedrals to other publick uſes, and accordingly Nov. 18, it was ordained, "That whereas the preſent Dean and "Prebendaries of Weſtminſter had deſerted their Charge, "and were become Delinquents to the Parliament, they "did therefore ordain, that the Earl of Northumberland, "with about ten other Lords, and twenty two Commoners, "ſhould be a Committee; and that any perſon, or more "of them ſhould have authority to order, direct, and diſ-"poſe of the Rents, Iſſues, and Profits, belonging to the "College or Collegiate Church, and to do and execute all "other Acts that did any way concern either of them."

Ordinance to ſeize the Revenues of Cathedrals. Husb. Col. p. 758.

The ordained further, "That the Dean, Prebendaries, and "all other Officers belonging either to the College or "Church, who had abſented themſelves, and were be-"come Delinquents, or had not taken the Covenant, "ſhould be ſuſpended from their ſeveral Offices and Places, "and from all manner of benefit and profit ariſing from "them, or from the arrears of them, Mr. Osbaldiſton only "excepted."

When the Cathedral of Hereford fell into the Parliament's hands the dignitaries of that Church were diſpoſſeſs'd, and their Lands and Revenues ſeized into the hands of the Committee of that County. The dignitaries of the Cathedral Churches of Wincheſter and Carliſle were ſerved in the ſame manner the latter end of this year, when the whole frame of the Hierarchy was diſſolved.

Revenues of the Univerſity of Cambridge preſerved.

The Parliament, at the requeſt of the Aſſembly of Divines, gave ſome marks of their favour to the Univerſity of Cambridge, which was reduced to ſuch neceſſitous circumſtances, by reaſon of the failure of their College Rents, that they could not ſupport their ſtudents; it was therefore ordained, April 11, 1645, "That nothing con-"tained in any Ordinance of Parliament concerning levy-"ing or paying of Taxes ſhould extend to the Univerſity "of Cambridge, or any of the Colleges or Halls within "the ſaid Univerſity, nor to any of the Rents or Revenues "belonging to the ſaid Univerſity or Colleges, or any of "them, nor to charge any Maſter, Fellow, or Scholar of "any of the ſaid Colleges, nor any Reader, Officer, "or Miniſter of the ſaid Univerſity or Colleges, for any "Stipend, Wages, or Profit ariſing, or growing due to "them,

Ib. p. 636, 637.

"them, in respect of their places and employments, in the "said University." They likewise confirmed all their antient Rights and Privileges, and ordered the Differences between the University and Town to be determin'd according to Law. On the same day the Ordinance for regulating the University, and removing scandalous Ministers in the associated Counties by the Earl of Manchester, mention'd in the beginning of the last year, was revived and continued. King Charles I. 1645.

On the 17th of April this year died Dr. Dan. Featly; he was born at Charlton in Oxfordshire 1581, and educated at Corpus Christi College, of which he was Fellow; upon his leaving the University he went Chaplain to Sir Tho. Symmonds, the King's Ambassador to the French Court, where he gained Reputation by his Sermons and Disputations with the Papists. When he returned home he became domestick Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, and was presented by him to the Rectory of Lambeth, and in the year 1627 to Acton. In 1643 he was nominated of the Assembly of Divines, and sat among them till his correspondence with the Court was discovered, by an intercepted Letter to Archbishop Usher relating to their proceedings; upon which he was committed to Lord Peter's House for a Spy, both his Livings were sequester'd, and himself expell'd the Assembly. The Doctor was a thorough Calvinist, but very zealous for the Hierarchy of the Church; when in prison he publish'd the following Challenge; Death of Dr. Featly.

"WHEREAS I am certainly informed, that divers "Lecturers and Preachers in London do in their "Pulpits, in a most insolent manner, demand where they "are now, that dare stand up in defence of the Church "Hierarchy, or Book of Common Prayer, or any ways "oppose or impugn the new intended Reformation both in "Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England; I "do, and will maintain, by Disputation or Writing, against "any of them, these three Conclusions.

1. "That the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the "Year 1562, by both Houses of Convocation, and ratified "by Queen Elizabeth, need no alteration at all, but only "an orthodox Explication of some ambiguous Phrases, and "a Vindicatinn against false Aspersions.

2. "That the Discipline of the Church of England, "established by many Laws, and Acts of Parliament, "that

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" that is, the Government by Biſhops (removing all Inno-
" vations and Abuſes in the execution thereof) is agreeable
" to God's Word, and a truly antient and apoſtolical Inſti-
" tution.

3. " That there ought to be a ſet Form of publick
" Prayer ; and that the Book of Common Prayer (the
" Kalendar being reformed in point of Apochryphal Saints
" and Chapters, ſome Rubricks explained, and ſome Ex-
" preſſions reviſed, and the whole correctly printed with
" the Pſalms, Chapters, and Allegations out of the Old
" and New Teſtament, according to the laſt Tranſlation)
" is the moſt compleat, perfect, and exact Liturgy now
" extant in the Chriſtian World."

The Doctor was a little man, of warm paſſions, and exceedingly inflamed againſt the Parliament for his impriſonment, as appears by his laſt Prayer a few hours before his Death, which happened at Chelſea, where he was removed for the Benefit of the Air, in the ſixty fifth year of his age. His Prayer had theſe words in it, ——— " Lord
Featly's Life, p. 78. " ſtrike through the Reins of them that riſe againſt the
" Church and King, and let them be as chaff before the
" wind, and as ſtubble before the fire ; let them be ſcat-
" ter'd as Partridges on the mountains, and let the Breath
" of the Lord conſume them, but upon our gracious Sove-
" reign and his Poſterity let the Crown flouriſh———"
A prayer not very agreeable to that of St. Stephen, or our bleſſed Saviour upon the Croſs.

The Writer of the Life of Archbiſhop Uſher ſays, the Doctor was both Orthodox and Loyal ; but Lord Clarendon and Dr. Heylin can't forgive his ſitting in the Aſſembly, and being a Witneſs againſt Archbiſhop Laud at his
Hiſt. Pref. p. 464. Trial. " Whether he ſat in the Aſſembly (ſays Heylin)
" to ſhew his parts, or to head a party, or out of his old
" love to Calviniſm, may beſt be gathered from ſome
" Speeches which he made and printed ; but he was there
" in heart before, and therefore might afford them his bo-
" dy now, though poſſibly he might be excuſed from ta-
" king the Covenant as others did."

Death of Mr. Dod. Clark's Martyrol.

Soon after died famous old Mr. John Dod, whoſe pious and remarkable Sayings are remembered to this day; he was born at Shotlidge in Cheſhire in the year 1550, and educated in Jeſus College Cambridge, of which he was Fellow. At thirty years of age he removed to Hanwell in Oxfordſhire, where he continued preaching twice on the Lord's

Lord's Day, and once on the week days for above twenty years; at the end of which he was ſuſpended for Non-conformity by Dr. Bridges, Biſhop of the Dioceſe. Being driven from Hanwell he removed to Canons Aſhby in Northamptonſhire, and lived quietly ſeveral years, but upon complaint made by Biſhop Neal to King James, he commanded Archbiſhop Abbot to ſilence him. After the death of King James Mr. Dod was allowed to preach publickly again, and ſettle at Fauſtly in the ſame County, where he continued till his death. He was a moſt humble, pious, and devout man, and univerſally beloved; an excellent Hebrician, a plain, practical, fervent Preacher, a noted Caſuiſt, and charitable almoſt to a fault; his Converſation was heavenly; but being a noted Puritan, though he never meddled with State Affairs, he was ſeverely uſed by the King's Cavaliers, who plunder'd his houſe, and would have taken away his very ſheets, if the good old man, hardly able to riſe out of his Chair, had not put them under him for a Cuſhion; all which he took patiently, calling to mind one of his old Maxims, "Sanctified Afflictions are "ſpiritual Promotions." He died of the Strangury in the ninety ſixth year of his age, and lies buried in his Pariſh Church at Fauſtly.

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Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. p. 220.

CHAP. VII.

The Concluſion of the firſt Civil War, by the Kings ſurrendering his Royal Perſon to the Scots. Petitions of the Aſſembly and City Divines againſt Toleration, and for the Divine Right of the Preſbyterial Government, which is erected in London. Debates between the King, Mr. Henderſon, and the Scots Commiſſioners. His Majeſty is removed from Newcaſtle to Holmby Houſe. Further account of the Sectaries.

THE King being returned to Oxford, Nov. 6, after a moſt unfortunate Campaign, in which all his Armies were beaten out of the Field, and diſperſed, had no other remedy left but to make peace upon the beſt terms he could get, which his Friends in London encouraged him to expect with advantage, from the growing diviſions among the Members, the majority of whom were enclined to an accommodation, if the King would conſent to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, and propoſe proper aſſurances of governing for the future

King's melancholy condition at Oxford. Rapin, p. 320.

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ture according to Law; but though his Majesty was willing to yield a little to the times, with regard to the security of his future Government, nothing could prevail with him to give up the Church. Besides, as the King's circumstances obliged him torecede, the Parliament, as Conquerors, advanced in their Demands. In the month of December his Majesty sent several messages to the Parliament, to obtain a personal Treaty at London, upon the publick Faith for himself, and a certain number of his Friends residing there with safety and honour forty days; but the Parliament would by no means trust their Enemies within their own Bowels, and therefore insisted peremptorily upon his signing the Bills they were preparing to send him as a preliminary to a well grounded settlement.

Rushw. Vol. I. p. 215, 216.

The King made some proposals on his part, relating to the Militia and Liberty of Conscience, but very far short of the demands of the two Houses, who were so perswaded of his art and ability in the choice of ambiguous expressions, capable of a different sense from what appeared at first sight, that they durst not venture to make use of them as the Basis of a Treaty. Thus the winter was wasted in fruitless messages between London and Oxford, while the unhappy King spent his time over his Papers in a most disconsolate manner, forsaken by some of his best friends, and rudely treated by others. Mr. Lock says, the usage the King met with from his followers at Oxford made it an hard, but almost an even choice, to be the Parliament's Prisoner or Their Slave. In his Majesty's Letter to the Queen he writes, "If thou knew what a Life I lead in "point of conversation, I dare say thou wouldst pity me." The chief Officers quarrell'd, and became insupportably insolent in the Royal Presence; nor was the King himself without blame; for being deprived of his Oracle the Queen, he was like a ship in a storm without sails or rudder. Lord Clarendon therefore draws a vail over his Majesty's conduct, in these words: "It is not possible to discourse of particu-
Vol. IV. p. 626. "lars with the clearness that is necessary to subject them to "common understanding, without opening a door for such "Reflections upon the King himself, as seem to call both "his Wisdom and Steadiness in question; as if he wanted "the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to pre-"vent the mischiefs that were evident and impending." And yet nothing could prevail with him to submit to the Times, or deal frankly with those who alone were capable of doing him service.

The

The King having neither Money nor Forces, and the Queen's supplies from abroad failing, his Majesty could not take the Field in the Spring, which gave the Parliament Army an easy Conquest over his remaining Forts and Garrisons. All the West was reduced, by the victorious Army of Sir Tho. Fairfax before Midsummer; the City of Exeter surrender'd April 9, in which one of the King's daughters, Princess Henrietta, was made prisoner, but her Governess, the Countess of Dalkeith, found means afterwards to convey her privately into France. Dennington Castle surrender'd April 1, Barnstaple the 12th, and Woodstock the 26th; upon which it was resolved to strike the finishing blow, by besieging the King in his Head Quarters at Oxford; upon the news of which, like a Man in a fright, he left the City by night April 27, and travelled as a Servant to Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, with his hair cut round to his ears, and a Cloke-bag behind him, to the Scots Army before Newark: His Majesty surrender'd himself to General Leven May 5, who received him with respect, but sent word immediately to the two Houses, who were displeased at his Majesty's conduct, apprehending it a design to prolong the war, and make a difference between the two Nations; which was certainly intended, as appears by the King's Letter to the Duke of Ormond from Oxford, in which he says, he had good security, that he and all his Adherents should be safe in their Persons, Honours and Consciences, in the Scots Army, "and that they would "join with him, and employ their Forces to obtain a happy "and well grounded Peace;" whereas the Scots Commissioners, in their Letter to the House of Peers aver, "They "had given no assurance, nor made any Capitulation for "joining Forces with the King, or combining against the "the two Houses, or any other private or publick agree-"ment whatsoever, between the King on one part, and "the Kingdom of Scotland, their Army, or any in their "names, and having power from them, on the other "part;" and they call the contrary Assertion a damnable Untruth; and add, "That they never expect a Blessing "from God any longer than they continue faithful to their "Covenant." So that this must be the artifice of Montrevil, the French Ambassador, who undertook to negociate between the two parties, and drew the credulous and distressed King into the snare out of which he could never escape.

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King surrenders his Person to the Scots.

Rapin, p. 337, 338. and Rushw. Vol. IV. p. 268, 273, 274, 303, 304.

His

King Charles I. 1646.

His Majesty's surrendring his person to the Scots, and sending orders to the Governors of Newark, Oxford, and all his other Garrisons and Forces to surrender and disband, concluded the first Civil War; upon which most of the Officers, with Prince Rupert and Maurice, retir'd beyond sea; so that by the middle of August all the King's Forts and Castles were in the Parliament's hands; Ragland Castle being the last; which was four years wanting three days from the setting up the Royal Standard at Nottingham.

Conclusion of the first Civil War.

Some time before the King left Oxford he had commission'd the Marquis of Ormond to conclude a Peace with the Irish Papists, in hopes of receiving succours from thence, which gave great offence to the Parliament; but though his Majesty upon surrendering himself to the Scots writ to the Marquis, June 11, not to proceed; he ventur'd to put the finishing hand to the Treaty, July 28, 1646, upon the following scandalous Articles, which surely he durst not have consented to, without some private Commission from the King or Queen.

Articles of Peace with the Irish Papists. Rushw. Part IV. Vol. I. p. 402.

1. "That the Roman Catholicks of that Kingdom shall "be discharged from taking the Oath of Supremacy.

2. "That all Acts of Parliament made against them "shall be repealed; That they be allowed the Freedom of "their Religion, and not be debarred from any of his Ma- "jesty's Graces or Favours.

3. "That all Acts reflecting on the Honour of the "Roman Catholick Religion since Aug. 7, 1641, be "repealed.

4. "That all Indictments, Attainders, Out-Lawries, "&c. against them, or any of them, be vacated and "made void.

5. "That all Impediments that may hinder their sitting "in Parliament, or being chosen Burgesses, or Knights of "the Shire, be removed.

6. "That all Incapacities imposed upon the Nation be "taken away, and that they have power to erect one or "more Inns of Court in or near the City of Dublin; and "and that all Catholicks educated there, be capable of "taking their degrees without the Oath of Supremacy.

7. "That the Roman Catholicks shall be empowered to "erect one or more Universities, and keep Free-Schools "for the education of their Youth, any Law or Statute to "the contrary notwithstanding.

8. "That

8: "That places of Command, Honour, Profit and Truſt, "ſhall be conferr'd on the Roman Catholicks, without "making any difference between them and Proteſtants, both "in the Army and in the Civil Government. King Charles I. 1646.

9. "That an Act of Oblivion ſhall be paſt in the next "Parliament, to extend to all Roman Catholicks and "their Heirs, abſolving them of all Treaſons and offences "whatſoever, and particularly of the Maſſacre of 1641, "ſo that no perſons ſhall be impeached, troubled, or mo-"leſted, for any thing done on one ſide or the other.

10. "That the Roman Catholicks ſhall continue in poſ-"ſeſſion of all thoſe Cities, Forts, Garriſons and Towns, "that they are poſſeſſed of, till things are come to a full "Settlement."

Was this the way to eſtabliſh a good Underſtanding between the King and his two Houſes? Or could they believe, that his Majeſty meant the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, and the extirpation of Popery in England, when his General conſented to ſuch a Peace in Ireland, without being reproached, or diſgraced for it? Nay, when after a long Treaty with the Parliament Commiſſioners he refuſed to deliver up the Forts and Garriſons into their hands, inſomuch that after ſix weeks attendance they were obliged to return to their ſhips, and carry back the ſupplies they had brought for the Garriſons, having only publiſhed a declaration, that the Parliament of England would take all the Proteſtants of Ireland into their protection, and ſend over an Army to carry on the War againſt the Papiſts with vigour. Parliament's Commiſſioners proteſt againſt it.

The King being now in the hands of the Scots, the Engliſh Presbyterians at London reſumed their courage, concluding they could not fail of a full eſtabliſhment of their Diſcipline, and of bringing the Parliament at Weſtminſter to their terms of Uniformity; for this purpoſe they framed a bold Remonſtrance in the name of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and preſented it to the Houſe May 26, complaining, "That the reins of Diſci-"pline were let looſe; that particular Congregations were "allowed to take up what Form of Divine Service they "pleaſed, and that Sectaries began to ſwarm by virtue of "a Toleration granted to tender Conſciences. They put "the Parliament in mind of their Covenant, which obliged "them to endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, "Superſtition, Hereſy, Schiſm, Profaneneſs, and whatſo-"ever Presbyterians petition againſt Sectaries. Vol. Pamp. No. 34.

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" ever elſe was found contrary to ſound Doctrine; and at " the ſame time to preſerve and defend the perſon and autho- " rity of the King; they therefore deſired, ſince the whole " Kingdom was now in a manner reduced to the obedi- " ence of the Parliament, that all ſeparate Congregations " may be ſuppreſſed; that all ſuch ſeparatiſts who conform " not to the publick Diſcipline may be declared againſt, " that no perſon diſaffected to the Presbyterial Government " ſet forth by Parliament, may be employed in any place " of publick Truſt; that the Houſe will endeavour to re- " move all Jealouſies between them and the Scots, and ha- " ſten their propoſitions to the King, for a ſafe and well- " grounded peace."

And are ſeconded by the Scots. Ruſhw. p. 306.

This Remonſtrance was ſupported by the whole Scots Nation, who acted in concert with their Engliſh Brethren, as appears by a Letter of Thanks to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, from the General Aſſembly, dated June 10, 1646, within a month after the delivery of the Remonſtrance: The Letter commends their couragious appearance againſt Sects and Sectaries; their firm adherence to the Covenant, and their maintaining their Presbyterial Government to be the Government of Jeſus Chriſt. It beſeeches them to go on boldly in the work they had begun, till the three Kingdoms were united in one Faith and Worſhip. At the ſame time they directed letters to the Parliament, beſeeching them alſo, in the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, To give to him the Glory that is due to his Name, by an immediate eſtabliſhing of all his Ordinances in their full integrity and power according to the Covenant. Nor did they forget to encourage the Aſſembly at Weſtminſter to proceed in their zeal againſt Sectaries, and to ſtand boldly for the Scepter of Jeſus Chriſt againſt the encroachments of earthly powers. Theſe Letters were printed and diſperſed over the whole Kingdom.

Parliament's Anſwer.

The wiſe Parliament received the Lord Mayor and his Brethren with marks of great reſpect and Civility; for neither the Scots nor Engliſh Presbyterians were to be diſguſted, while the prize for which they had been fighting was in their hands, but the Majority of the Commons were diſpleaſed both with the Remonſtrance and the high manner of enforcing it, as aiming, by an united force, to eſtabliſh a ſovereign, arbitrary Power in the Church, with an Uniformity, to which themſelves, and many of their Friends were unwilling to ſubmit; however they diſmiſs'd the Petitioners

titioners with a promiſe to take the particulars into conſideration. King Charles I. 1646.

But the Independants and Sectarians in the Army being alarmed at the impending ſtorm, procured a counter petition from the City with great numbers of hands, "applauding the Labours and Succeſſes of the Parliament in "the cauſe of Liberty, and praying them to go on with "managing the affairs of the Kingdom according to their "Wiſdoms, and not ſuffer the Free-born People of Eng-"land to be enſlaved upon any pretence whatſoever; nor "to ſuffer any ſet of People to preſcribe to them in mat-"ters of Government or Conſcience, and the Petitioners "will ſtand by them with their Lives and Fortunes." Mr. Whitlock ſays, the hands of the Royaliſts were in this affair, who being beaten out of the field reſolved now to attempt the ruin of the Parliament, by ſowing diviſions among their friends. Independants oppoſe it. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 308.

The Houſes were embarraſſed between the Contenders for Liberty and Uniformity, and endeavoured to avoid a deciſion, till they ſaw the effect of their Treaty with the King. They kept the Presbyterians in hand, by preſſing the Aſſembly for their Anſwer to the queſtions relating to the Jus Divinum of Presbytery already mentioned, inſinuating that they themſelves were the obſtacles to a full Settlement, and aſſuring them, when this point was agreed, they would concur in ſuch an Ordinance as they deſired. Upon this the Aſſembly went to work, and appointed three Committees to take the Queſtions into conſideration; but the Independants took this opportunity to leave them, refuſing abſolutely to be concerned in the affair. Aſſembly's Sentiments of the Jus Divinum.

The firſt Committee was appointed to determine, "Whether any particular Church Government was Jure "Divino," and to bring their proofs from Scripture. But here they ſtumbled at the very threſhold, for the Eraſtians divided them, and enter'd their diſſent, ſo that when the Anſwer was laid before the Aſſembly, it was not called the Anſwer of the Committee, but of ſome Brethren of the Committee; and when the Queſtion was put, they withdrew from they Aſſembly, and left the high Presbyterians to themſelves, who agreed, with but one diſſenting Voice, That "Jeſus Chriſt, as King of the Church, hath him-"ſelf appointed a Church Government diſtinct from the "Civil Magiſtrate." The names of thoſe that ſubſcribed this Propoſition were,

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M. S. Sess. 672.

The Rev. Mr. White,	The Rev. Dr. Staunton,
Mr. Palmer,	Dr. Hoyle,
Dr. Wincop,	Mr. Bayly,
Mr. Ley,	Mr. Taylor,
Dr. Gouge,	Mr. Young,
Mr. Walker,	Mr. Cawdrey,
Mr. Sedgwick,	Mr. Aſh,
Mr. Marſhall,	Mr. Gibſon,
Mr. Whitaker,	Mr. Good,
Mr. Newcomen,	Mr. Vines,
Mr. Spurſtow,	Mr. Seaman,
Mr. Delmy,	Mr. Chambers,
Mr. Calamy,	Mr. Corbet,
Mr. Proffét,	Mr. Dury.
Mr. Perne,	Mr. Salway,
Mr. Scuddir,	Mr. Hardwicke,
Mr. Carter, ſen.	Mr. Langley,
Mr. Caryl,	Mr. Simpſon,
Mr. Woodcocke,	Mr. Conant,
Mr. Carter, jun.	Mr. De la March,
Mr. Goodwin,	Mr. Byfield,
Mr. Nye,	Mr. Herle,
Mr. Greenhill,	Mr. De la Place,
Mr. Valentine,	Mr. Wilſon,
Mr. Price,	Mr. Reyner,
Dr. Smith,	Mr. Gower.

Sentiments of the London Miniſters.

The Divine that entered his Diſſent was Mr. Lightfoot, with whom Mr. Colman would have joined if he had not fallen ſick at this juncture and died.

The remaining Queſtions took up the Aſſembly from May till the latter end of July, and even then they thought it not ſafe to preſent their determinations to Parliament for fear of a Præmunire; upon which the City Divines at Sion College took up the Controverſy, in a Treatiſe entitled, "The Di-"vine Right of Church Government, by the London Mini-"ſters." Wherein they give a diſtinct Anſwer to the ſeveral Queries of the Houſe of Commons, and undertake to prove every branch of the Preſbyterial Diſcipline to be Jure Divino, and that the Civil Magiſtrate had no right to intermeddle with the cenſures of the Church.

And

And to shew the Parliament they were in earnest, they agreed to stand by each other, and not comply with the present Establishment, till it was delivered from the yoke of the Civil Magistrate: for which purpose they drew up a Paper of Reasons, and presented it to the Lord Mayor, who having advised with the Common Council, sent a deputation to Sion College, offering to join with them in a Petition for redress, which they did accordingly, but without effect; for the Parliament taking notice of the Combination of the City Ministers, published an order June 9, requiring those of the Province of London to put the Ordinance relating to Church Government in execution, enjoining the Members for the City to send Copies of the Ordinance to their several Parishes, and to take effectual care that they were immediately put in execution. Upon this the Ministers of London and Westminsters met again at Sion College, June 19, and being a little more submissive, published "certain Considerations and Cautions according to which they agree to put "the Presbyterial Government in practice, according to the "present Establishment." Here they declare, "That the "power of Church Censures ought to be in Church Officers, "by the Will and Appointment of Jesus Christ, but then "they are pleased to admit, that the Magistracy ought to "be satisfied in the Truth of the Government they autho-"rize; and though it be not right in every particular, yet "Church Officers may act under that Rule, provided they "do not acknowledge the Rule to be right in all points. "Therefore though they conceive the Ordinances of Parlia-"ment already published, are not a compleat Rule, nor in all "points satisfactory to their Consciences, yet because in ma-"ny things they are so, and provision being made to enable "the Elderships, by their authority, to keep away from "the Lord's Supper all ignorant and scandalous persons; "and a further declaration being made, that there shall be "an addition to the scandalous offences formerly enumera-"ted, therefore they conceive it their duty to put in practice "the present Settlement, as for as they conceive it corres-"pondent with the Word of God; hoping that the Parlia-"ment will in due time, supply what is lacking, to make "the Government entire, and rectify what shall appear to be "amiss." Thus hardly did these Gentlemen stoop to their Superiors!

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Their Paper of Considerations and Cautions.

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Classical division of the Province of London.

The Kingdom of England, instead of so many Dioceses, was now divided into a certain number of Provinces, made up of Representatives from the several Classes within their Boundaries; every Parish had a Congregational, or Parochial Presbytery for the affairs of the Parish; the Parochial Presbyteries were combined into Classes; these chose Representatives for the Provincial Assembly, as the Provincial did for the National; for Example, the Province of London being made up of twelve Classes, according to the following Division, each Classis chose two Ministers, and four Lay-Elders, to represent them in a Provincial Assembly, which received Appeals from the Parochial, and Classical Presbyteries, as the National Assembly did from the Provincial.

The Division of the Province of London.

The first Classis to contain the following Parishes.

1 Allhallows Bread-street,
2 Andrews Wardrobe,
3 Bennet Paul's Wharf,
4 Faith's,
5 St. Gregory,
6 St. John Evangelist,
7 Margaret Moses,
8 St. Martin Ludgate,
9 St. Anne Black Friars,
10 St. Austin's Parish,
11 St. Mary Aldermary,
12 St. Mary le Bow,
13 St. Mathew Friday-street,
14 Mildred Breadstreet, St. Paul's,
15 St. Peter's Paul's Wharf.

The second Classis.

1 St. Antholine,
2 Bennet Sheerhog,
3 St. James Garlickhithe,
4 St. John Baptist,
5 Martin the Vintry,
6 St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fishstreet,
7 St. Mary Somerset,
8 St. Mary Mounthaw,
9 St. Michael Queenhithe,
10 St. Michael Royal,
11 St. Nicholas Old Abby,
12 St. Nicholas Olives,
13 Pancras Sopers Lane,
14 St. Thomas Apostles,
15 Trinity Parish.

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The Third Claſſis.

1 Allhallows the Greater,
2 Allhallows the Leſs,
3 Allhallows Lombard-ſtreet,
4 St. Edmund Lombard-ſtreet,
5 Lawrence Pountney,
6 St. Mary Abchurch,
7 St. Mary Bothaw,
8 St. Mary Woolchurch,
9 St. Mary Woolnoth,
10 St. Nicholas Aaron,
11 St. Stephen's Wallbrooke,
12 St. Swithin's.

The fourth Claſſis.

1 St. Andrews Hubbert,
2 St. Bennet Gracechurch,
3 St. Buttolph Billingſgate,
4 St Clement Eaſtcheap,
5 St. Dionis Backchurch,
6 St. George Buttolphlane,
7 St. Leonard Eaſtcheap,
8 St. Magnus,
9 St. Margaret New Fiſhſtreet,
10 St. Martin Orgars,
11 St. Mary Hill,
12 St. Michael Crookedlane,
13 St. Michael Cornhill,
14 St. Peter Cornhill.

The fifth Claſſis.

1 St. Anne Alderſgate,
2 St. Buttolph Alderſgate,
3 St. Brides,
4 Bridewill,
5 Chriſt Church,
6 St. John Zachary,
7 St. Leonard Foſterlane,
8 St. Mary Staynings,
9 St. Michael in the Corn, vulgo in the Querne,
10 St. Olave Silverſtreet,
11 St. Peter Cheap,
12 St. Foſter alias Vedaſt.

The ſixth Claſſis.

1 St. Alban Woodſtreet,
2 Allhallows Honey-lane,
3 St. Alphage,
4 St. Giles's Cripple-gate,
5 St. James's Chapel,
6 St. Lawrence Jewry,
7 St. Martin Ironmonlager-lane
8 St.

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8 St. Mary Aldermanbury,
9 St. Mary Magdelen Milkſtreet,
10 St. Mary Colechurch,
11 St. Michael Woodſtreet,
12 St. Mildred Poultry,
13. St. Olave Jewry.

The ſeventh Claſſis.

1 Allhallows in the Wall,
2 St. Bartholomew Exchange,
3 St. Bennet Finck,
4 St. Buttolph Biſhopſgate,
5 St. Chriſtopher's,
6 St. Margaret Lothbury,
7 St. Michael Baſſiſhaw,
8 St. Peter Poor,
9 St. Stephen Colmanſtreet.

The eighth Claſſis.

1 St. Andrew Underſhaft,
2 St. Buttolph Aldergate,
3 St. Ethelburga,
4 St. John Hackney,
5 St. Hellens,
6 St. James Duke Place,
7 St. Katherine Creechurch,
8 St. Leonard Shoreditch,
9 St. Martin Outwich,
10 St. Mary Stoke Newington.

The ninth Claſſis.

1 Allhallows Barkin,
2 Allhallows Steyning,
3 St. Dunſtan in the Eaſt,
4 St. Gabriel Fenchurch,
5 St. Katherine Coleman,
6 St. Katherine Tower,
7 St. Margaret Pattoons,
8 St. Olave Hartſtreet,
9 St. Peter in the Tower,
10 Stepney,
11 Trinity Minories,
12 Wapping,
13 Whitechapel.

The tenth Claſſis.

1 St. George Southwark,
2 Lambeth,
3 St. Mary Magdalen Bermondſey,
4 St. Mary Overies,
5 Newington Buts,
6 St. Olave Southwark,
7 Rotherhithe,
8 St. Thomas's Hoſpital,
9 St. Thomas's Southwark.

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The eleventh Claſſis.

1 St. Clement Danes,
2 St. Giles's in the Fields,
3 Knightſbridge,
4 St. Margaret Weſtminſter,
5 St. Martin in the Fields,
6 New Church,
7 St. Peter Weſtminſter,
8 St. Paul Covent Garden.

The twelfth Claſſis.

1 St. Andrew Holborn,
2 St. Bartholomew the Greater,
3 St. Bartholomew the Leſs,
4 Charter-houſe,
5 St. Dunſtan in the Weſt,
6 St. James's Clerkenwell,
7 St. Mary Iſlington,
8 St. Sepulchres.

Remarks. Thus the Preſbyterian Church Government began to riſe and appear in its proper Form; but new obſtructions being raiſed by the Miniſters to the choice of Repreſentatives, the Provinical Aſſembly did not meet till next year, nor did it ever obtain but in London and Lancaſhire. The Parliament never came heartily into it, and the Intereſt that ſupported it being quickly diſabled, Mr. Eachard, ſays, p. 634. the Preſbyterians never ſaw their dear Preſbytery ſettled in any one part of England. But Mr. Baxter, who, is a much better Authority, ſays the Ordinance was executed in London and Lancaſhire, but remained unexecuted in almoſt all other Parts. However, the Preſbyterian Miniſters had their voluntary Aſſociations for Church Affairs in moſt Counties, though with any authoritative Juriſdiction.

Scots Behaviour to the King at Newcaſtle. To return to the King, who marched with the Scots Army from Newark to Newcaſtle, where he continued about eight Months, being treated with ſome reſpect, but not with all the duty of Subjects to a Sovereign. The firſt Sermon that was preached before him gave hopes, that they would be Mediators between him and the Parliament; it was from 2 Sam. xix. 41, 42, 43. "And behold, all the Men "of Iſrael came to the King, and ſaid to the King, Why "have the Men of Judah ſtolen thee away?—And all the "Men of Judah anſwered the Men of Iſrael, becauſe the "King is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry for

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" this matter, Have we eaten at all of the King's Coſt ? or, " Hath he given us any Gift ?——And the Men of Iſrael " anſwered the Men of Judah, and ſaid, we have ten Parts " in the King; and we have alſo more right in David than " ye; why then did ye deſpiſe us; that our advice ſhould " not be firſt had, in bringing back our King ? And the " Words of the Men of Judah were fiercer then the " Words of the Men of Iſrael." But it quickly appeared that nothing would be done but upon condition of the King's taking the Covenant, and eſtabliſhing the Preſbyterial Government in both Kingdoms. When the King was preſſed upon theſe heads he pleaded his Conſcence, and declared, that though he was content the Scots ſhould have their own diſcipline, he apprehended his Honour and Conſcience were concerned to ſupport Epiſcopacy in England, becauſe it had been eſtabliſhed from the Reformation, and that he was bound to uphold it by his Coronation Oath; however, he was willing to enter into a conference with any perſon whom they would appoint, proteſting, he was not aſhamed to change his Judgment, or alter his Reſolution, provided they could ſatisfy him in two points.

Firſt, That the Epiſcopacy he contended for was not of Divine Inſtitution.

Secondly, That his Coronation Oath did not bind him to ſupport and defend the Church of England, as it was then eſtabliſhed.

Conference between the King and Mr. Henderſon.

To ſatisfy the King in theſe points the Scots ſent for Mr. Alexander Henderſon from Edinburgh, Paſtor of a Church in that City, Rector of the Univerſity, and one of the King's Chaplains, a Divine of great Learning and Abilities, as well as Diſcretion and Prudence. Mr. Ruſhworth ſays, That he had more moderation than moſt of his way. And Collier adds, That he was a Perſon of Learning, Elocution and Judgment, and ſeems to have been the Top of his Party. The Debate was carried on in writing: The King drew up his own Papers, and gave them to Sir Robert Murray to tranſcribe, and deliver to Mr. Henderſon; and Mr. Henderſon's hand not being ſo legible as his, Sir Robert, by the King's appointment, tranſcribed Mr. Henderſon's Papers for his Majeſty's uſe.

Collier, p. 848. Hamil. M. p. 227.

King's firſt Paper. Bibl. Reg. p. 296.

The King, in his firſt Paper of May 29, declares his eſteem for the Engliſh Reformation, becauſe it was effected without tumult; and was directed by thoſe who ought to have the Conduct of ſuch an Affair. He apprehends they kept cloſe to apoſtolical Appointment, and the univerſal

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ſal cuſtom of the primitive Church; that therefore the adhering to Epiſcopacy muſt be of the laſt importance, as without it the prieſthood muſt ſink, and the Sacraments be adminiſter'd without effect; for theſe reaſons he conceives Epiſcopacy neceſſary to the Being of a Church, and alſo, that he is bound to ſupport it by his Coronation Oath. Laſtly, his Majeſty deſires to know of Mr. Henderſon, what Warrant there is in the Word of God for Subjects to endeavour to force their King's Conſcience, or to make him alter Laws againſt his Will?

Mr. Henderſon's firſt Reply. Bib. Reg. p. 312, &c.

Mr. Henderſon, in his firſt Paper of June 3d, after an introduction of modeſty and reſpect, wiſhes, when occaſion requires, that Religion might always be reformed by the civil Magiſtrate, and not left either to the Prelates or the People; but when Princes or Magiſtrates are negligent of their Duty, God may ſtir up the Subject to perform this Work. He obſerves, that the Reformation of King Henry VIII. was very defective in the Eſſentials of Doctrine, Worſhip, and Government, that it proceeded with a Laodicean Lukewarmneſs; that the Supremacy was transferred from one wrong Head to another, and the Limbs of the Antichriſtian Hierarchy were viſible in the Body. He adds, that the imperfection of the Engliſh Reformation had been the complaint of many religious and godly Perſons; that it had occaſioned more Schiſm and Separation than had been heard of elſewhere, and been matter of unſpeakable Grief to other Churches. As to the King's argument, that the validity of the Prieſthood, and the Efficacy of the Sacraments depended upon Epiſcopacy, he replies, that Epiſcopacy cannot make out its claim to apoſtolical Appointment; that when the Apoſtles were living there was no difference between a Biſhop and a Preſbyter; no inequality in power or degree, but an exact Parity in every Branch of their Character; that there is no mention in Scripture of a Paſtor or Biſhop ſuperior to other Paſtors. There is a beautiful Subordination in the Miniſtry of the New Teſtament; one kind of Miniſters being placed in degree and dignity above another, as firſt Apoſtles, then Evangeliſts, then Paſtors and Teachers, but in Offices of the ſame rank and kind we don't find any preference; no Apoſtle is conſtituted ſuperior to other Apoſtles; no Evangeliſt is raiſed above other Evangeliſts; nor has any Paſtor or Deacon a ſuperiority above others of their Order.

Farther, Mr. Henderſon humbly deſires his Majeſty to take notice, that arguing from the practice of the primitive Church,

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Church, and the consent of the Fathers, is fallacious and uncertain, and that the Law and Testimony of the Word of God is the only Rule. The practice of the primitive Church, in many things, cannot certainly be known, as Eusebius confesses; that even in the Apostles time Diotrephes moved for the Pre-eminence, and the Mystery of Iniquity began to work; and that afterwards ambition and weakness quickly made way for a change in Church Government.

Mr. Henderson hopes his Majesty will not deny the lawfulness of the Ministry, and due administration of the Sacraments, in those reformed Churches where there are no Diocesan Bishops; that it is evident from Scripture, and confessed by many Champions for Episcopacy, that Presbyters may ordain Presbyters; and to disengage his Majesty from his Coronation Oath, as far as relates to the Church, he conceives, when the formal Reason of an Oath ceases the Obligation is discharged: When an oath has a special regard to the benefit of those to whom the engagement is made, if the Parties interested relax upon the point, dispense with the promise, and give up their advantage, the obligation is at an end. Thus when the Parliaments of both Kingdoms have agreed to the repealing of a Law, the King's Conscience is not tied against signing the Bill, for then the altering any Law would be impracticable. ---He concludes with observing, that King James never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine Right; and that, could his Ghost now speak, he would not advise your Majesty to run such hazards, for Men [Prelates] who would pull down your Throne with their own, rather than that they perish alone.

King's second papers. Bib. Reg. p 320, 322, &c.

The King, in his second Paper of June 6, avers, no Reformation is lawful, unless under the conduct of the Royal Authority; that King Henry the Eighth's Reformation being imperfect is no proof of defects in that of King Edward Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth; that Mr. Henderson can never prove, "God has given the Multitude leave to reform the "negligence of Princes;" that his comparing our Reformation to the Laodicean lukewarmness was an unhandsome way of begging the question, for he should first have made out, that those Men [the Puritans] had reason to complain, and that the Schism was chargeable upon the Conformists. His Majesty is so far from allowing the Presbyterian Government to be practised in the primitive times, that he affirms, it was never set up before Calvin; and admits, that it was his

his Province to shew the lawfulness, and uninterrupted Succession, and by consequence, the necessity of Episcopacy, but that he had not then the convenience of Books, nor the assistance of such learned Men as he could trust, and therefore proposes a Conference with his Divines. And whereas Mr. Henderson excepts to his reasoning from the primitive Church, and consent of the Fathers; his Majesty conceives his exception indefensible, for if the sense of a doubtful place of Scripture is not to be governed by such an authority, the interpretation of the inspired Writings must be left to the direction of every private Spirit, which is contrary to St. Peter's Doctrine, 2 Pet. i. 20. "No Prophecy of Scripture is of private Interpretation;" it is likewise the source of all Sects, and without prevention will bring these Kingdoms into confusion. His Majesty adds, that it is Mr. Henderson's part to prove, that Presbyters without a Bishop may ordain other Presbyters. As to the Administration of the Sacraments Mr. Henderson himself will not deny, a lawfully ordained Presbyter's being necessary to that Office; so that the determination of this latter Question will depend in some measure on the former. With regard to oaths, his Majesty allows Mr. Henderson's general Rule, but thinks he is mistaken in the application; for the Clause touching Religion in the Coronation Oath was made only for the benefit of the Church of England; that therefore it is not in the power of the two Houses of Parliament to discharge the Obligation of this oath without their consent. That "this Church never made any submission to the two Houses, nor owned herself subordinate "to them;" that the Reformation was managed by the King and Clergy, and the Parliament assisted only in giving a civil sanction to the ecclesiastical Establishment. These points being clear to his Majesty, it follows by necessary consequence, that 'tis only the Church of England, in whose favour he took this oath, that can release him from it, and that therefore when the Church of England, lawfully assembled, shall declare his Majesty discharged, he shall then, and not till then, reckon himself at liberty.

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Mr. Henderson's second Reply. Bib. Reg. p. 325.

Mr. Henderson, in his reply to this second paper, of June 17, agrees with the King, that the prime reforming power is in Kings and Princes, but adds, that in case they fail of their duty this authority devolves upon the inferior Magistrate, and upon their failure to the body of the People, upon supposition that a Reformation is necessary, and that peoples superiors will by no means give way to it; he allows

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allows, that such a Reformation is more imperfect with respect to the manner, but commonly more perfect and refined in the product and issue. He adds, that the Government of the Church of England is not supposed to be built on the Foundation of Christ and his Apostles, by those who confess that Church Government is mutable and ambulatory, as was formerly the opinion of most of the English Bishops; that the Divine Right was not pleaded till of late by some few; that the English Reformation has not perfectly purged out the Roman Leaven, but rather depraved the Discipline of the Church, by conforming to the civil Polity, and adding many supplemental Officers to those instituted by the Son of God. To his Majesty's objection, that the Presbyterian Government was never practised before Calvin's Time, he answers, that it is to be found in Scripture; and the Assembly of Divines at Westminster had made it evident, that the primitive Church at Jerusalem was governed by a Presbytery; that the Church at Jerusalem consisted of more Congregations than one; that all these Congregations were combined under one Presbyterial Government, and made but one Church; that this Church was governed by Elders of the same Body, and met together for Functions of Authority, and that the Apostles acted not in quality of Apostles, but only as Elders, Acts xv. that the same Government was settled in the Churches of Ephesus, Corinth, Thessalonica, and continued many years after; and at last, when one of the Presbytery presided over the rest with the stile of Bishop, even then, as St. Jerom says, Churches were governed with the joint consent of the Presbytery, and it was custom rather than divine Appointment which raised a Bishop above a Presbyter. To his Majesty's Argument, that where the meaning of Scripture is doubtful, we must have recourse to the Fathers, Mr. Henderson replies, that notwithstanding the decrees of Councils, and the Resolutions of the Fathers, a liberty must be left for a Judgment of Discretion, as had been sufficiently shown by Bishop Davenant and others. To prove Presbyters may ordain other Presbyters without a Bishop, he cites St. Paul's Advice to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 14. not to neglect the gift that was given him by the "Laying on of "the Hands of the Presbytery;" but granting Bishops and Presbyters to be distinct Functions, it will not follow, that the authority and force of the Presbyters character was derived from the Bishop; for though the Evangelists and seventy Disciples were inferior to the Apostles, they received not

not their Commiſſion from the Apoſtles, but from Chriſt himſelf. King Charles I. 1646.

Concerning the King's Coronation Oath, Mr. Henderſon apprehends nothing need be added. As to the Supremacy, he thinks ſuch an headſhip as the Kings of England claim, or ſuch an one as the two Houſes of Parliament now inſiſt on, that is, an authority to receive appeals from the ſupream eccleſiaſtical Judicatures, in things purely ſpiritual, is not to be juſtified; nor does he apprehend the conſent of the Clergy to be abſolutely neceſſary to Church Reformation, for if ſo, what Reformation can be expected in France, in Spain, or in Rome itſelf; 'tis not to be imagined, that the Pope or Prelates will conſent to their own ruin. His Majeſty had ſaid, that if his Father King James had been conſulted upon the queſtion of Reſiſtance, he would have anſwered, that prayers and tears are the Church's weapons. To which Mr. Henderſon replies, "That he "could never hear a good Reaſon to prove a neceſſary de-"fenſive War, a War againſt unjuſt Violence, unlawful;" and that Biſhop Jewel and Bilſon were of this Mind. To the queſtion, what Warrant there was in Scripture for Subjects to endeavour to force their King's Conſcience? he replies, that when a Man's Conſcience is miſtaken it lies under a neceſſity of doing amiſs; the way therefore to diſentangle himſelf is to get his conſcience better informed, and not to move till he has ſtruck a Light and made further Diſcoveries.

The King, in his anſwer of June 22, to Mr. Henderſon's ſecond paper, ſtill inſiſts, that "inferior Magiſtrates "and People have no authority to reform Religion. If this point can be proved by Scripture his Majeſty is ready to ſubmit; but the ſacred Hiſtory, in the Book of Numbers, chap. 16, is an evidence of God's diſapproving ſuch Methods. Private Mens Opinions disjoined from the general conſent of the Church ſignify little, for Rebels, ſays his Majeſty, "Never want Writers to maintain their Revolt." Though his Majeſty has a regard for Biſhop Jewel's and Bilſon's Memories, he never thought them infallible; as for Epiſcopal Government, he is ready to prove it an "Apoſtolical Inſtitution, and that it had been handed "down through all Ages and Countries till Calvin's "Time," as ſoon as he is furniſhed with Books, or ſuch Divines as he ſhall make choice of; he does not think that Mr. Henderſon's Arguments to prove the Church of England not built on the Foundation of Chriſt and his Apoſtles King's third Paper. Bib. Reg. p. 337, &c.

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are valid, nor will he admit that moſt of the Prelates about the time of the Reformation did not inſiſt upon the Divine Right. The King adds, Mr. Henderſon would do well to ſhow, where our Saviour has prohibited the addition of more Church Officers than thoſe named by him, and yet the Church of England has not ſo much as offer'd at this, for an Archbiſhop is not a new Officer, but only a diſtinction in the Order of Government, like the Moderator of Aſſemblies in Scotland. His Majeſty denies that Biſhops and Presbyters always import the ſame thing in Scripture, and when they do, it only reſpects the Apoſtles Times, for it may be proved, that the Order of Biſhops ſucceeded that of the Apoſtles, and that the Title was alter'd in regard to thoſe who were immediately choſen by our Saviour. As for the ſeveral Congregations in Jeruſalem united in one Church his Majeſty replies, are there not many Pariſhes in one Dioceſe? And do not the Deans and Chapters, and ſometimes the inferior Clergy aſſiſt the Biſhop? ſo that unleſs ſome poſitive and direct proof can be brought of an equality between the Apoſtles and other Presbyters, all Arguments are with him inconcluſive. The King confeſſes, that in caſe he cannot prove from Antiquity that "Ordination and Juriſdiction are peculiar "Branches of Authority belonging to Biſhops," he ſhall begin to ſuſpect the Truth of his Principles. As for Biſhop Davenant's Teſtimony, he refuſes to be govern'd by that; nor will he admit of Mr. Henderſon's exception againſt the Fathers, till he can find out a better Rule of interpreting Scripture. And whereas Mr. Henderſon urged the Precedent of foreign reformed Churches in favour of Presbytery, his Majeſty does not undertake to cenſure them, but ſuppoſes Neceſſity may excuſe many things which would otherwiſe be unlawful; the Church of England, in his Majeſty's Judgment, has this Advantage, that it comes neareſt the primitive Doctrine and Diſcipline; and, that Mr. Henderſon had fail'd in proving Presbyters may ordain without a Biſhop, for 'tis evident St. Paul had a ſhare in Timothy's Ordination, 2 Tim. i. 6. As to the Obligation of the Coronation Oath, the King is ſtill of Opinion, none but the repreſentative Body of the Clergy can abſolve him; and as for the impracticableneſs of Reformation upon the King's Principles, he can't anſwer for that, but thinks it ſufficient to let him know, that "Incommodum non ſol-"vit Argumentum." His Majeſty then declares, that as it is a great ſin for a Prince to oppreſs the Church; ſo on the

the other hand, " He holds it absolutely unlawful for Sub- " jects to make War (though defensively) against their law- " ful Sovereign, upon any pretext whatsoever. King Charles I. 1646.

Mr. Henderson, in his third paper of July 2d, considers chiefly the Rules his Majesty had laid down for determining the controversy of Church Government, which are the practice of the primitive Church, and the universal consent of the Fathers, and affirms, there is no such primitive Testimony, no such universal consent in favour of modern Episcopacy; the Fathers very often contradicting one another, or at least not agreeing in their Testimony. But to shew the uncertainty of his Majesty's Rule for determining controversies of Faith Mr. Henderson observes, Mr. Henderson's third Reply.

1. That some Criticks join " the Word of God and An- " tiquity together; others make Scripture the only Rule, " and Antiquity the authentick Interpreter." Now he thinks the latter a greater mistake than the former, for the Papists bring Tradition no farther than to an equality of regard with the inspired Writings, but the others make Antiquity the very ground of their Belief of the sense of Scripture, and by that means exalt it above the Scripture; for the Interpretation of the Fathers is made the very formal Reason why I believe the Scripture interpretable in such a sense; and thus, contrary to the Apostle's Doctrine, " Our " Faith must stand in the Wisdom of Man, and not in the " power of God."

2. He observes, that Scripture can only be authentickly interpreted by Scripture itself. Thus the Levites had recourse only to one part of Scripture for the interpreting another, Neh. viii. 8. So likewise our Saviour interprets the old Testament, by comparing Scripture with Scripture, and not having recourse to the Rabbies. This was likewise the Apostles method. Besides, when persons insist so much upon the Necessity of the Fathers, they are in danger of charging the Scriptures with obscurity or imperfection.

3. The Fathers themselves say, that Scripture is not to be interpreted but by Scripture.

4. Many Errors have past under the shelter of Antiquity and Tradition: Mr. Henderson cites a great many Examples under this Head.

And, Lastly, He insists, that the universal consent and practice of the primitive Church is impossible to be known; that many of the Fathers were no Authors; that many of their Tracts are lost; that many performances which go under their Names are spurious, especially upon the subject

of

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of Episcopacy, and that therefore they are an uncertain Rule.

King's last Papers. Bibl. Reg. p. 351, 353.

The King, in his papers of July 3d and 16th says, no Man can reverence Scripture more than himself; but when Mr. Henderson and he differ about the Interpretation of a Text, there must be some Judge or Umpire, otherwise the Dispute can never be ended; and when there are no parallel Texts the surest Guide must be the Fathers. In answer to Mr. Henderson's particulars his Majesty answers, that if some people over-value Tradition, that can be no argument against the serviceableness of it; but to charge the primitive Church with Error, and to call the customs and practices of it unlawful, unless the charge can be supported from Scripture, is an unpardonable presumption. Those who object to the ancient Rites and Usages of the Church must prove them unlawful, otherwise the practice of the Church is sufficient to warrant them. His Majesty denies 'tis impossible to discover the universal consent, and understand the practice of the primitive Church; and concludes with this maxim, that though he never esteemed any authority equal to the Scriptures, yet he believes the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and the universal practice of the primitive Church, the best and most authentick Interpreters, and by consequence the best qualified Judges between himself and Mr. Henderson.

Remarks.

One may learn from this controversy, some of the Principles in which King Charles I. was instructed; as,

(1.) The Divine Right of Diocesan Episcopacy.

(2.) The uninterrupted succession of Bishops, rightly ordained, from the Time of the Apostles; upon which the whole Validity of the Administration of the Christian Sacraments depends.

(3.) The Necessity of a Judge of Controversies, which his Majesty lodges with the Fathers of the Christian Church, and by that means leaves little or no room for private Judgment.

(4.) The independency of the Church upon the State.

(5.) That no Reformation of Religion is lawful but what arises from the Prince or Legislature; and this only in cases of Necessity, when a general Council cannot be obtained.

(6.) That the multitude or common people may not in any case take upon them to reform the negligence of Princes. Neither,

(7.)

(7.) May they take up arms againſt him, even for ſelf-defence, in caſes of extream neceſſity.

How far theſe Principles are defenſible in themſelves, or conſiſtent with the Engliſh conſtitution, I leave with the reader; but 'tis very ſurprizing that his Majeſty ſhould be ſo much intangled with that part of his Cororation Oath which relates to the Church, when for fifteen years together he broke through all the bounds of it with relation to the Civil Liberties of his Subjects, without the leaſt Remorſe.

Upon the cloſe of this Debate, and the death of Mr. Henderſon, which followed within ſix weeks; the King's Friends gave out, that his Majeſty had broke his adverſary's heart. Biſhop Kennet and Mr. Eachard have publiſhed the following formal Recantation, which they would have the world believe this Divine dictated, or ſigned upon his death-bed.

" I Do declare before God and the World, that ſince I had the honour and happineſs to converſe and confer with his Majeſty with all ſorts of freedom, eſpecially in matters of Religion, whether in relation to the Kirk or State, that I found him the moſt intelligent Man that ever I ſpoke with, as far beyond my Expreſſion as Expectation. I profeſs, that I was oftentimes aſtoniſhed with the Solidity and Quickneſs of his Reaſons, and Replies; and wonder'd, how he, ſpending his time ſo much in ſports and recreations, could have attained to ſo great Knowledge; and muſt confeſs ingenuouſly, that I was convinced in Conſcience, and knew not how to give him any reaſonable ſatisfaction; yet the ſweetneſs of his Diſpoſition is ſuch, that whatſoever I ſaid was well taken. I muſt ſay, I never met with any Diſputant of that mild and calm Temper, which convinc'd me the more, and made me think, that ſuch Wiſdom and Moderation could not be, without an extraordinary meaſure of Divine Grace. I had heard much of his carriage towards the Prieſts in Spain, and that King James told the Duke of Buckingham upon his going thither, that he durſt venture his Son Charles with all the Jeſuits in the World, he knew him to be ſo well grounded in the Proteſtant Religion, but could never believe it before. I obſerved all his Actions, more particularly thoſe of Devotion, which I muſt truly ſay are more than ordinary— If I ſhould ſpeak of his Juſtice, Magnanimity, Charity, So-

Mr. Henderſon's pretended Recantation. Compl. Hiſt. p. 190. Bennet's Def. of Mem. p. 130.

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" Sobriety, Chaſtity, Patience, Humility, and of all his " other Chriſtian and Moral Virtues, I ſhould run myſelf " into a Panegyrick; no man can ſay there is conſpicuouſ- " ly any predominant Vice in him; never man ſaw him " paſſionately angry; never man heard him curſe, nor " given to ſwearing; or heard him complain in the great- " eſt durance of War, or Confinement——But I ſhould " ſeem to flatter him, to ſuch as do not know him, if the " preſent condition that I lie in, did not exempt me from " any ſuſpicion of worldly Ends, when I expect every " hour to be called from all tranſitory vanities to eternal " Felicity, and the diſcharging of my Conſcience before " God and Man, did not oblige me to declare the Truth " ſimply and nakedly in ſatisfaction of that which I have " done ignorantly, though not altogether innocently." The Declaration adds, that he was heartily ſorry for the ſhare he had had in the War; that the Parliament and Synod of England had been abuſed with falſe aſperſions of his Majeſty, and that they ought to reſtore him to his juſt Rights, and his Royal Throne and Dignity, leſt an indelible Character of Ingratitude lie upon them.

The falſeneſs of it.

Mr. Eachard confeſſes he had been informed, that this Declaration was ſpurious, but could find no authority ſufficient to ſupport ſuch an Aſſertion. It will be proper therefore to trace the Hiſtory of this impoſture, and ſet it in a clear and convincing light, from a memorial ſent me from one of the principal Divines of Edinburgh. The ſtory was firſt invented by one of the Scots Epiſcopal Writers, who had fled to London, and was firſt publiſhed in the beginning of the year 1648, in a ſmall pamphlet in Quarto about two years after Mr. Henderſon's Death. From this Pamphlet Dr. Heylin publiſhed it as a Credible Report. Between thirty and forty years after (viz.) 1693, Dr. Hollingworth, in his Character of King Charles I. publiſhed the paper abovementioned, entitled, the " Declaration of " Mr. Alexander Henderſon, principal Miniſter of the " Word of God at Edinburgh, and chief Commiſſioner " of the Kirk of Scotland to the Parliament and Synod of " England;" which paper the Doctor ſays he had from Mr. Lamplugh, ſon to the late Archbiſhop of York of that name, from whom the Hiſtorians above-mentioned, and ſome others, have copied it; but (ſays my Memorial) upon publiſhing the aforeſaid ſtory to the world the Aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland appointed a Committee to examine into the affair, who after a full enquiry, by their Act of Auguſt

guſt 7, 1648, declared the whole to be a Forgery, as may be ſeen in the printed Acts of the General Aſſembly for that Year, Quarto, page 420, &c. in which they ſignify their ſatisfaction and aſſurance, that Mr. Henderſon perſiſted in his former ſentiments to his death; that when he left the King at Newcaſtle he was greatly decayed in his natural ſtrength; that he came from thence by ſea in a languiſhing condition, and died within eight days after his arrival at Edinburgh; that he was not able to frame ſuch a declaration as is palmed upon him; and, that all he ſpoke upon his death-bed ſhewed his Judgment was the ſame as before about Church Reformation. This was atteſted before the Aſſembly by ſeveral Miniſters who viſited him upon his Death-bed, and particularly by two that conſtantly attended him from the time he came home till the time he expired. After this, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, they declare the above-mentioned paper, entitled, "A Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderſon's, &c. to be forged, ſcandalous, and falſe, and the author and contriver of the ſame to be void of Charity and a good Conſcience; a groſs Lyar and Calumniator, and led by the ſpirit of the accuſer of the Brethren." King Charles I. 1646. Vide Bennet's Def. of his Mem. p. 134.

While the King was debating the Cauſe of Epiſcopacy the Parliament were preparing their Propoſitions for a Peace, which were ready for the Royal Aſſent by the 11th of July. The Scots Commiſſioners demurred to them for ſome time, as not coming up fully to their Standard, but being at length content, they were engroſſed, and carried to the King by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and the Earl of Suffolk, of the Houſe of Peers; and by Sir Walter Erle, Sir John Hipiſly, Robert Goodwin, and Luke Robinſon, Eſq; of the Houſe of Commons; the Earls of Argyle and Loudon were Commiſſioners for Scotland, and the Reverend Mr. Marſhal was order'd to attend as their Chaplain. The Commiſſioners arrived at Newcaſtle July 23. next day they waited upon his Majeſty, and having kiſſed his hand, Mr. Goodwin read the Propoſitions. Parliament's Propoſitions to the King at Newcaſtle. Ruſhw. Vol. VI. p. 309, 311. Rapin, p. 343, &c.

Thoſe relating to the Civil Government were,

(1) That the King ſhould call in all his Declarations againſt the Parliament.

(2.) That he ſhould put the Militia into their hands for twenty years, with a power to raiſe money for their maintenance.

(3.) That all Peerages ſince May 21, 1642, ſhould be made void.

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(4.) That the Delinquents therein mentioned ſhould undergo the Penalties aſſigned in the Bill, And,

(5.) That the Ceſſation with the Iriſh be diſannulled, and the management of the War left to the Parliament.

The Propoſitions relating to religion were,

1. " That his Majeſty, according to the laudable example of his Father, would be pleaſed to ſwear and ſign " the late Solemn League and Covenant, and give his " conſent to an Act of Parliament, enjoining the taking it " throughout the three Kingdoms, under certain penalties, " to be agreed upon in Parliament.

2. " That a Bill be paſſed for the utter aboliſhing, and " taking away all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, " Commiſſaries, Deans, Sub-deans, Deans and Chapters, " Archdeacons, Canons and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters, Chancellors, Treaſurers, Sub-treaſurers, Succentors, Sacriſts; and all Vicars and Choriſters, old Vicars " and new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, " and all under Officers, out of the Church of England, " and out of the Church of Ireland, with ſuch alterations " as ſhall agree with the Articles of the late Treaty of " Edinburgh, Nov. 29. 1643, and the joint Declaration of " both Kingdoms.

3. " That the Ordinance for the calling and ſitting of " the Aſſembly of Divines be confirmed.

4. " That Reformation of Religion according to the " Covenant, be ſettled by Act of Parliament in ſuch manner as both Houſes have agreed, or ſhall agree, after " Conſultation with the Aſſembly of Divines.

5. " For as much as both Kingdoms are obliged by Covenant to endeavour ſuch an Uniformity of Religion as " ſhall be agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament in " England, and by the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, " after Conſultation had with the Divines of both Kingdoms aſſembled, that this be confirmed by Acts of Parliament of both Kingdoms reſpectively.

6. " That for the more effectual diſabling Jeſuits, " Prieſts, Papiſts, and popiſh Recuſants, from diſturbing " the State, and eluding the Laws, an Oath be eſtabliſhed " by Act of Parliament, wherein they ſhall abjure and renounce the Pope's Supremacy, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, worſhipping of the conſecrated Hoſt, Crucifixes and Images, and all other popiſh Superſtitions

" perſtitions and errors; and the refuſal of the ſaid Oath, " legally tendered, ſhall be a ſufficient conviction of Re- " cuſancy. King Charles I. 1646.

7. " That an Act of Parliament be paſſed, for educa- " ting of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants, in the Pro- " teſtant Religion.

8. " That an Act be paſſed for the better levying " the Penalties againſt Papiſts; and another for the better " preventing their plotting againſt the State; and that a " ſtricter courſe may be taken to prevent Saying, or Hear- " ing of Maſs in the Court, or any other part of the King- " dom: The like for Scotland, if the Parliament of that " Kingdom ſhall think fit.

9. " That his Majeſty give his Royal Aſſent to an " Act for due obſervation of the Lord's Day; to the Bill " for the Suppreſſion of Innovations in Churches and Cha- " pels in and about the Worſhip of God; to an Act for the " better advancement of the preaching of God's holy Word " in all Parts of the Kingdom; to the Bill againſt Plurali- " ties of Benefices and Non-reſidency; and, to an Act to " be framed for the reforming and regulating both Univer- " ſities, and the Colleges of Weſtminſter, Wincheſter, and " Eaton."

About ſixty Perſons were by Name excepted from the general Pardon; beſides, Ruſhw. p. 315.

(1.) All Papiſts that had been in the Army.

(2.) All Perſons that had been concerned in the Iriſh Rebellion.

(3.) Such as had deſerted the two Houſes at Weſtminſter and went to Oxford.

(4.) Such Members of Parliament as had deſerted their places, and bore Arms againſt the two Houſes. And,

(5.) Such Biſhops or Clergymen, Maſters or Fellows of Colleges, or Maſters of Schools or Hoſpitals, or any Eccleſiaſtical Living, who had deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, were declared incapable of any Preferment or Employment in Church or Commonwealth, all their Places, Perferments and Promotions, were to be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; nor might they be permitted to uſe their Function of the Miniſtry, without Advice and Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; provided that no Lapſe ſhall incur by this Vacancy till ſix Months after notice thereof.

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When Mr. Goodwin had done, the King asked the Commissioners if they had Power to treat, to which they replied, that they were only to receive his Majesty's Answer; then said the King, "Saving the Honour of the Business, a "Trumpeter might have done as well;" the very same Language as at the Treaty of Oxford; but the Earl of Pembroke told his Majesty, they must receive his peremptory answer in ten days, or return without it.

Great Intercession is made with the King to comply.

Great Intercessions were made with the King to comply with these Propofals, particularly in the Point of Religion, for without full Satisfaction in that, nothing would please the Scots Nation, nor the City of London, by whom alone his Majesty could hope to be preserved; but if this was yielded they would interpose for the moderating other demands; the Scots General, at the head of one hundred Officers, presented a Petition upon their Knees, beseeching his Majesty to give them Satisfaction in the Point of Religion, and to take the Covenant. Duke Hamilton, and the rest of the Scots Commissioners pressed his Majesty in the most earnest manner to make use of the present Opportunity for Peace. The Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom spoke to this Effect: "The differences between your Majesty and "your Parliament are grown to such an height, that after "many bloody Battles they have your Majesty, with all "your Garrisons and strong Holds in their hands, and "the whole Kingdom at their disposal, they are now in "a capacity to do what they will in Church and State; "and some are so afraid, and others so unwilling to sub-"mit to your Majesty's Government, that they desire not "you, nor any of your Race longer to reign over them; "but they are unwilling to proceed to Extremities, till "they know your Majesty's last Resolutions——Now, "Sir, if your Majesty shall refuse to assent to the Propositions you will lose all your Friends in the Houses, and in "the City, and all England will join against you as one "Man; they will depose you and set up another Govern-"ment; they will charge us to deliver your Majesty to them, "and remove our Armies out of England, and upon your "refusal we shall be constrained to settle Religion and Peace "without you, which will ruin your Majesty and your Po-"sterity. We own the propositions are higher in some "things than we approve of, but the only way to establish "your Majesty's Throne is to consent to them at present, "and your Majesty may recover in a time of peace all that "you have lost in this time of tempest and trouble."

This

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This was Plain-dealing: The King's beſt Friends prayed his Majeſty to conſider his preſent Circumſtances, and not hazard his Crown for a Form of Church Government; or, if he had no regard to himſelf, to conſider his Royal Poſterity; but the King replied, "His Conſcience "was dearer to him than his Crown;" that till he had received better ſatisfaction about the "Divine Right of Epiſ- "copacy," and the "Obligation of his Coronation Oath," no conſiderations ſhould prevail with him; he told the Officers of the Army, he neither could nor would take the Covenant till he had heard from the Queen. Which was only an excuſe to gain time to divide his enemies, for the King had heard from his Queen by Monſieur Bellievre, the French Ambaſſador, who waited upon him with poſitive Inſtructions, to preſs his Majeſty, as the advice of the King of France, of the Queen, and of his own party, to give the Preſbyterians ſatisfaction about the Church. Bellievre not being able to prevail, ſent over an expreſs to France, with a deſire, that ſome body of more credit with the King might be ſent. Upon which Sir William Davenant came over with a letter of credit from the Queen, beſeeching him to part with the Church for his peace and ſecurity. When Sir William had delivered the Letter he ventured to ſupport it with ſome arguments of his own, and told his Majeſty, in a moſt humble manner, that it was the advice of Lord Culpeper, Jermyn, and of all his friends; upon which the King was ſo tranſported with Indignation, that he forbid him his Preſence. When therefore the ten days for conſidering the Propoſitions were expired, inſtead of conſenting, his Majeſty gave the Commiſſioners his Anſwer in a Paper, directed to the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, to this Effect. "That the "Propoſitions contained ſo great alterations both in Church "and State, that his Majeſty could not give a particular "and poſitive anſwer to them," but after ſome few conceſſions hereafter to be mentioned, "he propoſes to come "to London, or any of his Houſes thereabouts, and enter "upon a perſonal Treaty with both Houſes; and he con- "jures them, as Chriſtians and Subjects, and as Men that "deſire to leave a good name behind them, to accept of "this propoſal, that the unhappy diſtractions of the Nati- "on may be peaceably ſettled."

But he refuſes. Ham. Mem. p. 218.

Clarend. Vol. III. p. 29, 31, 32. Rapin, p. 344.

His Conference with the Scots Commiſſioners. Ham. Mem. p. 286.

When this Anſwer was reported to the Houſe, Aug. 12, it was reſolved, to ſettle accounts with the Scots, and to receive the King into their own cuſtody; but in the mean

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time his Majeſty attempted to bring that Nation over to his Intereſt, by playing the Independants againſt them, and telling them, the only way to deſtroy the Sectarians was to join with the Epiſcopalians, and admit of the Eſtabliſhment of both Religions. "I do by no means perſuade you "(ſays the King) to do any thing contrary to your Cove- "nant, but I deſire you to conſider whether it be not a "great ſtep towards your Reformation (which I take to be "the chief End of your Covenant) that the Preſbyterial "Government be legally ſettled. 'Tis true, I deſire that "the Liberty of my own Conſcience, and of thoſe who are "of the ſame opinion with myſelf may be preſerved "which, I confeſs, does not as yet totally take away Epiſ- "copal Government. But then conſider withal, That "this will take away all the ſuperſtitious Sects and Hereſies "of the Papiſts and Independants, to which you are no leſs "obliged by your Covenant, than to the taking away of E- "piſcopacy. And this that I demand is likely to be but "temporary; for if it be ſo clear as you believe, that Epiſ- "copacy is unlawful, I doubt not but God will enlighten "my eyes that I ſhall ſoon perceive it, and then I promiſe "to concur with you fully in matters of Religion; but I "am ſure you cannot imagine, that there is any hopes "of converting or ſilencing the Independant party, which "undoubtedly will get a Toleration in Religion from the "Parliament of England, unleſs you join with me in that "way that I have propoſed for the eſtabliſhing of my "Crown; or at leaſt, that you do not preſs me to do this "(which is yet againſt my Conſcience) till I may do it with- "out ſinning, which, as I am confident, none of you will "perſwade me to do, ſo I hope you have ſo much charity, "as not to put things to ſuch a deſperate iſſue as to hazard "the loſs of all, becauſe for the preſent you cannot have full "ſatisfaction from me in points of Religion, not conſidering, "that beſides the other miſchiefs that may happen, It will "infallibly ſet up the innumerable Sects of the Independants, "nothing being more againſt your Covenant than the ſuffer- "ing thoſe Schiſms to encreaſe. His Majeſty then added, "That he ſhould be content to reſtrain Epiſcopal Govern- "ment to the dioceſes of Oxford, Wincheſter, Bath and "Wells, and Exeter, leaving all the reſt of England fully to "the Preſbyterial diſcipline, with the ſtricteſt clauſes that "could be thought of in an Act of Parliament againſt the Pa- "piſts and Independants." But the Scots would abate nothing

Ruſhw. p. 328.

Ham. Mem. p. 348.

in

in the article of Religion; even for the overthrow of the Sectaries. Duke Hamilton left no methods unattempted to perſuade his Majeſty to comply, but without effect. King Charles I. 1646.

When the King could not gain the Commiſſioners, he applied by his friends to the Kirk, who laid his Propoſals before the General Aſſembly, with his offer to make any Declaration they ſhould deſire againſt the Independants, And that really, without any Reſerve or Equivocation; but the Kirk were as peremptory as the Commiſſioners; they ſaid the King's heart was not with them, nor could they depend upon his promiſes any longer than it was not in his power to ſet them aſide. Scots Kirk will not truſt the King. Ham. Mem. p. 298. Ruſhw. p. 380.

In the mean time the Engliſh Parliament were debating with the Scots Commiſſioners at London the right of diſpoſing of the King's Perſon, the latter claiming an equal right to him with the former; but the Parliament voted that "the "Kingdom of Scotland had no joint right to diſpoſe of the "perſon of the King in the Kingdom of England." To which the Scots would hardly have ſubmitted but for fear of engaging in a new War, and of loſing all their arrears. His Majeſty would willingly have retired into Scotland, but the Clergy of that Nation would not receive him, as appears by their ſolemn Warning to all eſtates and degrees of Perſons throughout the Land, dated Dec. 17, 1646, in which they ſay, "So long "as his Majeſty does not approve in his heart, and Seal with "his hand, the League and Covenant, we cannot but ap- "prehend, that according to his former Principles he will "walk contrary to it, and ſtudy to draw us into the Viola- "tion of it. Beſides, our receiving his Majeſty into "Scotland at this time will confirm the ſuſpicion of the "Engliſh Nation, of our underhand dealing with him be- "fore he came into our Army. Nor do we ſee how it is "conſiſtent with our Covenant and Treaties, but on the "contrary, it would involve us in the guilt of perjury, and "expoſe us to the hazard of a bloody war. We are bound "by our Covenant to defend the King's Perſon and Autho- "rity in the defence and preſervation of the true Religion, "and the Liberties of the Kingdom, and ſo far as his Ma- "jeſty is for theſe we will be for him; but if his Majeſty "will not ſatisfy the juſt deſires of his people, both Nations "are engaged to purſue the ends thereof againſt all Lets and "Impediments; we therefore deſire, that thoſe who are in- "truſted Their ſolemn Warning and Declaration.

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"trusted with the publick affairs of this Kingdom would "still insist upon his Majesty's settling Religion according to "the Covenant, as the only means of preserving himself, "his Crown, and Posterity." Upon reading this admonition of the Kirk the Scots Parliament resolved, that his Majesty be desired to grant the whole Propositions; that in case of refusal, the Kingdom should be secured without him. They declared further, that the Kingdom of Scotland could not lawfully engage for the King as long as he refused to take the Covenant, and give them satisfaction in point of Religion. Nor would they admit him to come into Scotland unless he gave a satisfactory Answer to the Propositions lately presented to him in the name of both Kingdoms.

Proceedings of the Scots Parl. relating to the King. Rushw, p. 392.

They deliver him up and publish their Reasons.

The Resolutions abovemention were not communicated in form to the King till the beginning of January, when the Scots Commissioners press'd him again in the most humble and importunate manner to give them satisfaction, at least, in point of Religion, but his Majesty was immoveable; which being reported back to Edinburgh, the Question was put in that Parliament, "Whether they should leave the King in "England, to his two Houses of Parliament?" And it was carried in the Affirmative. Jan. 16, a declaration was published in the name of the whole Kingdom of Scotland, wherein they say, "That when his Majesty came to their Army be- "fore Newark he professed that he was absolutely resolved "to comply with his Parliaments in every thing for settling "of Truth and Peace; in confidence whereof the Com- "mittees of the Kingdom of Scotland, declared to him- "self, and to the Kingdom of England, that they received "him into their protection only upon these terms, since which "time propositions of peace have been presented to his "Majesty for the Royal Assent, with earnest supplications "to the same purpose, but without effect. The Parlia- "ment of Scotland therefore being now to recal their Army "out of England, considering that his Majesty in several "messages has desired to be near his two Houses of Par- "liament, and that the Parliament has appointed his "Majesty to reside at Holmby House with safety to his "Royal Person; and in regard of his Majesty's not giving "a satisfactory Answer to the Propositions for Peace; and "from a desire to preserve a right Understanding between the "two Kingdoms, and for preventing new Troubles, the "States of Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland do declare "their

Rushw. p. 396.

" their concurrence for the King's Majesty's going to Holmby " House, to remain there till he give satisfaction about the " propositions for peace, and that in the mean time there be " no Harm, Prejudice, Injury or Violence done to his Royal " Person; that there be no change of Government; and, that " his posterity be no way prejudiced in their lawful Succession to the Crown and Government of these Kingdoms." King Charles I. 1646.

While the Parliament and Kirk of Scotland were debating the King's Propofals, his Majesty writ to the Parliament of England in the most pressing terms, for a personal treaty at London, " 'Tis your King (says he in his Letter of " Dec. 10.) that desires to be heard, the which, if refused to a Subject by a King he would be thought a Tyrant, wherefore I conjure you, as you would shew your " selves really what you profess, good Christians and good " Subjects, that you accept this offer." But the Houses were afraid to trust his Majesty in London, and therefore appointed Commissioners to receive him from the Scots and convoy him to Holmby House in Northamptonshire, where he arrived Feb. 6, 1646-7. But the Sum of two hundred thousand pounds, being half the arrears due to the Scots Army, having been paid them by agreement before they march'd out of Newcastle, it has been commonly said, " They sold their King." An unjust and malicious aspersion! It ought to be consider'd that the money was the r due before the King delivered himself into their hands; for that in settling the accounts between the two Nations his Majesty's name was not mentioned; that it was impossible to detain him without a War with England, and that the Officers of the Army durst not carry the King to Edinburgh, because both Parliament and Kirk had declared against receiving him. English Commissioners receive the King, and convey him to Holmby. Vide Rapin, p. 347.

But how surprizing was his Majesty's Conduct! How many cross and inconsistent propofals did he make at this time! While he was treating with the Scots, and offering to concur in the severest Measures against the Independants, he was listening to the offers of those very Independants to set him upon the Throne without taking the Covenant, or renouncing the Liturgy of the Church, provided they might have a toleration for themselves. This agreeing with the King's Inclinations had too great a hearing from him (says Bishop Burnet) till Lauderdale writ from London, " That he was infallibly sure, they designed the " destruction of Monarchy, and the ruin of the King and " his Remarks. Ham. Mem. p. 288.

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" his Poſterity ; but that if he would conſent to the pro-
" poſitions all would be well in ſpight of the Devil and the
" Independants too." But if his Majeſty had in good earneſt fallen in with the propoſals of the Army at this time, I am of opinion they would have ſet him upon the Throne without the Shackles of the Scots Covenant.

King at Holmby Houſe.

While the King was at Holmby Houſe he was attended with great reſpect, and ſuffered to divert himſelf at Bowls with Gentlemen in the neighbouring Villages, under a proper guard. The Parliament appointed two of their Clergy (viz.) Mr. Caryl and Mr. Marſhall, to preach in the Chapel Mornings and Afternoons on the Lord's Day, and perform the Devotions of the Chapel on week-days, but his Majeſty never gave his Attendance. He ſpent his Sundays in private ; and though they waited at Table he would not ſo much as admit them to aſk a bleſſing.

Ordinance for aboliſhing Abps and Bps, &c.

Before the King removed from Newcaſtle the Parliament put the finiſhing hand to the deſtruction of the Hierarchy, by aboliſhing the very names and titles of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. and alienating their Revenues for payment of the publick Debts. This was done by two Ordinances, bearing date Octob. 9, and Nov. 16, 1646, entitled, " Ordinances for aboliſhing Archbiſhops and Bi-
" ſhops, and providing for the payment of the juſt and
" neceſſary debts of the Kingdom, into which the ſame
" has been drawn by a War, mainly promoted by, and in
" favour of the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other their
" Adherents and Dependants. The Ordinance appoints,
" That the Name, Title, Stile and Dignity of Archbiſhop
" of Canterbury, Archiſhop of York, Biſhop of Win-
" cheſter, Biſhop of Durham, and all other Biſhops of
" any Biſhopricks within the Kingdom of England and
" Dominion Wales, be, from and after Sept. 5, 1646,
" wholly aboliſhed and taken away ; and all and every
" perſon and perſons are to be thenceforth diſabled to hold
" the Place, Function, Stile of Archbiſhop, or Biſhop of
" any Church, See, or Dioceſe now eſtabliſhed or erect-
" ed, or hereafter to be eſtabliſhed or erected within the
" Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, or Town
" of Berwick on Tweed ; or to uſe, or put in uſe, any
" Archiepiſcopal, or Epiſcopal Juriſdiction or Authority by
" force of any Letters Patents from the Crown, made, or
" to be made, or by any other Authority whatſoever, any
" Law, Statute, Uſage or Cuſtom to the contrary notwith-
" ſtanding."

Huſb. Coll. p. 922.

By

By the Ordinauce of Nov. 16. it is further ordained, King Charles I. 1646.
" That all Counties Palatine, Honours, Manors, Lord-
" ſhips, Stiles, Circuits, Precincts, Caſtles, Granges,
" Meſſuages, Mills, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Paſ- And for Sale of their Lands. Ruſhw. p. 377.
" tures, Parſonages, appropriate Tithes, Oblations, Ob-
" ventions, Penſions, Portions of Tithes, Vicarages,
" Churches, Chapels, Advowſons, Donations, Nominati-
" ons, Rights of Patronage and Preſentations, Parks,
" Woods, Rents, Reverſions, Services, Annuities, Fran-
" chiſes, Liberties, Privileges, Immunities, Rights of Ac-
" tion, and of Entry, Intereſts, Titles of Entry, Condi-
" tions, Commons, Court-Leets, and Court-Barons, and
" all other Poſſeſſions and Hereditaments whatſoever,
" which now are, or within ten years before the beginning
" of the preſent Parliament, were belonging to the ſaid
" Archbiſhops and Biſhops, Archbiſhopricks or Biſhopricks,
" or any of them, together with all Chattels, Deeds,
" Books, Accompts, Rolls, and other Writings and Evi-
" dences whatſoever, concerning the premiſes, which did
" belong to any the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. are
" veſted and ſettled, adjudged and deemed to be in the
" real and actual poſſeſſion and ſeizing of the twenty four
" Truſtees mentioned in the Ordinance, their Heirs and
" Aſſigns upon Truſt, that they ſhall diſpoſe of the ſame,
" and the rents and profits thereof, as both Houſes of Par-
" liamen ſhall order and appoint, i. e. for payment of the
" publick Debts, and other neceſſary charges occaſioned by
" the War, promoted chiefly by, and in favour of the ſaid
" Hierarchy, ſaving and excepting all Tithes appropriate,
" Oblations, Obventions, and proportions of Tithes, &c. be-
" longing to the ſaid Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and others of the
" ſaid Hierarchy; all which, together with thirty thouſand
" pounds yearly rent belonging to the Crown, they reſerve
" for the maintenance of preaching Miniſters. The Truſ-
" tees are not to avoid any Leaſe made for three Lives, or
" twenty one years, provided the ſaid Leaſe or Leaſes were
" not obtained ſince the month of December, 1641. They Scobel, p. 40.
" are empowered to appoint proper Officers to ſurvey, and
" take a particular Eſtimate of all Biſhops Lands, to re-
" ceive the rents and profits of them, and to make a ſuffi-
" cient Title to ſuch as ſhall purchaſe them, by order of
" Parliament." By virtue of this Ordinance the Truſtees were empowered to pay, or cauſe to be paid to the Aſſembly of Divines their conſtant ſalary allowed them by former order

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order of Parliament, with all their arrears, out of the rents, revenues, and profits belonging to the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, till ſuch time as the ſaid lands and revenues ſhall happen to be ſold. Theſe Church Lands were at firſt mortgaged as a ſecurity for ſeveral large ſums of Money which the Parliament borrowed at eight per cent. Intereſt. Several Members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army, afterwards purchaſed them at low rates, but the bargain proved dear enough in the End. And ſurely it was wrong to ſet them to ſale, for the Lands being given for the ſervice of Religion, ought to have been continued for that uſe, tho' in a different channel; but herein they followed the ill Examples of the Kings and Queens of England at the Reformation.

Presbyterians petition againſt Sectaries.

The Preſbyterians were now in the height of their power, the Hierarchy being deſtroyed, the King their priſoner, and the beſt, if not all the Livings in the Kingdom diſtributed among them; but ſtill they were diſſatisfied for want of the Top-Stone to their new building, which was Church power; the pulpits, and converſation of the City, were filled with invectives againſt the Men in Power, becauſe they would not leave the Church independant on the State; the Presbyterian Miniſters were very troubleſome, the Parliament being teazed every Week with Church Grievances of one kind or another; Dec. 19, the Lord Mayor and his Brethren went up to Weſtminſter with a repreſentation of ſome of them, and a petition for redreſs. The Grievances were,

1. "The contempt that began to be put upon the Cove-
" nant, ſome refuſing to take it, and others declaiming
" loudly againſt it; they therefore pray, that it may be
" impoſed upon the whole Nation, under ſuch penalties as
" the Houſes ſhall think fit; and that ſuch as refuſe it to
" be diſqualified from all places of profit and truſt.

2. "The growth of hereſy and ſchiſm; the Pulpits be-
" ing often uſurped by preaching Soldiers, who infected
" all places where they came with dangerous Errors; they
" therefore pray, that all ſuch perſons may be forbid to
" preach as have not taken the Covenant, and been regu-
" larly ordained, and that all ſeparate Congregations, the
" very Nurſeries of damnable Hereticks, may be ſuppreſ-
" ſed; that an Ordinance be made for the exemplary pu-
" niſhment of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, and that all
" godly and orthodox Miniſters may have a competent
" maintenance, many Pulpits being vacant of a ſettled Mi-
" niſter

" niſter for want of it; and here (ſay they) we would lay " the ſtreſs of our deſires, and the urgency of our affec- " tions." They complain further, of the " undue prac- " tices of country Committees, of the threatening power " of the Army, and of ſome breaches in the Conſtitution; " all which they deſire may be redreſſed, and that his Ma- " jeſty's Royal Perſon and Authority may be preſerved and " defended, together with the liberties of the Kingdom, " according to the Covenant." King Charles I. 1646.

To ſatisfy the petitioners the Houſe of Commons publiſhed a Declaration Dec. 31. " Wherein they expreſs " their diſlike of Lay-preachers, and their Reſolutions to " proceed againſt all ſuch as ſhall take upon them to " preach, or expound the Scriptures in any Church or " Chapel, or any other publick place, except they be or- " dained either here, or in ſome other reformed Churches; " likewiſe againſt all ſuch Miniſters, and others, as ſhall " publiſh, or maintain by preaching, writing, printing, or " any other way, any thing againſt, or in derogation of " the Church Government which is now eſtabliſhed by au- " thority of Parliament; and alſo, againſt all and every " perſon or perſons who ſhall willingly or purpoſely inter- " rupt or diſturb a Preacher in the publick Exerciſes of his " Function; and they command all Officers of the Peace, " and Officers of the Army, to take notice of this De- " claration, and by all lawful means to prevent offences of " this kind, and to apprehend offenders, that a courſe may " be ſpeedily taken for a due puniſhment to be inflicted up- " on them." The Houſe of Lords publiſhed an order, bearing date Dec. 22, requiring the Headboroughs and Conſtables, in the ſeveral Pariſhes of England and Wales, to arreſt the bodies of ſuch perſons as ſhall diſturb any Miniſter in holy Orders, in the exerciſe of his publick calling, by ſpeech or action, and to carry them before ſome Juſtice of Peace, who is required to put the Laws in Execution againſt them. Feb. 4, they publiſhed an Ordinance to prevent the growth, and ſpreading of Errors, Hereſies, and Blaſphemies; but theſe orders not coming up to their Covenant Uniformity, the Lord Mayor and Common Council preſented another petition to the Houſes, March 17th, and appointed a Committee to attend the Parliament from Day to Day, till their Grievances were redreſſed, of which we ſhall hear more under the next year. Proceedings of Parliament upon it.

We have already accounted for the unhappy Riſe of theſe Sectarians in the Army when it was new modell'd, who were Further Account of the Sectaries.

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were now grown so extravagant as to call for some proper restraint, the mischief being spread not only over the whole Country, but into the very City of London itself; it was first pleaded in excuse for this practice, that a gifted Brother had better preach and pray to the people than no body; but now learning, good sense, and the rational interpretation of Scripture, began to be cried down, and every bold pretender to inspiration was preferr'd to the most grave and sober Divines of the Age; some advanced themselves into the rank of Prophets, and others uttered all such crude and undigested absurdities as came first into their minds, calling them the dictates of the Spirit within them; by which the publick peace was frequently disturbed, and great numbers of ignorant people led into the belief of the most dangerous Errors. The Assembly of divines did what they could to stand in the gap, by writing against them, and publishing "a Detestation of the Errors of the Times." The Parliament also appointed a Fast on that account, Feb. 4, 1645-6, and many Books were published against the Antinomians, Anabaptists, Seekers, &c. not forgetting the Independants, whose insisting upon a Toleration was reckon'd the inlet to all the rest.

Edwards's Gangræna.

The most furious Writer against the Sectaries was Mr. Thomas Edwards, Minister of Christ Church, London, a zealous Presbyterian, who became remarkable by a Book entitled, Gangræna, or, a Catalogue of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious practices of this time: in the Epistle Dedicatory he calls upon the higher powers to rain down all their vengeance upon these deluded people, in the following language; "You have done worthily against Papists, Prelates, and scandalous Ministers, in "casting down Images, Altars, Crucifixes, throwing out "ceremonies, &c. but what have you done (says he) against "Heresy, Schism, Disorder, against Seekers, Anabaptists, "Antinomians, Brownists, Libertines, and other Sects; you "have made a Reformation, but with the Reformation have "we not worse things come upon us than we had before, as "denying the Scriptures, pleading for toleration of all religions and worships; yea, for blasphemy, and denying there "is a God. You have put down the Common Prayer, and "there are many among us that are for putting down the "Scriptures. You have broke down the images of the Trinity, and we have those who oppose the Trinity. You have "cast out Bishops and their Officers, and we have many that "cast down to the ground all Ministers. You have cast out

"Ceremonies

" ceremonies in the Sacraments, as the Crofs; Kneeling at the " Lord's Supper, and many caft out the Sacraments them- " felves. You have put down Saints Days, and many " make nothing of the Lord's Day. You have taken a- " way the fuperfluous maintenance of Bifhops and Deans, " and we have many that cry down the neceffary mainte- " nance of Miniflers. In the Bifhop's days we had finging " of Pfalms taken away in fome places, conceived Prayer, " Preaching; and in their room Anthems, ftinted Forms, " and reading brought in, and now finging of Pfalms is " fpoken againft, publick Prayer queftion'd, and all mini- " fterial preaching denied. In the Bifhop's time popifh " Innovations were introduced, as bowing at Altars, &c. " and now we have anointing the Sick with Oil; then we " had bifhoping of Children, now we have bifhoping of " Men and Women, by laying on of Hands. In the " Bifhops days we had the fourth Commandment taken a- " way; and now All Ten are taken away by the Antinomi- " ans. The worft of the Prelates held many found Doc- " trines, and had many commendable Practices, but many " of our Sectaries deny all Principles of Religion, are ene- " mies to all holy Duties, Order, Learning, overthrow- " ing all, being whirligig Spirits, and the great Opinion " of an univerfal Toleration tends to the laying all waft, " and diffolution of all Religion, and good Manners. Now " (fays our Author) a connivance, and fuffering without pu- " nifhment, fuch falfe Doctrines and Diforders, provokes " God to fend Judgments. A Toleration doth eclipfe the " Glory of the moft excellent Reformation, and makes " thefe Sins to be the Sins of the Legiflature that counte- " nances them. A Magiftrate fhould ufe coercive power " to punifh and fuppreff evils, as appears from the exam- " ple of Ely. Now, right honourable, though you don't " own thefe Herefies, but have put out feveral Orders a- " gainft them, yet there is a ftrange unheard of fuffering " of them, fuch an one as there hardly ever was the like, " under any orthodox Chriftian Magiftrate and State. Ma- " ny Sectaries are countenanced, and employed in places " of truft; there has not been any exemplary reftraint of " the Sectaries, by virtue of any of your Ordinances, but " they are flighted and fcorned; preaching of Lay-men " was never more in requeft than fince your Ordinance a- " gainft it; Presbyterial Government never more preached " and printed againft than fince it was eftablifhed. Our " dear Brethren of Scotland ftand amazed, and are afto- " nifhed

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" nished at these Things; the orthodox Ministers and peo-
" ple both in city and country are grieved and discouraged,
" and the common enemy scorns and blasphemes; it is
" high time therefore for your Honours to suffer no longer
" these Sects and Schisms, but to do something worthy
" of a Parliament against them, and God will be with
" you."

After this Dedication there are one hundred and seventy six erroneous Passages collected from sundry Pamphlets printed about this time, and from the reports of friends in all parts of the kingdom, to whom he sent for materials to fill up his Book; however, the Heresies are at length reduced under sixteen general Heads.

1. Independants,
2. Brownists,
3. Millenaries,
4. Antinomians,
5. Anabaptists,
6. Arminians,
7. Libertines,
8. Familists,
9. Enthusiasts,
10. Seekers,
11. Perfectists,
12. Socinians,
13. Arians,
14. Antitrinitarians,
15. Antiscripturists,
16. Scepticks.

The industrious Writer might have enlarged his Catalogue with Papists and Prelates, Deists, Ranters, Behemenists, &c. &c. or, if he had pleased, a less number might have served his turn, for very few of these Sectaries were collected into Societies; but his business was to blacken the Adversaries of Presbyterian Uniformity, that the Parliament might crush them by sanguinary Methods. Among his Heresies there are some that do not deserve that name; and among his Errors, some that never grew into a Sect, but fell occasionally from the pen or lips of some wild Enthusiast, and died with the Author. The Independants are put at the head of the Sectaries, because they were for " Tole-
" ration of all Christians who agreed in the Fundamentals
" of Religion;" to prove this, which they never denied, he has collected several Passages out of their publick
P. 40. Prayers; one independant Minister (says he) prayed that Presbytery might be removed, and the Kingdom of Christ set up; another prayed two or three times, " That the
" Parliament might give Liberty to tender Conscien-
" ces;" another thanked God for the Liberty of Conscience granted in America; and said, " Why, Lord, not
" in England?" Another prayed, " since God had deliver-
" ed

" ed both Presbyterians and Independants, from Prelatical " Bondage, that the former might not be guilty of bringing " their Brethren into Bondage." The Reader will judge of the spirit of this Writer, by the foregoing specimen of his performance, which I should not have thought worth remembring, if our Church-Writers had not reported the state of Religion from his Writings. " I knew Mr. Ed- " wards very well (says Fuller) my Cotemporary in Queen's " College, who was often transported beyond due bounds " with the keenness and eagerness of his Spirit, and there- " fore I have just cause in some things to suspect him." He adds farther, " I am most credibly informed by such, who " I am confident will not abuse me and Posterity therein, " that Mr. Herbert Palmer (an Anti-Independant to the " height) being convinced that Mr. Edwards had printed " some Falshoods on one sheet of his Gangræna, profer'd " to have the Sheet reprinted at his own charge, but some " Accident obstructed it." However, our Author went on publishing a second and third Gangræna, full of most bitter Invectives and Reproaches, 'till his own Friends were nauseated with his performances.

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Appeal, p. 58.

The Reverend Mr. Baxter, who attended the conquering army, mentions the Independants, Anabaptists and Antinomians, as the chief Separatists, to whom he adds some other Names, as Seekers, Ranters, Behemenists, Vanists, all which died in their Infancy, or cemented in the people afterwards known by the name of Quakers; but when he went into the Army he found " almost one half of the re- " ligious party among them orthodox, or but very lightly " touch'd with the above-mentioned mistakes, and almost " another half honest men, that had stepp'd further into " the contending Way than they ought, but with a little " help might be recovered; a few fiery, self-conceited " men among them, kindled the rest, and made all the " noise and bustle; for the greatest part of the common " Soldiers were ignorant men, and of little Religion; these " would do any thing to please their Officers, and were In- " struments for the Seducers in their great Work, which " was to cry down the Covenant, to villify Parish " Ministers, and especially the Scots and the Presbyteri- " ans." Mr. Baxter observes, that " these fiery hot men " were hatch'd among the old Separatists; that they were " fierce with pride and conceit, and uncharitableness, but " many of the honest Soldiers who were only tainted with " some doubts about Liberty of Conscience, and indepen-

Mr. Baxter's Account of them.

Baxter's Life, p. 53.

King Charles I. 1646.

" dency, would discourse of the points of sanctification and " christian experience very savourily; the Seducers above- " mention'd were great Preachers, and fierce Disputants, " but of no settled principles of Religion,; some were of " levelling principles as to the State, but all were agreed, " that the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do in matters of " Religion, any further than to keep the peace, and pro- " tect the Churches Liberties." The same Writer adds, " To speak impartially, some of the Presbyterian Ministers " frighten'd the Sectaries into this fury, by the unpeace- " ableness and impatience of their minds; they ran from " Libertinism into the other extream, and were so little " sensible of their own infirmity, that they would not have " them tolerated, who were not only tolerable, but " worthy instruments and Members in the Churches."

Lord Clarendon's.

Lord Clarendon says, that Cromwell and his Officers preached and prayed publickly to their Troops, and admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army but such as bitterly inveighed against the Presbyterian Government as more tyrannical than Episcopacy; and that the common Soldiers as well as the Officers, did not only pray and preach among themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all Churches, and preached to the People, who quickly became inspired with the same spirit; Women as well as Men taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great a noise and confusion in all opinions concerning Religion, as there was in the Civil Government of the State.

Bp. Bramhal of the Papists.

Par's Life of Usher, p. 611.

Bishop Bramhal, in one of his letters to Archbishop Usher writes, that " the Papists took advantage of these " Confusions, and sent over above one hundred of their " Clergy, that had been educated in France, Italy and " Spain, by order from Rome. In these nurseries the " Scholars were taught several Handicraft Trades and " Callings, according to their Ingenuities, besides their " Functions in the Church; they have many yet at Paris " (says the Bishop) fitting up to be sent over, who twice in " the week oppose one the other; one pretending Pres- " bytery, the other Independency, some Anabaptism, " and others contrary Tenets. The hundred that went " over this year (according to the Bishop) were most of " them Soldiers in the Parliament Army." But Mr. Baxter, after a diligent enquiry declares, that he could not find them out; which renders the Bishop's Account suspected. " The most that I could suspect for Pa- " pists among Cromwell's Soldiers (says he) were but a

Life, p. 78.

" few

" few that began as Strangers among the common Sol- King Charles I. 1646.
" diers, and by degrees rose up to some inferior Officers,
" but none of the superior Officers seemed such." The Body of the Army had a vast aversion to the Papists, and the Parliament took all occasion of treating them with rigour; for June 30, Morgan a Priest was drawn, hanged and quartered, for going out of the Kingdom to receive Orders from Rome, and then returning again. But without all question, both Church and State were in the utmost disorder and confusion at the close of this year.

Among the great Men of the Parliament's Side that died about this time was Robert D'Evereux, Earl of Essex, Son of the famous Favourite of Queen Elizabeth; he was educated to Arms in the Netherlands, and afterwards served the King and Queen of Bohemia for the recovery of the Palatinate. King Charles I. made him Lieutenant of his Army in his Expedition against the Scots, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household; but the Earl being unwilling to go into the arbitrary measures of the Court in favour of Popery and Slavery took part with the Parliament, and accepted of the Commission of Captain General of their Forces, for which the King proclaimed him a Traytor. He was a Person of great Honour, and served the Parliament with fidelity; but being of opinion, that the war should be ended rather by treaty than conquest, did not always push his Successes as far as he might. Upon the new modelling the Army the cautious General was dismissed with an honourable pension for his past Services; after which he retired to his House at Eltham in Kent, where he died of a Lethargy, occasioned by over-heating himself in the Chace of a Stag in Windsor Forest, Sept. 14, 1646, in the fifty fifth year of his age: He was buried with great Funeral Solomnity in Westminster Abby, Octob. 22, at the publick expence, both Houses of Parliament attending the procession. His Effigies was afterwards erected in Westminster Hall, but some of the King's Party found means in the Night to cut off the Head, and break the Sword, Arms and Escutcheons. Mr. Vines preached his Funeral Sermon, and gave him a very high encomium, but Lord Clarendon has stained his Character for taking part with the Parliament, which, he says, was owing to his pride and vanity. The Earl's Countenance appeared stern and solemn, but to his familiar Acquaintance his Behaviour was mild and affable. Upon the whole, he was a truly great and excellent Person; his

Death of E. of Essex.

Ludlow, p 186.

King Charles I. 1646.

Death was an unſpeakable loſs to the King, for he was the only Nobleman, perhaps, in the Kingdom, who had Intereſt enough with both parties to have put an end to the Civil War at the very time when Providence called him out of the world.

Death of Mr. Colman.

Among the remarkable Divines may be reckoned the Reverend and learned Mr. Thomas Colman, Rector of St. Peter's Church in Cornhill; he was born at Oxford, and entered in Magdalen College in the ſeventeenth year of his age; he afterwards became ſo perfect a Maſter of the Hebrew Language, that he was commonly called Rabby Colman. In the beginning of the Civil War he left his Rectory of Blyton in Lincolnſhire, being perſecuted from thence by the Cavaliers. Upon his coming to London he was preferred to the Rectory of St. Peter's Cornhill, and made one of the Aſſembly of Divines. Mr. Wood ſays, he behaved modeſtly and learnedly in the Aſſembly; and Mr. Fuller gives him the Character of a modeſt and learned Divine; he was equally an enemy to Preſbytery and Prelacy, being of Eraſtian Principles; he fell ſick when the Aſſembly was debating the Jus Divinum of Preſbytery; and when they ſent ſome of their Members to viſit him, he deſired they would not come to an abſolute determination till they heard what he had to offer upon the Queſtion; but his diſtemper encreaſing he died in a few days, and the whole Aſſembly did him the honour to attend his Funeral in a Body, March 30, 1646.

Death of Dr. Twiſſe. Athen. Oxon.

About the middle of July died the learned Doctor William Twiſſe, vicar of Newbury, and Prolocutor of the Aſſembly of Divines; he was born at Speenham Land, near Newbury in Berkſhire; his Father was a ſubſtantial Clothier in that Town, and educated his Son at Wincheſter School, from whence he was tranſlated to New College in Oxford, of which he was Fellow: Here he applied himſelf to the Study of Divinity with the cloſeſt application, for ſixteen years together. In the year 1604, he proceeded Maſter of Arts, about the ſame time he entered into Holy Orders, and became a diligent and frequent Preacher; he was admired by the Univerſity for his ſubtle wit, exact Judgment, exemplary Life and Converſation, and all other valuable qualities that became a Man of his Function. In the year 1614, he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, after which he travelled into Germany, and became Chaplain to the Princeſs Palatine, Daughter of King James I. After his return

turn to England he was made Vicar of Newbury, where he gained a vaſt Reputation by his uſeful Preaching and examplary Life. His moſt learned Adverſaries have confeſſed, that there was nothing then extant, more exact, accurate and full, touching the Arminian Controverſy, than what he publiſhed; nor have any written upon this Argument ſince the publiſhing Dr. Twiſſe's Works, but have made an honourable mention of him. The Doctor was offered the Prebend of Wincheſter, and ſeveral Preferments in the Church of England; the States of Frieſland invited him to the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity in their Univerſity of Franeker, but he refuſed all. In the beginning of the Civil War he was forced from his Living at Newbury by the Cavaliers, and upon calling together the Aſſembly of Divines, was appointed by Parliament their Prolocutor, in which place he continued to his Death, which happened after a lingering indiſpoſition, about the 20th of July, 1646, in the ſeventy firſt year of his age. He died in very neceſſitous Circumſtances, having loſt all that he had by the King's Soldiers, inſomuch, that when ſome of the Aſſembly were deputed to viſit him in his Sickneſs, they reported, "that he was very ſick, and in great "ſtraits." He was allowed to be a Perſon of prodigious knowledge in School Divinity; a ſubtle Diſputant, and withal, a modeſt, humble, and religious perſon. He was buried, at the requeſt of the Aſſembly, in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's Weſtminſter, near the upper end of the poor Folks Table, next the Veſtry, July 24, and was attended by the whole Aſſembly in a Body: There his body reſted till the Reſtoration of King Charles II. when his bones were dug up by order of Council, Sept. 14, 1661, and thrown, with ſeveral others, into a hole in the Churchyard of St. Margaret's, before the Back-door of the Lodgings of one of the Prebendaries.

King Charles I. 1646.

Towards the end of the year died the Reverend and pious Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs; he was educated in Cambridge, but obliged to quit the Univerſity and Kingdom for Non-conformity in the late times. Upon his leaving England he became Miniſter of an Engliſh Congregation at Rotterdam, with which he continued till the year 1642, when he returned to England, and became Preacher to two of the largeſt and moſt numerous Congregations about London (viz.) Stepney and Cripplegate. He was one of the Diſſenting Brethren in the Aſſembly, but was a Divine of great candor, modeſty and charity. He never gathered a

Death of Mr. Jer. Burroughs.

King Charles I. 1647.

separate Congregation, nor accepted of a Parochial Living, but wore out his Strength in a continual Preaching, and other Services of the Church. He was an excellent Scholar and a good Expositor, and most popular Preacher; he writ several Treatises while he lived, and his Friends have published a great many others since his Death, which have met with a general acceptance. It was said, the divisions of the times broke his Heart, because one of the last subjects he preached upon, and printed, was his Irenicum, or attempt to heal divisions among Christians. Mr. Baxter used to say, If all the Presbyterians had been like Mr. Marshall, and the Independants like Mr. Burroughs, their differences might easily have been compromised. He died of a consumptive Illness Nov. 14, 1646, about the forty seventh year of his Age.

CHAP. VIII.

Proceedings of the Assembly upon their Confession of Faith and Catechisms. Provincial Assemblies of London. The King taken out of the Parliament's Custody and conveyed to the Army. Controversy between the Parliament and Army. His Majesty's Conduct. He escapes from Hampton-Court and is confined in the Isle of Wight.

Proceedings of the Assembly upon their Confession of Faith.

THE Reverend Mr. Charles Herle took Possession of the Prolocutor's Chair by Order of Parliament July 22, 1646, in the Room of the late Dr. Twisse, when the Discipline of the Church being pretty well settled, it was moved to finish their Confession of Faith. The English Divines would have been content with revising and explaining the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England, but the Scots insisted on a system of their own; a Committee was therefore appointed to prepare materials for this Purpose May 9, 1645; their Names were Dr. Gouge, Dr. Hoyle, Mr. Herle, Gataker, Tuckney, Reynolds, and Vines, with the Scots Divines, who having first settled the Titles of the several Chapters, as they now stand, in their Confession of Faith, in Number Thirty two, distributed them for greater Expedition, among several Sub-Committees, which sat two days every week, and then reported what they had finished to the Committee, and so to the Assembly, where it

it was debated paragraph by paragraph. The disputes about Discipline occasioned so many Interruptions that it was a year and half before this work was finished, for Nov. 26, 1646, the Prolocutor returned thanks to the several Committees, in the name of the Assembly, for their great pains in perfecting the Work committed to them. At the same time Dr. Burges was appointed to get it transcribed, in order to its being presented to Parliament, which was done Dec. 11, by the whole Assembly in a body, under the Title of, "The humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines, "and others, now, by authority of Parliament, sitting at "Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith." The House of Commons having voted the Assembly Thanks, desired them to insert the proofs of the several Articles in their proper places, and then to print six hundred copies, and no more for the perusal of the Houses. The Reverend Mr. Wilson, Mr. Byfield, and Mr. Gower, were appointed, Jan. 6, to be a Committee to collect the Scriptures for confirmation of the several articles; all which being examined by the Assembly were inserted in the margin. After this the whole Confession was committed once more to a Review of the three Committees, who made report to the Assembly of such further amendments as they thought necessary; which being agreed to by the House it was sent to the Press. May 11, 1647, Mr. Byfield, by appointment of the House of Commons, delivered to the Members the printed Copies of their Confession of Faith with Scripture Notes, signed

King Charles I. 1647.

They present it to the Parliament. M. S. penes me.

Rushw. Part IV. Vol. I. p. 482.

Charles Herle,	Prolocutor,
Corn. Burges, Herbert Palmer,	Assessors,
Henry Roborough, Adoniram Byfield,	Scribes.

And because no more were to be given out at present, every Member subscribed his name to the receipt thereof.

The House of Commons began their examination of this Confession May 19, when they passed through the whole first Chapter Article by Article, but the disturbances that arose between the Parliament and Army interrupted their progress for the whole Summer; but when these were quieted they returned to their work, and October 2, ordered a Chapter of the Confession of Faith at least to be debated every

Debates of the Commons upon it.

King Charles I. 1647.

every Wednesday till the whole was finished, by which means they got through the whole before the end of March following; for at the conference with the House of Lords March 22, 1647-8, the Commons presented them with the Confession of Faith as passed by their House, with some alterations: They agreed with the Assembly in the Doctrinal Part of the Confession, and ordered it to be published, June 20, 1648, for the satisfaction of the foreign Churches, under the Title of, "Articles of Religion approved and "passed by both Houses of Parliament, after advice had "with an Assembly of Divines called together by them for "that purpose." The Parliament not thinking it proper to call it a Confession of Faith, because the Sections did not begin with the Words I confess; nor to annex matters of Church Government, about which they were not agreed, to Doctrinal Articles; those Chapters therefore, which relate to Discipline, as they now stand in the Assembly's Confession, were not printed by order of the House, but recommitted, and at last laid aside, as the whole thirtieth Chapter, Of Church Censures, and of the power of the Keys. The thirty first Chapter of Synods and Councils, by whom to be called, and of what Force in their Decrees and Determinations. A great part of the twenty fourth Chapter, Of Marriage and Divorce, which they referred to the Laws of the Land. And the fourth paragraph of the twentieth Chapter, which determines "what Opinions "and Parties disturb the peace of the Church, and how "such disturbers aught to be proceeded against by the "censures of the Church, and punish'd by the Civil Ma-"gistrate." These Propositions, in which the very life and soul of Presbytery consists, never past the English Parliament, nor had the sanction of a Law in this Country: But the whole Confession, as it came from the Assembly, being sent into Scotland, was immediately approved by the General Assembly and Parliament of that Kingdom, as the established Doctrine and Discipline of their Kirk; and thus it has been published to the World ever since, though the Chapters abovementioned, relating to Discipline (as has been observed) never had the sanction of either House of the English Parliament; nevertheless, as they were agreed to by an Assembly of English Divines, I have given them a place in the Appendix.

Rushw. p. 1035.

Articles of Discipline rejected. Savoy Conf. p. 18, 19.

But the whole received by the Scots Assembly and Parliament. Savoy Conf. Pref. p. 20.

Appendix, No. II.

Nor is it to be supposed, that the Confession of Faith itself, which determines so many abstruse Points of Divinity, should have the unanimous assent of the whole Assembly

or

or Parliament; for though all the Divines were in the Anti-Arminian Scheme, yet ſome had a greater Latitude than others. I find in my M.S. the diſſent of ſeveral Members againſt ſome expreſſions relating to "Reprobation, "to the imputation of the active as well as paſſive Obedi-"ence of Chriſt, and to ſeveral paſſages in the Chapters of "Liberty of Conſcience and Church Diſcipline," but the Confeſſion, as far as it related to Articles of Faith, paſt the Aſſembly and Parliament by a very great majority. King Charles I. 1647.

Various Cenſures have been paſſed by learned men upon this labour'd Performance; ſome have loaded it with undeſerved reproaches; and others, perhaps, have advanced its reputation a little too high. Mr. Collier condemns it, for determining in favour of the Morality of the Sabbath; for pronouncing the Pope to be Antichriſt; and, for maintaining the Calvinian Rigors of "abſolute Predeſtination, ir-"reſiſtible Grace, and the impotency of Man's Will;" Doctrines, in his opinion, inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity. But then he obſerves, very juſtly, that it falls very ſhort of the Scots Claim in points of Diſcipline; it yields the Magiſtrate a power of convening Church Aſſemblies, and of ſuperintending their proceedings; it is ſilent as to the Independency of the Church, and the Divine Right of Preſbytery, &c. But upon the whole, the Aſſembly's Confeſſion, with all its Faults, has been ranked by very good Judges among the moſt perfect Syſtems of Divinity, that have been publiſhed upon the Calviniſtick or Anti-Arminian Principles in the laſt age. Cenſures of it. B. Hiſt. p. 842.

While the Confeſſion was carrying through the Aſſembly, Committees were appointed to reduce it into the form of Catechiſms; one larger, for the ſervice of a publick expoſition in the Pulpit, according to the cuſtom of foreign Churches; the other ſmaller, for the inſtruction of Children; in both which the Articles relating to Church Diſcipline are omitted. The larger Catechiſm is a comprehenſive Syſtem of Divinity, and the ſmaller, a very accurate Summary, though it has been thought by ſome a little too long, and in ſome things too abſtruſe for the Capacities of Children. The Shorter Catechiſm was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, Nov. 5, but the Larger, by reaſon of the marginal proofs from Scripture, which the Houſes deſired might be inſerted, was not ready till the 14th of April, 1648, when the Houſe ordered ſix hundred copies to be printed for the ſervice of the Members; and having examined and approved it, they allowed it to be printed by Aſſembly's Larger and Shorter Catechiſms. Ruſhw. p. 888, 1060.

Authority,

King Charles I. 1647.

Authority for publick uſe, September 15, 1648. The King after many Solicitations, at the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, offer'd to licenſe the ſhorter Catechiſm, with a proper Preface; but that Treaty proving unſucceſsful it was not accompliſhed.

Ruſhw. p. 1326.

Scots Commiſſioners take leave of the Aſſembly.

The chief Affairs committed to the Aſſembly being thus finiſhed, Mr. Rutherford, one of the Scots Divines, moved, October 24, 1647, that it might be recorded in the Scribes books, that the Aſſembly had enjoyed the Aſſiſtance of the Honourable, Reverend and Learned Commiſſioners of the Church of Scotland, during all the Time they had been debating and perfecting theſe four things mentioned in the Covenant (viz.) "Their compoſing a Directory for publick "Worſhip. An uniform Confeſſion of Faith. A form of "Church Government and Diſcipline. And a publick Ca-"techiſm;" Some of their number having been preſent during the whole of theſe tranſactions; which being done, about a week after, he and the reſt of the Commiſſioners took their leave and returned home; upon which occaſion Mr. Herle the Prolocutor roſe up, and in the name of the Aſſembly, "thanked the Honourable and Reverend Commiſ-"ſioners, for their aſſiſtance; he excuſed in the beſt manner "he could, the Directory's not being ſo well obſerved as it "ought; and lamented that the Aſſembly had not power "to call offenders to an account; he confeſſes, that their "affairs were very much embarraſs'd, and that they were "ſtill in a chaos of confuſion; [the King being now taken "out of the hands of the Parliament, and in cuſtody of "the Army] he takes notice of what diſtreſſes the Parlia-"ment were in, while the common enemy was high and "ſtrong; and adds, that their extraordinary ſucceſſes hi-"therto were owing to the prayers of their brethren of "Scotland, and other Proteſtants abroad, as well as to their "own. He then mentions with concern ſome other Re-"ſtraints the Aſſembly lay under, but that this was not a "proper time for redreſs."

They appoint a Faſt for the Diſtractions of England.

The Commiſſioners went home under a very great concern for the ſtorm that was gathering in England, and for the hardſhips the Preſbyterians lay under with reſpect to their Diſcipline; and having obtained the Eſtabliſhment of the Directory, the Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſms, the Preſbyterian Diſcipline, and Rouſe's Pſalms in Metre, for the ſervice of their Kirk, they appointed a general Faſt, to lament their own defection from the Solemn League and Covenant, and the diſtreſſed condition of their Brethren

in

in England, who were zealous for carrying on the work of God, but were now oppreſſed, under pretence of Liberty, when no leſs was aimed at than Tyranny and arbitrary Power. King Charles I. 1647.

If the Parliament, had diſſolved the Aſſembly at this Time, as they ought to have done, they had gone home with honour and reputation, for after this they did little but examine Candidates for the Miniſtry, and diſpute upon the queſtions of the Jus Divinum of Preſbytery; the grand Conſultations about publick affairs, and practiſing upon the new Eſtabliſhment, being tranſlated to the Provincial Aſſemblies, and weekly meetings of the London Clergy at Sion College *.

Though

* That the Reader may form a judgment of what was intended to be eſtabliſhed in England, it may not be improper to ſet before him in one view, the diſcipline that was then ſett'ed in the Kirk of Scotland, and ſubſiſts at this time. " In Scotland there are eight " hundred and ninety Pariſhes, each of which is divided, in pro- " portion to its extent, into particular diſtricts, and every diſtrict " has its own ruling Elders and Deacons; the ruling Elders are " Men of the principal quality and intereſt in the Pariſh, and the " Deacons are perſons of a good character for manners and un- " derſtanding. A Conſiſtory of Miniſters, Elders, and Deacons, " is called a Kirk Seſſion, the loweſt eccleſiaſtical Judicatory; " which meets once a week, to conſider the affairs of the Pariſh. " The Miniſter is always Moderator, but without a Negative; ap- " peals lie from hence to their own Preſbyteries, which are the next " higher Judicatories. Scotland is divided into ſixty nine " Preſbyteries, each conſiſting of from twelve to twenty four con- " tiguous Pariſhes. The Miniſters of theſe Pariſhes, with one " Ruling Elder, choſen half yearly out of every Kirk Seſſion, " compoſe a Preſbytery. They meet in the head Town and chuſe " their Moderator, who muſt be a Miniſter, half yearly; from " hence appeals lie to provincial Synods, which are compoſed of " ſeveral adjacent Preſbyters, Two, Three, Four to Eight; there " are Fifteen in all. The Members are a Miniſter and a Ruling " Elder out of every Pariſh. Theſe Synods meet twice a year, at " the principal Town of its Bounds. They chuſe a Moderator, " who is their Prolocutor. The Acts of the Synods are ſubject to " the Review of the General Aſſembly, the dernier Reſort of the " Kirk of Scotland. It conſiſts of Commiſſioners from Preſby- " teries, Royal Burghs, and Univerſities. A Preſbytery of Twelve " Miniſters ſends two Miniſters and One Ruling Elder; a Preſby- " tery of between Twelve and Eighteen ſends Three, and One " Ruling Elder; of between Eighteen and Twenty four ſends " Four, and Two Ruling Elders; of Twenty four ſends Five, " and Rapin, p. 311.

King Charles I. 1647.

Though the City and Suburbs of London had been formed into a Province, and divided into twelve classical Presbyteries (as has been remember'd) the last year, new complaints were still made to the Parliament of certain obstructions in their way; upon which the Houses published their Resolutions of April 22d, 1647, entitled, "Remedies for "removing some Obstructions in Church Government;" in which they order letters to be sent from the Speakers of both Houses to the several Counties of England, immediately to divide themselves into distinct Presbyteries, and Classes; "They then appoint the Elders and Ministers of "the several Classes of the Province of London, to hold "their Provincial Assembly in the Convocation House of "St. Paul's in London, upon the first Monday in May "next ensuing, and to adjourn their Meetings De Die in "Diem, and conclude them with adjournment to the next "opportunity, according to the Ordinance of Parliament; "but that no Act shall pass or be valid in the said Province "of London, except it be done by the number of thirty "six present, or the major part of them, whereof twelve "to be Ministers, and twenty four Ruling Elders. That "in the Classical Meetings that which shall be done by the "major part present shall be esteemed the Act of the "whole; but no Act done by any Classes shall be valid un-"less it be done by the number of fifteen present, or the "major part of them, whereof five to be Ministers, and "ten Ruling Elders." So that the Number of Lay-Elders in these Assemblies was double to the Number of Ministers.

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First Provincial Assembly.

According to this appointment the first Provincial Assembly met at the Convocation House of St. Paul's May 3, consisting of three Ministers and six Ruling Elders from the several Classes, in all about one hundred and eight persons; at their first Session they chose the Reverend Dr. Gouge Prolocutor, who opened the Assembly with a Sermon at his own Church in Black-friars, the Reverend Mr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Ralph Robinson, and Mr. Cardel, being appointed Scribes. After their return to the Convocation-House a Committee of seven Ministers and fourteen Ruling Elders,

"and Two Elders; every Royal Burgh sends One Elder, and "Edinburgh Two; every University sends One Commissioner, "usually a Minister. The General Assembly meets once a year, "in the month of May, and is opened and adjourned by the "King's Royal Commissioner appointed for that purpose."

Elders, were chosen to consider of the Business of the Province. King Charles I. 1647.

The Ministers were,

The Rev. Mr. Whitaker,	The Rev. Mr. Tuckney,
Dr. Seaman,	Mr. Proffet,
Mr. Ed. Calamy,	Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Spurstow,	

The Ruling Elders were,

Sir Edw. Popham,	Mr. Houghton,
Dr. Clarke,	Mr. Eyres,
Dr. Bastwicke,	Mr. Vaughan,
Dr. Brinley,	Mr. Webbe,
Mr. Bence,	Mr. English,
Mr. Russel,	Col. Sowtonstall,
Mr. Bains,	Mr. ————

Any six of the Quorum, provided there be two Ministers, and Four Ruling Elders. Their next Meeting to be at Sion College, May 6, at Two in the Afternoon.

At the second Sessions it was moved, that Application be made to Parliament, for liberty to remove the Assembly from the Convocation-House to some other place; and accordingly they were allowed to adjourn to any place within the City of London, or the liberties; upon which they agreed upon Sion College, where they continued to meet twice a Week to the end of the year 1659, as appears by a Manuscript of the late Mr. Grange, now in Sion College Library.

But before their Adjournment from the Convocation-House at St. Saul's, they came to the following Resolutions; resolved,

Gen. Rules for the Provincial Assembly.

1. That the Provincial Assembly shall meet twice every Week, Mondays and Thursdays.

2. That the Moderator for the time being shall begin and end every Session with Prayer.

3. When a new Moderator is to be chosen the senior Minister shall preside.

4. The Moderator shall be subject to the censure of the majority of the Assembly, in case of complaint, and shall leave

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leave the Chair while the complaint is debating, and the ſenior Miniſter ſhall preſide.

5. Every one that ſpeaks ſhall direct his Speech to the Moderator, and be uncovered.

6. No Man ſhall ſpeak above three times to the ſame queſtion at one Seſſions.

7. When any buſineſs is before the Aſſembly relating to any particular Member, he ſhall withdraw, if deſired by the Majority.

8. After the Aſſembly is ſet no Member ſhall withdraw without leave.

9. The names of the Members preſent ſhall be recorded by the Scribes.

Every Provincial Aſſembly was diſſolved in courſe at the End of ſix months, when notice was given to the ſeveral Claſſes to chooſe new Repreſentatives; but it was an ill Omen upon them, that their Meetings were interrupted almoſt all this Summer, by reaſon of the diſtraction of the times.

2d Provincial Aſſembly.

The ſecond Provincial Aſſembly met Nov. 8; Dr. Seaman Moderator, and preſented a petition to the Parliament in a body, Jan. 11, in which they humbly pray,

Their Petition to Parliament. MS. Sion Coll.

1. "That the Number of Delegates to the Provincial "Aſſembly may be enlarged, becauſe they found it difficult ſometimes to make up the Number of thirty "ſix.

2. "That the Houſes would quicken the Settlement of "thoſe Claſſes [in London] that were not yet formed, "which they ſay were four.

3. "That ſome more effectual Encouragement may be "provided for a learned Miniſtry.

4. "That effectual proviſion may be made againſt clandeſtine Marriages, for the puniſhment of Fornication, "Adultery, and ſuch Uncleanneſs as is not fit to be named.

5. "That Church Cenſures may be ſo eſtabliſhed, that "ſcandalous perſons may be effectually excluded from "Church Communion."

The Parliament received them with Reſpect, and promiſed to take the particulars into conſideration, which was all that was done in the affair.

But

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But besides the Provincial Assembly, it has been remember'd, that the London Clergy had their weekly meetings at Sion College, to consult about Church affairs, in one of which they agreed, since they could do no more, to bear their publick Testimony against the Errors of the times; and accordingly they published a Treatise, entitled, "A "Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our So- "lemn League and Covenant; as also, against the errors, "Heresies, and Blasphemies of these times, and the To- "leration of them; to which is added a Catalogue of the "said errors, &c." dated from Sion College, Dec. 14, 1647, and subscribed by fifty eight of the most eminent Pastors in London, of whom seventeen were of the Assembly of Divines. Some time after the Ministers of Gloucestershire published their Concurrence with the London Ministers, subscribed by sixty four names. The Ministers of the Province of Lancaster by eighty four. The Devonshire Ministers by eighty three; and the Somerset Ministers by seventy one.

London Ministers Testimony to Truth, and against Error.

The London Ministers, in their first article, touching "matters of Doctrine, declare their assent to the West- "minster Assembly's confession of Faith, and heartily de- "sire it may receive the sanction of Authority, as the joint "Confession of Faith of the three Kingdoms, in pursuance "of the Covenant."

Touching Heresies and Errors, they declare their detestation and abhorrence of these following, among others,

1. "That the holy Scriptures are not of Divine Authority, "and the only Rule of Faith. L. Clarkson. Biddle. p. 6.

2. "That God hath a bodily shape; that God is the "name of a person; and, that God is the Author of sin; "having a greater hand in it than Men themselves. Crisp, Eaton, Saltmarsh.

3. "That there is not a Trinity of Persons in the God- "head; that the Son is not co-equal with the Father; and, "that the Holy Ghost is only a ministring Spirit. Paul Best. Biddle, p. 8.

4. "That God has not elected some to Salvation from "eternity, and rejected or reprobated others; and, that no "Man shall perish in Hell for Adam's sin. Fulness of God's Love to Mankind by L. S.

5. "That Christ died for the sins of all Mankind; that "the Benefits of his death were intended for all; and, "that natural men may do such things as whereunto "God has by way of promise annexed Grace and accep- "tation. Hammond's Pract. Cat. J. Goodwin, p. 149.

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6. "That Man hath a free-Will and Power in himself to "repent, to believe, to obey the Gospel, and do every thing "that God requires to Salvation.

J. Goodwin. Ham.

7. "That Faith is not a supernatural Grace, and that "faithful Actions are the only things by which a Man is "justified.

Randal, John Simpson.

8. "That the Moral Law is not the Rule of Life; that "Believers are as clean from Sin as Christ himself; that "such have no occasion to pray for pardon of sin; that "God sees no sin in his People, nor does he ever chastise "them for it.

p. 17. Saltmash. Smoak in the Temple.

9. "That there is no Church nor Sacraments, nor "Sabbath; the opinions of the Seekers, now called "Quakers.

Tombes, Saltmash. Ham.

10. "That the Children of Believers ought not to be "baptized, nor Baptism continued among Christians; that "the meaning of the third Commandment is, Thou shalt "not forswear thyself.

Milton, p. 19.

11. "That persons of the next Kindred may marry; "and, that Indisposition, Unfitness, or Contrariety of "Mind arising from natural Causes, are a just Reason of "Divorce.

p. 20. Man's Mortality, by R. O.

12. "That the Soul of Man is mortal; that it sleeps "with the Body; and that there is neither Heaven nor "Hell till the day of Judgment.

Bloody Tenet.

The last error they witness against, and in which all agree, is called the "Error of Toleration, patronizing "and promoting all other Errors, Heresies and Blasphe-

Five Holland Ministers. p. 22.

"mies whatsoever, under the grosly abused Notion of Li-"berty of Conscience;" and here they complain, as a very great grievance, "That Men should have liber-"ty to worship God in that way and manner as shall "appear to them most agreeable to the Word of God; "and no Man be punished or discountenanced by Autho-"rity for the same; and, that an inforced Uniformity of "Religion throughout a Nation or State confounds the "Civil and Religious, and denies the very Principles of "Christianity and Civility."

They then bear their Testimony to the Covenant, and to the Divine Right of Presbytery. They lament the imperfect Settlement of their Discipline by the Parliament, and lay the Foundation of all their Calamities in the countenancing of a publick and general Toleration, and conclude thus;

p. 33.

"Upon all these Considerations, we the Ministers of Jesus "Christ

" Christ do hereby testify to our Flocks, to all the Kingdom, " and to the Reformed World, our great dislike of Prelacy, " Erastianism, Brownism, and Independency; and our utter " Abhorrency of Anti-Scripturism, Popery, Arianism, Socinianism, Arminianism, Antinomianism, Anabaptism, " Libertinism, and Familism; and that we detest the fore- " mentioned Toleration, so much pursued and endeavoured in " this Kingdom, accounting it unlawful and pernicious." What sad work would these Divines have made if they had had the Sword of the Magistrate at their disposal! King Charles I. 1647.

The principal Authors from whom these Errors were collected, are mentioned in the Margin; Two of whom determined to vindicate the Citations out of their books: Dr. Hammond published a Vindication of three passages in his practical Catechism from the Censures of the London Ministers; in which he very justly complains of the hard names with which the Ministers load the opinions they reject, as " abominable Errors, damnable Heresies, horrid Blasphemies, " many of which are destructive of the Fundamentals of Chri- " stianity, and all of them repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, " the scandal and offence of the reformed Churches abroad, " and the unparallell'd reproach of this Church and Na- " tion; and, in a Word, the dregs and spawn of those " old cursed Heresies which have been already condemned." The Doctor then recites his three passages; the first concerning Universal Redemption; the second concerning Faith's being the condition of our Justification; and the third concerning the Interpretation of the third Commandment; and avers them all to be true, and agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of England. In conclusion the Doctor desires this favour, that either the first Subscriber, Mr. J. Downham, who licensed his Catechism for the Press, or else Dr. Gouge or Mr. Gataker, who are foremost in the second rank, or some other persons of Learning, Christianity, and Temper, would afford him their patience, personally, and by fair discourse, or any other Christian way, to debate the truth of these assertions, for which he will wait their Leisure. Dated from Oxford Jan. 24, 1647-8, but no body thought fit to accept the challenge. Dr. Hammond's Vindication. p. 4.

Mr. John Goodwin was a learned Divine, and a quick Disputant, but of a peculiar mould, being a Republican, an Independant, and a thorough Arminian; he had been Vicar of Coleman-street, but was ejected in the year 1645, by the Committee for plunder'd Ministers, because he re- And Mr. John Goodwin's.

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fuſed to baptiſe the Children of his Pariſhioners promiſcuouſly, and to adminiſter the Sacrament to his whole Pariſh. He had publiſhed ſeveral large and learned books; as, "The Divine Authority of the Scriptures. Redemption "redeemed. A Treatiſe of Juſtification. And, an Expo- "ſition on the ninth Chapter to the Romans;" out of which the above-mentioned exceptions were taken. This Divine taking it amiſs to be marked for a Heretick challenged any of the London Clergy to a diſputation, as thinking it a very unrighteous method to condemn Opinions before they had been confuted. Mr. William Jenkins, at that time a warm and zealous Preſbyterian, but afterwards ſoften'd into more Catholick Principles, enter'd the Liſts with our Author, in a pamphlet entitl'd, The Buſy Biſhop. To which the other replied, in a book entitled, The Novice Preſbyter inſtructed. By ſome paſſages in which one may diſcover the angry Spirit of the Times.

Mr. J. Goodwin's Reply to the Rev. Mr. Jenkins.

Mr. Jenkins had complained, that the orthodox Clergy had but ſhort Commons, and were under the Croſs, whereas the Sectaries met with the greateſt Encouragement. To which Mr. Goodwin replies, "If by orthodox Miniſters he "means thoſe of the adored Order of Preſbytery, with "what face can he ſay they are under the Croſs? Is not "the whole Engliſh Element of Church Livings offered up "by the State to their ſervice? Are not all the Benefices of "the Kingdom appropriated to their order? And all others "thruſt out of doors to make room for them? Muſt they "feed with Hecatombs every day, or elſe complain of ſhort "Commons? Or, is Mr. Jenkins of M. Craſſus's Mind, "who would have no one accounted rich unleſs he could "maintain an Army with his Revenue? In what ſenſe can "he affirm the Preſbyterian Clergy to be under the Croſs? "Are they under the Croſs who are ſcarce under the "Crown? Who are carried by Authority upon Eagles "Wings: Over whom the Parliament itſelf rejoices to do "good; heaping Ordinance upon Ordinance to advance "both them and their Livings together. But certainly "there is ſomething that Mr. Jenkins calls a Croſs which "few Men know by that Name, but thoſe who are bap- "tized into the ſpirit of high Preſbytery, for the Croſs he "ſpeaks of is no other than this, that his orthodox bre- "thren have not the power to do all the evil that is in their "hearts againſt a quiet, peaceable, harmleſs generation "of Men, of whom they are jealous, leſt they ſhould "take their Kingdom from them. How can this Writer

ſay,

" ſay, that the Independent Preachers meet with encou- King Charles I. 1647.
" ragement, and are under worldly glory? Does he ac-
" count it matter of worldly glory, to be diſcountenanced
" by the State, to be declared uncapable of thoſe Favours
" and Privileges which other Miniſters in the Land en-
" joy; to be ſequeſter'd from their Livings, and to be
" thruſt into holes and corners; to be repreſented both to
" the Magiſtrate and People, as Sectaries, Schiſmaticks,
" Erroneous, Heretical Factious, Troubleſome, Dangerous
" to the State, and what not? If this be worldly Glory,
" then may the Preachers, againſt whom Mr. Jenkins
" writes, be truly ſaid to be under worldly glory." Old Mr. Vicars, and ſome others, carried on the Controverſy, but their Writings are not worth remembring; eſpecially ſince the Engliſh Preſbyterians of the preſent age have openly renounced and diſavowed their principles.

To return to more publick affairs; hitherto the Army had acted in perfect Subordination to the Parliament, but the War, being over, and the King a Priſoner, the great difficulty was to ſettle the Nation upon ſuch a foot as might content the ſeveral parties, or bring them at leaſt to acquieſce; this was the rock upon which they ſplit, and which, in the end, proved the ruin of their cauſe. To give light to this affair it will be proper to conſider the ſeparate views of the King, the Parliament, and the Army. Views of the different Parties concerned in the War.

The Royal Party being broken, and the King a Priſoner, his Majeſty had no proſpect of recovering his throne but by dividing his enemies, or making the beſt terms with them he could; the Preſbyterians being in League with the Scots Nation were moſt numerous and powerful; but that which render'd their agreement with the King impracticable, was his Majeſty's belief, that " Epiſcopal Government was eſſen-
" tial to Chriſtianity," and that he was bound by his Coronation Oath to maintain it; whereas the others held themſelves equally bound by their Solemn League and Covenant to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, and eſtabliſh Preſbytery in its room. Both Parties were immoveable, and upon this rock they ſplit. His Majeſty's agreement with the Army was more open and practicable, becauſe they would have ſet aſide the Covenant, and obliged the Parliament to tolerate Epiſcopal Government as well as the Sectaries; but the King could never forgive thoſe Officers who had deſtroyed his Armies, and beat him out of the Field; though he Of the King.

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dreaded their military Valour he had a very mean opinion of their Politicks, and therefore affected to play them againſt the Parliament, hoping to take Advantage of their Diviſions, and eſtabliſh himſelf upon the ruins of both; for it was his Majeſty's Maxim, which he did not ſcruple to avow, that "neither party could ſubſiſt without him, "and that thoſe muſt be ruined whom he abandoned." By which unhappy conduct he loſt his Intereſt, both in the Parliament and Army, and (as Biſhop Kennet obſerves) laid the Foundation of his Ruin.

Of the Parliament and Preſbyterians.

The Preſbyterians were no leſs unhappy, for the Majority of the Houſe of Commons, with the City of London, and the whole Scots Nation, being firmly in their Intereſt, they imagined nothing could ſtand before them, and therefore would abate nothing of their demands, nor hearken to any other terms of Accommodation with the King, than thoſe of the Covenant, which were "the entire aboliſhing "of Prelacy, and the eſtabliſhing Preſbyterian Uniformity "throughout both Kingdoms, with an abſolute Extirpation "of all Sectaries whatſoever." This embarraſſed them not only with the King (as has been obſerved) but awakened the jealouſy of the Army, who were thoroughly convinced, that when the Preſbyterians were in the legal Poſſeſſion of their demands, they would exerciſe equal Tyranny over the Conſciences of Men with the Biſhops; and indeed, nothing leſs was to be expected, conſidering their ſteady adherence to the Covenant in all their Treaties with the King; their efforts in Parliament to get the power of the Keys into their hands, their frequent addreſſes for the ſuppreſſing all Sectaries by the Civil Authority, and their declamations both from the Pulpit and Preſs, againſt Toleration and Liberty of Conſcience. In all their Treaties with the King, even to that in the Iſle of Wight (except when the Army was in poſſeſſion of the Cities of London and Weſtminſter) this was one Article of peace, "That an "effectual Courſe be taken by Act of Parliament, and all "other Ways needful or expedient for ſuppreſſing the "opinions of the Independants, and all other Sectaries." To which his Majeſty had agreed in his private Treaty with the Scots in the Iſle of Wight, ſign'd December 27, ſo that the Army was left to ſhift for itſelf.

Of the Army and Independants.

Though there were ſome few Preſbyterians in the Army, the greateſt part conſiſted of Independants, Anabaptiſts, and Men of unfettled Principles in Religion, who for want of regular

regular Chaplains to their Regiments, had used their own Talents among themselves in religious exercises. The Scots Treaty of the Isle of Wight says the Army was made up of Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brownists, Separatists, Independants, Libertines, Seekers, &c." But Mr. Rapin, contrary to the Testimony of all other Writers, calls them all Independants, and represents the Controversy between the Parliament and them as a dispute, "Whether Presbytery or Independency should be upper-"most;" whereas the grand Controversy was, "Pres-"bytery with a Toleration or without one." The Army consented, that Presbytery should be the National Religion, but insisted upon a Toleration of all Christians in the enjoyment of all their Civil and Religious Rights. This (says Lord Clarendon) was their great Charter, and till they had obtained it by a legal Settlement they agreed not to lay down their Arms: They had fought the Parliament's Battles, and therefore thought it unreasonable to be told openly, if they would not comply with the Presbyterian Settlement they must expect to be punished as Sectaries, and driven out of the Land. To avoid this they treated separately with the King, both before and after they had him in their hands; and when they apprehended he did not deal sincerely with them, they made propofals to the Parliament to establish the Presbyterian Discipline with a Toleration to all Protestants without him; but when they found the Presbyterians, even in their last treaty with the King, in the year 1648, insisting upon Presbyterian Uniformity, without making the least provision for that Liberty of Conscience they had been contending for, they grew outragious; they seized his Majesty's Person a second time, and having purged the House of Commons, in an arbitrary manner, of all that were not in their own desperate measures, they blew up the whole Constitution, and buried both King and Parliament, and Presbytery in its ruins. This was not in their original View, nor the result of any peculiar Set of Religious Principles (as Rapin insinuates) but was driven on by a series of Disappointments, on the part of the Army; and a train of unhappy and unforeseen events, arising from the mistaken conduct of the Loyalists and Presbyterians.

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We left the King the beginning of the Spring at his house at Holmby, where he continued under an easy restraint from

Controversy between the Parl. and Army.

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from the 16th of February to the 4th of June following. The War being over the Houſes attempted to get rid of the Army, by offering ſix months pay, and ſix weeks advance, to as many as would go over to Ireland; and by voting, that the remainder ſhould be diſbanded, with an Act of Indemnity for all hoſtilities committed by them, in purſuance of the Powers given them by Parliament; but the Army being apprehenſive that the Preſbyterians would make peace with the King, upon the foot of Covenant Uniformity, and without a Toleration, reſolved to ſecure this point in the firſt place, for which purpoſe they choſe a Council of Officers; and a Committee of Agitators, conſiſting of two inferior Officers out of each Regiment, to manage their Affairs; theſe met in diſtinct Bodies, like the two Houſes of Parliament, and came to the following Reſolutions, which they ſent to Weſtminſter by three of their Number, who delivered them in at the bar of the Houſe, "That they would not diſband without their arrears, nor without full proviſion for Liberty of Conſcience. That they did not look upon themſelves as a band of Janizaries, but as Voluntiers, that had been fighting for the Liberties of the Nation, of which they were a part, and that they were reſolved to ſee thoſe ends ſecured." It was moved in the Houſe, that the Meſſengers might be committed to the Tower, but after a long debate they were diſmiſſed only with a reprimand for meddling in Affairs of Government, and for preſuming to offer a Petition to Parliament without their General. Upon this the Officers ſent their Petition by the General himſelf, but the Parliament, inſtead of taking it into conſideration, order'd May 21, that all who would not liſt for the Iriſh Service ſhould be immediately paid off and diſbanded; upon which the Officers ſeeing the ſnare that was laid for them, bound themſelves and the Army, by an engagement May 29, not to diſband till the grievances abovementioned were redreſſed. Whereupon the Houſes ordered Lieutenant General Cromwell, who was then in town, and ſuſpected to be at the head of theſe Counſels, to be ſeized; but being advertiſed of the deſign, he made his eſcape to the Army. They then voted the Petition ſeditious, and all thoſe Traytors who had promoted it; and having ſent a meſſage to the General, to remove the Army further from London, they raiſed the City Trained Bands, and determined to put an end to the power of the Army by the ſpeedy concluſion of a peace with the King.

Council of Officers and Agitators. Ruſhw. Vol. VI. p. 485, 498. Rapin, p. 366.

His

His Majesty's answer to their propositions at Newcastle were read in the House, May 18, in which "he agrees "to settle the Presbyterian Government for three years— "to ratify the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, pro- "posing a few of his own Clergy to consider what Govern- "ment to settle afterwards——He yields the Militia for "ten years———Desires Ministers of his own to satisfy "him about the Covenant——Consents to the Act against "Papists———And to an Act of Oblivion——And desires "to come to London, in order to give the Parliament sa- "tisfaction upon the other Articles." Two days after the Lords voted, that the King be removed to his House at Oatlands, and that it be immediately fitted for his Reception.

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King's answer to the Propositions at Newcastle.

Things being come to this crisis, the Agitators considered, that the King being the Prize contended for, whoever had him in their power must be masters of the Peace, and make their own Terms; they therefore resolved, by the advice and direction of Lieutenant-General Cromwell, to get possession of his Majesty's Person, which they accomplished by a bold Stratagem, in the night of June 4, with very little opposition from his attendance or guards; Cornet Joyce, at the head of fifty resolute horse, having secured the Avenues to Holmby House, enter'd with two or three of his Company, and going to the King's Chamber, acquainted him with his design, of carrying him to the Army at New-market; his Majesty being surprized at so unexpected a visit, and so late at night, asked for his Commission, who pointed to his Troops drawn up before the Gates; his Majesty answer'd, "it was very legible;" and finding it in vain to resist, consented to go with the Cornet next morning, on promise of safety to his Person, and that he should not be forced to any thing against his Conscience; the chief Officers of the Army met his Majesty at Childerly, four miles from Cambridge, and were admitted to kiss his Hand; from thence he was removed to New-market, where he took the diversion of the Heath, had the liberty of four of his own Chaplains to wait upon him, and was attended with all due ceremony and respect; Cromwell being heard to say among his Friends, "that now he "had got the King into his Hands he had the Parliament "in his Pocket."

The King seized and carried to the Army. Rushw. p. 545, 549. Rapin, p. 371.

The two Houses received the news of the King's being carried off to the Army with the utmost surprize and astonishment; the whole City was in confusion, and all persons within

Which strikes the two Houses with surprize.

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within the lines of communication ordered to Arms; the Lobby at Westminster was throng'd with the disbanded Officers of the Earl of Essex's Army offering their service to the Parliament; for every one imagined the Army would be at the Gates of the City in a few hours; when their fright was a little abated, Commissioners were sent to the General, not to advance within forty miles of London, but being already at St. Alban's, the General promised not to march his Army nearer without due notice; and assured the two Houses, "that they would not oppose the Presbyterial "Government, nor set up the Independant;" but only insisted, that some effectual course might be taken, that such who, upon conscientious grounds, differ'd from the Establishment, might not be debarr'd from the common Rights, Liberties, or Benefits belonging equally to all, while they lived soberly and inoffensively towards others, and peaceably and faithfully towards the State. June 10, another Letter was sent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of London, signed by Fairfax, Cromwell, and twelve other Officers, assuring them, "they intended no "alteration of the civil Government; nor to interrupt the "Settlement of Presbytery; nor to introduce a licentious "liberty, under colour of obtaining ease for tender con-"sciences, but that when the State had made a Settlement "they would submit or suffer. They wished that every "peaceable Subject might have liberty and encouragement, "for the obtaining which (say they) we are drawing near the "City——We seek the good of all, and shall wait for a "time to see if these things may be settled without us, and "then we will embark for Ireland."—

Rushw. p. 546, 561, 589, &c.

Rapin, p. 375, 379.

Rushw. p. 554.

Declaration of the Army. Rushw. p. 589, 590.

The Commons took no notice of these Remonstrances, but declared in print, "That his Majesty was a Prisoner, "and barbarously used," because their Commissioners could have no access to him, but in presence of some Officers; but the Army replied, "That all suggestions of that nature "were absolutely false, and contrary to their principles, "which are most clearly for a general Right, and just "freedom to all Men, and therefore upon this occasion they "declare to the World, that they desire the same for the "King, and others of his party, so far as can consist with "common right and freedom, and with the security of the "same for the future. And we do clearly profess (say they) "that we do not see how there can be any peace to this "Kingdom firm or lasting, without a due provision for the "Rights,

" Rights, Quiet, and Immunity of his Majesty, his Royal " Family, and his late Partakers; and herein we think, " that tender and equitable dealing (as supposing their cases " had been ours) and a Spirit of common Love and Justice " diffusing itself to the good and preservation of all, will " make the most glorious conquest over their hearts, to " make them, and the whole people of the Land, lasting " Friends." King Charles I. 1647.

The leading Members of the Presbyterian Party in the House of Commons could not contain themselves within any reasonable bounds, at these proceedings; they said it was insufferable for the Parliament, instead of treating with the King, to be obliged to treat with their own Servants, and therefore advised the raising a new Army, and opposing force with force, till those who had the King in their custody should submit to their superiors, and deliver him back. The Presbyterians in Parliament resolve to oppose the Army.

On the other hand, the Officers and Agitators resolved to get rid of these resolute Gentlemen, and therefore impeached eleven of the Members of High Treason, June 16, for obstructing the business of Ireland; for acting against the Army, and against the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, &c. and desired they might be suspended from the House till they were legally acquitted: Their Names were Denzil Hollis, Esq; Sir Phil. Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major General Massey, Mr. Glyn Recorder, Colonel Walter Long, Colonel Edward Harley, Antony Nichols, Esq; but the Commons not only rejected their impeachment, but ordered the King to be brought to Richmond, and that four full Companies of the Militia should guard the two Houses. This quicken'd the resentments of the Army, who sent them the following Proposals, among others, June 23. " ——— That the King's coming to Richmond " be suspended; ——— that no place be appointed for his " Residence nearer London than the Parliament will allow " the quarters of the Army; — that the impeached Mem- " bers be sequester'd the House; —that the multitude of " Soldiers that flock together about the City be dispersed, " and that no new forces be raised, nor any preparations " made for a new War." If these particulars are not complied with in a week's time, they declare they will march to London and do themselves justice. The Houses being terrified with the approach of the Army agreed to content them for the present, in order to gain time; and the impeached Members having desired leave to withdraw, retired

Eleven of their Members impeached. Rushw. p. 570, 572. Rapin, p. 380.

Rushw. p. 585.

first

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first into the City and after some time left the Kingdom. The other requests of the Army were also complied with; upon which, after returning thanks to the Houses, they retreated to Wickham, and appointed Commissioners to settle all remaining differences with the Parliament.

Whitl. p. 264. Rapin, p. 385, 388.

But the City of London, by the influence of the impeached Members, kindled into a flame, for the Parliament, by an Ordinance of May 4, having put the Nomination of the Officers of the Militia into the hands of the Common Council, these had discharged the old ones, and put in such as they could confide in for opposing the Army, and establishing Uniformity according to the Covenant; the Officers in order to defeat their design insisted, that the Ordinance of May 4, be repealed, and the Militia put into the hands of those who had conducted it during the course of the late War. The Houses, with much reluctancy, consented to the Repeal July 23, which alarm'd the Citizens, and occasioned those Tumults which brought upon them the very mischiefs they were afraid of. Denzil Hollis, with the other impeach'd Members who were retir'd into the City, prevailed with the Common Council to oppose the Repeal, and petition the House, that the Ordinance of May 4, might remain in full force. At the same time some Citizens met at Skinners Hall, and subscribed a solemn Engagement, to endeavour with the Hazard of their lives to procure "a "personal Treaty with the King;—that he might return "to his two Houses with honour and safety;—that his Ma- "jesty's Concessions of May 11, might be confirmed, "and the Militia continue in the hands of the present "Committee." But how vain was all this bustle, when they knew the King was in the custody of those who would pay no regard to their demands. The Houses, indeed, forbid the signing of the Engagement by sound of Trumpet, but such was the misguided zeal of the Citizens, that they held Assemblies, listed Soldiers, and gave them orders to be ready on the first Notice.

Commotions in the City.

Ib. p. 386.

Rushw. p. 637. Rapin, p. 392.

Tumults in the Parl. House. Rushw. p. 642. Rapin, p. 404.

The Parliament was now in great perplexity, considering the impossibility of contenting the Presbyterians and the Army at the same time; but the Citizens were resolved to carry their point by one method or another, and accordingly went up to Westminster, July 26, with such a number of Apprentices and young Men, as terrified the Houses by their tumultuous and insolent behaviour, for they would scarce suffer the Door to be shut; some thrust themselves into the House with their Hats on, crying

crying out Vote, Vote; and when the Speaker would have left the Chair to put an end to the Confusion, they obliged him to return, till the Militia was settled to their Mind, and the King voted to come to London. This (says Mr. Baxter) looked like a Force upon the Parliament; and, indeed, both Houses were so terrified and pressed between the City Presbyterians on one side, and the Army on the other, that they adjourned immediately from Monday to Friday, in which interval the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Lords, with eight Peers; and the Speaker of the House of Commons, with about an hundred Members, withdrew privately from the City, and joined the Army; a surprizing event in their favour! the Officers received them with the utmost Satisfaction and Transport, paying them all imaginable Honours, and assuring them, that they would re-establish them in their full power, or die in the attempt. There must surely have been some very pressing Reasons for this conduct, otherwise so many zealous Presbyterians, as were most of the Members that quitted the Parliament House, would not have had Recourse to the Protection of the Army. Lord Clarendon believes, that they apprehended the Army designed to restore the King to all his Rights at this time, and that they were willing to avoid his Majesty's Vengeance, by concurring with them in his Restoration, which is not unlikely, if they could have brought him to their terms.

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Which occasions several of the Members to retire to the Army.

However, the Presbyterian Members that remained in London assembled on Friday according to Adjournment, and having chose a new Speaker, voted,—the King should come to London;—that the eleven impeached Members should be restored;—that a Committee of Safety should join the City Militia;—and the Forces should be immediately raised under the command of Waller, Massey, and Poyntz; in all which they appeared so resolute, that no Man could imagine but that they had the King at their disposal, or at least intended a brave and valiant defence of the City. The Common Council gave orders for the Trained Bands to repair to the Works, and for all capable of bearing Arms to appear at the places of Rendezvous. Massey, Waller, and Poyntz, were also busy in forming Regiments and Companies; and the Committee of the Militia were empowered to punish such as did not repair to their Colours. At the same time they writ to their Brethren in Scotland, to return with their Army immediately to their Assistance;

Proceedings of the Remainder. Rapin, p. 399, 400. Rushw. p. 737.

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sistance; but, alas! they were at too great a distance; however, they published a Declaration in the Name of the Kirk and whole Kingdom, Aug. 13, wherein they engage, by a solemn Oath, to establish the Presbyterian Government in England;—to redeem his Majesty out of the hands of Schismaticks, and place him at the head of his Parliament with Honour; to vindicate the Honour of the eleven impeached Members, and to settle the Privileges of Parliament against the over awing Power of the Army. A little after they declared against Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, resolving to the last Man to stand by the Covenant whatever the English Parliament might submit to.

Army resolve to march to London. Rushw. p. 745, 750.

According to the order of the two Houses the General had removed his head quarters about forty miles from the City, but upon the Representation of the Members who fled to them for protection from the outragious Violence of the City mob, they resolved to push their advantage, and bring the Mutineers to Justice; accordingly they resolved to march to London, and rendezvous'd the whole Army on Hounslow Heath, August 3, to the number of twenty thousand Men, with a suitable Train of Artiliery, accompanied with fourteen Peers, and about one hundred Members of the House of Commons. The Citizens were no sooner informed of this but their Courage sunk all at once, and instead of defending the City, they ordered the Militia to retire from the Lines, and sent their Submission to the General, promising to open their passes, and give all Assistance to the replacing of those Members that had withdrawn to the Army. Aug. 6. being appointed for this Service the Mayor and Alderman met the General at Hide Park with a present of a Gold Cup, beseeching him to excuse what had been amiss; but his Excellency refused the Present, and having dismissed them with very little ceremony, conducted the Members to their Seats in Parliament, who immediately voted all Proceedings in their absence void, and gave thanks to the Army for their Safe-conduct. Next day the Army marched through the City without any disorder, and constituted Colonel Titchburn Lieutenant of the Tower, contrary to the request of the Lord Mayor and Citizens; the Militia was changed, and put into the Hands of the old Officers who had conducted it before; the Fortifications and Lines of Circumvallation about the City were levelled, and sundry Peers who had been at the head of the late Tumults, were impeached of High-Treason, as the Earl

City submits. Rushw. p. 751, 756.

of

of Suffolk, Middlesex, Lincoln, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Hundson, &c. the Lord Mayor, and some of the principal Citizens were sent to the Tower; and it was resolved to purge the House of all that had been active in the late unhappy Riot; which put a full period to the Presbyterian Power for the present; the Army being quartered near the City all the next winter, there was a Council of Officers at their head Quarters at Putney, whose Debates and Resolutions had, no doubt, a very powerful Influence upon the Resolutions of the two Houses. King Charles I. 1647.

The Odium of this grand Resolution, by which the Army became Masters of the City of London, and of the Parliament itself, fell chiefly on the Presbyterians themselves, whose intemperate Zeal for Covenant Uniformity carried them to very impolitick Excesses: The Sermons of their Ministers were filled with invectives against the Army while at a distance. In their publick Prayers they entreated the Almighty to incline the Hearts of the Scots to reteturn to their Relief; and the Conversation of their People was riotous and disorderly; but least the weight of this Revolution should fall too heavily on the London Ministers, as the chief Incendiaries of the People, they wisely prepared a Vindication of themselves, and published it four days before the Army entered the City; it was dated from Sion College, August 2, 1647, and is to this purpose; Presbyterian Ministers vindication of themselves.

"WE the Ministers of London, whose Names are subscribed, do profess in the presence of the Searcher of all Hearts,

1. "That we have never done any thing purposely and wittingly to engage the City against the Army, or the Army against the City, but have sincerely and faithfully endeavoured to prevent it.

2. "That seeing both the Parliament and City have declared the necessity of putting the City into a present Posture of defence, yet protesting against any desires of a new War, and thereupon have called upon us to stir up the people to prepare for their defence; we accordingly have done, and shall do our duty therein, that the people may be encouraged to their own just and necessary preservation.

3. "But withal, we profess our abhorrence of the shedding any blood on either side; and we humbly pray all whom it may concern, that they will be very careful in preventing it by a seasonable treaty."

Signed

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Signed by about twenty of the London Miniſters, and preſented to a Committee of both Houſes, ſitting at Guild-hall.

Remarks.

Let the Reader now pauſe a little, and judge of the Authors of this grand Reſolution, which brought the Parliament under the Power of the Army, and how far the Preſbyterian Miniſters were concerned in it. Mr. Baxter in a very angry Stile lays all the blame at the Door of the Independants. "A few diſſenting Members of the "Weſtminſter Synod (ſays he) began all this, and carried "it far on. Afterwards they encreaſed, and others join-"ed them, who partly by ſtiffneſs, and partly by policy, "encreaſed our Flames, and kept open our Wounds, "as if there had been none but they conſiderable in "the World, and having an Army and City Agents "fit to ſecond them, effectually hindered all Remedy, "till they had daſhed all into pieces as a broken Glaſs. "One would have thought, that if all their Opinions had "been certainly true, and their Church-Order good, yet "the Intereſt of Chriſt and the Souls of Men, and of "greater Truths, ſhould have been ſo regarded by the "Dividers in England, as that the Safety of all theſe "ſhould have been preferred, and not all ruined, rather "than their way ſhould want its carnal Army and Liber-"ty; and that they ſhould not tear the Government of "Chriſt all to pieces rather than it ſhould want their "Lace." I am far from clearing the Independants from all manner of blame in their Conduct; their Principles might be too narrow and miſtaken in ſome points, and their Zeal for Chriſtian Liberty betray them into ſome Imprudencies. But on which Side was the Stiffneſs? On theirs who only deſired a peaceable Toleration; Or on theirs who were determined to make the whole Nation ſtoop to Preſbyterian Uniformity? Were not theſe the Men that kept open the Churches Wounds? Had their diſcipline been never ſo good, yet certainly they might have had ſome regard to Men of equal Piety and Virtue, that could not ſee with their Eyes; could they not be content with being the eſtabliſhed Religion, and having moſt of the livings of the Kingdom divided among them, but they muſt ſubvert the religious Rights of Mankind, by enforcing an abſolute Uniformity, which can never be maintained but upon the Ruins of a good Conſcience, nor promote the true Intereſt of Chriſt and Salvation of Souls?

Mr. Baxter's Opinion. Abridg. p. 97.

Mr.

Mr. Baxter had milder sentiments in his latter days; and 'tis for the honour of the present Generation of those commonly called Presbyterians, that they have not only abandoned, and renounced these servile Doctrines, but have appeared in defence of the Civil and religious Liberties of Mankind upon the most solid and generous principles. King Charles I. 1647.

His Majesty was obliged all this time to attend the removes of the Army; from New-market he came to Royston, June 24, from thence to Hatfield; from thence to Windsor, and two days after to Caversham, where he had the pleasure of conversing with his Children. But when the City of London threaten'd a new war his Majesty was removed to a greater distance; about the middle of July he was at Maidenhead; and towards the end of the Month at Latimer's in Buckinghamshire; when the Army had got Possession of the City they brought his Majesty back to Oatland's, Aug. 14, and two days after to Hampton-Court, where he continued in state and lustre for about three months, being attended by the proper Officers of the Court, and a vast resort of people both from City and Country. The King's Motions with the Army.

While the King was with the Army, Lieutenant General Cromwell and Ireton took sundry opportunities to confer with his Majesty privately about his Restoration. They offer'd to set him upon the throne with the freedom of his Conscience in point of Episcopacy, or lose their lives in the attempt, if he would consent to their proposals to the Parliament, and bestow some particular preferments on themselves, and a few of their friends, wishing that God would deal with them and their families according to their sincerity. Nay they engaged to indemnify his whole party if they would be quiet. Sir J. Berkley, the King's Agent, entreated his Majesty in the most earnest and submissive manner, to accept the said Proposal, considering the state of his affairs, but the King treated them with a distant reserve, and said, if they intended an accommodation they would not impose such Conditions upon him. Sir J. Berkley said, he should suspect they designed to abuse him if they had demanded less; and that a Crown so near lost was never recovered upon more easy terms. But Mr. Ashburnham, who came with instructions from France, fell in with the King's humour, and encouraged him to stand his ground, relying upon an ill-judged maxim which his Majesty had received, and which his best friends could not make him depart from (viz.) that "it was in his power to "turn the scale, and that the Party must sink which he L. G. Cromwell and Ireton's Conf. with the King. Dugdale's Troubles of England. p. 264. His Majesty's mistaken Conduct. Rushw. p. 807, 810.

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" abandoned." This was his ruin, and made him play between both, till neither would truſt him. When the Parliament brought their propoſitions he put them in mind of the offers of the Army; and when theſe came with their propoſals in the moſt reſpectful manner he put on a frown and ſaid, " I ſhall ſee you glad, e'er long, to accept " more equal terms; you cannot be without me; you will " fall to ruin if I do not ſuſtain you; no Man ſhall ſuffer " for my ſake; the Church muſt be eſtabliſhed according " to law—." The Officers were confounded at this Language. Sir (ſays Sir J. Berkley) you ſpeak as if you had ſome ſecret ſtrength, which ſince you have concealed from me, I wiſh you had concealed from theſe men. After divers conferences of this kind to no purpoſe, Cromwell told him plainly, Sir, " We perceive you have a deſign to be " Arbitrator between the Parliament and us; but we now " deſign to be the ſame between your Majeſty and the " Parliament." This fluctuating temper (ſays Biſhop Kennet) was the King's ruin, which he repented of when it was too late. Mr. Whitlock ſays, the King's Biſhops perſwaded him againſt what he was inclined to in his own judgment, and thereby ruined him and themſelves.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 330.

Which proves his ruin.

p. 271.

Reaſons of the Army's deſerting the King.

When the Officers found they could make no impreſſions on the King, and had diſcovered his ſecret correſpondence with the Queen, they withdrew from Court, which raiſed ſuſpicions in his Majeſty's mind of ſome ſecret deſign upon his life, and put him on attempting to eſcape out of their hands. 'Tis very certain that Cromwell withdrew his Parole of Honour for the King's ſafety, and ſent him word a few days before he left Hampton Court, that he would not be anſwerable any longer for any thing that might befal him, which was owing to a diſcovery he had made of the King's inſincerity in treating with him. Mr. Coke ſays, that there was a report at that time, and he is confident, that in time it will appear, that in the Army's Treaty with the King, Cromwell had made a private Article of Advantage for himſelf, but the King not allowing himſelf to conclude any thing without the Queen, writ her word, " That if he conſented to theſe propoſals it would " be eaſier to take off Cromwell afterwards than now he " was at the head of the Army." Which Letter Cromwell intercepted. Biſhop Kennet ſays, " That it was re- " ported, that Cromwell was to have ten thouſand pounds " and a Garter; and that the bargain had certainly taken " effect, if the King had not made an apology to the Queen, " and

Detect. p. 323.

Compl. Hiſt. 270.

" and sufficiently implied, that he did it by constraint, and " that when he was at liberty, and in power, he should " think himself discharged from the obligation. This Letter " was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle to be sent to France; " but Cromwell and Ireton having information of it went " to an Inn in Holborn and seized the Letter.——" Dr. Lane, of the Commons, frequently declared, " That he " had seen this original Letter; that he knew it to be the " King's own hand, and that the contents were as above." Another Writer says, that the Letter mentioned his Majesty's being courted by the Scots Presbyterians as well as the Army, and that they that bid fairest for him should have him. Upon the discovery of this Letter Cromwell went to Mr. Ashburnham, who attended the King's person, and told him, " that he was now satisfied the King could " not be trusted; that he had no confidence in the army, but " was jealous of them and their Officers—that he had " Treaties with the City Presbyterians, and with the Scots " Commissioners, to engage the Nation again in blood, and " that therefore he could not be answerable if any thing " fell out contrary to expectation." Sir Richard Baker, Mr. Coke, and others, are of opinion, that till this time Cromwell and Ireton were hearty and zealous for establishing the King, and opposing the Levellers which began to arise in the Army, but that after this discovery they forsook him, as did the rest of the chief Officers, who seldom came to Court: The Guards also changed their Language, and said, that " God had harden'd the King's heart, and blinded his eyes.

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Hist. Stuarts, p. 390.

Under these Circumstances the unhappy King left Hampton Court, Novem. 11. at Night, and having crossed the Thames, took horse in company with Sir J. Berkley, Mr. Leg, and Mr. Ashburnham, and next morning arrived at Titchfield House, where he stay'd while Leg went over to the Isle of Wight, to treat with Colonel Hammond, the Governor, about the safety of his person, who without any Treaty, brought the Governor to the House where his Majesty was, upon which the unhappy King said, He was betray'd; as indeed he was in all his affairs. Hammond carried him over to the Isle Nov. 13, and after some time shut him up in Carisbrock Castle, where his Majesty remained almost a year with but one or two Servants, having little or no conversation with the world, nor any thing to do, but to contemplate on the uncertainty of all human affairs, and on the miserable circumstances that Divine Providence, and his own imprudent conduct had reduced him to.

King escapes from Hampton Court. Rushw. p. 920, 960.

And is confined in the Isle of Wight.

King Charles I. 1647.

Let us now attend to the propoſals of the ſeveral parties for ſettling the peace of the Nation: As ſoon as the Army had got poſſeſſion of the City of London, they made the following propoſals to the two Houſes. With regard to Religion, "That an Act be paſſed to take away all coer-"cive Power and Juriſdiction of Biſhops extending to any "civil penalties upon any.——That there be a repeal of "all Acts, enjoining the uſe of the Common Prayer, and "impoſing any penalty for neglect thereof, and for not "coming to Church, or for meeting elſewhere.——That "the taking of the Covenant be not enforced upon any, "but that all Orders and Ordinances tending to that pur-"poſe be repealed." With regard to the ſtate, "—That "the Militia and great Officers be diſpoſed of by Parlia-"ment for ten years, and after that the Houſes to nominate "three, out of which the King to chooſe one.——That "there be Acts of Indemnity and Revocation of all Decla-"rations againſt the proceedings of Parliament.——That "the preſent unequal and troubleſome, and contentious "way of Miniſters Maintenance by Tithes be conſider'd "of, and ſome remedy applied.——That none may be "obliged to accuſe themſelves or relations in criminal "cauſes; and no man's life taken away under two Wit-"neſſes——That conſideration be had of all Statutes, "Laws, or Cuſtoms of Corporations, impoſing any oaths "tending to moleſt or enſnare religious and peaceable "people meerly for Non-Conformity in Religion.——"That the arbitrary power given to Committees, and De-"puty-Lieutenants, be recalled."

Propoſals of the Army. Ruſhw. p. 736. Rapin, p. 416, 418.

Agreement of the Lords Ruſhw. p. 840.

After ſeveral Debates upon theſe Propoſals with regard to Religion, the Lords agreed, Oct. 13, "that the King be "deſired to give his conſent to the ſettling the Preſbyte-"rial Government for three years, with a Proviſion, that "no perſon ſhall be liable to any Penalty for Non-Confor-"mity to the ſaid Government, or form of Divine Ser-"vice; but ſuch Perſons ſhall have liberty to meet for the "Service and Worſhip of God, and for exerciſe of Religious "Duties and Ordinances in any fit and convenient Places, "ſo as nothing be done by them to the diſturbance of the "peace of the Kingdom. Provided this ſhall not be con-"ſtrued to extend to a Toleration of the Popiſh Religion, "nor to exempt popiſh Recuſants from any Penalties "impoſed upon them for the exerciſe of the ſame. Nor "ſhall it extend to the Toleration of any Thing contrary to

"the

" the principles of the Christian Religion, contained in the " Apostles Creed, as it is expounded in the fifteen first Ar- " ticles of the Church of England, as they have been " cleared and vindicated by the Assembly of Divines now " sitting at Westminster; nor of any thing contrary to " such points of Faith, for the ignorance whereof Men are " to be kept from the Sacrament, according to the Ordi- " nance of Oct. 20, 1645. Nor shall it extend to excuse " any persons from the penalties of 1 Eliz. cap. 2. for not " coming to hear the word of God on the Lord's Day in " any Parish Church or Chapel, unless he can shew a rea- " sonable cause for his absence, or that he was present to " hear the Word of God preached or expounded else- " where." King Charles I. 1647.

The Commons likewise agreed, " That Presbytery be " established till the End of the next Sessions of Parliament, " or till the second Sessions; that the tenths, and all other " maintenance belonging to any Church or Chapel shall " be only for the use of them who can submit to the Pres- " byterial Government, and none other. That Liberty of " Conscience shall exend to none who shall print, preach, " or publish, contrary to the first fifteen Articles of the " Thirty Nine, except the Eighth, relating to the Three " Creeds. That nothing contained in this Ordinance shall " extend to Popish Recusants." Oct. 14, they agreed fur- ther, " That such tender Consciences should be freed, by " way of indulgence, from the penalty of the Statute for " the Presbyterian Government, for their Non-conformity, " who do meet in some other Congregation for the Wor- " ship of God on the Lord's Day, and do nothing against " the Laws and Peace of the Kingdom, and that none " others shall be freed from the penalty of the Statute of " 1 Eliz. cap. 2." October 16, the Commons voted, " That the indulgence granted to tender Consciences " should not extend to tolerate the use of Common Prayer " in any part of the Kingdom." Which was against the sense of the Army, who were for a general indulgence, as appears from the Declaration of the Agitators, dated No- vember 1, in which they say, that " Matters of Religi- " gion, and the Ways of God's Worship are not at all in- " trusted by us to any human power, because therein we " cannot omit, or exceed a Tittle of what our Consciences " dictate to be the mind of God, without wilful Sin; ne- " vertheless, the publick way of instructing the Nation, " so it be not compulsive, is left to their discretion." Here

And of the Commons. Rushw. p. 841. Ibid. p. 842. Ib. p. 16e.

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was a fair plan of Accommodation, but no Ordinance was brought into the Houſe to confirm theſe Reſolutions. November 8, both Houſes agreed to the addition of ſome new Propoſitions. As,

1. " For the due Obſervation of the Lord's Day.
2. " Againſt Innovations in Religion.
3. " A new Oath for the Conviction of Papiſts.
4. " For the Education of the Children of Papiſts in the " Proteſtant Religion.
5. " Againſt Pluralities."

Propoſals of the Preſbyterians.

The Propoſals of the Preſbyterians were the ſame with thoſe of Newcaſtle, already mentioned; but whereas the King declined to accept them without a perſonal Treaty, they determined, in the Houſe of Commons, to put them into four Bills, which if his Majeſty refuſed to ſign as Preliminaries, they determined to ſettle the Nation without him; but before they were perfected the King withdrew from Hampton-Court, and was ſecured in the Iſle of Wight, where the Commiſſioners from the two Houſes waited on him, and tender'd him the following Bills, December 24, the Firſt was for ſettling the Militia, as has been related. The Second for calling in all his Majeſty's Declarations and Proclamations againſt the two Houſes, and thoſe that adher'd to them. The Third to diſqualify thoſe Peers from ſitting in the Houſe, that had been created after the Great Seal had been conveyed to Oxford. The Fourth to impower the two Houſes to adjourn, as they ſhould think fit. In Matters of Religion they inſiſted peremptorily on the Eſtabliſhment of the Preſbyterian Church Government upon the ruins of the Prelatical; upon the extirpation of all Sectaries; and upon Covenant Uniformity in both Nations, as will appear more fully hereafter. But the King, inſtead of ſigning the Preliminaries, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on a perſonal Treaty, which it was hardly reaſonable for him to expect, when he had ſo lately attempted to eſcape out of their hands, and now refuſed to yield any thing in order to make way for it.

Motive of the King's Eſcape from H. Court.

It had not been poſſible to unriddle the Myſtery of this Eſcape if it had not appeared ſoon after, that the King was at that very time throwing himſelf into the hands of the Scots, who being offended with the Parliament (now under the influence of the Army) for not acting in concert with them in the preſent Treaty, according to their Covenant, determined to manage privately by themſelves; and accordingly, by the Mediation of ſome of their own Nation, they concluded

concluded a secret Treaty with the King, which was began before his Majesty left Hampton Court, but not signed till the 27th of December following, three days after his Majesty's refusal of the Parliament's Four Bills. "This Alliance (says Lord Clarendon) was most scandalous and derogatory to the honour and interest of the English Nation, and would have been abominated if known and understood by all Men." But Rapin thinks it not so monstrous on the part of the Scots as his Lordship represents, since they yielded to the Establishment of their beloved Presbytery in England but for three years, but it laid the Foundation of the King's ruin with the Army. King Charles I. 1647. Vol. III. p. 104, 105.

In the Preamble his Majesty gives "a favourable Testimony to the Solemn League and Covenant, and to the good Intentions of those that enter'd into it." In the Treaty "He obliges himself to confirm the Covenant by Act of Parliament as soon as he can do it with honour and freedom in both Kingdoms; with a proviso, that none that were unwilling should be obliged to take it for the future. He engages further, to confirm by Act of Parliament the Presbyterial Government in England, the Directory for publick Worship, and the Assembly of Divines for three years only, with liberty for himself and his Household to use that form of Divine Service they had formerly practised; and that during the three years there should be a consultation with the Assembly of Divines, to whom twenty of the King's Nomination should be added, and some from the Church of Scotland, to determine what form of Church Government should be established afterwards."——Then follows a Scourge for the Army; ——"That an effectual Course should be taken to suppress the opinions of the Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Arminians, Independants, Brownists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Separatists, Seekers; and in general, all Blasphemy, Heresy, Schism, and other Doctrines contrary to the known Principles of Christianity, whether concerning Faith, Worship, Conversation, or the power of Godliness, or which may be destructive to order and Government, or to the peace of the Church and Kingdom." Private Treaty with the Scots. Rapin, p. 442.

In return for these Concessions "the Scots engaged to raise an Army to deliver his Majesty out of Captivity, to assert his Right to the Militia, the Great Seal, the negative voice in Parliament; and, in a Word, to restore him

King Charles I. 1647.

" to his Throne with honour and freedom ;" which occaſioned a ſecond civil War the next year.

King's Conceſſions from the Iſle of Wight. Ruſhw. p. 880. Rapin, p. 450.

As ſoon as his Majeſty arrived in the Iſle of Wight from Hampton Court he ſent a Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Lords, to be communicated to the Commons, with the following Conceſſions on his part, very inconſiſtent with the Treaty laſt mentioned.——" For the aboliſhing " Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. his Majeſty clearly profeſſeth, " that he cannot conſent to it either as a Chriſtian or a " King ; for the Firſt, he avows, that he is ſatisfied in his " Judgment, that this Order was placed in the Church by " the Apoſtles themſelves, and ever ſince their Time has " continued in all Chriſtian Churches throughout the " World till this laſt Century ; and in this Church, in all " Times of Change and Reformation, it has been upheld, " by the Wiſdom of his Anceſtors, as the great preſerver " of Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Order in the Service of " God. As a King, at his Coronation, he not only ſwore " to maintain this Order, but his Majeſty and his Prede- " ceſſors, in their Confirmations of the great Charter have " inſeparably woven the Rights of the Church into the Li- " berty of the Subject ; and yet he is willing that it be " provided, that particular Biſhops perform the ſeveral Du- " ties of their Callings, both by their perſonal Reſidence, " and frequent preaching ; that in their perſonal exerciſe " no Act of Juriſdiction, or Ordination, be without con- " ſent of their Preſbyters ; and will conſent, that in all " things their Powers be ſo limited, that they may not be " grievous to the tender Conſciences of others ; his Majeſ- " ty ſees no reaſon why he alone, and thoſe of his Judg- " ment, ſhould be preſſed to a Violation of theirs.

" Nor can his Majeſty conſent to the Alienation of " Church-Lands, becauſe it cannot be denied to be the Sin " of Sacrilege ; as alſo, that it ſubverts the intentions of ſo " many pious Donors, who have laid a heavy curſe upon all " ſuch profane Violations. And beſides, his Majeſty be- " lieves it to be a Prejudice to the publick Good ; many of " his Subjects having the Benefit of renewing Leaſes at " much eaſier Rates than if thoſe Poſſeſſions were in the " Hands of private Men ; not omitting the Diſcourage- " ment it will be to Learning and Induſtry, when ſuch " eminent Rewards ſhall be taken away ; yet conſidering " the preſent Diſtempers concerning Church Diſcipline, " and that the Preſbyterian Government is now in practice, " his Majeſty to avoid confuſion as much as may be, and

" for

" for the Satisfaction of his two Houſes, is content, that " the ſame Government be legally permitted to ſtand in " the ſame Condition it now is for Three Years, provid- " ed that his Majeſty, and thoſe of his Judgment, or any " others who cannot in Conſcience ſubmit thereunto, be " not obliged to comply with the Preſbyterial Govern- " ment, but have free practice of our own Profeſſion without " any prejudice thereby; and that free Conſultation be " had with the Divines at Weſtminſter, twenty of his " Majeſty's Nomination being added to them, to conſider " how to ſettle the Church afterwards, with full Liberty " to all thoſe who ſhall differ upon conſcientious Grounds " from the ſettlement; always provided, that nothing a- " foreſaid be underſtood to tolerate thoſe of the Popiſh " Profeſſion, or to exempt them from penal Laws, or to " tolerate the publick Profeſſion of Atheiſm, or Blaſphe- " my, contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, the Ni- " cene and Athanaſian Creed, they having been received " by, and had in Reverence of all Chriſtian Churches, " and more eſpecially the Church of England ſince the " Reformation." This was done to pleaſe the Army, but was entirely reverſed by the Scots Treaty-five Weeks after. King Charles I. 1647.

From theſe inconſiſtent Views of the contending Parties we may eaſily diſcern the dangerous Situation of the publick Tranquillity, eſpecially as there was a general diſtruſt on all Sides, and each Party reſolved to carry their Point without any Abatements: The King was held by Ties of Conſcience and Honour; (as he ſaid) to preſerve Epiſcopacy; the Scots and Engliſh Preſbyterians, though divided at preſent, thought themſelves bound to ſtand by their Solemn League and Covenant; and the Army were under a ſolemn Engagement to agree with neither without a Toleration. If the King could have ſubmitted to Covenant Uniformity he might have been reſtored by the Preſbyterians; or, if either King or Parliament would have conſented heartily to a Toleration, they might have eſtabliſhed themſelves by the Aſſiſtance of the Military Power; but his Majeſty does not ſeem to have been in earneſt. The Reader will judge of the Equity of the ſeveral Propoſals, and of the prudential Conduct of each Party, from the Circumſtances in which they were placed; the King was a Priſoner; the Parliament in Poſſeſſion of the whole Legiſlative Authority, but the Sword was in the hands of the Army, who were determined not to ſheath it ſtill they had ſecured Remarks.

King Charles I. 1647.

secured to themselves the Liberties they had been fighting for: This they had in vain attempted with the King, and were next determined to try what they could do with the Parliament.

The Army unite with the Parliament. Rushw, p. 951, 953, 962. Rapin, p. 453, 467.

The Houses being informed of the King's Design to make his Escape out of the Isle of Wight, ordered the Governor to put away his Servants, and shut him up a close Prisoner in the Castle, so that no Person might be admitted to speak to him without leave. His Majesty having also declared, when he rejected the Parliament's Four Bills, that nothing that could befal him should ever prevail with him to consent to any one Act, till the Conditions of the whole Peace were concluded, they began to despair of an Accommodation. In this juncture the Officers of the Army sent a Message to the Houses, assuring them, that they would live and die with them in settling the Nation either with or without the King, and leave all Transactions of State for the future to them alone.

Votes of of Non-addresses.

However, after the Seclusion of the eleven impeached Members, and the Quartering the Army in the Neighbourhood of the City, the Parliament, either from Interest or Fear, had a great regard to the opinion of those Officers that were Members of the House. Upon a motion that no more Addresses be made to the King from the Parliament, nor any Messages received from him, Ireton and Cromwell opened themselves very freely: Ireton said, "Subjection to the King was but in lieu of Protection from "him, which being denied, we may settle the Kingdom "without him——Let us then show our Resolution (says "he) and not desert those valiant Men who have engaged "for us beyond all possibility of Retreat." Cromwell said, "That the Parliament should govern by their own Power, "and not teach the people any longer to expect Safety "from an obstinate Man, whose heart God had hardened. "———The Army will defend you against all opposition. Teach them not, by neglecting your's and the King"dom's Safety, in which their own is involved, to think "themselves betray'd, and left hereafter to the Rage and "Malice of an irreconcilable Enemy, whom they have "subdued for your sake, least despair teach them to seek "their Safety by some other means than adhering to you; "[here he put his Hand upon his Sword] and how destructive such a Resolution will be (says he) I tremble to "think, and leave you to judge!" The Question being then put, it was carried by a Majority of Fifty Voices; Yea's

Yea's one Hundred forty one, No's Ninety one. Jan. 17, the Lords concurred with the Commons in their Votes of Non-addreſſes. To this very Time, ſays Lord Clarendon, no Man mentioned the King's Perſon without Duty and Reſpect. But now a new Scene was opened, and ſome of the Officers, at their meetings at Windſor, began to talk of depoſing the King, or proſecuting him as a Criminal, of which his Majeſty was advertiſed by Watſon the Quarter-Maſter, but it made no Impreſſion upon him.

King Charles I. 1647.

Vol. III. P. 93.

The two Houſes having concurred in their Votes for Non-addreſſes, the Army agreed to ſtand by the Parliament in ſettling the Nation without the King; and that the people might be ſatisfied with the Reaſons of their Proceedings, a Remonſtrance was publiſhed by Order of Parliament, Feb. 15, in which they recapitulate all the Errors of his Majeſty's Government; his Inſincerity in the ſeveral Treaties of Peace he had entered into with them; and that though they had applied to him ſeven Times with Propoſitions, in all which the Scots had concurred except the laſt, yet he had never complied with any; from whence they conclude, either that the Nation muſt continue under the preſent Diſtractions, or they muſt ſettle it without him. In the Poſthumous Works of Lord Clarendon there is a large Reply to this Remonſtrance, in which his Lordſhip endeavours to vindicate the King, and throw all the blame upon the Parliament; but though there were ill Inſtruments on both Sides, and there might be no real occaſion to rip up all the miſdemeanors of the King's Government from the beginning, yet 'tis hardly poſſible for the Art of Man to juſtify his Majeſty's Conduct before the War, or to vindicate his Prudence and Sincerity in his Treaties afterwards; the deſign of commencing a new War being evidently at this time concerted and agreed upon, with his Majeſty's Allowance, in purſuance of the Scots Treaty, while he was amuſing both the Parliament and Army with overtures of Peace.

Parliament's Remonſtrance.

Among the Ordinances that paſſed this year for Reformation of the Church, none occaſioned ſo much Noiſe and Diſturbance as that of June 8, for aboliſhing the obſervation of Saints Days, and the three grand Feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide: The Ordinance ſays, "Foraſmuch as the Feaſt of the Nativity of Chriſt, Eaſter, Whitſuntide, and other Feſtivals, commonly called "Holy Days, have been heretofore ſuperſtitiouſly uſed "and obſerved; be it ordained, that the ſaid Feaſts, and "all

Ordinance for aboliſhing the Obſervation of Chriſtmas, and other Saints Days. Scobel, p. 128.

King Charles I. 1647.

" all other Feſtivals, commonly called Holy Days, be no " longer obſerved as Feſtivals; any Law, Statute, Cuſtom, " Conſtitution, or Canon to the contrary, in any wiſe " notwithſtanding.

Times allotted for Servants Recreation.

" And that there may be a convenient Time allotted " for Scholars, Apprentices, and other Servants, for " their Recreation, be it ordained, That all Scholars, " Apprentices, and other Servants, ſhall, with the leave " of their Maſters, have ſuch convenient reaſonable " Recreation, and Relaxation from Labour, every ſe- " cond Tueſday in the Month throughout the year, as for- " merly they uſed to have upon the Feſtivals; and Ma- " ſters of Scholars, Apprentices, and Servants, ſhall grant " to them reſpectively ſuch Time for their Recreation, on " the aforeſaid ſecond Tueſday in the Month as they may " conveniently ſpare from their extraordinary, neceſſary " Service and Occaſions; and if any difference ariſe be- " tween Maſters and Servants concerning the Liberty " hereby granted, the next Juſtice of the Peace ſhall recon- " cile it."

King diſapproves of it. Relig. Car. p. 370.

The King was highly diſpleaſed with this Ordinance; and therefore, while the Affair was under debate he put this Query to the Parliament Commiſſioners at Holmby Houſe, April 23, 1647. I deſire to be reſolved of this Queſtion, " Why the new Reformers diſcharge the keep- " ing of Eaſter?" My Reaſon for this Query is, " I con- " ceive the Celebration of this Feaſt was inſtituted by the " ſame Authority which changed the Jewiſh Sabbath into the " Lord's Day, or Sunday, for it will not be found in Scrip- " ture where Saturday is diſcharged to be kept, or turned " into the Sunday; wherefore it muſt be the Churches " Authority that changed the one and inſtituted the other; " therefore my opinion is, that thoſe who will not keep this " Feaſt may as well return to the obſervation of Saturday, " and refuſe the weekly Sunday. When any body can ſhew " me that herein I am in an Error I ſhall not be aſham- " ed to confeſs and amend it, 'till when you know my " Mind."

C. R.

Sir James Harrington preſented his Majeſty with an Anſwer to this Query, in which he denies, that the change of the Sabbath was from the Authority of the Church, but derives it from the Authority and Example of our Saviour and his Apoſtles in the New Teſtament; he admits, that if there was the like mention of the Obſervation of Eaſter

it

it would be of Divine or Apoſtolical Authority, but as the Caſe ſtands, he apprehends, with great Reaſon, that the Obſervation of the Chriſtian Sabbath, and of Eaſter, ſtand upon a very different foot. King Charles I. 1647.

The changing the Feſtival of Chriſtmas into a Faſt laſt Winter was not ſo much taken Notice of, becauſe all Parties were employed in acts of Devotion; but when it returned this year, there appeared a ſtrong Propenſity in the People to obſerve it, the Shops were generally ſhut, many Preſbyterian Miniſters preached; in ſome places the Common Prayer was read, and one or two of the ſequeſter'd Clergy getting into Pulpits prayed publickly for the Biſhops; ſeveral of the Citizens of London, who opened their Shops, were abuſed; in ſome places there were Riots and inſurrections, eſpecially in Canterbury, where the Mayor, endeavouring to keep the Peace, had his head broke by the populace, and was dragged about the Streets; the Mob broke into divers Houſes of the moſt Religious in the Town, broke their Windows, abuſed their Perſons, and threw their Goods into the Streets, becauſe they expoſed them to Sale on Chriſtmas Day. At length their Numbers being encreaſed to above two thouſand they put themſelves into a poſture of defence againſt the Magiſtrates, kept Guard, ſtopped Paſſes, examined Paſſengers, and ſeized the Magazines and Arms in the Town Hall, and were not diſperſed without difficulty. The like diſorders were at Ealing in Middleſex, and ſeveral other Counties. The Parliament was alarmed at theſe diſorders, and therefore commanded all Papiſts and Delinquent Clergymen to retire without the Lines of Communication, and puniſhed ſome of the principal Rioters for a Terror to the reſt, it being apparent that the King's Party took the advantage of the Holy Days to try the Temper of the people in favour of his Releaſe, for during the ſpace of the following twelve years, wherein the Feſtivals were laid aſide, there was not the leaſt Tumult on account of the Holidays, the Obſervation of Chriſtmas being left as a Matter of Indifference. It occaſions Tumults. Ruſhw. p. 948.

The War being thought to be at an end many of the Clergy, who had followed the Camp, returned home, and endeavoured to repoſſeſs themſelves of their ſequeſtered Livings, to the prejudice of thoſe whom the Parliament had put into their places; they petitioned the King while he was with the Army, and in a State of Honour and Dignity, to take their poor diſtreſſed Condition into his gracious Conſide- King's Clergy petition to be reſtored to their Livings.

King Charles I. 1647.

Consideration. His Majesty recommended them to the General at the very Time when the Difference between the Parliament and Army was subsisting, upon which they represented their Grievances to him, in a Petition, shewing, that "whereas for divers years they had been outed of "their Livings, contrary to the fundamental Laws of the "Land, by the arbitrary Power of Committees, whose "Proceedings have usually been by no Rule of Law, but "by their own Wills; most of them having been turned out "for refusing the Covenant, or adhering to the King, and "the Religion established, and of those, divers never cal-"led to answer, and scarce one had Articles proved by "Oath, or other legal Process, by which means your Pe-"titioners are reduced to extream Want and Misery; and "whereas those who are put into our Places labour to stir "up the People to involve the Kingdom in a new War, "and are generally Men ignorant and unable to instruct "the People; and many of them scandalous in their Prac-"tices, if impartially examined, and divers of them hold "Three or four of the best Benefices, whilst divers other "Churches are void, and without any constant Preacher. "And forasmuch as the main profit of our Benefices con-"sists in the Harvest which is now at hand, which many "of the present Possessors, if they could receive, would "presently be gone, whereby the Burthen of the Cure "will lie upon your Petitioners, having nothing to live up-"on the next year. Your Petitioners therefore pray, that "your Excellency would make stay of the Profits of the "Harvest, that those of us that are charged with any legal "scandal may come to a just Trial, and if we are found "Innocent may enjoy our Rights, according to the known "Laws of the Land."

Suff. Cler. p. 145.

G. Fairfax's Answer.

By this bold Petition, it is evident, these Gentlemen were encouraged to hope, that the Army would carry their Resentment so far as to unravel all they had been doing for Five Years; that they would not only renounce the Covenant, but disown the Proceedings of their Committees, and even countenance the Clergy's adhering to the King: And no doubt, if his Majesty had at this Time complied with the Propofals of the Army, he might have made good Terms for them; for the General received them with Respect, and having debated their Address in Council, proposed it to the Parliament, that the Estates of all sequestered Persons, including the Clergy, should remain in the Hands of the Tenants till a general Peace. Upon which the old

Incum-

Incumbents grew very troubleſome, forbidding the Pariſhioners to pay their Tithes, and threatening the preſent Poſſeſſors of their Pulpits with Proſecutions by Law. King Charles I. 1647.

On the other hand, the Preſbyterian Clergy addreſſed the General Aug. 12, a few days after the Parliament and Army were united, with a Complaint, "That divers delinquent Miniſters, who had been put out of their Livings, did now trouble, and ſeek to turn out thoſe Miniſters whom the Parliament had put in; and particularly, that Dr. Layfield, by a counterfeit Warrant from the General, had endeavoured to remove a Miniſter from his Benefice in Surrey." The General and his Council declared their diſlike of theſe Proceedings, and promiſed to write to the Parliament, that ſuch Offenders might be brought to Puniſhment, which he did accordingly. The Difference between the Parliament and Army being now in a Manner compromiſed, which put an end to the Expectations of the Clergy: Aug. 19, the Lords and Commons acquainted the General, that they would take care for the Puniſhment of thoſe delinquent Miniſters, and others, by whoſe practices Miniſters put into Livings by the Parliament had been diſquieted and turned out; and on the 23d of the ſame Month they paſt an Ordinance, ſetting forth, "That whereas divers Miniſters in the ſeveral Counties had been diſplaced by Authority of Parliament, for notorious Scandals and Delinquency, and godly, learned, and orthodox Miniſters, had been placed in their room; and whereas the ſaid ſcandalous and delinquent Miniſters by Force, or otherwiſe, had entered upon the Churches, and gained Poſſeſſion of the Tithes, &c. the Lords and Commons did therefore ordain, That all Sheriffs, Mayors, Committees, &c. do forthwith apprehend ſuch Miniſters, and all ſuch Perſons as have been aiding and abetting to them, and commit them to Priſon, there to remain, till thoſe they had thus diſpoſſeſſed, and moleſted, ſhould receive Satisfaction for their Damages; and that the ſaid Sheriffs, &c. do reſtore thoſe moleſted Miniſters to the quiet Poſſeſſion of their reſpective Places, and do in caſe of need raiſe the Trained Bands to put this Ordinance in Execution; and do alſo take effectual courſe that the Tithes, Profits, &c. be for the future duly paid to thoſe Miniſters put in by Parliament, &c. And if any ſuch diſturbance ſhould hereafter be given, the Offender was to ſuffer for every ſuch diſturbance one Month's Impriſonment."

Counter Petition of the Presbyterians.

Ordinance in their Favour.

How-

King Charles I. 1647.

Rushw. p. 831, 937, 948, 958.

However, some little Favour was shewn, about this Time, to those Bishops, and others, who had lived peaceably, and been little more than Spectators of the Miseries of their Country; the Committee was ordered to make Payment of the eight hundred Pounds per Year granted to the Bishop of Durham; the real Estate of the pious Bishop Hall, who had lately published his hard Measure, was discharged; Archbishop Usher had an Allowance of four Hundred Pounds per Annum, till he could be otherwise provided for; and was soon after allowed to be Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, only upon taking the Negative Oath. But the Bishops were not much the better for these Donations. The Commissioners of the Great Seal were ordered to fill up the vacant Livings in the Gift of the Crown, without obliging the Incumbents to take the Covenant; but the new Disturbances which were created in favour of the captive King, brought down new Severities upon the Episcopal Clergy before the end of the following Year.

CHAP. IX.

The Visitation of the University of Oxford. State of Religion at the End of the Year.

Condition of the University of Oxford.

SAD and deplorable was the Condition of the University of Oxford when it fell into the Hands of the Parliament; the Colleges and Halls were gone to Ruin; five of them perfectly deserted, and the rest in a very shattered Condition. The publick Acts had been discontinued for some years, the Schools were turned into Magazines for the King's Army, and the Chambers filled with Officers and Soldiers, or let out to Townsmen; there was little or no Instruction of Youth, nor hardly the face of an University; Poverty, Desolation and Plunder, the sad Effects of War, were to be seen in every Corner; the Bursaries were emptied of the publick Money, the Plate melted down for the King's Service, and the Colleges involved in Debts which they were not capable to satisfy; there were few Heads of Colleges, or Scholars left, but such as remained were strongly prejudiced against the Parliament, having employed their Wits, during the course of the War, in writing weekly Mercuries, and other satyrical Pamphlets, in which

which they aſperſed the Proceedings of the two Houſes, and treated their Divines as the moſt infamous, ignorant, and hypocritical Traitors: Nor were their Tempers in the leaſt changed at preſent, though their Lives and Fortunes were in the hands of their Adverſaries. It was therefore thought neceſſary to put the Education of Youth into ſuch hands as the Parliament could confide in, a Power being reſerved for that purpoſe in the Articles of Surrender. King Charles I. 1647.

But before they proceeded to Extreams the two Houſes about the beginning of September 1646. appointed Seven of their moſt popular Divines to repair to Oxford, with Authority to preach in any Pulpit in the Univerſity for ſix Months, in order to ſoften the Spirits of the People, and give them a better opinion of their Cauſe, viz. the Reverend Mr. Robert Harris of Hanwell, Oxfordſhire; Mr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich; Mr. Henry Wilkinſon, Magdalen College; Mr. Francis Cheynel, Mr. Henry Corbet, of Merton College; Mr. Henry Corniſh, of New Inn; and, Mr. Henry Langley, of Pembroke Hall; Men of Reputation and Character, ſober Divines, and popular Preachers, though A. Wood, the Oxford Hiſtorian, is pleaſed to ſay, "Their Sermons were "the Contempt and Scorn of the Univerſity, becauſe "they were too long, and had too little Learning; becauſe "they prayed very coldly for the King, but were very "earneſt for a Bleſſing upon the Counſels and Arms of the "Parliament, and did not always conclude with the Lord's "Prayer; becauſe they reflected on ſome of the Heads of "the Univerſity, calling them Dumb Dogs, having a Form "of Religion without the Power; and, becauſe their manner of Delivery was rather Theatrical than Serious; "nevertheleſs, their Auditories were crowded, though none "of the Heads of the Colleges, or ſenior Scholars, attended "them." Parliament ſend Miniſters to reform it. Suff. Cler. p. 125.

The Miniſters were very diligent in the Diſcharge of their Truſt, preaching twice every Lord's Day; and that they might gain the People, ſet up a weekly Conference every Thurſday, in which they propoſed to ſolve ſuch Objections as ſhould be raiſed againſt their new Confeſſion of Faith and Diſcipline, and to anſwer any other important Caſes in Divinity: The Queſtion, or Caſe, was to be propounded the week before, that it might be well conſidered; a Moderator alſo was appointed to keep order, who began and concluded with a ſhort Prayer, and the whole was conducted with Decency and Gravity. But Their Conduct and Succeſs. Suff. Cler. p. 125. Minſt. Account, p. 5 Vol. Pam p. No. 82.

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several of the Scholars ridiculed their Proceedings, and by way of Contempt called their place of Meeting, "The "Scruple Shop;" however, it was frequented by great Numbers of People, some of whom were prevailed with to renounce the Oxford Oath; and others to take the Solemn League and Covenant. They met with some little Disturbance from one Erbury, a turbulent Antinomian, and Chaplain in the Garrison; but upon the Whole, when the Ministers returned to London they declared, that the Citizens showed them a great deal of Respect, but the University poured all the contempt upon them imaginable, so that they apprehended themselves to have the same Lot as Saint Paul had at Athens, Acts xvii. 32, 34. "Some "mocked them, others slighted them, but certain cleave to "them, and believed."

Minst. Account, p. 52.

There being no Prospect of reforming the University by these Methods, the two Houses resolved to proceed upon a Visitation, which they apprehended they might undertake without the King, by virtue of the Fourteenth Article of their Capitulation, which says, "That the Chancel- "lor, Masters and Scholars of the University, and all "Heads, Governors, Masters, Fellows, and Scholars of "the Colleges, Halls, Bodies Corporate, and Societies of "the said University, and the publick Professors, Readers, "and Orators thereof, and all other Persons belonging to "the said University, shall and may, according to their "Statutes, Charters, and Customs, enjoy their antient Form "of Government, subordinate to the immediate Authority "and Power of Parliament, and that all the Rights and "Privileges, Franchises, Lands, Tenements, Houses, "Rents, Revenues, Libraries, Debts, Goods and Chat- "tles, &c. belonging to the said University, shall be en- "joyed by them respectively as aforesaid, free from Se- "questrations, Fines, Taxes, and all other Molestations "whatsoever, under colour of any thing relating to the "present War. And if any removal be made by the "Parliament of any Head, or other Members of the Uni- "versity, that they shall enjoy their Profits for six Months "after the surrendring of Oxon, and shall have conve- "nient Time allowed them for the Removal of themselves "and their Goods; provided that this shall not ex- "tend to retard any Reformation there intended by the "Parliament, or give them any Liberty to intermeddle with "the Government." But the Heads of Colleges did not think themselves

Parliament resolves upon a Visitation. Rushw. p. 283.

Fuller's Appeal, p. 70.

themſelves obliged by this Capitulation, nor any thing contained in it, becauſe they were not made Parties, nor called upon to give their ſeparate conſent to the Articles, though they took advantage of every thing that was ſtipulated in their Favour. King Charles I. 1647.

May 1, 1647. an Ordinance paſt both Houſes for viſiting the Univerſity, and named the following Gentlemen, Lawyers, and Divines, for that Service, viz. Ordinance for that Purpoſe. Scobel's Collect. Part I. p. 116. Suff. Cler. p. 126.

Sir Nath. Brent,
Sir William Cobb,
William Prince of Lincoln's Inn, Eſq;
John Pulliſton of Lincoln's Inn, Eſq;
Barth. Hall of the Middle Temple, Eſq;
Tho. Knight of Lincoln's Inn, Eſq;
William Draper of Lincoln's Inn, Eſq;
Gabriel Beck of Lincoln's Inn, Eſq;
John Cartwright, Eſq;
Samuel Dunch, Eſq;
Mr. William Tipping,
Mr. George Greenwood,
Mr. John Packer,
Mr. William Cope.

The Rev. Dr. John Wilkinſon,
Mr. Henry Wilkinſon,
Mr. Edw. Reynolds,
Mr. Rob. Harris,
Mr. Edw. Corbet,
Mr. Fran. Cheynell,
Mr. John Wilkinſon,
Mr. John Mills,
Mr. Chriſtopher, Rogers.

The Ordinance empowers the Viſitors, or any Five of them, "to hear and determine all Crimes, Offences, "Abuſes, and Diſorders, which by the Laws, and Sta- "tutes of this Realm, or by the Cuſtoms and Statutes, "rightly eſtabliſhed, of that Univerſity, or by the ſeveral "Statutes, of the reſpective Colleges or Halls, may law- "fully be enquired of, heard, or determined, in the courſe "and way of Viſitation of the Univerſity, or of the "Colleges, Halls, Maſters, Scholars, Fellows, Members, "and Officers, or any of them, reſpectively. They are "more particularly to enquire by Oath concerning thoſe "that neglect to take the Solemn League and Covenant, "and the Negative Oath, being tendered to them by ſuch "as are authorized by Parliament; and concerning thoſe "who oppoſe the Execution of the Ordinance of Parlia-

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" ment, concerning the Diſcipline and Directory; and " thoſe who ſhall teach or write againſt any Point of Do- " ctrine, the Ignorance whereof doth exclude from the " Lord's Supper. They are likewiſe to enquire upon Oath, " concerning all ſuch who have taken up Arms againſt the " Parliament, or who have been aſſiſting to the Forces " raiſed againſt the Parliament. And they are to certify " to a Committee of the Houſe of Lords and Commons " mentioned in the Ordinance, what Maſters, Scholars, " Fellows, Members, or Officers, have committed any of " the Offences above-mentioned, and the Quality and Con- " dition of the Offenders, that ſuch further Proceedings " may be had thereupon as the Committee of Lords and " Commons ſhall think fit. The Viſitors are further em- " powered, to examine and conſider of all ſuch Oaths as " are enjoined by the Statutes of the Univerſity, or of any " of the Halls and Colleges, as are not fit to be taken, " and preſent their opinion to the Committee above-men- " tioned; provided always, that if any of the Maſters, " Scholars, Fellows, &c. ſhall find themſelves grieved by " any Sentence given by the Viſitors, it ſhall be lawful for " them to appeal to the Committee of Lords and Commons, " who were authorized finally to hear and determine every " ſuch Caſe brought before them."

Abſtract of the Univerſity's Reaſons againſt the Covenant, &c. Bp. Sanderſon's Life, Appendix, p. 169.

But before the Viſitation could take place the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Fell, ſummoned a Convocation [June 1.] wherein it was agreed not to ſubmit to the Parliament Viſitors; a Paper of Reaſons againſt the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and the Directory, drawn up chiefly by Dr. Sanderſon, was alſo conſented to, and ordered to be publiſhed to the World both in Latin and Engliſh, againſt the Time the Viſitors were to come down, under the Title of " Reaſons " of the preſent Judgment of the Univerſity of Oxford, " concerning the Solemn League and Covenant, the Nega- " tive Oath, and the Ordinances concerning Diſcipline and " Worſhip, approved by general Conſent in a full Convoca- " tion, June 1, 1647." an Abſtract of which I ſhall now ſet before the Reader.

To the Preface of the Covenant [tranſcribed under the Year 1643.]

Exceptions againſt the Preface.

They declare, " We cannot ſay the Rage, Power, and " Preſumption of the Enemies of God (in the Senſe there " intended) is encreaſed. Nor that we have conſented to " any

" any Supplication or Remonſtrance to the Purpoſes there- " in expreſſed. We do not think the taking the Covenant " to be a lawful and probable Means to preſerve our ſelves " and our Religion from Ruin; nor do we believe it " to be according to the commendable Practice of theſe " Kingdoms, or the Example of God's People in other " Nations." King Charles I. 1647.

To the Covenant in General.

" We are of opinion, That a Covenant ought to be a " voluntary Contract, and not impoſed. Now we cannot " voluntarily conſent to this Covenant without betraying " our Liberties, one of which is, Not to be obliged to " take any Oath but what is eſtabliſhed by Act of Par- " liament; and without acknowledging in the Impoſers " a greater Power than has been challenged in former time, " or can ſubſiſt with our former Proteſtation. But if the " Covenant were not impoſed, but only recommended, we " apprehend the taking it to be inconſiſtent with our Loy- " alty to the King, eſpecially ſince he has by Proclamation " forbid it." Againſt the Covenant in general.

Objections to the ſeveral Articles of the Covenant.

To the firſt Article.

" We cannot ſwear to preſerve the Religion of another " Kingdom (Scotland) whereof we have very little Un- " derſtanding, which as far as we are acquainted with it, " is much worſe than our own in Worſhip, Diſcipline and " Government, and in Doctrine not better; wherein there " are ſome things ſo far tending to Superſtition and Schiſm, " that it ſeems reaſonable to us that we ſhould call upon " them to reform, rather than we be bound to preſerve it " entire. Againſt the firſt Article.

" Nether are we ſatisfied in the preſent Reformation of " Religion in our own Kingdom, in Doctrine, Worſhip, " and Diſcipline, becauſe, (1.) It gives a manifeſt Scan- " dal to the Papiſt and Separatiſt, by giving up the Cauſe " for which the Martyrs and Biſhops have contended ſince " the Reformation; by juſtifying the Papiſts in their Re- " cuſancy, who reproach us, by ſaying, we know not " what Religion we are of; nor where to ſtop, ſince we " have left them; and, that ours is a Parliamentary Reli- " gion. Beſides, this would be a tacit Acknowledgment, " that there has been ſomething in the Church of England Ibid. p. 179.

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" not agreeable to the Word of God, and ſo juſtifying " the Separation, and condemn all the penal Laws that " have been made to oblige People to conform. (2.) By " the intended Reformation we ſhould wrong ourſelves, " by ſwearing to reform that which we have formerly by " our Subſcriptions approved, and which we do ſtill be- " lieve to be more agreeable to the Word of God than " that which by this Covenant we muſt ſwear to preſerve; " and to which, by the Laws ſtill in being, every Clerk, " at his Admiſſion to a Benefice, is bound to give his " Conſent. (3.) Beſides, we ſhould be in danger of Per- " jury, becauſe it is contrary to our former Proteſtation, " which obliges us to maintain the Doctrine of the " Church of England, which may take in the whole Eſta- " bliſhment; and it is contrary to the Oath of Supremacy, " which gives the ſole Power to the King in matters Ec- " cleſiaſtical."

Objections to the ſecond Article.

Againſt the ſecond Article. Ib. p. 184.

" We are very much grieved to ſee the Prelacy of the " Church of England ranked with Popery, Superſtition, " Hereſy, Schiſm, and Profaneneſs, with an Intimation, " that it is contrary to ſound Doctrine, or the Power of " Godlineſs. Nor can we ſwear to the Extirpation of it, " becauſe, (1.) We believe it to be of Apoſtolical Inſti- " tution. Or, (2.) At leaſt that Epiſcopal Ariſtocracy " hath a fairer Claim to a Divine Inſtitution than any " other Form of Church Government. (3.) That Epiſ- " copal Government has continued in the Church without " Interruption for fifteen hundred Years, therefore to ex- " tirpate it would give Advantage to the Papiſts, who " are wont to charge us with a Contempt of Antiquity, " and Love of Novelty, and it would diminiſh the juſt " Authority due to the Conſent and Practice of the Catho- " lick Church. (4.) Beſides, we cannot ſwear to the Ex- " tirpating this Government, becauſe we have ſubſcribed " the thirty nine Articles, one of which ſays, the Book " containing the Form of Conſecration has nothing in it " contrary to the Word of God. We have been ordained by " Biſhops; we have petitioned the Parliament for the Con- " tinuance of them; and ſome of us hold our Livelihoods " by the Titles of Deans, Deans and Chapters, &c. (5.) " We are not ſatisfied that the Inconveniencies of the " New Government will be leſs than the Old, the Houſe " of Commons having remonſtrated [Dec. 15, 1641.] " that

" that it was far from their Purpoſe to aboliſh this Govern- King Charles I. 1647.
" ment, but only to regulate it, and that it was a Sign of
" Malignancy to infuſe into the People that they had any
" other Meaning. Laſtly, In reſpect of our Obligation
" to his Majeſty, having acknowledged him to be ſu-
" preme Governor in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, we cannot
" endure to extirpate this Government without the Royal
" Aſſent, which we are ſo far from deſiring, that we are Ib. p. 197.
" continually praying, That the King may not be pre-
" vailed with to do an Act ſo prejudicial to his Conſcience
" and Honour, and which, by his Coronation Oath, he is
" bound to preſerve. By the Laws of the Land there are
" ſundry Privileges and Emoluments ariſing to the Crown
" from the Eccleſiaſtcal Eſtate, which are a conſiderable
" Part of the Revenue, which by the Extirpation of Pre-
" lacy will be cut off; whereas we are bound by the Oath
" of Allegiance to maintain the King's Honour and Eſtate.
" And after all, the Prelatical Government is beſt ſuited to
" Monarchy, inſomuch that King James uſed to ſay, No
" Biſhop, no King.

Objections to the third Article.

" We are diſſatisfied with the Limitation of our Loy- Againſt the third Article. Ib. p. 201.
" alty in theſe Words, In the Preſervation and Defence
" of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom;
" becauſe no ſuch Limitation is to be found in the Oath
" of Allegiance, nor in the Word of God; becauſe it
" leaves the Duty of the Subject looſe, and the Safety
" of the King uncertain. The Conſcience of a Papiſt, or
" Sectary, may ſwallow an Oath with ſuch a Limitation,
" but the Conſcience of a good Proteſtant cannot but
" ſtrain at it."

To the fourth Article.

They reply, " That the impoſing the Covenant in this Againſt the fourth Article. Ib. p. 203.
" Article may lay a Neceſſity upon the Son to accuſe the
" Father, in caſe he be a Malignant, which is contrary to
" Religion, Nature and Humanity; or it may open a
" Way for Children that are ſick of their Fathers, to effect
" their unlawful Intentions, by accuſing them of Malignan-
" cy; beſides the ſubjecting ourſelves to an arbitrary Pu-
" niſhment, at the ſole Pleaſure of ſuch uncertain Judges
" as may be deputed for that Effect, is betraying the Li-
" berty of the Subject."

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Objections to the fifth Article.

Againſt the fifth Article. Ib. p. 206.

"We cannot acknowlege the Happineſs of ſuch a Peace "as in the Article is mentioned, for no Peace can be firm "and well grounded, unleſs the reſpective Authority, Pow- "er, and Liberty of King, Parliament, and Subject, be "preſerved full and entire, according to the known Laws, "and reſpective Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, before the Be- "ginning of theſe Diſtractions."

Objections to the ſixth Article.

Againſt the ſixth Article. Ib. p. 207.

They ſay, "We are not ſatisfied, that the Cauſe of "our joining in Covenant for the Proſecution of the late "War, was the Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace "of the Kingdom, or that the Glory of God, and the "Honour of the King, was concerned in it. And if "it was, we are not ſatisfied that it ought to be ſup- "ported and carried on by ſuch Means as are deſtitute "of all Warrant from the Word of God, or the Laws of "the Realm."

The Concluſion.

In Concluſion, ſay they, "Our Hearts tremble to think "that we ſhould be required to pray, that other Chriſtian "Churches may be encouraged by our Example to join in "the like Covenant to free themſelves from the Antichri- "ſtian Yoke, for we do not know any Antichriſtian Yoke "we were under; nor do we yet ſee ſuch good Fruits of this "Covenant among our ſelves, as to invite us to pray, that "other Churches ſhould follow our Example; it is as if "we ſhould pray, that the God of Love and Peace would "take away all Love and Peace, and ſet the Chriſtian "World in a Combuſtion; that he would render the re- "formed Religion odious to the World; that Chriſtian "Princes might be provoked to uſe more Severity towards "thoſe of the reformed Religion, if not to root it out of "their Dominions; for the Yoke of Antichriſt, if laid up- "on Subjects by their lawful Sovereigns is to be thrown off "by Chriſtian Boldneſs in confeſſing the Truth, and ſuffer- "ing for it, not by taking up Arms, or violent reſiſting of "the Higher Powers."

After theſe Remarks upon the ſeveral Articles they take Notice.

Contradictions in the Covenant. Ib. p. 211.

(1.) Of the following ſeeming Contradictions in the Covenant, as, "the preſerving, and yet reforming one and "the

" the same reformed Religion. The Reforming Church " Government according to the Word of God, and yet " extirpating that Government which we apprehend a- " greeable to it. The Extirpating Heresy and Schism, " and yet dissolving that Government in the Church, the " want of the due Exercise of which has been the occasion of " the Growth of these Evils. The preserving the Liberties " of the Kingdom, and yet submitting to a Covenant and " Oath not established by Law. King Charles I. 1647.

(2.) They observe some dark and doubtful Expressions which they do not well understand; as, " Who are the " Common Enemies? Which are the best reformed " Churches? Who are Malignants? How far the hindring " Reformation may be extended, &c." Doubtful Expressions in the Covenant. Ib. p. 213.

(3.) By the Use that has been made of the Covenant they apprehend " the Conduct of the Parliament to be " contrary to the Meaning of it, for instead of Reforming " the Worship and Service of the Church, they have quite " abolished it; instead of Reforming the Discipline of the " Church it is quite destroyed, or put upon such a Foot as is " not agreeable to the Word of God, or the Example of " any Church since the Creation. Instead of extirpating " Heresy and Profaneness little or nothing has been done " towards it but only the Extirpation of Prelacy, and " something else that looks so like Sacrilege (say they) that " we dare not venture upon it. And as for the Preservati- " on of the King's Honour and Estate in defence of the true " Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom, tho' we appre- " hend all other things should be subordinate to it, yet by " some bold Speeches that have been made we are afraid " nothing less is intended." Absurdities.

Of the Salvoes for Taking the Covenant.

(1.) " It has been said, that we may take it in our own " Sense. But this we apprehend contrary to the Nature " and End of an Oath; contrary to the End of Speech; " contrary to the Design of the Covenant, and contrary to " the solemn Profession at the Conclusion of it (viz.) That " we shall take it with a true Intention to perform the " same, as we shall answer to the Searcher of all Hearts at " the great Day. Besides, this would be Jesuitical; it " would be taking the Name of God in vain; and it would " strengthen the Objection of those who say, there is no " Faith to be given to Protestants. Salvoes for taking the Covenant. Ibid. p. 221, &c. Salvo I.

(2.) " It

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Salvo II. (2.) " It has been ſaid, we may take the Covenant with " theſe Salvoes expreſſed, ſo far as lawfully I may, ſo far " as it is agreeable to the Word of God, and the Laws of " the Land, ſaving all Oaths by me formerly taken, &c. " which is no better than vile Hypocriſy; for by the ſame " Rule one might ſubſcribe to the Council of Trent, or the " Turkiſh Alcoran.

Salvo III. (3.) " It is ſaid, that we may take the Covenant in our " preſent Circumſtances, notwithſtanding our Allegiance to " the King, becauſe Protection and Subjection are Rela- " tives, and the King being unable to protect us any longer, " we are free from Subjection to him. But we anſwer, that " the King's Inability to perform his Duty does not diſcharge " the Subject from his, as long as he is able; much leſs " when the Non-protection on the King's Part, is not from " want of Will, but of Power.

Salvo IV. (4.) " It is ſaid, that the Parliament being the ſupream " Judicatory of the Kingdom, whereſoever the King " is in Perſon he is alway preſent with his Parliament in " Power; as what is done in Courts of Juſtice is not " done without the King, but by him, though not per- " ſonally preſent. But we deny the King to be always " preſent with his Parliament in Power, for then his ac- " tual Royal Aſſent would not be neceſſary to the making " of Laws, but only a virtual Aſſent included in the Votes " of both Houſes: The Houſes need not then deſire the " Royal Aſſent, nor can the King be ſuppoſed to have a " negative Voice. Beſides, the Statute which provides, " that the King's Aſſent to any Bill ſignified under his " Great Seal ſhall be as valid as if he were perſonally pre- " ſent, imports, that the King's Power is not preſent with " his two Houſes, otherwiſe than it appears in his Perſon, " or under his Great Seal. As to the Analogy of other " Courts we conceive it of no Conſequence; in other " Courts the Judges are the King's Servants, and do all " in his Name, and by his Authority; they ſit there not " by any proper Intereſt of their own, but in Right of the " King, whoſe Judges they are; but the Parliament is " the King's Council, and have their ſeveral proper Rights " and Intereſts diſtinct from the King's, by virtue of which " they are diſtinct Orders and Conſervators of their ſeve- " ral Intereſts. Beſides, the Judges of other Courts are " bounded by the Laws in being, and therefore the " King's perſonal Preſence is not neceſſary; but the Caſe

is

" is quite different in making new Laws, for the making " new Laws is the Exercise of a Legislative rather than a " Judicial Power; now, no Act of Legislative Power can " be valid, unless it be confirmed by such Person or Per- " sons as the Sovereignty of that Community resideth in. " Upon the whole, since all Judicial Power is radically in " the King, who is therefore called the Fountain of Justice, " it seems to us, that neither the Judges in inferior Courts, " nor the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, " may exercise any other Power over the Subjects of this " Realm, than such as by their respective Patents and " Writs issued from the King, or by the established Laws " of the Land, formerly assented to by the Kings of this " Realm, does appear to be derived from them; by which " Writs, Patents, and Laws, it does not appear that the " two Houses of Parliament have any Power without the " King, to order, command, or transact; but only with " him to treat, consult, and advise, concerning the great " Affairs of the Kingdom." King Charles I. 1647.

Concerning the Negative Oath.

They say, " We cannot take it without giving up our " Liberties, without abusing our natural Allegiance, and " without Diminution of his Majesty's just Power and " Greatness." Objections to the Negative Oath. Ib. p. 243.

Concerning the Discipline and Directory.

" We are not satisfied to submit to the Ordinance for " establishing the Directory, because it has not the Royal " Assent, and yet abrogates Acts of Parliament made by " the joint Consent of King, Lords and Commons, espe- " cially one, which annexes the whole Power of order- " ing all Ecclesiastical Matters for ever to the Impe- " rial Crown of this Realm; now we are not satisfied " that a less Power can have a just Right to abrogate a " greater. And Directory. Ib. p. 244.

" If under the Title of Discipline be comprehended the " Government of the Church also, we declare, we cannot " consent to the Eradication of a Government of such re- " verend Antiquity, which has from Time to Time been " confirmed by the Laws of the Kingdom, and which the " Kings at their successive Coronations have sworn to " preserve.

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" preſerve. If the Word Diſcipline be diſtinguiſhed from " Government, as in the firſt Article of the Covenant, " yet are we not ſatisfied to place ſo much Power in the " hands of Perſons (many of whom may be of mean Qua- " lity) for the keeping back Thouſands of well meaning " Chriſtians from the bleſſed Sacrament, when Saint Paul, " in a Church abounding with ſundry Errors, and Corrup- " tions in Faith and manners, ſatisfies himſelf with a ge- " neral Declaration of the Danger of unworthy communi- " cating, and enjoins every particular Perſon a Self-Exa- " mination, without empowering either Miniſters or Lay- " Elders to exclude any from the Communion upon their " Examination.

" As to the Directory itſelf, we cannot, without re- " gret of Conſcience, and during the continuance of the " preſent Laws, conſent to the taking away the Book of " Common Prayer, which we have ſubſcribed, and ſo- " lemnly promiſed to uſe no other, which we believe con- " tains in it nothing but what is juſtly defenſible; and " which we think ourſelves able to juſtify againſt all Pa- " piſts and Sectaries. Beſides, we look upon the Statute " enjoining the Uſe of the Common Prayer to be ſtill in " force, and will alway remain ſo, 'till it ſhall be repealed " by the ſame good and full Authority by which it was " made; that is, by the free Conſent of King, Lords and " Commons."

Remarks. By comparing theſe Reaſons with thoſe of the Parliament Divines for taking the Covenant, the Reader will be capable to judge of their force. If the Conſtitution had been entire, and the Laws had their free and ordinary Courſe, as in Times of Peace, moſt of them would have been concluſive; but how far the Juſtice of the War, and Self-defence, will vindicate the extraordinary Proceedings of the Parliament, muſt be left to every ones Judgment. I am no Advocate for the particulars of the Covenant no more than for the high and arbitrary Principles of Government, contained in the Univerſity's Reaſons. The Conſciences of Men are not under the Direction of their Wills, and therefore ought not to be obliged by Oaths, or Proteſtations, or Covenants, to attempt thoſe Things in Matters of Religion for which their own Hearts muſt condemn them. Religion and Civil Government ſtand upon a diſtinct Baſis; the Magiſtrate may demand Security for Men's peaceable Submiſſion to the Government they live under, but ought not to force them to be active againſt the Light of their Con-

Conſciences. But the UniverſityReaſons are not built upon theſe Principles; for thoſe Gentlemen were as much for the Coercive Power of the Magiſtrate in Matters of Conſcience as the Puritans; I ſhall therefore only remark, that whereas they ſay, "the allegiance of the Subject, and the Protection of the King, are not Relatives; and that the "King's Inability to diſcharge his Duty does not abſolve "the Subject from his," that upon theſe Principles the Crown can never be forfeited; a Coronation Oath is of very little ſignificance; nor may a Nation ſubmit to a Conqueror when they can reſiſt no longer. Inability alone in the Prince may not in all Caſes abſolve us from out Allegiance, but Tyranny, Oppreſſion, and Overt Attempts to ſubvert the whole Conſtitution and Laws of the Country, certainly may: Upon what other Principles can we juſtify the late Revolution, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. When the Oxford Divines had taken the Oath of Allegiance to King James II. and the Corporation Oath, which ſays, "It is not lawful to reſiſt, or take up Arms againſt "the King upon any Pretence whatſoever;" what could abſolve them from theſe Oaths, or juſtify their joining the Prince of Orange with a foreign Force againſt a King upon the Throne? However, this act of the Univerſity was a bold and adventurous Attempt at this Time, for which they had afterwards the Congratulations of the Oxford Parliament in the Year 1665. when it was reſolved, "That the Thanks of the Houſe of Commons be "returned to the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars, of "the Univerſity of Oxford, for their bold Oppoſition to the "rebellious Viſitors; for refuſing to ſubmit to their League "and Covenant; and Laſtly, For the illuſtrious Perfor-"mance they printed, entirled, The Judgment of the "Univerſity, &c. in which they have learnedly maintained the King's Cauſe." This was the faſhionable Doctrine of King Charles the Second's Reign, when the Laws were ſuſpended, and arbitrary Power in the Prince roſe up to ſuch a Height as occaſioned a Revolution of Government in the next Reign. The Univerſity of Oxford did all they could to ſupport it, for in the Year 1683. they paſſed a Decree in full Convocation, affirming the Neceſſity of Paſſive-obedience and Non-reſiſtance in the ſtrongeſt Terms; but how ſoon were the Tables turned! when within five years theſe very Gentlemen thought fit to enter into an Aſſociation to ſtand by the Prince of Orange againſt the

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the King that was then upon the Throne, and have since had the Mortification to see their Decree burnt by the hands of the common Hangman.

Visitation opened. Suff. Cler. p. 127.

To return to the Visitation, May, 15, a Citation was issued in the Names of ten of the Visitors then in London, to the Proctors, and Heads of Houses, or their Vice-principals, requiring them, and all the Officers, Scholars, &c. to appear in the Convocation-House, on Friday June 4, between the Hours of nine and eleven in the Morning, and to bring with them a list of the several Names of those that were absent, and of the Colleges to which they belonged. At the time appointed the Reverend Mr. Harris, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Henry Wilkinson, Mr. Cheynel, Mr. John Wilkinson, Mr. Dunce, and Mr. Diaper, &c. opened the Visitation with Prayers and a Sermon at St. Mary's Church, from whence they proceeded to the Convocation-House, where the Vice-Chancellor [Dr. Fell] and a few Scholars, had been waiting for some Time; but perceiving the Visitors were like to out-stay the precise Hour of Citation, he ordered the Sexton to set the Clock exactly with the Sun, and as soon as it struck Eleven he dismissed the Scholars, and marched away with the Beadles before him; the Visitors met them in their return at the Proscholium, where the Passage being narrow, the Beadle cried out, "Make way for Mr. Vice-Chancellor," which the Visitors did. And the Vice-Chancellor having moved his Hat, as he passed by, said, "How do ye, Gentle-"men, 'tis past Eleven a Clock." But the Visitors went forward, and having consulted about an hour upon the Vice-Chancellor's Behaviour resolved to adjourn till Michaelmas, and returned to London, in order to obtain further Powers from the Parliament. In the mean Time Dr. Fell summoned a Committee of the Heads of the several Colleges, who came to the following Resolutions.

University use the Visitors ill, and will not submit.

1. That no Man should appear before the Visitors unless the Summons had five Names.

2. That no one should appear upon an Holy Day.

3. That he should demand by what Authority he was summoned; and if denied an Answer should presently depart.

4. That if they declared their Authority he should answer with a "Salvis juribus Regni, Academiae & Colle-"gii, &c."

5. That

5. That he ſhould demand his Accuſation in writing, as alſo Time to put in his Anſwer, and ſhould return it in writing, and no otherwiſe. King Charles I. 1647.

Laſtly, That he ſhould utterly refuſe to anſwer on Oath, becauſe that would be to accuſe himſelf, and would plainly revive the Oath Ex Officio.

Such was the ſtout Behaviour of theſe few Academickt, Suff. Cler. p. 122, 123, 128, &c. "who (according to Dr. Walker) poured upon the Viſitors "all manner of Contempt and Scorn, though they knew their "very Lives and Fortunes were at their diſpoſal. The Uni- "verſity (ſays he) held out a Siege of more than a Year and "half; the Convocation-Houſe proved a Citadel, and "each ſingle College a Fort not eaſy to be reduced," a ſurpriſing inſtance of the Humanity of the Viſitors, and an unanſwerable demonſtration of the neceſſity of the Parliament's diſpoſſeſſing them!"

The two Houſes having reſolved to ſupport their Viſi- Parliament. reſolve to ſupport their Viſitors. Ib. p. 128. tors, and enable them to go thorough their Work; paſt an Ordinance, Aug. 26. empowering them "to adminiſter "the Covenant, and the Negative Oath; to demand the "peruſal of the Statutes, Regiſters, Accompts, &c. and "of all other papers of the Univerſity, and of the reſpec- "tive Colleges and Halls; and to ſeize and detain in cuſ- "tody any perſon, who after a perſonal citation refuſed to "appear, and produce their Books and Papers after a ſe- "cond Citation; a Jury was alſo to be impanell'd, of "Members of the Univerſity, above the Age of Twenty "one, to enquire by Oath on the Articles contained in the "Ordinance of Viſitation;" and a new Commiſſion was drawn up by Mr. Attorney General St. John, with the Great Seal affixed to it [Sept. 27.] authoriſing the Perſons above-named, to viſit the Univerſity without any further Warrant; the Commiſſion began in the uſual Form, "Charles, by the Grace of God, &c. to our truſty and "well-beloved Sir Nath. Brent, &c. Know ye, that we "intending the Regulation and Reformation of our Univer- "ſity of Oxford, &c." which was very odd, conſidering the King was never conſulted about the Viſitation, nor conſented to it; but the Houſes affected this Form, from a miſtaken Suppoſition, that the King was always preſent with his Parliament in his legiſlative Capacity; but it ſerved no other Purpoſe than giving the Adverſary an Opportunity to ridicule their Proceedings and charge them with Forgery.

Furniſhed

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Furniſhed with theſe new Powers the Viſitors returned to Oxford the latter End of September, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and other Magiſtrates, being commanded to aid and aſſiſt them as there ſhould be occaſion. On Michaelmas Day a Paper was fixed to the Door of Univerſity Church, giving Notice, that the Viſitation would now proceed De die in diem. Next Day a Citation was iſſued to all the Heads of Houſes, requiring them to bring in their Statutes, Regiſters, Accompts, and all their publick Writings, to the Wardens Lodgings at Merton College. The Vice-Chancellor was ordered to appear at the ſame Time, to anſwer to ſuch Queſtions, as ſhould be demanded of him, and to ſend by the Hands of the Perſons who ſerved thoſe Orders, all the Books and Acts belonging to the Univerſity. The Proctors were likewiſe enjoined to bring in their Books, Keys, and other publick things in their Cuſtody. But it is not enough to ſay (ſays the Oxford Antiquary) "that every one of theſe Orders were diſobeyed; they "were alſo deſpiſed and contemned." However, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges condeſcended to appear at the ſecond Summons, October 6, but inſtead of bringing their Books and Papers, they demanded to know, by "what Authority they were ſummoned?" upon which the Viſitors produced their Commiſſion under the Broad Seal, and at the ſame Time ſerved them with a third Citation, to appear four Days after with their Books and Papers, or with their Reaſons in Writing why they refuſed ſo to do. Next Day they ſent for the Keys of the Convocation-Houſe and School, and for the Beadles Staves, but they were denied. The Day following the Proctors appeared, and delivered a Proteſtation, atteſted by a publick Notary, in the Name of the Vice-Chancellor, Delegates, and all the Scholars, to this Purpoſe, that "they could "not own to any Viſitor but the King, and that having "ſworn to maintain his Right, they could not, without "Perjury ſubmit themſelves to this Viſitation, wherewith "they deſire them to acquaint the Parliament." Upon this Dr. Fell the Vice-Chancellor, the very ſame day, was deprived of his Vice-Chancellorſhip, and publick Notice was given to the Proctors, and other officers of the Univerſity, not to obey him any longer under that Character; but the Doctor, without regard to his Deprivation, or to the Prorogation of the Term, which the Viſitors had adjourned from the 10th to the 15th inſtant, proceeded on the 11th to hold a Congregation, and open the Term as uſual;

The Viſitation revived. Wood's Antiq. Oxon. p. 388.

The Univerſity will not ſubmit.

Ib. p. 389, 390.

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uſual; whereupon he was taken into Cuſtody, and ſome Time after, by Order of Parliament brought to London; immediately upon which Dr. Potter, Preſident of Trinity College, ordered the Beadles with their Staves to attend him as Pro-Vice-Chancellor. November 2d and 4th the ſeveral Heads of Colleges then preſent appeared before the Viſitors, but without their Statute Books and Papers, and being called in ſeverally, were aſked in their Turns, Whether they approved of the Judicium Univerſitatis; or the "Reaſons of the Univerſity above-mentioned? Whe-
"ther they own'd the Power of the Viſitors? Or whether Suff. Cler. p. 130.
"they approved of the Anſwer of the Proctors in the
"Name of the whole Univerſity?" And refuſing to give a direct Anſwer they were ſerved with a Citation to appear before the "Committee for Reformation of the Univerſi-
"ty at Weſtminſter the 11th Inſtant," which they did accordingly, and having owned their Approbation of the Anſwer of the Proctors in the Name of the Univerſity, they tendered a Paper to the Committee in the Name of all that had been cited, ſetting forth, "That what they had
"done was not out of Obſtinacy, but from Conſcience;
"and praying, that in an Affair of ſo much Conſequence
"they might be allowed Time to adviſe with Council." Their Requeſt being readily granted, two Gentlemen of the Long Robe of their own Nomination (viz.) Mr. Hale and Mr. Chute, were appointed their Council. The day of hearing was December 9; the poſition they offered to maintain was, "that it was one of the Privileges of the Univerſity
"to be ſubject Only to a Royal Viſitation;" the Council for the Univerſity made a learned Argument upon this Head; but, as Mr. Collier obſerves, this Queſtion had been debated before the King and Council in the year 1637, when Archbiſhop Laud claimed a Right of viſiting the two Univerſities Jure Metropolitico. It was then admitted, that the King might viſit when he pleaſed, but after a full hearing his Majeſty, with the Advice of his Council, declared and adjudged the Right of viſiting both Univerſities, as Univerſities, to belong to the Archbiſhop, and Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, by themſelves or Commiſſaries, and that the Univerſities ſhould from Time to Time be obedient thereunto. Which Determination of his Majeſty, the Archbiſhop moved might be drawn up by Council learned in the Law, and put under the Broad Seal, to prevent Diſputes for the future, which was accordingly done; the Univerſity therefore loſt their queſtion in the Committee. The Council for the Viſitors were further of opini-

They are heard by their Council.

Eccl. Hiſt. p. 766.

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on, that the "Kingly Power was always virtually present "with his great Council of Parliament," and that therefore they might visit; but supposing this to be a Mistake, they affirmed, that the Parliament had an undoubted Right to reform the University by the Articles of Capitulation, in which they had expresly reserved this Power to themselves. After a full Hearing on both Sides the Committee voted, "that the Answer of the several Heads of Houses, and "of others of the University, was derogatory to the Authority of Parliament."

But are cast.

Let. to Mr. Selden. Suff. Cler. p. 130.

The Oxford Divines not satisfied with this Determination appealed soon after to the Publick, in a Letter to the learned Mr. Selden, Burgess for the University, entitled, "The Case of the University of Oxford;" or, the sad Dilemma that all the Members thereof are put to, to be perjured or destroyed. The Letter says, "that the "only Question proposed by the Visitors to every single "Person in the University is, Whether he will submit to "the Power of the Parliament in this Visitation? To "which they reply, that unless they have the personal "Consent of the King they cannot submit to any Visitation without danger of Perjury, as appears by the Words "of the Oath, which are, You shall swear to observe all "the Statutes, Liberties, Privileges, and Customs of the "University; to which the Scholar answers, I swear. "Now it being one of our Privileges to be visited by none "but the King, or by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the "Archbishop being dead, it follows, we can be visited by "none but the King; to submit therefore to another Visitation must be a Breach of our Liberties, and consequently downright Perjury. They urged further, the Statutes "of their several Colleges, which bind them to certain "Rules in their Electing of Proctors, in the Calling and "Meeting of Convocations, in Choice of several Officers "in Case of a Vacancy, all which, instead of being referred to the Members of the University, is now done by "the arbitrary Power of the Visitors. Nothing (say they) "can be alledged in Answer to this, but the pretended sovereign Power of the two Houses to make and abolish "Laws, which We absolutely disbelieve. Upon the "Whole, they appeal to any Divine, whether they ought "to submit to the Visitation as long as they believe their "Oaths to be in full Force, and are confident, that the "two Houses cannot dispense with them? And consequently, Whether they ought to be turned out of their

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"Freeholds

"Freeholds on this account?" But this reaſoning was thought too weak to deſerve any further Anſwer. King Charles I. 1647.

The Committee at London having waited to the End of the Month of December, to ſee if any of the Heads of Colleges would ſubmit, voted Dr Fell out of his Deanry of Chriſt Church for Contumacy; and paſſed the ſame Sentence upon Suff. Cler. p. 131.

Dr. Oliver, Preſident of Magdalen College,
Dr. Potter, —————— Trinity,
Dr. Bayly, —————— St. John's,
Dr. Radcliffe, Principal of Brazen Noſe,
Dr. Gardner, Dr. Iles, Dr. Morley, } Canons of Chriſt Church.

But when their Reſolutions were ſent to Oxford the proper Officers refuſed to publiſh them, and when they were paſted upon the Walls of the Colleges they were torn down, and trampled under foot; upon which the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, and the two Proctors were ordered into Cuſtody, but they abſconded, and Dr. Oliver aſſumed the Office of Pro-Vice-Chancellor. The Parliament provoked with this uſage paſſed an Ordinance Jan. 22, 1647-8, conſtituting the Earl of Pembroke Chancellor of Oxford, and March 8, they ordered him to repair thither in Perſon, to ſupport the Viſitors, and place the ſeveral Perſons whom the Committee had choſen, in the reſpective Chairs of thoſe they had ejected. Their ſtubborn Behaviour. Whitlock, p. 290.

April 11. The Chancellor made his publick Entrance into the City, attended with a great Number of Clergy, and Gentlemen of the Country, and about one hundred Horſe out of Oxford itſelf; the Mayor welcomed him at his Entrance into the City with a congratulatory Speech; and when he came to his Lodgings Mr. Button, one of the new Proctors, made a Speech to him in Latin, but not one of the Heads of the Colleges came near him; the Inſignia of the Univerſity were not to be found, and the Scholars treated the Chancellor with his Retinue with all that Rudeneſs they had been taught to expreſs towards all that adhered to the Parliament. E. of Pembroke Chancellor viſits in Perſon.

Next Morning the Earl, attended with a Guard of Soldiers, went to Chriſt Church, and having in vain deſired Mrs. Fell, the Dean's Wife, to quit the Lodgings peaceably, he commanded the Soldiers to break open the doors, His Proceedings. Suff. Cler. p. 133.

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and carry her out in a Chair into the middle of the Quadrangle; he then put the new elected Dean, Mr. Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich into Possession; from thence his Lordship, with the Visitors went to the Hall, and having got the Buttery Book, struck out Dr. Fell's Name, and inserted that of Mr. Reynolds; the like they did by Dr. Hammond Sub-Dean, and publick Orator; by Dr. Gardner, by Dr. Rayne, Dr. Wall, Dr. Iles, and Dr. Morley, placing in their stead Mr. Corbet, who was made publick Orator; Mr. Rogers, Mr. Mills, Mr. Cornish, Mr. Henry Wilkinson, sen. and Mr. Langley; Dr. Sanderson being spared, because he was out of Town when the last Summons was issued.

Rushw. p. 1064.

In the Afternoon they held a Convocation, which was opened with an elegant Latin Oration, pronounced by Mr. Corbet their new Orator. When the Chancellor had taken the Chair in the Convocation-House he declared Mr. Reynolds Vice-Chancellor, who took an Oath to observe the Statutes and Privileges of the University, subject to the Authority of Parliament. Mr. Button and Mr. Crosse were declared Proctors, and all three returned their thanks to the Chancellor in Latin Speeches. At this Convocation Degrees were conferred upon divers learned Men. Mr. Chambers, Mr. Callicott, and Mr. Harris, were made Doctors of Divinity; Mr. Palmer Doctor of Physick; M. J. Wilkins, [afterwards Bishop,] Mr. Langley, Mr. Cornish, and Mr. Cheynell, Batchelors of Divinity; the young Earl of Carnarvan the Chancellor's two youngest Sons, and several other Gentlemen, Masters of Arts.

Suff. Cler. 133, 134.

Next Morning, April 13, the Chancellor and Visitors, with a Guard of Musqueteers, went to Magdalen College, and having broke open the Doors of the President's Lodgings [Dr. Oliver] who was out of the Way, they gave Dr. Wilkinson Possession. In the Afternoon they went to All-Souls, where Dr. Sheldon, the Warden appeared, but refusing to submit, went back to his Lodgings and locked the Doors, which being broke open, the Doctor was taken into Custody for his Contempt, and Dr. Palmer put in his Place; from thence they went to Trinity College, and having broken open the Lodgings, Dr. Harris was put into Possession in the Room of Dr. Potter. In like manner they put Dr. Cheynel into Possession of St. John's in the Room of Dr. Bayly; Mr. Wilkins into the Presidentship of Wadham College in the Room of Dr. Pit; and Mr. Greenwood into Brazen Nose College in the Room of D. Radcliffe, allow-

allowing each of them a Month's Time to remove their Effects. But ſome of the Students of Chriſt Church having got the Buttery Book, impudently cut out the Names of thoſe whom the Viſitors had inſerted; ſo that they were forced to return next Day and write over again the Names of their new Dean and Canons. The Heads of Colleges being thus placed in their ſeveral Stations, the Chancellor took leave of the Univerſity, and returned to London; and having reported his conduct to the two Houſes April 21, received their thanks. King Charles I. 1647. Suff. Cler. p. 134.

But Dr Wilkinſon, ſen. and Mr. Cheynel, who came to Town with the Chancellor, having repreſented to the Parliament, that the Fellows, Scholars, and under Officers, ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to their Orders, it was reſolved, "That the Viſitors ſhould cite all the Officers, Fellows, "and Scholars, before them, and that ſuch as refuſed to "repair, or upon Appearance did not ſubmit, ſhould be "ſuſpended from their Places and their Names returned "to the Committee, who were authorized to expel them "the Univerſity; and the new Heads (on Signification "of ſuch Sentence from the Committee) in Conjunction with the Viſitors, were empowered to put others "in their Places. They reſolved further, that the Burſar ſhould make no Dividend of Money till they had "orders from the Committees; and that the Tenants "ſhould pay their Rents to none but the Heads appointed "by the Authority of Parliament." But the Burſars abſconded and were not to be found. Reports the Behaviour of the Univerſity to the Parliament. Ib. p. 134.

By virtue of theſe Orders the Viſitors cited the Fellows, Scholars of Houſes, Gentlemen Commoners, and Servitors, to appear before them at ſeveral Times; the only Queſtion that was aſked them was, "Will you ſubmit to "the Power of the Parliament in this Viſitation?" To which they were to give their Anſwer in writing, and were accordingly continued or diſplaced. Great Numbers were abſent from the Univerſity, and did not appear; others diſowned the Power of the Parliament at firſt, and afterwards ſubmitted, but the main Body ſtood out to the laſt: Dr. Walker ſays, that one Hundred and Eighty withdrew; that of about ſix Hundred ſeventy ſix that appeared, five Hundred forty eight refuſed at firſt to own the Authority of the Viſitation, but that afterwards many ſubmitted, and made their Peace. In another Place he ſuppoſes one Fourth ſubmitted; and makes the whole Number of Fellows and Scholars deprived to amount to three Hun- Numbers ejected. Life of Mr. Phil. Henry. Suff. Cler. Part I. p. 135. Ibid. Part II. p. 138, 139.

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dred seventy five; and then by a List of new Elections in some following years, reduces them to three Hundred fifty six; but then considering that some may have been omitted, he guesses the whole to be about four Hundred. The Oxford Historian, Mr. Wood, says, the Number of them that did not submit was about three Hundred thirty four, but that they were not presently expelled; for though the Visitors were obliged to return their Names to the Committee, and were empowered to expel them, yet they deferred the Execution of their Powers in hopes that Time might bring them to a compliance; which 'tis very likely it did, because it appears by the Register, that in the eight following years, i. e. between the years 1648 and 1656, there were no more than three hundred ninety six new Elections, which, considering the many Deaths and Removals that happened within that compass of Time, must suppose the Deprivations at this Time to be not very considerable; but if their Numbers had been much greater than they really were, the Parliament were obliged, in their own defence, to dispossess them

Insolence of the Scholars.

But the few Scholars that remained in the University treated the Visitors with insufferable Rudeness; scurrilous and invective Satyrs, equal if not superior in Raillery and ill Language, to Martin Mar-Prelate, and the rest of the Browniftical Pamphlets in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, were scattered in the most publick Places of the

Ib. p. 135.

City every week; as Mercurius Academicus; Pegasus, or the Flying Horse from Oxon; Pegasus taught to dance to the Tune of Lachrymæ; News from Pembroke and Montgomery, or Oxford Manchester'd. The Owl at Athens; or, the Entrance of the Earl of Pembroke into Oxford, April 11. The Oxford Tragi-Comedy, in heroick Latin Verse. "Lord have Mercy upon us;" which is the Inscription put upon Houses that have the Plague; and a great many others; which the Visitors took no further Notice of, than to forbid the Booksellers to print or sell the like for the future. If the Puritans had published such Pamphlets against the Exorbitancies of the High Commission Court in the late Times, the Authors or Publishers must have lost their Ears, as the Brownists did their Lives in the latter End of Queen Elizabeth; and surely, the University might have preserved their Loyalty without offering such unmannerly Provocations to Gentlemen who were willing to behave towards them with all Gentleness and Moderation.

The

The Visitors being informed that an insurrection was designed among the Scholars in favour of the King, and in concert with the Loyalists in other parts of the Kingdom, acquainted the commanding Officers of the Garrison, who gave immediate orders to search the Colleges for arms; and on the 26th of May, 1648, the Visitors ordered all the Members of the University to give a peremptory answer in writing within seven days, "Whether they would submit "to the Authority of the Parliament in this Visitation or "no?" And that none should depart the University without leave from the Pro-Vice-Chancellor. The day following both Houses of Parliament pass'd an order, "That for as "much as many Doctors, and other Members of the Uni-"versity, notwithstanding the example that had been made "of some of them, did still persist in their contempt of the "Authority of Parliament, which might be of dangerous "consequence, therefore the Committee for reforming "the University should have power to send for them un-"der the custody of a guard and commit them to prison." When this order came to Oxford the Visitors declared, that whosoever should not plainly, and without reserve, declare his submission to the Visitation, should be deemed as flatly denying the authority of it, and be taken into custody; and that whosoever laid claim to any place in the University should within fifteen days declare his submission or be deprived; accordingly at the expiration of the time, such as did not appear were deprived of their Fellowships, and expelled the University: But still the Scholars would not remove, being too stubborn to be turn'd out of their Colleges by Votes at London, or Papers and Programma's at Oxford. The Visitors therefore, after having waited above six months, were obliged to proceed to the last extremity; and July 5, 1648, ordered a Serjeant, attended with some files of Musqueteers, to publish by beat of drum before the gates of the several Colleges, that "if any of those who "had been expell'd by the Visitors should presume to con-"tinue any longer in the University they should be taken "into custody, and be made prisoners by the Governor." But this not taking effect, the Oxford Historian adds, that four days after they published a further order by beat of drum before the gate of every College, "That if any one who "had been expell'd did presume to tarry in the Town, or "was taken within five miles of it, he should be deem'd "as a Spy, and punished with death." And to fortify this

King Charles I. 1647.

Garrison search the Colleges for Arms.

Suff. Clar. p. 137.

Scholars expell'd.

King Charles I. 1647.

order General Fairfax, who was then in the field, gave public notice, that he would proceed accordingly with such as did not depart in four days, unleſs they obtained leave from the Vice-Chancellor and Viſitors to continue longer. This cool'd their courage, and prevailed with the young Gentlemen to retire. Thus the Univerſity of Oxford was cleared of the Royaliſts, and the Viſitors at liberty to fill up their Vacancies in the beſt manner they could; in all which one cannot tell which moſt to admire, the unparallel'd patience and forbearance of a victorious Parliament for almoſt two years, or the ſtubborn perverſeneſs and provoking behaviour of a few Academicks, againſt a power that could have batter'd their Colleges about their ears, and buried them in their ruins in a few days.

Heads of Colleges that ſubmitted and kept their Places.

About ten of the old Heads of Colleges, and Profeſſors of Sciences, ſubmitted to the Viſitors, and kept their Places, and about nineteen or twenty were expell'd. Thoſe that ſubmitted were,

Dr. Langbain, Provoſt of Queen's——
Dr. Hood, Rector of Lincoln——
Dr. Saunders, Provoſt of Oriel ——
Dr. Hakewell, Rector of Exeter——
Sir Nath. Brent, Warden of Merton—
Dr. Zouch, Principal of Alban Hall—
Dr. Lawrence, Maſter of Baliol——
} College.
Dr. Pocock, Arabick Profeſſor,
Dr. Clayton, Anatomy Profeſſor,
Mr. Philips, Muſick Profeſſor.

Their characters.

The following Characters of theſe Gentlemen, with thoſe that were ejected, and their Succeſſors, I have taken for the moſt part, from Writers that can never be ſuſpected of partiality in favour of the Puritans.

Dr. Langbain. Wood's Athen. Vol. II. p. 220.

Dr. Gerard Langbain, Provoſt of Queen's College, was a great ornament to his College; he was elected Keeper of the Archives, or Records of the Univerſity, being in general eſteem for his great Learning and Honeſty. He was an excellent Linguiſt, an able Philoſopher and Divine, a good common Lawyer, a publick ſpirited Man, a lover of Learning and learned Men, beloved of Archbiſhop Uſher, Selden, and the great Goliahs of Literature. He was alſo an excellent Antiquary, indefatigable in his ſtudies, and of immenſe

Under-

Undertakings. He died Feb. 10, 1657-8, and was buried in the inner Chapel of Queen's College. King Charles I. 1647.

Dr. Paul Hood, Rector of Lincoln College, had been many Years Governor of this House, and continued in it, through all changes, till his death; he was Vice-Chancellor of the University in the year 1660, when he conformed to the established Church, and died in the year 1668. Dr. Hood. Wood's Fasti. p. 127.

Dr. John Saunders, Provost of Oriel College, disowned the authority of the Visitors at first, but afterwards complied; for as Dr. Walker observes, there was no other Provost till after his death, which was in the year 1652. Dr. Saunders. Walker, p. 131.

Dr. George Hakewell, Rector of Exeter College, had been Chaplain to Prince Charles, and Archdeacon of Surry; upon the Promotion of Dr. Prideaux to the See of Worcester he was chosen Rector of this College, but resided little there, for all the time of the Wars he retired to his Rectory of Heanton in Devon, where he lived a retired life, and died in April 1649. He was (says Dr. Walker) a great Divine, a very good Philosopher, and a noted Preacher. Dr. Hakewell. Walker, p. 114.

Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College, was Probationer Fellow, in the year 1594, and Proctor of the University in 1607, he afterwards travelled into several parts of the learned World, and underwent dangerous adventures in Italy to procure the History of the Council of Trent, which he translated into English, and therefore, says Mr. Wood, deserves an honourable mention. By the favour of Archbishop Abbot he was made Commissary of the Diocese of Canterbury, and Vicar-General to the Archbishop, being Doctor of Laws, and at length Judge of the Prerogative. In 1629, he was knighted at Woodstock, but upon the breaking out of the Civil Wars he took part with the Parliament, for which reason he was ejected his Wardenship of this College, but restor'd again when it came into the Parliament's Hands in 1646. He was one of the Visitors of the University, and was a very learned and judicious Civilian. He resigned his Wardenship in the year 1650, and died at London in 1652, after he had lived seventy nine years. Sir Nath. Brent. Athen. Ox. p. 167.

Dr. Richard Zouch, L. L. D. Principal of Alban Hall, was of noble birth, and served in Parliament for the Borough of Hyth in Kent. He was Chancellor of the Diocese of Oxon, Principal of St. Alban Hall, 1625, and at length Judge of the high Court of Admiralty; he was an exact Artist in his Profession, a subtle Logician, an expert Histo- Dr. Zouch. Athen. Ox. p. 255.

rian,

King Charles I. 1647.

Historian, and for the Knowledge and Practice of the Civil Law the chief Person of his time. As his birth was noble (says Mr. Wood) so was his behaviour and discourse; and as he was personable and handsome, so naturally sweet, pleasing, and affable: He kept his Principalship and Professorship till his death, which happen'd March 1, 1660-1.

Dr. Lawrence. Athen. Ox. p. 214.

Dr. Thomas Lawrence, Master of Baliol College, and Margaret Professor of Divinity, had been Chaplain to King Charles I. and Prebendary of Lichfield, and by the Interest of Archbishop Laud preferr'd to the Mastership of this College in 1637. He submitted to the authority of the Visitors, and had a certificate under their hands, dated August 3, 1648, wherein they attest, "That he had engaged to "observe the Directory in all Ecclesiastical Administrations, "to preach practical Divinity to the People, and to forbear "preaching any of those opinions that the reformed Church "had condemned." Dr. Walker says, he resigned all his preferments in the University in the year 1650, but does not say upon what occasion; only that he grew careless, and did much degenerate in his Life and Manners; that he died in the year 1657, but that if he had lived three years longer he would, notwithstanding, have been consecrated an Irish Bishop.

Suff. Cler. p. 100.

Characters of the Professors that submitted.

The Professors of Sciences that submitted to the Visitors, and were continued, were,

Dr. Pocock. Athen. Ox. p. 868.

Dr. Edward Pocock, Professor of the Hebrew and Arabick Languages; one of the most learned Men of his age, and justly admired at home and abroad for his great skill in the Oriental Languages, and for many learned Works that he published. He was afterwards ejected from his Canonry of Christ Church for refusing the Engagement, 1651, but was suffered to enjoy his Professorship of Arabick and Hebrew; he conformed in the year 1660, and lived in great Reputation till the year 1691.

Dr. Clayton.

Thomas Clayton, M. D. King's Professor of Anatomy; he kept his Place till the year 1651, and then renounced it in favour of Sir William Petty. After the Restoration he was knighted, and made Warden of Merton College upon the death of Bishop Reynolds in the year 1676.

Mr. Philips.

Mr. Arthur Philips, Professor of Musick, of whom I have met with no account.

The heads of Colleges ejected by the Visitors, with their Successors, may be seen in the following Table.

Heads

Heads of Colleges turned out.	Colleges.	Succeeded by	King Charles I. 1647.
Dr. Fell, Vice-Chancellor, from	Deanry of Chriſt Church,	Dr. Reynolds, afterwards Bp. of Norwich,	Heads of Colleges ejected.
Dr. Pit, Warden of	Wadham College	Dr. J. Wilkins, afterwards Bp. of Cheſter,	
Dr. Walker,	Univerſity Coll.	Dr. Joſhua Hoyle,	
Dr. Radcliffe,	Brazen Noſe Coll.	Dr. D. Greenwood,	
Dr. Sheldon,	All Souls Coll.	Dr. Palmer, M. D.	
Dr. Newlin,	Corp. Chriſti Coll.	Dr. Ed. Staunton,	
Dr. Bayly,	St. John's Coll.	Dr. Cheynel,	
Dr. Oliver,	Magdalen Coll.	Dr. John Wilkinſon, Dr. H. Wilkinſon, jun. Princ. of Magd. Hall,	
Dr. Han. Potter,	Trinity Coll.	Dr. Rob. Harris,	
Dr. Manſell,	Jeſus Coll.	Dr. Mic. Roberts,	
Mr. Wightwick, B. D.	Pembroke Coll.	Dr. H. Langley,	
Dr. Stringer, Prof. Gr. Lang.	New Coll.	Mr. Ch. Rogers, Mr. Harmer, Prof. Gr. Lang.	

Profeſſors of Sciences turned out.	Profeſſorſhips.	Succeeded by
Dr. Rb. Sanderſon,	Reg. Pr. of Div.	Dr. Croſſe,
Mr. Birkenhead, A. M.	M. Philoſ. Prof.	Dr. Henry Wilkinſon, jun.
Mr. Rob. Warin,	Camb. Hiſt. Prof.	Dr. L. du Moulin,
Dr. Jn. Edwards,	Nat. Phil. Prof.	Dr. Joſhua Croſſe,
Dr. Turner, M. D.	Savil Prof. Geo.	Dr. John Wallis,
Mr. Jn. Greaves, A. M.	Profeſſ. Aſtron.	Dr. Ward, afterw. Bp. of Saliſbury,
Dr. Hen. Hammond,	Univerſity Orator.	Mr. Button, A.M, Mr. Corbet, who quitted.

Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Warden of All Souls College, was ejected April 3, 1648, and lived retired with his Friends in Staffordſhire till 1659, when he was reſtored to his Wardenſhip upon the death of Dr. Palmer. After the the Reſtoration he was ſucceſſively Biſhop of London, Chancellor of Oxford, Their Characters. Dr. Sheldon. Walker's Suff. Cler. p. 198.

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Oxford, and Archbiſhop of Canterbury; he built the noble Theatre of Oxford, and did a great many other works of charity, but never gave any great Specimens of his Piety or Learning to the World.

Dr. Fell. Walker, p. 102.

Dr. Samuel Fell, Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, and Dean of Chriſt Church, diſpoſſeſſed of his Deanery April 12, 1648. He gave the Viſitors all the diſturbance he could, and was therefore taken into cuſtody for ſome time, but being quickly releaſed he retired to his Rectory of Sunningwell in Berkſhire, where he died Feb. 1, 1648-9. He had been a Calviniſt, but finding that was not the way to preferment he changed his opinion, and after great creepings and cringings to Archbiſhop Laud (ſays Mr. Wood) he became his creature, and if the Rebellion had not broke out, would, no doubt, have been a Biſhop. He left no remarkable Specimen of his Learning behind him.

Ath. Ox.

Dr. Radcliffe. Walker, p. 101.

Dr. Samuel Radcliffe, Principal of Brazen Noſe College, was elected to this Headſhip 1614, and was in an infirm condition when he was ejected for diſowning the authority of the Viſitors, April 13, 1648, and died the June following. Neither Mr. Wood nor Walker ſay any thing of his Learning, nor has he publiſhed any thing that I know of to the World.

Dr. Newlin. Walker, p. 101.

Dr. Robert Newlin, Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College, and Pro-Vice-Chancellor in the year 1648. He was reſtored to his Preſidentſhip again in the year 1660, and died in it 1687. But neither Wood nor Walker give any Character of him.

Dr. Bayly. Walker, p. 116.

Dr. Richard Bayly, Preſident of St. John's College, a Kinſman of Archbiſhop Laud, and one of his Executors; he had been Preſident of this College twenty years when he was ejected; but was reſtored again in 1660, and died at Saliſbury 1667. He was hoſpitable and charitable, but very faulty (ſays Mr. Wood) in uſing ſome kind of oaths in common converſation. He publiſhed nothing that I know of to the World.

Dr. Oliver. Walker, p. 122.

Dr. John Oliver, Preſident of Magdalen College, had been domeſtick Chaplain to Archbiſhop Laud, and was a Man (ſays Dr. Walker) of great Learning and ſound Principles in Religion, [that is of the Principles of the Archbiſhop] he was reſtored to his Preferments 1660, but died ſoon after Oct. 27, 1661.

Dr. Potter. Walker, p. 133.

Dr. Hannibal Potter, Preſident of Trinity College, elected 1643, and turned out with the reſt that diſowned the authority of the Viſitors, April 13, 1648. He afterwards accepted

cepted of a Curacy in Somersetshire, and was ejected for insufficiency; but Dr. Walker says, it was because he used part of the Church Service. He was restored in 1660, and died in 1664. King Charles I. 1647.

Dr. John Pitt, Warden of Wadham College, elected April 16, 1644, after that City was garrisoned for the King; he behaved very refractorily towards the Visitors, and died soon after his ejectment. Dr. Pitt. Walker, p. 136.

Dr. Francis Mansel, Principal of Jesus College, elected to this Principalship in the year 1630, and ejected May 22, 1648. He was restored again in 1660, and died in 1665 having been a great benefactor to his College. Dr. Mansel.

Dr. Thomas Walker, Master of University College, elected 1632, and dispossessed by the Visitors July 10, 1648. He was restored in the year 1660, and died in 1665. He was related to Archbishop Laud, and was one of his Executors, and (according to Lloyd) a deserving modest Man, and a great Sufferer. Dr. Walker. Walker, p. 114.

Mr. Henry Wightwick, B.D. elected to the Mastership of Pembroke College in direct opposition to the Order of Parliament, July 13, 1647, for which reason he was soon after dispossessed. In the Year 1660 he was restored, but turned out again in 1664, for what Reasons Dr. Walker says he does not know. He died in Lincolnshire 1671. Mr. Wightwick. Walker, p. 132.

Dr. Henry Stringer, elected to the Wardenship of New College, after the same Manner, in direct opposition to the Visitors, Nov. 18, 1647, for which reason he was deprived Aug. 1, 1648. He was Professor of the Greek Language, but resigned, and died at London 1657. Dr. Stringer. Walker, p. 127.

The Professors that were turned out by the Visitors were, Professors ejected.

Dr. Robert Sanderson, Regius Professor of Divinity; a very learned Man, and an excellent Casuist; he was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, but did not sit among them. He had a very considerable hand in drawing up "the Reasons of the University against the Covenant, and "the Negative Oath." After his ejectment he retired to his Living at Boothby, where he continued preaching, though not without some Difficulties, till the Restoration, when he was preferr'd to the Bishoprick of Lincoln, and died 1662-3. Dr. Sanderson. Life of Sanderson by Walton.

Mr. John Birkenhead, A. M. Moral Philosophy Reader; he was employed by the Court to write the Mercurius Auli-cus, a paper filled with most bitter invectives against the Parliament, for which he was rewarded with this Lecture-ship. Mr. Birkenhead. Athen Ox. p. 639.

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ſhip. After his ejectment he lived privately till the Reſtoration, when he was knighted, and choſe Burgeſs in Parliament for the Borough of Wilton. He was alſo created L. L. D. and Maſter of the Faculties, and died in 1679, leaving behind him (according to Wood) a very ſorry character.

Mr. Waring. Walker, p. 106. Athen Ox. p. 143.

Mr. Robert Waring, Cambden Hiſtory Profeſſor; he bore arms for the King in the Garriſon at Oxford, and was not elected to this Profeſſorſhip till after the Viſitation began: He was reckon'd (ſays Wood) among the Wits of the Univerſity, and was a good Poet and Orator. He died 1658.

Dr. Edwards Walker, p. 118.

John Edwards, M. D. Natural Philoſophy Lecturer; he behaved rudely towards the Viſitors, and was therefore not only diſpoſſeſſed of his Preferment, but expell'd the Univerſity; but neither Wood nor Walker give any character of him.

Dr. Turner. Wood, p. 125.

Peter Turner, M. D. Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry; he ſerved his Majeſty as a Volunteer under the Command of Sir J. Byron, and being a zealous Loyaliſt was expelled the Univerſity by the Viſitors, after which he retired to London, and died 1650. He was a good mathematician, well read in the Fathers, an excellent Linguiſt, and highly valued by Archbiſhop Laud.

Mr. Greaves. Walker, p. 125.

John Greaves, A. M. Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, was ſent by Archbiſhop Laud to travel into the Eaſtern Parts of the World to make a collection of Books in thoſe Languages. After his return he was preferr'd to this Profeſſorſhip, but was ejected by the Viſitors, and Nov. 9, 1648, expell'd the Univerſity, for ſending the College Treaſure to the King, and other Crimes of the like nature. He died at London 1652, with the reputation of a good Scholar, and was well reſpected by Mr. Selden, and others.

Dr. Hammond. Vide his Life.

Dr. Henry Hammond, Univerſity Orator, was a very learned Man, and a great Divine, highly eſteemed by King Charles I. He aſſiſted at the Treaty of Uxbridge, and attended the King as his Chaplain when he was permitted. After his ejectment he retired to the houſe of Sir J. Packington of Worceſterſhire, where he employ'd his time in writing ſeveral valuable and learned Treatiſes in defence of the Hierarchy of the Church of England, and in the ſtudy of the New Teſtament. He died April 25, 1660.

The Heads of Colleges who ſucceeded thoſe thatwere ejected by Authority of Parliament, were

Dr.

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New Heads of Colleges that succeeded.

Dr. Reynolds, aft. Bishop. Athen. Ox. p. 568.

Dr. Edward Reynolds, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Dean of Christ Church in the place of Dr. Fell; he was Probationer Fellow of Merton College in the year 1620, which he obtained by his uncommon skill in the Greek Tongue; he was a good Disputant and Orator, a popular Divine, and in great esteem in the City of London, being a Preacher to the honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. Mr. Wood confesses, he was a person of excellent Parts and Endowments, of a very good Wit, Fancy and Judgment, and much esteemed by all Parties for his florid Stile. Sir Tho. Brown adds, that he was a Divine of singular Affability, Meekness, and Humility; of great Learning, a frequent Preacher, and a constant Resident. He conformed at the Restoration and was made Bishop of Norwich, and died 1676.

Dr. Wilkins, aft. Bishop. Athen. Ox. p. 505.

Dr. John Wilkins, promoted to the Wardenship of Wadham College in the place of Dr. Pit. He was educated in Magdalen Hall, and was Chaplain to Charles Count Palatine of the Rhine: A little before the Restoration he came to London, and was Minister of St. Lawrence Jury, and Preacher to the Society at Lincoln's Inn. Mr. Wood admits, that he was a person of rare gifts, a noted Theologist and Preacher, a curious Critick, an excellent Mathematician, and as well seen in Mechanism, and the new Philosophy, as any in his time. In the year 1656, he married the sister of O. Cromwell, then Lord Protector of England, and had the Headship of Trinity College, in Cambridge, conferred upon him, which is the best preferment in that University. He was afterwards a Member of the Royal Society, to which he was a considerable Benefactor. Dr. Burnet says, that Bishop Wilkins was a Man of as great a Mind as true a Judgment, of as eminent Virtue, and as good a Soul, as any he ever knew. Bishop Tillotson gives him the same character; and several Members of the Royal Society acknowledge him to have been an ornament to the University, and to the English Nation. He was created Bishop of Chester in the year 1668, and died of the Stone in the House of Dr. Tillotson 1672.

Dr. Hoyle. Athen. Ox. p. 185.

Dr. Joshua Hoyle preferr'd to the Headship of University College in the room of Dr. Walker; he was educated in Magdalen Hall, Oxford, but being invited into Ireland became Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin. In the Beginning of the Irish Rebellion he came over to England and was made Vicar of Stepney, a Member of the Assembly of Divines, and at length Master of this College, and King's Professor

of

King Charles I. 1647.

of Divinity in the room of Dr. Sanderſon. Mr. Wood ſays, he was a perſon of great reading and memory, but of leſs judgment. He was exactly acquainted with all the School Men, and ſo much devoted to his book, that he was in a manner a ſtranger to the world; he was indefatigably induſtrious, and as well qualified for an Academick as any perſon of his time. He died 1654.

Dr. Greenwood. Wood's Faſti. p. 91.

Dr. Daniel Greenwood, Principal of Brazen Noſe College in the room of Dr. Radcliffe; he had been Fellow of the College for a conſiderable time, and had the reputation of a profound Scholar and Divine. Mr. Wood ſays, he was a ſevere and good governor, as well in his Vice-Chancellorſhip as in his Principalſhip; he continued in his College with an unſpotted character till the Reſtoration, when he was ejected by the King's Commiſſioners, after which he lived privately till 1673, when he died.

Dr. John Wilkinſon.

Dr. John Wilkinſon had been Preſident of Magdalene College before the Civil Wars, but when that Univerſity was garriſoned by the King he fled into the Parliament's Quarters, and was ſucceeded in his Preſidentſhip by Dr. Oliver, about the year 1643, but the Doctor not ſubmitting to the Viſitors was voted out of his place April 13. 1648. and Doctor Wilkinſon was reſtored. He was a learned and pious man, but did not continue long in his Station.

Dr. Henry Wilkinſon. Athen. Ox. p. 543.

Dr. Henry Wilkinſon, jun. commonly called Dean Harry, Preſident of Magdalen Hall; he was a noted tutor, and moderator in his College before the beginning of the Civil Wars, upon the breaking out of which he left Oxford and came to London; but when that City was ſurrender'd to the Parliament he return'd to the Univerſity, and was created D. D. made Principal of his College, and Moral Philoſophy Profeſſor in the room of Mr. Birkenhead. Mr. Wood ſays, that he took all ways imaginable to make his Houſe flouriſh with young ſtudents; that he was a frequent and active preacher, and a good diſciplinarian, for which reaſon the heads of the Univerſity perſwaded him earneſtly to conform at the Reſtoration, that they might keep him among them, but he refuſed. After his ejectment he ſuffered for his Non-conformity, by impriſonments, mulcts, and the loſs of his goods and books; though, according to the ſame author, he was very courteous in ſpeech and carriage, communicative of his knowledge, generous, charitable to the poor, and ſo publick-ſpirited, that he always minded the common good more than his own private Concerns.

Concerns. He publiſhed ſeveral learned works, and died 1690. Ætat. ſeventy four. King Charles I. 1647.

Dr. Robert Harris, reſident of Trinity College in the Room of Dr. Potter, was educated in Magdalen Hall, and had been a famous Preacher in Oxfordſhire for about forty years; upon the breaking out of the War he came to London, where he continued till appointed one of the Viſitors of the Univerſity, and Head of this College, over which he preſided ten years, though he was now ſeventy. He was a perſon of great piety and gravity, an exact maſter of the Hebrew language, and well verſed in Chronology, Church Hiſtory, the Councils and Fathers. He governed his College with great Prudence, and gained the affections of all the Students, who reverenced him as a Father, though he has been ſtigmatized by the Royaliſts as a notorious Pluraliſt. To which the Writer of his life replies, that whatever benefices he might have been nominated to, he declared he did not receive the profits of them. The Inſcription upon his Tomb-Stone ſays, that he was "Præ- "ſes æternum celebrandus; Perſpicaciſſimus indolum ſcru- "tator, Poteſtatis Arbiter mitiſſimus, merentium Fautor "integerrimus, &c. He died 1658. Dr. Harris. Clark's Lives p. 314.

Dr. Henry Langley, Maſter of Pembroke College in the room of Mr. Wightwick, was original Fellow of his College, and made Maſter of it in 1647. He kept his place till the Reſtoration, after which he ſet up a private Academy among the Diſſenters; he was a ſolid and judicious Divine, and a frequent Preacher. He died 1679. Dr. Langley, Wood's Faſti, p. 66, 91.

Dr. Francis Cheynel, Preſident of St. John's College in the room of Dr. Bayly, was probationer Fellow of Merton College in the year 1629, and afterwards Rector of Petworth, a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, and this year made Preſident of that College, and Margaret Profeſſor in the room of Doctor Lawrence, both which he quitted after ſome time for refuſing the Engagement, and retired to his Living at Petworth, from whence he was ejected at the Reſtoration. He was a perſon of a great deal of imprudent zeal, as appears by his behaviour at the funeral of the great Mr. Chillingworth, already mentioned. Biſhop Hoadly ſays, he was exactly orthodox, and as pious, honeſt, and charitable, as his bigotry would permit; and Mr Eachard adds, that he was of conſiderable learning and great abilities. Dr Cheynel. Athen. Ox. p. 358.

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Dr. Roberts. Fasti, p. 71.

Dr. Michael Roberts, Principal of Jesus College in the room of Dr. Mansel, was a good Scholar, and would, no doubt, have conformed at the Restoration, had he been inclined to have accepted any preferment, but he had resigned his Principality into the hands of the Protector, 1657, and being rich chose a private life. He published a Latin Elegy upon General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and died in Oxford 1679.

Dr. Staunton's Life by Mr. Mayo. Athen. Ox. p 484.

Dr. Edmund Staunton, Principal of Corpus Christi College in the room of Dr. Newlin, was admitted Fellow of this College 1616, and afterwards Minister of Kingston upon Thames. He took the degrees in Divinity 1634, and was afterwards one of the Assembly of Divines. He kept his Principality till he was ejected by the King's Commissioners at the Restoration; he was a diligent popular Preacher, a good scholar, and continued his labours among the Non-conformists till his death, which happen'd 1671.

Dr. Palmer. Fasti. p. 66.

John Palmer, M. D. Warden of All Souls in the room of Dr. Sheldon, had been Batchelor of Physick of Queen's College, and was now created M. D. in presence of the Chancellor; he was a learned man, and held his preferment till March 4, 1659, when he died. Upon his death, there being a near prospect of the Restoration, Dr. Sheldon was repossessed of his Wardenship.

Wood's Fasti, p. 68.

Upon the death of Dr. Pink the Visitors nominated old Mr. White of Dorchester to succeed him, but I think he refused it, being very much advanced in years, and that it was conferr'd on Mr. Christopher Rogers, who was a person of a reverend aspect, an excellent plain preacher, and a very charitable man, but of no great parts; he was ejected at the Restoration, and lived afterwards privately to his death.

New Professors.

The Professors of Sciences who succeeded those that were ejected were,

Dr. Ward, aft. Bishop. Athen. Ox. p. 826.

Dr. Seth Ward, Professor of Astronomy in the Place of Dr. Greaves, and, according to Mr. Wood, the most noted Mathemacitian and Astronomer of his time; he was educated in Sidney College, Cambridge, and in the year 1643, ejected for adhering to the King, but having afterwards changed his mind he made friends to the Committee for reforming the University of Oxford, and was appointed to this preferment; he was afterwards Master of Trinity College, and soon after his Majesty's Restoration preferr'd first

first to the Bishoprick of Exeter, and then to that of Salisbury, where he died, 1668. King Charles I. 1647.

Dr. John Wallis, Savilian Professor of Geometry in the room of Dr. Turner; the fame of this most learned gentleman is well known to the world; he was of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and afterwards Fellow of Queen's College in the same University, then Minister of St. Martin's Ironmonger-Lane, London, one of the Scribes in the Assembly of Divines, and now, by the appointment of the Committee, Geometry Professor; he conformed at the Restoration, and continued in his place, an ornament to the University, to a very old age. Dr. Wallis. Wood's Fasti, p. 72, 106.

Lewis du Moulin, M. D. of the University of Leyden, Cambden Professor of History in the place of Mr. Robert Wareing, was incorporated in the same Degree at Cambridge, 1634, he was son of the famous Peter du Moulin, the French Protestant, and kept his preferment till the Restoration, when he was turned out by his Majesty's Commissioners, and continued a Non-Conformist till his Death. He was a valuable and learned man, as appears by his writings; but Mr. Wood adds, he was a violent Independent, and ill-natured: He died in London 1680. Dr. Du Moulin. Wood's Fasti, p. 72.

Joshua Crosse, L. L. D. Natural Philosophy Reader in the room of Dr. Edwards, and one of the Proctors of the University; he was Fellow of Magdalen College, and kept his Reader's place till the Restoration, after which he lived privately in Oxford till 1676, when he died. He was a gentleman much honoured for his becoming conversation. Dr. Crosse. Calamy's Abridg. p. 58.

Ralph Button, A. M. University Orator in the room of Dr. Hammond, and one of the Proctors of the University, was originally of Exeter College, where he made so great a progress in Philosophy, and other Literature, that when he was but Batchelor of Arts he was recommended by Dr. Prideaux to stand for a Fellowship in Merton College, and was accordingly chosen 1633. He was afterwards a noted Tutor in his House, but was obliged to leave Oxford in the beginning of the Civil Wars because he would not bear Arms for the King. When the War was over he returned and took pupils, and upon the Refusal of Edward Corbet was made Canon of Christ-Church, and University Orator; he was ejected at the Restoration, and afterwards taught Academical Learning at Islington, near London, till 1680, when he died. He was an excellent Scholar, a most humble, sincere man, and a great sufferer for Non-Conformity. Mr. Button, Calamy's Abridg. p. 60.

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Mr. Harmar. Athen. Ox. p. 478.

Mr. John Harmar, A. M. Profeſſor of the Greek Language in the room of Dr. Stringer, was educated in Magdalen College, and took his Degrees 1617, he was afterwards Maſter of the Free School at St. Albans, and one of the Maſters of Weſtminſter School; from thence he was removed to the Greek Profeſſorſhip in this Univerſity. He was (ſays Mr. Wood) a great Philoſopher, a tolerable Latin Poet, and one of the moſt excellent Grecians of his time, but otherwiſe an honeſt weak Man. He was turned out at the Reſtoration, and afterwards lived privately at Steventon in Hampſhire till the year 1670, when he died.

Theſe were all the changes that were made among the Heads of Colleges and Profeſſors at this time; and upon the whole, though it muſt be allowed, that many of the ejected Loyaliſts were men of real learning and merit, 'tis certain, thoſe that kept their places, and the ſucceſſors of ſuch as were ejected were men of equal probity and virtue, and no leſs eminent in their ſeveral profeſſions, as appears by the monuments of their learning which ſeveral of them have left to the World.

Behaviour of the new Profeſſors.

The very enemies of the new Heads of Colleges have confeſſed, that they were ſevere in the Government of their ſeveral Houſes; that they kept a more than common watch over the morals of the Students, and obliged them to an exact Compliance with their Statutes. The Profeſſors were indefatigable in inſtructing their pupils both in publick and private; Religion flouriſhed more than before; Drunkenneſs, Oaths, and Profanation of the Lord's Day, were baniſhed; ſtrict Piety, and a Profeſſion of Religion were in faſhion; the Scholars often met together for prayer and religious conference; ſo that, as Mr. Philip Henry, who lived then in the Univerſity, obſerves, "If thoſe of the old Spi-" rit and Way were at firſt the better Scholars, theſe were " the better Men."

Remarks. Walker's Suff. Cler. p. 140.

Let the Reader now judge of the ſpirit and candor of thoſe Writers, who inſinuate, "that the new profeſſors " could neither pronounce Latin, nor write Engliſh; that " in the room of the ejected Loyaliſts there ſucceeded an " illiterate rabble, ſwept up from the plough-tail, from " ſhops and grammar ſchools, and the dregs of the neigh-" bouring Univerſity; that the muſes were driven from " their ancient ſeats; that all Loyalty, Learning, and " good Senſe, was baniſhed; and that there ſucceeded in " their room nothing but barbariſm, enthuſiaſm, and ignorance,

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" norance, till the dawn of the Reſtoration." Lord Clarendon was a declared enemy to theſe changes, and has painted them in the moſt frightful colours, but the force of truth has obliged him to confeſs, that " though it might " have been reaſonably expected, that this wild and barbarous depopulation (as he calls it) would have extirpated " all the Learning, Religion and Loyalty, which had flouriſhed there, and that the ſucceeding ill huſbandry, and " unſkilful cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in " ignorance, profaneneſs, atheiſm and rebellion, yet by " God's wonderful providence that fruitful ſoil could not be " made barren by all that ſtupidity and negligence; it " choaked the weeds, and would not ſuffer the poiſonous " ſeeds that were ſown with induſtry enough, to ſpring up, " but after ſeveral tyrannical Governors mutually ſucceeding each other, and with the ſame malice and perverſeneſs endeavouring to extinguiſh all good literature and " allegiance, it yielded an harveſt of extraordinary good " knowledge in all parts of Learning; and many who were " wickedly introduced, applied themſelves to the ſtudy " of good Learning and the practice of Virtue, and " had inclinations to that Duty and Obedience they " had never been taught, that when it pleaſed God " to bring King Charles II. back to his Throne he " found the Univerſity abounding in excellent Learning, and devoted to Duty and Obedience, little inferior to what it was before its deſolation." Without remarking upon the ill-natured Satyr of this paragraph, it muſt be acknowledged a noble Teſtimony to the Learning and Induſtry of the new Profeſſors, from the Pen of an Adverſary; and with the ſame juſtice it may be added, that the Univerſity was in a much better condition for Learning, Religion, and good Senſe, at the Reſtoration, than before the beginning of the Civil Wars; for all the great Philoſophers and Divines of the Church of England, and others that flouriſhed in the reigns of King Charles II. and King William III. owed their education to theſe Profeſſors, as the Tillotſons, Stillingfleets, Patricks, Souths, Caves, Sprats, Kidders, Whitbys, Bulls, Boyles, Newtons, Locks, and others. The Univerſity was in great reputation in foreign parts, and produced as many learned performances as at any time before. If then we admit, that the new profeſſors were not introduced into their places in a legal way, according to the ſtatutes, becauſe of the neceſſity of the

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times, 'tis certain, they proved wife and careful Governors, ſtrict obſervers of their ſtatutes, and induſtrious promoters of Learning and Piety; ſo far were they from deſerving the infamous characters of "ignorant, illiterate, "hypocritical blockheads, enemies to the legal Conſtituti-"on of their Country," or of being any ways unworthy the preferments they enjoyed in the Univerſity.

Vacancies in the Univerſity filled up.

There were no doubt, at firſt, very conſiderable vacancies in the ſeveral Colleges by theſe removes; many of the Fellows and Scholars being dead, or killed in the King's Service, others having reſigned their places in the Univerſity for Benefices in the Church, beſides thoſe that were expelled by the Viſitors, already mentioned; but to ſupply the defect of Fellows and Tutors, the Committee encouraged ſeveral learned Graduates in the Univerſity of Cambridge to tranſlate themſelves to Oxford, and accept of Preferments according to their merits. Many that had fled from the Univerſity when it became a Garriſon for the King, returned to their Colleges, and were promoted according to their ſeniority. Great numbers of youth that had kept at home becauſe of the Wars were now ſent to Oxford by their Parents, to perfect their education; and if it be conſidered further, that there had been no admiſſions from Weſtminſter, Eaton, St. Paul's, Merchant-Taylors, and other publick Schools, for five or ſix years paſt, it is not to be wondered that there was an unuſual flow of youth to the Univerſity at this time, ſo that the damage occaſioned by this Revolution of Affairs was quickly repaired, Learning revived, and the Muſes returned to their ancient Seats.

Cauſes of the Increaſe of Lay-preachers.

The long interruption of Education in the Univerſity produced a very great ſcarcity of orthodox and learned Miniſters in the Countries, ſome being ſilenced for refuſing the Covenant, and others diſperſed, or killed in the Wars. Many Pulpits alſo were vacant by reaſon of the ſcandal or inſufficiency of the incumbents, which was one occaſion of the increaſe of Lay-preachers, for the country people would go to hear any body rather than have no Sermons; beſides, the Preſbyterian Clergy would authorize none to preach but ſuch as would take the Covenant, and conſent to their diſcipline. To remedy theſe evils the Northern Counties petitioned the Houſes to erect a new Univerſity in the City of York, but the confuſion of the times prevented their proſecuting the deſign. The Independants, who were leſs zealous about clerical Orders, encouraged, or at leaſt connived

Ruſhw. p. 854.

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at the Lay-preachers, apprehending, that in cafes of Neceſſity, pious Men of good natural parts might Exerciſe their gifts publickly to the Edification of the Church; till under this cover they ſaw every bold Enthuſiaſt almoſt began to uſurp the the Office of a Teacher. To bring things therefore into a little better order, the following Petition was preſented to both Houſes of Parliament, Oct. 6. under the Title of "The humble Petition of many Citizens of Lon- "don, and othres. King Charles I. 1647.

"YOUR Petitioners are deeply ſenſible of the extream "want of preaching the Goſpel throughout this "Kingdom, there being many hundreds of Towns and "Villages altogether deſtitute of any preaching Miniſters, "and many others are not well ſupplied; by reaſon where- "of Ignorance, Drunkenneſs, Profaneneſs, Diſaffection to "the Parliament, and to others in Authority, every where "abounds, there being ſcarce ſo much as the Face of "Religion in many places. There is a great cry of "People from ſeveral Counties of the Kingdom, for Men "to preach to them the word of eternal Life; and there "are many Men of competent gifts and abilities, of good "Life and honeſt Converſation, who being willing to em- "ploy their talents in the Lord's Work, and to ſubmit "themſelves for approbation to moderate and judicious "Men, are yet, by occaſion of ſome ſcruples about Ordi- "nation, diſcouraged from engaging in this work of pub- "liſhing the Goſpel, wherein they might be helpful to "many. And ſeeing that in the days of Queen Elizabeth, "upon Occaſion of People's Neceſſities, many ſuch Men "were ſent forth to publiſh the Goſpel, who had no for- "mal act of Miniſterial Ordination paſt upon them, whoſe "Endeavours the Lord bleſſed to the Good of many Souls, "and the furthering of the Kingdom's Peace. And ſince "alſo we nothing doubt, but the Propagation of the Goſ- "pel throughout this Kingdom, and the Information of "Men in the things of their peace, and the Peace and ſafety "of the Kingdom, are worthy of your greateſt zeal, and are "not the leaſt of your care; Petition for unordained Preachers. Ruſhw. p. 834.

"Therefore your Petitioners humbly pray, that thoſe "who ſhall be approved of as Men meet to diſpenſe the "Myſteries of the Goſpel, by ſuch judicious, moderate, "and able Men, whom you in Wiſdom ſhall appoint "thereunto, may receive from this honourable Houſe En- "couragement and Protection in preaching the the Goſ-

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" pel in any Place of this Kingdom, or Dominion of " Wales, where need requires, that ſo the Word of the " Lord may have free Courſe and be glorified; ignorant " Men may be inſtructed; Drunkenneſs, Profaneneſs, and " Diſaffection to the Parliament, and to others in Authori- " ty, may be abandoned; and both the temporal and ſpiri- " tual Peace and Proſperity of all ſorts of Men be the " more advanced."

The Houſes thanked the Petitioners for their good Affection, but did nothing upon it.

Stage Plays put down. Scobel, p. 143.

By an Ordinance of Feb. 11, this year, " All Stage- " players were declared to be Rogues puniſhable by the " Act of the 39th of Queen Elizabeth, and 7th of King " James, notwithſtanding any Licence they might have " from the King, or any other Perſon. All Stage Galleries, " Seats and Boxes, are ordered to be pulled down by War- " rant of two Juſtices of the Peace; all Actors in Plays " for Time to come being convicted ſhall be publickly " whipp'd, and find Sureties for their not offending in like " manner for the future; and all Spectators of Plays for " every offence are to pay five Shillings."

State of Religion. Clarend. Vol. V. p. 115, 116.

The controverſies about Church-Government, and Liberty of Conſcience, ran ſtill as high as ever; the Preſbyterians, who had the Government of the City of London in their hands, were for preſſing Covenant Uniformity in their Sermons, which the Independants, and others of more Catholick Principles, endeavoured to oppoſe with all their might. Lord Clarendon is pleaſed to repreſent this in a ludicrous manner; " The Pulpit Skirmiſhes (ſays his Lord- " ſhip) were now higher than ever; the Preſbyterians in " thoſe Fields loſing nothing of their courage; having a no- " torious power in the City, notwithſtanding the Emulation " of the Independants, who were more learned and rational, " who, tho' they had not ſo great Congregations of the " common People, yet infected, and were followed by the " moſt ſubſtantial Citizens, and by others of better condi- " tion. To theſe Men Cromwell and moſt of the Officers " of the Army adhered; but the Divinity of the Times " was not to be judged by the Preaching and Congregations " in Churches, which were now thought not to be the fit " and proper places of Devotion, and religious Exerciſes, " where the Biſhops had exerciſed ſuch illimited tyranny, " and which had been polluted by their Conſecrations. " Liberty of Conſcience was now become the great Char- " ter,

" ter, and Men who were inſpired, preached and prayed " when and where they would. Anabaptiſts grew very " numerous, with whom the Independants concurr'd, ſo far " as to join with them for the aboliſhing of tithes, as of " judaical Inſtitution —— If an honeſt Man could have " been at ſo much eaſe as to have beheld the Proſpect with " Delight, never was ſuch a Scene of Confuſion as had " ſpread itſelf at this Time over the whole Kingdom." And yet it is certain, that the Laws againſt vice and immorality were ſtrictly executed, the Lord's Day was duly obſerved, the Churches were crowded with attentive Hearers, Family Devotion was in repute, neither Servants nor Children being allowed to walk in the Fields, or frequent the Publick Houſes. In a word, notwithſtanding the difference of Men's opinions, and publick views, there was a zeal for God, and a much greater appearance of Sobriety, Virtue, and true Religion, than before the Civil War, or after the bleſſed Reſtoration. King Charles I. 1647.

Among the Puritan Divines that died this year was the Reverend Mr. Herbert Palmer, B. D. of whom mention has been made among the Cambridge Profeſſors; his Father was Sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham in Kent, his Mother the eldeſt Daughter of Herbert Pelham of Suſſex, Eſq; our Divine was born at Wingham, and baptized there March 29, 1601. he had a polite Education in his Father's houſe, and learned the French Language almoſt as ſoon as he could ſpeak. In the year 1615, he was admitted Fellow Commoner in St John's College, Cambridge. In the year 1622, he took the Degree of M. A. In 1623, he was choſen Fellow of Queen's College in that Univerſity; the year following he was ordained to the Miniſtry, to which he had devoted himſelf from his Infancy: His firſt Exerciſe was at a Lecture in the City of Canterbury, where he preached once a Week till it was put down with the reſt of the Afternoon Sermons. In the year 1632, he was preſented by Archbiſhop Laud to the Vicarage of Aſhwell in Hertfordſhire, where he preached twice every Lord's Day, and catechiſed the Children of his Pariſhioners. The ſame year he was choſen one of the Univerſity Preachers of Cambridge, by which he had Authority to preach, as he ſhould have occaſion, in any part of England. In the year 1640, he and Dr. Tuckney were choſen Clerks of the Convocation for the Dioceſe of Lincoln. In the year 1643, he was called to be a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, and after ſome time choſen one of their Aſ- Death of Mr. Herbert Palmer. Clark's Lives.

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seſſors, in which place he behaved with great Wiſdom and Integrity. April 11, 1644, he was conſtituted Maſter of Queen's College Cambridge, by the Earl of Mancheſter; here he ſet himſelf induſtriouſly to the promoting of Religion and Learning, being very ſolicitous that none ſhould be admitted to a Scholarſhip or Fellowſhip in his College but ſuch as were qualified in both theſe reſpects, the good effects of which appeared in the reputation and credit of that Society beyond moſt others of the Univerſity in his time. Mr. Palmer was a Gentleman of a low Stature, and a weakly Conſtitution, but indefatigable in buſineſs; all his time was employed in works of Devotion and Charity, for as he had a competent Eſtate, and choſe a ſingle Life, he had an opportunity of doing a great deal of good; he maintained ſeveral poor Scholars at his own expence in the College, and when he died left a conſiderable Sum of Money to the ſame Purpoſe. His laſt Sickneſs was not long, his Conſtitution being ſpent, but his behaviour was uncommon, looked the King of Terrors in the Face with an holy Courage and Reſolution, and reſigned his Life this Summer, with a firm Expectation of the Mercy of God to eternal Life, in the forty ſixth year of his Age, and was buried in the New Church at Weſtminſter.

Death of Mr. Henry Wilkinſon.

Mr. Henry Wilkinſon, B. D. was born in Yorkſhire, and educated in Merton College Oxford. In the year 1586. he was choſen Probationer Fellow, and proceeded in Arts; after ſome time he was made B. D. and in the year 1601, became Paſtor of Waddeſdon in Bucks. He was a Perſon of conſiderable Learning and Piety, and being an old Puritan (ſays Mr. Wood) was elected one of the Aſſembly of Divines in 1643, but he ſpent the chief of his time and labours among his Pariſhioners at Waddeſdon, by whom he was greatly beloved; here he died, in a very advanced age, March 19, 1647-8, and lies buried in his own Church.

Death of Mr. Saltmarſh. Ath. Ox. p. 287.

Mr. John Saltmarſh, deſcended of an ancient Family in Yorkſhire, was educated in Magdalen College, Cambridge, and graduated there; he was eſteemed a Perſon of a fine active Fancy, no contemptible Poet, and a good Preacher; he was firſt Miniſter at Northampton, afterwards at Braiſted in Kent, and at length Chaplain in Sir Tho. Fairfax's Army, where he always preached up Love and Peace: He meddled not with Preſbytery or Independency, but laboured to draw Souls from Sin to Chriſt. He writ ſome Treatiſes by which it appears he was of Antinomian Principles. The manner of his Death was extraordinary;

Ruſhw. p. 944.

dinary; December. 4, 1647, being at his houſe at Ilford in Eſſex he told his Wife he had been in a Trance, and received a Meſſage from God which he muſt immediately deliver to the Army. He went that Night to London, and next Day to Windſor; being come to the Council of Officers he told them, that the Lord had left them; that he would not proſper their Conſultations, but deſtroy them by Diviſions among themſelves, becauſe they had ſought to deſtroy the People of God, thoſe who had ſtood by them in their greateſt difficulties. He then went to the General, and without moving his hat told him, that God was highly diſpleaſed with him for committing of Saints to Priſon. The like Meſſage he delivered to Cromwell, and required him to take effectual meaſures for the enlargement of the Members of the Army that were committed for not complying with the general Council. He then took his leave of the Officers, telling them, he had now done his errand, and muſt leave them, never to ſee them any more. After which he went to London, and took leave of his Friends there, telling them, his work was done, and deſiring ſome of them to be careful of his Wife. Thurſday, Dec. 9, he returned to Ilford in perfect health; next day he told his Wife, that he had now finiſhed his work, and muſt go to his Father. Saturday Morning, Dec. 11, he was taken ſpeechleſs, and about four in the Afternoon he died.

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CHAP. X.

The ſecond Civil War. The Concluſion of the Aſſembly of Divines. The Progreſs of Preſbytery. The Treaty of the Iſle of Wight. Death and Character of King Charles I. His Works. And, the Authors of his unhappy Sufferings.

THE King was all laſt Winter a cloſe Priſoner in Cariſbrook Caſtle, attended only by two Servants of his own, but debarred of all other Converſation, without the Knowledge of the Governor; nevertheleſs, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome particular Friends, he ſent, and received ſeveral Letters from the Queen, though his Correſpondence was diſcovered oftener than he was aware. His Majeſty made ſeveral attempts to eſcape but was always diſcovered; Captain Burley attempted to raiſe the Iſland for him, but

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but was apprehended and executed. However, in purſuance of the ſecret Treaty with the Scots, already mentioned, an Army was raiſing in that Kingdom, to becommanded by Duke Hamilton, but the Engliſh Cavaliers, impatient of delay, without concerting proper meaſures among themſelves, or with the Preſbyterians, roſe up in Arms in ſeveral Counties to deliver the King from his Confinement, and to reſtore him without any Treaty with his Parliament.

Ruſhw. p. 1007.

The Welch appeared firſt, under Major General Langhorn, Colonel Poyer and Powell, three Officers in the Parliament Army, who had privately accepted Commiſſions from the Prince of Wales. Theſe were followed by others in Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, Suſſex, Surrey, Lincolnſhire, Norfolk, Kent, Northamptonſhire, Eſſex, and in the City of London itſelf. The inſurrection in the City began on Sunday, April 9th, in Moorfields, by a company of young Fellows with Clubs and Staves, crying out, for God and King Charles. But after they had done ſome miſchief in the Night, and frighted the Mayor into the Tower, they were diſperſed next Morning by the General at the Head of two Regiments. The Kentiſh Men under the Earl of Norwich plundered ſome Houſes, but were defeated near Maidſtone, and having a promiſe of pardon the main body laid down their Arms; but the Earl of Norwich, with five hundred reſolute Men, croſſed the Thames at the Iſle of Dogs, and came as far as Mile-End Green, expecting aſſiſtance from the City, but being diſappointed, he joined the Eſſex Cavaliers under Sir Charles Lucas and Lord Capel, who ſurprized the Parliament's Committee at Chelmsford, and then ſhut themſelves up in Colcheſter, where they maintained themſelves againſt General Fairfax for ten Weeks, till being reduced to the laſt extremity they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion Aug. 28th, after which the General marched round about the Country, and having quieted all inſurrections in thoſe parts returned to his head quarters at St. Alban's about Michaelmas. While Fairfax was in Kent and Eſſex, Lieutenant General Cromwell reduced the Welch by the End of June. About which time the Earl of Holland and Duke of Buckingham appeared at the head of five hundred Horſe and ſome Foot about Kingſton upon Thames, but they were ſoon diſperſed; the Earl was taken priſoner at St. Neot's in Huntingtonſhire by Colonel Scroop, and the Duke of Buckingham, with great difficulty, got into the Low Countries. About the ſame time ſeveral of the Parliament's Ships revolted to the Prince of

of Wales, then in Holland, who went on board, and with Prince Rupert, Lord Hopton, and others, failed to the coaſt of England with a deſign to relieve Colcheſter, but being diſappointed, he landed five hundred men about Deal and Sandwich, and blocked up the Thames Mouth; but when the Earl of Warwick came up with the Parliament's Fleet he failed back to Holland, and moſt of the Ships returned to the obedience of the Parliament. King Charles I. 1648.

It was not without great difficulty that the King's Friends in Scotland prevailed with their Parliament to conſent to the raiſing an Army againſt England, for the Commiſſioners of the Kirk, and the whole body of their Miniſters were vehemently againſt it; and when it was put to the vote, eighteen Lords and forty Commoners entered their Proteſt, from a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that by the flocking of the Loyaliſts to Edinburgh there was a private agreement between Hamilton and that party to lay aſide the Covenant, and reſtore the King without any conditions; to prevent which the Scots Parliament gave expreſs orders, that none ſhould be received into their Army, or join with them, at their entrance into England, but ſuch as ſhould take the Covenant; but Hamilton, who betrayed their cauſe, found means to evade the order, by which means he ruined himſelf, and the party he intended to ſerve. Rapin, p. 475. H. Mem. p. 359.

The Scots Army entered England July 8, to the number of twenty thouſand Foot and ſix thouſand Horſe, under the command of Duke Hamilton, and were met ſome time after by Sir Marmaduke Langdale at the head of four thouſand Foot and ſeven thouſand Horſe; but theſe being Engliſhmen and Cavaliers, who had not taken the Covenant, were not incorporated with the Scots Forces, but were obliged to march a Day before them, which was Hamilton's contrivance to evade his orders; nevertheleſs they were but one Army, Langdale being to receive all his Orders from Hamilton, and to act only by his directions. But though there was a private Underſtanding between the two Generals, the Subalterns, and Soldiers of both parties were not acquainted with it, but had the ſame incurable jealouſy of each others intentions as formerly; for the ſame reaſon the Preſbyterians in the Parliament at Weſtminſter commiſſioned their army to oppoſe the Scots, though they came into England with an avowed intention of reſtoring the King upon the Terms of the Covenant; which was the thing they wiſhed for above all things. The Scots Army enters England

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King Charles I. 1648.

It may ſeem ſurprizing, however, that there was no good underſtanding between the two Parliaments, when thoſe of England ſent Commiſſioners to Edinburgh to accompliſh it; but the Scots were ſo ſtrongly perſwaded, that the Parliament at Weſtminſter was ſtill governed by an Army of Independants, that all that Mr. Marſhal, and the reſt conld ſay, was not ſufficient to divert them from their enterprize, which is not to be wondered at, conſidering the ſtrength of the Hamiltonian Faction, and their obligations to the King by their ſecret Treaty. This appears from the Duke's Letter to Lambert, in which he acquaints him, that he was commanded to enter England with an Army, " for maintaining the Solemn League and Covenant; for " ſettling Religion; for delivering the King from his baſe " impriſonment; and freeing the Parliament from the con- " ſtraint put upon them." But the State of Affairs was now changed by the riſing of the Engliſh Cavaliers; the Army was in the Field, and divided into ſeveral diſtant parts of the Kingdom, and the Preſbyterians in as full poſſeſſion of the Government, as heretofore; they were reviving the Treaty with the King, and ſending propoſitions to the Scots to join with them; but the good underſtanding between the two Nations having been interrupted laſt Winter, by the growing influence of the Army, who were no Friends to Covenant Uniformity, the Scots would not be ſatisfied with the preſent revolution of affairs, unleſs they were diſbanded, and therefore had not changed the Inſtructions to their General. On the other hand, the Parliament could not with ſafety diſband their Army while the Cavaliers were in the Field; nor could they forbid their oppoſing the Scots, becauſe they had joined the common Enemy, and were marching into England with an armed force to deliver the King from his impriſonment, without concerting meaſures with the two Houſes, or communicating their ſecret treaty with his Majeſty in the Iſle of Wight. Thus the two Parliaments of England and Scotland oppoſed each other, when both had the ſame views, and were carrying on the very ſame Deſign. If the Scots Army had been commanded by a General the Preſbyterians could have confided in, and had marched directly for London, without joining the Cavaliers, the Parliament of England would have received them, while the Army was abroad, and the Citizens of London have opened their Gates; for the

Ruſhw. p. 1194.

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Engliſh Preſbyterians wiſhed them well; but by joining the common enemy, who were in Arms all over the Kingdom, they were ſtaggered; and Duke Hamilton, who betrayed their cauſe, by trifling away a whole month in the North, gave the Army, which was divided and diſperſed into diſtant parts, time to join, and defeat all their enterprizes. King Charles I. 1648. Ham. M. p. 337, 345, 353, &c.

The Scots invading England after this manner, and in the midſt of ſo many inſurrections, awakened men's fears, and made them apprehend the cauſe was to be fought over again. The Parliament was alarmed on every ſide, but the Army promiſed to ſtand by them, and march whereſoever the Committee of the two Houſes (appointed to manage their motions) ſhould direct. General Fairfax engaged heartily againſt the Cavaliers, but refuſed to march againſt the Scots, becauſe they had declared openly for the Covenant. Colonel Lambert therefore was ordered into the North, with a flying Squadron to harraſs them, till Lieutenant General Cromwell could come out of Wales to his aſſiſtance; the Scots having been joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had ſeized the important Town of Berwick, marched through Cumberland and Weſtmorland into Lancaſhire without oppoſition, but upon the 17th of Auguſt Cromwell having joined Lambert, and refreſhed his Troops, faced them near Preſton with eight or ten thouſand Men, and after a ſharp fight with the Cavaliers, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who were almoſt a day's march before the Duke, routed the whole Scots Army, and took eight or ten thouſand priſoners, with all their Artillery and Baggage; Hamilton fled with three thouſand Horſe, but was ſo cloſely purſued by Lambert, that he ſurrendered without ſtriking another ſtroke, and all his men were diſperſed or taken priſoners. Cromwell, after this, purſued his victory with rapid ſwiftneſs, marched directly to Edinburgh, which opened its Gates, and having changed the Magiſtracy, and ſettled the Government to his mind, he left three Regiments of Horſe to keep the Country quiet, and returned into England October 11, laden with martial Glory and Renown. And is defeated by Cromwell.

Before the Army left London, and while their influence over the Parliament continued, the Commons having taken into conſideration the affair of ſettling the Government, voted unanimouſly, that the Government of the Kingdom ſhould be ſtill by King, Lords, and Commons, and that the ground- Proceedings of Parliament. Ruſhw. p. 1074.

King Charles I. 1648.

ground-work for a Settlement ſhould be the propoſitions at Hampton Court, which ſhews, there was no deſign of changing the Government into a Commonwealth, as yet formed, at leaſt nothing appeared, though the Agitators, who were the chief Managers of the Army, began to mutter, that if the King could not be brought to reaſon he muſt be ſet aſide, and theDuke of Glouceſter, or one of his younger Children, placed on the Throne.

Which is entirely Presbyterian. Rapin, p. 504, 508, 511, 518.

The Army had no ſooner left the neighbourhood of the City, but the Preſbyterians reſumed the management of all publick Affairs. May 5, the Parliament reſolved to maintain the Solemn League and Covenant, and to unite with the Kingdom of Scotland upon the propoſitions of Hampton Court. The Militia of the City of London was reſtored to the Lord Mayor and Common Council; the eleven impeached Members, and the ſeven Peers were diſcharged; and, in ſhort, all that had been done againſt the Preſbyterian greatneſs by the influence of the Army laſt Winter, was reverſed; ſo that, as from Auguſt 6, 1647, to the beginning of May 1648, the Parliament may be ſuppoſed to be under ſome reſtraint from the Army; from that time to the end of the Treaty of the Iſle of Wight, it was at full liberty, and entirely under Preſbyterian Direction. Petitions came now from divers Counties, and from the City of London itſelf, for a perſonal Treaty with the King; upon which the Commons ſet aſide their Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and at the requeſt of the Lords conſented to treat with the King without his ſigning any preliminary propoſitions, hoping as matters then ſtood, his Majeſty would not delay a moment to grant their demands, that he might be releaſed from his confinement, and placed upon his Throne, before the Army ſhould be at leiſure to throw any obſtacles in the way; but here was the fatal overſight, the King and his Friends would not comply, nor the Preſbyterians relax, till both were driven out of the Field, and the Army at liberty to break all their meaſures.

Ruſhw. p. 1127.

Remarks on the Confuſion of the Times.

Let the Reader now pauſe a little, and reflect with grief upon the miſerable diſtractions of this unhappy Kingdom; here were three or four powerful parties with ſeparate views, and all at a criſis; the King was the golden prize contended for, who was a cloſe priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, and could do nothing himſelf, though by ſigning the Scots Treaty he was reputed the Author of that Invaſion,

Invaſion, and of the ſecond Civil War; the Cavaliers were in Arms to preſerve the Epiſcopal Church of England, but having concerted no meaſures among themſelves were eaſily diſperſed. The Scots came into England in purſuance of the Covenant, and the ſecret Treaty of the Iſle of Wight, but two miſtakes ruined this whole Enterprize; one was, their not communicating the Contents of that Treaty to the Engliſh Preſbyterians, which they might have done by their Commiſſioners before they marched into England, without the Knowledge of the Army. The other was Duke Hamilton's acting in concert with the Engliſh Cavaliers, allowing them to march in the van of his Army, which gave their Enemies in the Parliament at Weſtminſter a fair Opportunity of engaging the whole military Power of England againſt them; for without all doubt, if the Duke had prevailed, not only the Independant, but the Preſbyterian Cauſe, had been betrayed into the hands of the Cavaliers, which muſt, in the End, have been equally fatal to both Parties, and loſt them all the Advantages of the War. This fatal Conjunction broke the ſtrength of the Engliſh Preſbyterians, and played the Advantage into the hands of a third Party, which deſtroyed the other two. The Army, with whom were the Independants, Anabaptiſts, and other Sectaries, was governed by the Agitators, who had given up the King, and had an incurable Averſion to the Cavaliers, and all that adherr'd to them, as their moſt determined Enemies; nor could they confide in the Preſbyterians, becauſe in all their Treaties with the King they were made a Sacrifice, and given up to their Covenant Uniformity. Upon the whole, all Parties were reſolute in their demands, but diſunited in their Councils, and fatally diſtruſtful of each other. Among the Preſbyterians, ſome were for fighting only with the Cavaliers, and others for oppoſing the Scots Invaſion alſo; ſome of the Cavaliers were for reſtoring the King by their own Valour, and others for joining with the Scots as tools to play the game into their own hands. The Army was no leſs perplexed; thoſe that ſerved under General Fairfax were unwilling to march againſt the Scots Preſbyterians; but thoſe under Cromwell were for deſtroying every Power that would not ſecure them that Liberty of Conſcience they contended for; and not being able to obtain this from the King, nor the Scots or Engliſh Preſbyterians, they were driven to deſpair, and unhappily run upon thoſe extravagant meaKing Charles I. 1648.

King Charles I. 1648.

ſures which ended in the Subverſion of the Conſtitution, and Deſtruction of the King the following Winter.

"Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum!"

Concluſion of the Aſſembly of Divines. M. S. penes me.

In the mean time, let us attend the Affairs of the Church: The Aſſembly of Divines having finiſhed their main Buſineſs, was now reduced to a ſmall number, moſt of the Coutry Miniſters went home, and thoſe that remained about London were employed chiefly in the Examination of ſuch Miniſters as preſented themſelves for Ordination, or Induction into Livings; thus they continued till Feb. 22, 1648-9, about three weeks after the King's Death, having ſat five years, ſix months, and twenty days, in which time they had one thouſand, one hundred, and ſixty three Seſſions. They were afterwards turned into a Committee for the Purpoſes laſt mentioned, and met every Thurſday morning, till March 25, 1652, when the long Parliament being turned out of the Houſe by Oliver Cromwell they broke up without any formal Diſſolution.

Their Works.

The Works of the Aſſembly, beſides ſome Letters to foreign Churches, and occaſional Admonitions, were,

1. Their humble Advice to the Parliament for Ordination of Miniſters, and ſettling the Preſbyterian Government.
2. A Directory for publick Worſhip.
3. A Confeſſion of Faith.
4. A larger and ſhorter Catechiſm.
5. A Review of ſome of the thirty nine Articles.

But the Annotations on the Bible, which go under their name, were neither undertaken, nor reviſed by them, but by a Committee of Parliament, who named the Commentators, and furniſhed them with Books; nor were they all Members of the Aſſembly, as appears by the following Liſt.

Thoſe

Thoſe with Aſteriſms were not of the Aſſembly.

The Commentary on the five Books of Moſes.	Was Written by	The Rev. Mr. Ley, Subdean of Cheſter.
The Two Books of Kings, The Two Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Eſther,		Dr. Gouge.
The Pſalms,		* Mr. Meric Cauſabon.
Proverbs,		Mr. Francis Taylor.
Eccleſiaſtes,		Dr. Reynolds.
Solomon Song,		* Mr. Smalwood, recommended by Archbiſhop Uſher.
Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations,		Mr. Gataker.
Ezekiel, Daniel, and the ſmaller Prophets.		* Mr. Pemberton in the Firſt Edition. * Biſhop Richardſon in the Second.
Matthew, Mark, Luke, John,		Mr. Ley.
St. Paul's Epiſtles,		Dr. D. Featley, but his Notes are broken and imperfect, the Author dying before he had reviſed them.

There were two other Perſons concerned in this Work, who might probably have the other Parts of Scripture allotted them, not here mentioned, viz. Mr. Downham and Mr. Reading.

Their Character.

When Poſterity ſhall impartially review the Labours of this Aſſembly of Divines, and conſider the times in which they ſat, they will have a juſt Veneration for their Memory; for though their Sentiments in Divinity were in many Inſtances too narrow and contracted, yet with all their

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faults, amongſt which their perſecuting zeal for Religion was not the leaſt, they were certainly Men of real Piety and Virtue, who meant well, and had the intereſt of Religion at Heart; moſt of them had as much Learning as any in the times in which they lived; the names of Lightfoot, Selden, Gataker, Greenhill, Arrowſmith, Twiſſe, Biſhop Reynolds, Wallis, &c. will be always famous in the learned World; and had they not graſped at coercive Power, or Juriſdiction over the Conſciences of Men, their Memoirs would have been unſpotted. Mr. Baxter, who knew moſt of them, ſays, "They were Men of eminent "Learning, Godlineſs, miniſterial Abilities, and Fidelity; "and being not worthy to be one of them myſelf (ſays "he) I may more fully ſpeak the Truth which I know, "even in the face of Malice and Envy, that as far as I "am able to judge by the Information of Hiſtory, and by "any other Evidences, the Chriſtian World, ſince the "Days of the Apoſtles, had never a Synod of more ex-"cellent Divines than this Synod, and the Synod of Dort." They were in high Eſteem in the learned World till they run into Heats, and ſplit upon the fatal Rock of the Divine Right of the Preſbyterian Government; this engaged them firſt with the Parliament, and then with the Independants and Eraſtians; their oppoſing a Toleration raiſed them a great many Enemies, and divided their own Body, for after they had carried the Queſtion of Divine Right the Independants and Eraſtians deſerted them, after which they found it very difficult to get ſo many together as would make a Houſe. Had the Parliament diſſolved them at that time they had gone off with Honour, but they ſunk by degrees, as has been related; the Buſineſs of the Church being now tranſlated to the Provincial Aſſemblies.

Baxter's Life, P. 73.

Proceedings of the 3d Provincial Aſſembly. M S.

We have already remembered the two former of theſe Aſſemblies, the third met May 3, this year, and choſe the reverend Mr. Whitaker Moderator. In their fourth Seſſion they agreed to preſent a ſecond Petition to the Parliament in the name of the Province, humbly to deſire, 1. "That "they would renew the Conſideration of their former Peti-"tion. 2. That they would eſtabliſh the two Catechiſms "of the Aſſembly of Divines, and appoint them to be pub-"lickly taught throughout the Kingdom. 3. That they "would add their Civil Sanction to the new Confeſſion "of Faith. 4. That the Directory for public Worſhip "may be better obſerv'd; and that better Care may be "taken for the obſervation of the Lord's Day."——In their

their twelfth Seſſion October 6, they agreed to the Report of their Committee concerning the Cauſe of the decay of Religion, and of the Increaſe of Wickedneſs, which they ſay was chiefly owing to the want of able and ſettled Miniſters, there being above forty Pariſh Churches and Congregations within the Province that had no Miniſters ſettled among them by Allowance of Authority, a Catalogue of which Churches was ſubjoined. The Reaſon of this defect being chiefly want of maintenance, they pray the Houſes, "to agree upon ſome method, that the Dean and "Chapter Lands, and the Impropriations belonging to "Biſhops, lying within this Province, may be applied for "the Augmentation of the Clergy's Maintenance; and "there may be a fixed Maintenance in every Pariſh recoverable by the Incumbent." King Charles I. 1648.

The fourth Provincial Aſſembly met Nov. 3, the Reverend Mr. Edmund Calamy Moderator. In their third Seſſion, Nov. 23, they order'd that the ſeveral Miniſters of the Province of London do begin the Work of catechiſing; that they uſe the Aſſembly's Catechiſm, and no other; that the perſons to be catechiſed be Children and Servants not admitted to the Lord's Table; that the time be in the Afternoon before Sermon; and that they exhort their Pariſhioners to encourage it. In their fourth Seſſion, Nov. 30, that the twelve Claſſes of the Province of London obſerve their courſe for Ordination of Miniſters; and that at the cloſe of every publick Ordination notice be given which Claſſis is to ordain next. But the Nation being in confuſion, and the Clouds gathering thick over their heads, they did little elſe this Winter but keep a weekly faſt among themſelves, to avert the Judgments of God, which threatened the Life of the King, and the Diſſolution of the whole Government. The 4th Provincial Aſſembly.

The County of Lancaſhire being formed into another Preſbyterian Province this year, aſſembled at Preſton Feb. 7, 1648, and publiſhed a kind of paſtoral letter, or ſolemn Exhortation to the ſeveral Churches within their Province, to the practice of thoſe Duties that were requiſite to the ſupporting and carrying on the Preſbyterian Diſcipline, ſubſcribed by the Reverend Provincial Aſſembly of Lancaſhire. Vol. Pamp. No. 73.

Mr. James Hyett, Moderator,
Mr. Tho. Johnſon, Aſſeſſor,
Mr. Edw. Gee, Scribe.

King Charles I. 1648.

Agreement of the People. Rushw. p. 1358.

They likewise appointed a Committee to examine the Paper called The Agreement of the People, [hereafter to be mentioned] and tender'd to the "Consideration of the Nation by the Officers of the Army, with a desire "that they would by Subscription declare their Concur- "rence to it;" but it was carried in the negative. The design of this Paper was to change the Form of Government into a kind of Commonwealth, without a King or House of Lords. It was published by way of Probation, that they might learn the Sense of the Nation; but the Article relating to Religion being peculiar, and giving great Offence to the Presbyterian Clergy, shall be transcrib'd entire, "We do not impower our Representatives (say they) "to continue in force, or make any Laws, Oaths, or "Covenants, whereby to compel by penalties, or otherwise, "any person to any thing, in or about matters of Faith, "Religion or God's Worship; or restrain any person from "professing his Faith, or exercise of his Religion according "to his Conscience, in any house or place, except such as "are, or shall be set apart for the publick Worship. Ne- "vertheless, the Instruction or Direction of the Nation in "a publick way, for matters of Faith, Worship and Dis- "cipline, so it be not compulsive or express Popery, is "referr'd to their Discretion." The Agreement adds, "It is intended that the Christian Religion be held forth, "and recommended as the publick Profession in this Na- "tion, which we desire may, by the Grace of God, be "reform'd to the greatest purity in Doctrine, Worship, "and Discipline, according to the Word of God. The "instructing the People thereunto in a publick Way, pro- "vided it be not compulsive; as also the maintaining of "able Teachers for that end, and for the Confutation and "Discovery of Heresy, Error, and whatsoever is contrary "to sound Doctrine, is allowed to be provided by our "Representatives; the maintenance of Teachers may be "out of a Treasury, and we desire not by Tithes." But besides these, "All who profess Faith in God by Jesus "Christ, however differing in Judgment from the Doctrine, "Discipline, and Worship publickly held forth, shall be "protected in the Profession of their Faith, and Exercise "of their Religion acccording to their Consciences, so as "they abuse not this Liberty to the civil Injury of others, "or the disturbance of the publick Peace." These were generous and free Sentiments; but the Synod forbid their People to subscribe them, not only because the Agreement imported

imported a change in the Civil Government, but becauſe of the Miſchiefs that would attend a Toleration; their reaſons for which they publiſhed to the World March 6, 1648, ſubſcribed by fifty nine Miniſters. King Charles I. 1648.

The Provincial Aſſemblies of London met regularly every half year, to the year 1655, when finding themſelves without power, and not being willing to apply to the Protector and his Parliament for ſupport they deſiſted; but there were none legally formed in any other Counties of England. However, the Country Miniſters enter'd into voluntary Aſſociations, and erected a ſort of Claſſes for Ordination of Miniſters, and promoting Friendſhip and Peace among themſelves, many of the Independant Miniſters joining with them: The Aſſociations met once a month, at one or other Church in the County, and after Prayers and a Sermon confer'd upon the State of Religion, and gave their Advice upon ſuch Caſes as were brought before them in a neighbourly and friendly manner. Country Aſſociations.

To return to the Parliament, which was now recruited with ſuch Preſbyterian Members as had abſconded, or deſerted their Stations, while the Army was quartered in the Neighbourhood of the City; theſe Gentlemen finding they had the Superiority in the Houſe, reſumed their Courage, and took the opportunity of diſcovering their Principles and Spirit, by paſſing ſuch a Law againſt Hereticks as is hardly to be parallell'd among Proteſtants. It had been laid aſide by the Inſtance of the Army for above nine months, but May 1, it was voted, that all Ordinances concerning Church Government referr'd to Committees, be brought in and debated; and that the Ordinance againſt Blaſphemy and Hereſy be now determined, which was done accordingly. This was one of the moſt ſhocking Laws I have met with, and ſhews, that the governing Preſbyterians in theſe times would have made a terrible uſe of their Power, if it had been ſupported by the Sword of the Civil Magiſtrate. The Ordinance is dated May 2, 1658, and ordains, "That all Perſons who ſhall willingly "maintain, publiſh, or defend, by preaching or writing, "the following Hereſies with Obſtinacy, ſhall upon com-"plaint, or proof, by the Oaths of two Witneſſes, be-"fore two Juſtices of the Peace, or confeſſion of the "Party, be committed to Priſon, without Bail or Main-"prize, till the next Gaol Delivery; and in caſe the In-"dictment ſhall then be found, and the Party upon his Ordinance againſt Blaſphemy and Hereſy. Scobel's Collect. cap. 114. p. 149.

King Charles I. 1648.

" Trial ſhall not abjure his ſaid Error, and his defence and " maintenance of the ſame, he ſhall ſuffer the pains of " death, as in caſe of Felony, without Benefit of Clergy; " and if he recant or abjure, he ſhall remain in Priſon till " he find Sureties, that he will not maintain the ſaid He- " reſies or Errors any more; but if he relapſe, and is " convicted a ſecond time, he ſhall ſuffer death as before. " The Hereſies or Errors are theſe following.

1. " That there is no God.

2. " That God is not omnipreſent, Omniſcient, Almigh- " ty, Eternal, and perfectly Holy.

3. " That the Father is not God, that the Son is not " God, that the Holy Ghoſt is not God, or that theſe three " are not One eternal God; or, that Chriſt is not God " equal with the Father.

4. " The Denial of the Manhood of Chriſt, or that " the Godhead and Manhood are diſtinct Natures; or, " that the Humanity of Chriſt is pure and unſpotted of " all Sin.

5. " The maintaining that Chriſt did not die, nor riſe " again, nor aſcend into Heaven bodily.

6. " The denying that the death of Chriſt is meritorious " on the Behalf of Believers; or, that Jeſus Chriſt is the " Son of God.

7. " The denying that the Holy Scriptures of the Old " and New Teſtament are the Word of God.

8. " The denying of the Reſurrection of the Dead, and " a future Judgment."

The Ordinance goes on to mention ſome other Errors of leſs Demerit, and ſays, " That whoſoever ſhall main- " tain or defend them, ſhall, upon Conviction by the Oaths " of two Witneſſes, or by his own Confeſſion before two " Juſtices of Peace, be ordered to renounce his ſaid Er- " ror or Errors in the publick Congregation of the Pariſh " from whence the Complaint comes, or where the Of- " fence was committed, and in caſe of Refuſal he ſhall be " committed to Priſon till he find Sureties that he ſhall not " publiſh or maintain the ſaid Error or Errors any more. " The Errors are theſe following:

1. " That all Men ſhall be ſaved.

2. " That Man by Nature hath Free-Will to turn to " God.

3. That God may be worſhipped in, or by Pictures or " Images.

4. " That

4. " That the Soul dies with the Body, or after Death " goes neither to Heaven, or Hell, but to Purgatory. King Charles I. 1648.

5. " That the Soul of Man ſleeps, when the Body is " dead.

6. " That the Revelations, or workings of the Spirit, " are a Rule of Faith or Chriſtian Life, though diverſe " from, or contrary to the written word of God.

7. " That Man is bound to believe no more than by his " Reaſon he can comprehend.

8. " That the moral Law contained in the ten Com- " mandments is no Rule of the Chriſtian Life.

9. " That a Believer need not repent, or pray for par- " don of Sin.

10. " That the two Sacraments, of Baptiſm and the " Lord's Supper, are not Ordinances commanded by the " word of God.

11. " That the Baptiſm of Infants is unlawful and void; " and that ſuch perſons ought to be baptized again.

12. " That the obſervation of the Lord's Day, as en- " joined by the Ordinances and Laws of this realm, is not " according, or is contrary to the Word of God.

13. " That it is not lawful to join in publick, or family " Prayer, or to teach Children to pray.

14. " That the Churches of England are no true " Churches, nor their Miniſters and Ordinances true Mini- " ſters and Ordinances; or, that the Church Government " by Preſbyters is Antichriſtian or Unlawful.

15. " That Magiſtracy, or the power of the Civil Ma- " giſtrate, by Law eſtabliſhed in England, is unlawful.

16. " That all uſe of Arms, though for the publick de- " fence (and be the cauſe never ſo juſt) is unlawful."

Theſe Hereſies and Errors were taken from the Speeches or Writings of the Papiſts, Arminians, Antinomians, Arians, Baptiſts, and Quakers, &c. of thoſe times. The Ordinance was a comprehenſive engine of cruelty, and would have encloſed great numbers of good Chriſtians, and good Subjects. The Preſbyterians of the preſent age are not only thankful that the confuſion of the times did not permit their predeceſſors to put this Law in Fxecution, but wiſh alſo, that it could be blotted out of the Records of time, for 'tis ſo very unrighteous that no cenſure too ſevere can be paſſed upon it. Remarks.

June

King Charles I. 1648.

June 21. the Army being ſtill in the Field, and the Parliament at liberty, the Ordinance for the more effectual ſettling the Preſbyterian Government, without limitation of time, was read the ſecond time, and committed, on the 29th of Auguſt it was perfected, and received the ſanction of both Houſes, under the Title of "a Form of Church "Government to be uſed in the Churches of England and "Ireland." It is a collection of the ſeveral Ordinances for eſtabliſhing the branches of Preſbyterial Government already mentioned, and ordains, that "all pariſhes and places "whatſoever within England and Wales ſhall be under the "Government of congregational, claſſical, provincial, and "national Aſſemblies, except the Houſes or Chapels of "the King and his Children, and of the Peers of the "Realm, which are to continue free for the exerciſe of "divine Duties, according to the Directory, and not "otherwiſe; it gives directions for the choice of ruling El-"ders in every Pariſh, and for proper perſons to be judges "of the qualifications of the perſons choſen; it appoints "Commiſſioners to divide the whole Kingdom into diſtinct "claſſical Preſbyteries; it gives direction about the conſti-"tuting of provincial Synods, with the extent of their ſe-"veral powers; it determines the method of Ordination "of Miniſters, of diſpenſing Church Cenſures, and ſuſpen-"ſion from the Sacrament; and laſt of all, it gives direc-"tion for Excommunication and Abſolution," but lays no penalty upon Recuſants, or ſuch as do not come to the Sacrament, or ſubmit to their diſcipline; which was the utmoſt length that Preſbytery obtained in this Kingdom.

Ordinance for ſettling the Presbyterian Diſcipline. Schobel, cap. 118. p. 165.

The Parliament having agreed to treat with the King without any preliminary Conditions, ſent the Earl of Middleſex, Sir John Hipſly, and Mr. Bulkly, to acquaint his Majeſty with their Reſolutions, and to deſire him to appoint what place he pleaſed in the Iſle of Wight for the Treaty; his Majeſty ſeemed pleaſed with the meſſage, and ſent a letter to the two Houſes Aug. 10th, deſiring them to recal their Votes, which forbid the acceſs of his Friends, and to direct, that men of neceſſary uſe in this affair may be permitted to aſſiſt him; and that the Scots be parties in the Treaty. His Majeſty then appointed Newport in the Iſle of Wight for the place of Conference; to all which the Lords agreed without any reſtriction; but the Commons inſiſted, that no perſon lately in Arms againſt the Parliament be of the number; that the Scots be not included;

Treaty of the Iſle of Wight. Ruſhw. Vol. II. p. 1236.

ded; and, that if his Majesty be at liberty, as at Hampton Court, he pass his Royal Word not to go out of the Island during the Treaty, nor twenty eight days after, without consent of Parliament. King Charles I. 1648.

Upon these conditions his Majesty was conducted to Newport, and left at liberty upon his Parole of Honour. Several Noblemen, Gentlemen, Divines, and Lawyers, were appointed to assist him in the Treaty, who were to stand behind his Majesty's Chair and hear the debates, but not to speak, except when the King withdrew into another room for their advice: The Names of his Divines were, Dr. Juxton Bishop of London, Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Oldsworth, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Turner, Dr. Haywood; and towards the end of the Treaty Dr. Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Bramhall, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Warner, Dr. Ferne, and Dr. Morley; Dr. Brownrigge, Bishop of Exeter, was also sent for, but he was under restraint.

The Parliament appointed five Noblemen, ten Commonners, and four Divines to assist them in their Debates about Religion (viz.) Mr. Vines, Mr. Caryl, Dr. Seaman, and Mr. Marshal. The Treaty was to continue forty Days, and to proceed upon the propositions of Hampton Court. Sept. 12th, the Parliament kept a Day of publick Fasting and Prayer, for a Blessing; and some Days after the King and his Houshold did the like, when after the publick Service the following Prayer was read, drawn up by his Majesty's direction. Rapin, p. 526.

"O MOST merciful Father, Lord God of Peace "and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the "scourge of an unnatural War, do earnestly beseech thee "to command a blessing from Heaven upon this present "Treaty, begging for the establishment of an happy "peace. Soften the most obdurate Hearts with a true chri- "stian desire of saving those Mens Blood for whom Christ "himself hath shed his; or, if the guilt of our great sins "cause this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord, let the "truth clearly appear, who those men are, who, under "pretence of the publick good do pursue their own private "ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miser- "able, as not to see at least in this their day, the things "that belong to their peace. Grant this, gracious God, "for his sake, who is our peace itself, even Jesus Christ our "Lord. Amen."

The

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The Treaty began on Monday September 18th, about Nine in the Morning, at the Houſe of Sir William Hodges. The firſt Day the Commiſſioners preſented the King with a draught of three Bills; the firſt to eſtabliſh the Preſbyterian Government for ever in the Church of England; the ſecond to relinquiſh the Militia to the two Houſes for thirty years; and the third, to recal all his Majeſty's Declarations againſt the Parliament. To the laſt of theſe the King readily conſented, but excepted to the Preamble, in which were theſe words, "That the two Houſes of Parliament "had been neceſſitated to enter into a War in their juſt "and lawful defence." Inſtead of which, the King propoſed an Act of Indemnity; but the Commiſſioners inſiſting peremptorily upon it, as that without which they could not be ſafe, his Majeſty with great reluctancy conſented, having firſt proteſted in writing, that "no Conceſſion of his "ſhould be binding if the Treaty broke off without effect." His Majeſty yielded the Militia to the Parliament for twenty years; and the management of the Iriſh War. He conſented to vacate thoſe Titles of Honour that had been conferred ſince the carrying away the Great Seal, and to confirm the Parliament's Great Seal. He agreed to the payment of the publick Debts, provided they were ſtated within two years; to confirm the Charter of the City of London; to impower the Parliament to confer Offices, and conſtitute Magiſtrates for twenty years; and to take away the Court of Wards provided he might have fifty thouſand pounds a year in lieu of it. His Majeſty conſented further, that thoſe of his Party which they called Delinquents ſhould ſubmit to a Fine, or be prohibited the Court, if the Parliament ſaw fit; but he abhorred the thoughts of charging them with Treaſon, for acting by his Commiſſion, and therefore abſolutely refuſed to conſent to it.

Parliament's Propoſals and the King's Reply.

Ruſhw. p. 1263.

King's Conceſſions on the Article of Religion. Ruſhw. p. 1281.

With regard to Religion his Majeſty agreed, October 2. "that the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter be confirmed for three years; that the Directory and Preſbyterian Government be confirmed for the ſame time, provided that neither himſelf, nor thoſe of his judgment, "be obliged to comply with it; that a conſultation in the "mean time be had with the Aſſembly, and twenty Divines of his Majeſty's Nomination, what form of Church "Government ſhall be eſtabliſhed afterwards, with a clauſe "for the eaſe of tender conſciences. His Majeſty conſented further, that legal Eſtates for Lives, or for a "term

" term of years not exceeding ninety nine, ſhould be made " out of the Biſhops Lands and Revenues, for the ſatis- " faction of them that have purchaſed them, provided " that the Inheritance may ſtill remain to the Church, and " the reſt be reſerved for their maintenance. His Majeſty " will conſent further, to an Act for the better Obſervation " of the Lord's Day; for ſuppreſing Innovations in " Churches and Chapels; for the better advancing of " preaching God's holy Word; and againſt Pluralities and " Non-Reſidence. To an Act for regulating and reform- " ing the Univerſities, and the Colleges of Weſtminſter, " Wincheſter, and Eaton; for the better Diſcovery of " Papiſts, and for the educating their Children in the Pro- " teſtant Religion; to an Act for better putting the Laws " in Execution againſt Papiſts, and to prevent the hearing " and ſaying Maſs; but as to the Covenant, his Majeſty " is not yet ſatisfied to ſign or ſwear to it, or conſent to " impoſe it on the Conſciences of others." King Charles I. 1648.

Theſe Conceſſions about Church Government being de- " clared not ſatisfactory, as amounting only to a ſort of Interim, his Majeſty deſired to confer with the Parliament Divines for the ſatisfaction of his Conſcience, having been bred and inſtructed (as he ſaid) in the way he ſtands for, by his Father, the wiſeſt King and the beſt in the World, and therefore could not eaſily yield. There is hardly any thing to be met with in this Conference but what has been already taken notice of in his Majeſty's Debate with Mr. Henderſon, and in the Anſwer of the Smectymnuan Divines to Biſhop Hall, in the Second Volume of this Hiſtory; and therefore it will be the leſs neceſſary to enter into the ſame Particulars in this Place. His Majeſty propoſed ſome Scruples in Law about the Obligation of his Coronation Oath, which the Commiſſioners undertook to anſwer themſelves; but the Papers relating to the Unalterable Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy were referr'd to the Divines on both ſides, and were as follow: Conference between the King and Parliament Divines.

The King's Firſt Paper.

Newport, Oct. 2, 1648.

CHARLES REX,

" I conceive that Epiſcopal Government is moſt conſo- " nant to the Word of God, and of an Apoſtoilical Inſti- " tution, as it appears by the Scripture to have been prac- " tiſed by the Apoſtles themſelves, and by them commit- King's firſt Paper to the the Parl. Divines. Rel. Carol. Vol. II. p. 245.

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" ted and derived to particular persons as their Substitutes or " Successors therein, (as for ordaining Presbyters and Dea- " cons, giving Rules concerning Christian Discipline, and Acts xiv. 23. " exercising Censures over Presbyters and others) and has Acts vi. 6. " ever since, till these last times, been exercised by Bishops 1 Cor. xvi. 1. " in all the Churches of Christ; and therefore I cannot in 1 Cor. xiv. " Conscience consent to abolish the said Government.

1 Cor. v. 3. 3 John ix. 10. 1 Tim. v. 22. Titus i. 5. Rev. ii. 3. 1 Tim. v. 19. Titus iii. 10.

" Notwithstanding this my Perswasion I will be glad to " be informed, if our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave " the Church at Liberty, as they might totally alter or " change Church Government at their Pleasure, which, if " you can make appear to me, then I will confess that one " of my great Scruples is clean taken away, and then there " only remains,

" That being by my Coronation Oath obliged to main- " tain Episcopal Government, as I found it settled to my " hands, whether I may consent to the abolishing thereof " until the same shall be evidenced to me to be contrary to " the Word of God."

Abstract of the Parl. Divines Reply. Ib. p. 246.

The Parliament Divines, in answer to the first part of his Majesty's Paper admit, that the Apostles did exercise the extraordinary Powers his Majesty mentions; but deny, that they conferred them upon any particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors, and insist, that in Scripture there are only two Orders of Officers (viz.) Bishops and Deacons, Phil. i. 1. " To the Saints at Philippi that " are in Christ Jesus, with the Bishops and Deacons;" and that the Name, Office, and Work of a Bishop and a Presbyter is the same; as in Titus i. 5, and 7. " For this " Cause left I thee in Crete-----that thou shouldst ordain " Presbyters in every City; for a Bishop must be blame- " less." Acts xx. 27, 28. Paul called the Presbyters together, and charged them to " take heed to the Flock * Ἐπισκο- " over which the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops *. πους. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. " The Presbyters among you I exhort, " who also am a Presbyter, feed the Flock of God among † Ἐπισκο- " you, performing the Office of Bishops †." As the ποῦντες. Apostles were extraordinary Officers, so were Timothy and Titus (viz.) Evangelists, but neither of them are called Bishops in Scripture, much less were they fixed to Ephesus or Crete, but travell'd up and down to settle Churches in several Countries. They observe further, that in the same Order of Officers there was not any one superior to another; no Apostle above an Apostle, no Presbyter above a Presbyter,

Presbyter, nor one Deacon above another. They add, that the Angels of the Churches in the Revelations are never called Biſhops, nor is the Word uſed in any of St. John's Writings, who calls himſelf a Presbyter; from whence they argue the Identity of theſe Offices in Scripture, and the Equality of the Officers. They admit, that not long after the Apoſtles Times Biſhops are reported to have ſome Superiority above Presbyters, but this was not a Divine, but an Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution, as is evident from the Teſtimony of the moſt ancient Fathers, and the moſt conſiderable Writers in the Romiſh Church; to which they add the Suffrage of the firſt Reformers in King Henry the Eighth's Reign. The Erudition of a Chriſtian Man, printed 1643, ſays expreſly, that the Scripture mentions but two Orders, i. e. Biſhops or Prieſts, and Deacons. They conclude with obſerving, that the modern Epiſcopacy is very different from that which began to obtain in the ſecond and third Ages of the Church, inſomuch that the preſent Hierarchy, which is but an human Inſtitution, might be aboliſhed, and the other remain.

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After three Days his Majeſty, with the Aſſiſtance of his learned Divines, replied to the foregoing Paper, and acknowledges, "that the Words Biſhop and Presbyter are "ſometimes confounded in Scripture; he admits, that "Presbyters are Epiſcopi Gregis, Biſhops of the Flock; "but that Biſhops are Epiſcopi Gregis & Paſtorum within "their ſeveral precincts, i. e. Biſhops of the Flock and of "the Paſtors too; and that ſoon after, common Uſage "appropriated Biſhop to the Eccleſiaſtical Governor, leaving Presbyter to ſignify the ordinary Miniſter or Prieſt, "as appears from the ancient Fathers and Councils. He "admits the Calling of the Apoſtles and their Gifts to be "extraordinary, but adds, that their Miſſion to Govern "and Teach was ordinary and perpetual; that the Biſhops "ſucceeded them in the former, and Presbyters in the latter "Function.

Octob. 6. King's ſecond Paper. Rel. Carol. p. 260.

"His Majeſty ſtill inſiſts, that Timothy and Titus were "Biſhops, as appears from Antiquity, and by a Catalogue "of twenty ſeven Biſhops of Epheſus lineally deſcending "from Timothy, as is avouched by Dr. Reynolds againſt "Hart, and therefore the diſtinction between the Evangeliſt and a Biſhop is without foundation, the Work of an "Evangeliſt being no more than "Diligence in preaching "the Word, notwithſtanding all Impediments," accord-

"ing

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" ing to the Apoſtle, 2 Tim. ii. 4, 5. His Majeſty obſerves, " that the Parliament Divines had ſaid nothing to prove, " that the Angels of the Churches were not perſonæ ſingulares, and ſuch as had a Prelacy over Paſtors, i. e. " Biſhops, but that they dealt only in generals, and ſeemed " unwilling to ſpeak their opinions about them.

His Majeſty affirms, " that Biſhops are the Succeſſors " of the Apoſtles in all things not extraordinary, ſuch as " Teaching and Governing; and the Reaſons why they " are not mentioned as a diſtinct Order in the New Teſtament, are, 1. Becauſe the Apoſtles reſerv'd to themſelves " the Government of thoſe Churches where they appointed Preſbyters, and ſo 'tis probable the Philippians had " no Biſhop when Paul writ to them. 2. Becauſe in " the Epiſtles to Timothy and Titus, the Perſons to whom " he writ being themſelves Biſhops, there was no need to " write about the qualifications of any other Officers than " thoſe they wanted, which were Preſbyters and Deacons " only."

His Majeſty admits concerning the Ages after the Apoſtles, " That they are but a human Teſtimony, and yet " may be infallible in matter of Fact, as we infallibly " know that Ariſtotle was a Greek Philoſopher, &c. he " avers the genuineneſs of thoſe Epiſtles of Ignatius, which " give Teſtimony to the Superiority of a Biſhop above a " Preſbyter; and though his Majeſty's Royal Progenitors " had enlarged the Power and Privileges of Biſhops, he " conceives the Government to be ſubſtantially the ſame."

Octob. 17. Parl. Divines Reply. Rel. Carol. p. 277.

Eleven Days after the Parliament's Divines replied to the King's ſecond Paper, in which they ſay, that they can find no ſuch Partition of the Apoſtolical Office in Scripture, as his Majeſty mentions, (viz.) that the Governing part ſhould be committed to Biſhops, the teaching and adminiſtring the Sacraments to Preſbyters; but that the whole Work, per omnia, belongs to Preſbyters, as appears from the two Words uſed in the Acts of the Apoſtles and St. Peter's Epiſtle, Ποιμαίνειν, and Ἐπισκοπεῖν, under the force of which Words the Biſhops claim their whole right of Government and Juriſdiction; and when the Apoſtle Paul was taking leave of the Epheſian Preſbyters and Biſhops, he commits the Government of the Church, not to Timothy, who was then at his Elbow, but to the Preſbyters, under the name of Biſhops, made by the Holy Ghoſt: From whence they conclude; that Biſhops and Preſbyters muſt be only two names of the ſame Order. They obſerve, that the

the obſcurity of Church Hiſtory in the times ſucceeding the Apoſtles made the Catalogue Makers take up their Succeſſion upon Report; and 'tis a blemiſh to their Evidence, that the nearer they come to the Days of the Apoſtles, they are the more doubtful and contradictory. Theſe Divines are therefore of opinion, that human Teſtimony on both ſides, ought to be diſcharged, and the point in debate be determined only by Scripture. And here they take hold of his Majeſty's Conceſſion, that in Scripture the names of Biſhops and Preſbyters are not diſtinguiſhed; and that there is no mention but of two Orders, Biſhops and Deacons. They deſire his Majeſty to ſhow them, where the Scripture has aſſigned any particular Work or Duty to a Biſhop that is not common to a Preſbyter, for they apprehend his Majeſty's aſſerting that a Biſhop is an Eccleſiaſtical Governor, and a Preſbyter an ordinary Miniſter, is without any Demonſtration or Evidence; a few clear Paſſages of Scripture for the proof of this (they ſay) would bring the point to an Iſſue. They deny his Majeſty's Diſtinction of "Epiſcopi Gregis & Paſtorum, Biſhop of Sheep and Shepherds," as being the point in queſtion, and affirmed without any Evidence——That the Office of Teaching and Governing was ordinary in the Apoſtles, becauſe continued in the Church (we crave leave to ſay) is that great Miſtake which runs through the whole File of your Majeſty's Diſcourſe; for though there is a Succeſſion in the Work of teaching and governing, there is no Succeſſion in the Commiſſion or Office, by which the Apoſtles performed them; a Succeſſion may be to the ſame Work, but not to the ſame Commiſſion; and ſince your Majeſty can't produce any Record from Scripture warranting the Diviſion of the Office of Teaching and Governing into two Hands, we muſt look upon it but as an Invention of Men to get the power into their hands.

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Theſe Divines go on with a long proof that Timothy and Titus were Evangeliſts; that is, not fixed to one place, but travelling with the Apoſtles from one Country to another to plant Churches, and accordingly have drawn out an account of their Travels from the Acts of the Apoſtles, and St. Paul's Epiſtles. They obſerve the Weakneſs of his Majeſty's Reaſons, why Biſhops are not mentioned as a diſtinct Order in Scripture, and add a third of their own (viz.) Becauſe really they were not. As for the Apoſtles reſerving in their own Hands the power of governing, they admit, that they could no more part with it than with their

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Apoſtleſhip. Had they ſet up Biſhops in all Churches they had no more parted with their power of governing, than in ſetting up Preſbyters; Preſbyters being called Rulers, Governors, and Biſhops; nor could the Apoſtles reaſonably be ſuppoſed to commit the Government of the Church of Epheſus to the Preſbyters, when he was taking his laſt farewel of them, and yet reſerve the power of governing (in ordinary) to himſelf. His Majeſty's other Reaſon (they ſay) is inconcluſive, and in a Sort begging the Queſtion. They add, that it is very unaccountable, that if there had been two ſorts of Biſhops, one over Preſbyters, and the other over the Flock, that there ſhould be no mention, no mark of Difference, no diſtinct method of Ordination, by which they might be diſtinguiſhed, throughout the whole New Teſtament.

As to the Ages after the Apoſtles, they admit there were Preſbyter Biſhops, but not of Divine Inſtitution; that the Catalogues of Succeſſion are undoubtedly defective, but if they were not, it remains ſtill to be proved, that the Biſhops in the Catalogue were veſted with the Juriſdiction which the modern Biſhops claim.

Theſe Divines profeſs to honour the pious Intentions of his Majeſty's Anceſtors, and admit, that ornamental Acceſſions to the perſon make no ſubſtantial Change in the Office, but that the primitive Epiſcopacy, and the preſent Hierarchy, are eſſentially different. They acknowledge a Subordination of the Exerciſe of Juriſdiction to the Civil Power, and the Laws of the Land; and conclude with Thanks to his Majeſty's Condeſcenſion, in allowing them to examine his learned Reply, clothed in ſuch Excellency of Stile, and pray, that a pen in the hand of ſuch Abilities may ever be employed in a Subject worthy of it.

Nov. 1. 1648. King's laſt Paper. Ib. p. 324.

Some Days after his Majeſty offer'd his laſt Paper wherein "he acknowledges the great pains of theſe Divines to inform his Judgment, and takes particular Notice of the "Decency of their Manner, and of their reſpectful Addreſs to him upon this Occaſion, but ſays they miſtook "him, when they ſpoke of a Writ of Partition of the "Epiſcopal Office; whereas his meaning was, that the "Office of Teaching was common both to the Biſhop "and Preſbyter, but that Government was peculiar to the "Biſhop." His Majeſty declines anſwering to all the particulars, becauſe he would not draw out the Diſpute into a greater length, but ſeems not convinced by any Thing that had been offered; he affirms, that Timothy and Titus were

were Episcopi Pastorum, Bishops over Presbyters; and that Timothy had a distinct Work from Presbyters, that is, that he "might know how to behave himself in the Ex- "ercise of his Episcopal Office." His Majesty relies on the numerous Testimonies of ancient and modern Writers for the Scripture Original of Bishops, and adds, that the Testimonies of an equal Number of equal Credit to the contrary will signify nothing, because one Witness for the Affirmative ought to be of more Value than ten for the Negative.———In conclusion his Majesty put them upon evidencing one of these three things, (1.) Either, that there is no form of Church Government prescribed in Scripture. Or, (2.) If there be, that the Civil Power may change it as they see cause. Or, (3.) If it be unchangeable, that it was not Episcopal, but some other that they will name, for till this is done he shall think himself excusable for not consenting to the abolishing that Government which he found settled at his Coronation; which is so antient; has been universally received in the Christian World; has been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, and subscribed by all the Clergy of the Church of England. But the Ministers declined entring into so large a Field, which must have brought on a Debate upon the whole Ecclesiastical Polity of the Church.

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These were all the Papers that passed on both sides, and deserve the notice of those who would enter deep into this Controversy. His Majesty saying, that one Witness for the Affirmative, that Episcopacy is of Divine Institution, ought to be of more value than ten for the Negative, is (I apprehend) one of the weakest and most frivolous Arguments of his Letter; for 'tis but changing the Form of the Question, and making the Presbyterian say, that Presbytery is of Divine Institution, and then asking his Majesty, or any Episcopal Divine, whether one Affirmative Testimony ought to be of more value than ten Negative ones of equal merit. His Majesty's Stile is strong and masculine, and the Parliament Divines decent and respectful. Sir Phil. Warwick read the King's Papers before the Commissioners, and Mr. Vines those of the Ministers: All was manag'd with the greatest Propriety, which makes it hard to account for Lord Clarendon's Account of the Behaviour of these Divines, who says, "they all behaved with that p. 216. "Rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a "King any more than to a Bishop; that they inveigh'd bit- "terly against the Pride and Lustre of Lord Bishops; that

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" two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King, that " if he did not consent to the utter abolishing of Bishops, " he would be damned; the Men were Spurstow and " Jenkins, who after the return of King Charles II. ac- " cording to the modesty of that Race of People, came " to kiss his Majesty's hand." And yet neither of the Divines above-mentioned were nominated to assist at the Treaty, nor had any share in the Debates. Mr. Baxter says, " All the Parliament Divines came off with great " honour." But such is his Lordship's candour towards any thing that looks like a Presbyterian!

Of the Coronation Oath.

The King's second difficulty, relating to his Coronation Oath, by which he apprehended himself bound to maintain Episcopal Government as he found it settled when he received the Crown, the Commissioners did not think so proper for the Determination of Divines, because it depended upon the Law of the Land, and therefore took this part of the Debate upon themselves. The King conceived, " That the consent of the Clergy themselves in Convoca- " tion assembled, was necessary before they could be de- " prived of those Possessions and Privileges of which they " were legally possessed." But the Commissioners maintained that the Legislature alone was to determine in this case, as it did at the Reformation; that it was not to be supposed, that any Body of Men would consent to part with their Possessions if they could keep them; but " if " the Legislature judged any part of the King's Corona- " tion Oath hurtful to the publick it was certainly in their " Power, with the Consent of the King, to alter or annul " it."——One may justly wonder, that this Branch of the Coronation Oath should stick so much with the King, when it was notorious that his Government for almost fifteen years, was one continued Breach of Magna Charta, and an Invasion upon the Civil Liberties of his Subjects, without their consent in Parliament, or any other way.

The King's final Concessions.

But neither Party would accede to the other, tho' the Article of Religion was almost the only point that hinder'd the Conclusion of the Treaty: His Majesty wondered at the shyness and unwillingness of the Parliament Divines to debate his three Questions, and told them plainly, that their Endeavours to give him Satisfaction in them, would have added to the Reputation of their Ingenuity in the whole Undertaking, it not being probable that they should work much upon his Judgment while they were fearful to declare their own; or possible to relieve his Conscience, but by a

Rush. p. 1291.

free

free declaring of theirs. But what was all this to the point? the only queſtion before them was, whether Dioceſan Epiſcopacy was of Divine Inſtitution? if they had ſatisfied his Majeſty in that they had done their Duty; to launch out farther was to loſe time and protract the Treaty beyond its limits. If Dioceſan Epiſcopacy was not ſcriptural it might be aboliſhed, which was all the Parliament contended for at preſent. But the King's Divines made him diſpute every inch of ground, and inſtead of yielding any one point to the Miniſters, ſtarted new difficulties, which was his ruin. However, towards the cloſe of the Treaty, when the conquering Army was returning towards London, and things were almoſt come to an extremity, his Majeſty told the Commiſſioners, "that though he could not with a good "conſcience conſent to the aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, be-"cauſe he believed the Subſtance of it to be of apoſtolical "Inſtitution, he was willing to reduce it to the primitive "uſage; and if his two Houſes ſhould ſo adviſe, he would "be content to leſſen the extent, and multiply the num-"ber of Dioceſſes———He ſtill apprehended the entire "alienation of the Biſhops Lands by ſale to be Sacrilege— "He was willing to aſſent to the calling and ſitting of the "Aſſembly of Divines, as deſired——He would alſo con-"firm the publick uſe of the Directory in all Churches and "Chapels, and would repeal ſo much of all Statutes as "concerned the Book of Common Prayer only; provided "the uſe thereof might be continued in his Majeſty's "Chapel for himſelf and his Houſhold; and that the "ſame [i. e. the Directory] ſhould be confirmed by Act of "Parliament for three years, provided a conſultation be "had in the mean time with the Aſſembly of Divines as "before mentioned—Touching the Articles of Religion "[the Aſſembly's Confeſſion] his Majeſty deſired further "time to examine them before he bound up himſelf and "his ſubjects in matters of Faith and Doctrine———His "Majeſty will conſent to an Act for better obſervation of "the Lord's Day, and to prevent ſaying of Maſs——But "as to the Covenant, his Majeſty was not ſatisfied to take "it, nor to impoſe it upon others."

King Charles I. 1648. Ruſhw. P. 1301, 1302.

Theſe conceſſions being voted unſatisfactory by the two Houſes at Weſtminſter, his Majeſty conſented further, October 21. 1. "That Archbiſhops, Chancellors, Deans, "and the whole Hierarchy, be aboliſhed, except Biſhops. "2. That none but the Preſbyterian Government be exer-"ciſed for three years. 3. That in caſe no ſettlement

King Charles I. 1648.

" ſhould be agreed upon within that time, that then for the " future the power of Ordination ſhould not be exerciſed " by Biſhops without the Council and Aſſiſtance of Preſ- " byters; that no other epiſcopal Juriſdiction ſhould be " exerciſed but ſuch as ſhould be agreed upon in Parlia- " ment; and if within that time his Majeſty ſhould be " convinced that Epiſcopacy is not agreeable to the Word of " God, or that Chriſt commanded any other Government, " he will embrace it, and take Epiſcopacy quite away." The Houſes not being ſatisfied with theſe Conceſſions, his Majeſty added, November 4, " That he would make no " new Biſhops for three years; and for the further Satisfac- " tion of the Parliament, he would not inſiſt upon the " uſe of the Common Prayer in his own Chapel for that " time, but would make uſe of ſome other form of divine " Service for himſelf, and forbid Maſs to be ſaid in the " Queen's Chapel." This was his Majeſty's final anſwer, which the Commons voted unſatisfactory, and ordered the Commiſſioners to acquaint him with their Votes.

Arguments and Motives of the Parl. Commiſſioners to gain the King's Conſent. Ruſhw. p. 1335. Whitl. p. 351.

The Treaty was prolonged three weeks after this, in which time the Commiſſioners did all that was in their power to obtain his Majeſty's Conſent, beſeeching him with Tears upon their bended Knees, ſince matters were brought to ſo narrow a compaſs, to yield up the point of Religion. In their laſt paper of Nov. 20, they beſeech him to conſider, " That it is not the Apoſtolical Biſhop which the Par- " liament deſire him to aboliſh, but that Epiſcopacy which " was formerly eſtabliſhed by Law in this Kingdom, and " has been found by experience to be an hindrance to piety, " a grievance to the Subject, an encroachment upon the " power of the Civil Magiſtate, and ſo a burden to the " perſons, purſes, and conſciences of Men. They do not " meddle with the Apoſtolical Biſhop, nor determine what " that Biſhop was whom the Apoſtles mention in Scrip- " ture; but they are for putting him down by a Law who " was ſet up by a Law; and certainly nothing can be more " proper for Parliaments, than to alter, repeal, or make " Laws which appear to them for the good of the Com- " monwealth.

" But admitting Apoſtolical Biſhops were within the " purport of this Bill, we humbly conceive it does not fol- " low, that therefore in conſcience it muſt not be paſſed, " for we may not grant, that no occaſion can make that " alterable which has foundation only in the practice of the " Apoſtles, and not in a precept. Some things have cer-

" tainly

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" tainly been altered which the Apoſtles practiſed; circum-
" ſtances many times change the nature of moral actions;
" for the attaining a great good, or the avoiding a great
" evil, that which, ſingly conſidered, is not fit to be done,
" and, perhaps, would be a fault if it were, may become
" a duty, and a Man may be bound in conſcience to do it.
" And if ever circumſtances could have a more powerful
" and conſiderable influence than in this juncture, we leave
" to your Majeſty's conſideration. But this is ſaid only for
" argument ſake, admitting, but not granting the grounds
" on which your Majeſty is pleaſed to go, in refuſing to paſs
" this Bill." The Strength of the Commiſſioners Reaſoning upon this Head may be ſeen at once in this ſhort Syllogiſm; " Whatſoever is not of divine Inſtitution may be
" very lawfully altered, changed, or reverſed——But the
" Epiſcopacy which is eſtabliſhed in the Church of Eng-
" land is not that Epiſcopacy mentioned in Scripture——
" therefore the Laws which eſtabliſhed it may take it away.

The Commiſſioners go on, " As for the Sale of Biſhops
" Lands, which your Majeſty conceives to be Sacrilege,
" we humbly offer, that Biſhopricks being diſſolved their
" Lands revert to the Crown, which is their foundation
" and patron, and heretofore held it no Sacrilege to diſ-
" poſe of Biſhops Lands to its own and other uſes by Act
" of Parliament, which was an ordinary practice in your
" Majeſty's Predeceſſors, Kings and Queens of this Nati-
" on. Beſides, in all Ages, even under the ceremonial
" Law, imminent and urgent neceſſity has diſpenſed with
" the alienation of conſecrated things.

" Your Majeſty is pleaſed to ſay, you cannot commu-
" nicate in a publick form of Divine Service, where it is
" uncertain what the Miniſter will offer to God. But we
" beſeech your Majeſty to be informed, that the Directory
" ſets down the matter of the Prayer which the Miniſter is
" to uſe; words and expreſſions for enlargement being left
" to his diſcretion. But give us leave to add, that this
" ought to be no objection with your Majeſty, for then
" one muſt not hear any prayer before Sermon, for here
" every Miniſter has a ſeveral Form, which he varies ac-
" cording to occaſion.

" Upon the whole therefore we humbly hope, that your
" Majeſty, after a moſt ſerious conſideration, will diſcern
" the juſt cauſe which the two Houſes have for remaining
" unſatisfied with your Majeſty's Conceſſions, with relation

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" to the Church, for they are apprehenſive, that after the " expiration of the three years in which Epiſcopal Go- " vernment is to be ſuſpended, a Biſhop ſo qualified as " your Majeſty expreſſes will riſe again ; for if you ſhould " not in the mean time agree with your Parliament upon " any other form of Government, which depends wholly " upon your Majeſty's Pleaſure, no other Government can " be ſet up ; and then this Epiſcopacy will return with ſo " great power, that the Biſhop may chooſe whether any " Miniſter at all, ſhall be made in the Church of England, " and thoſe that ſhall muſt be at his Devotion, he having " the negative Voice in Ordination, which, we humbly " conceive, is no where declared in Scripture to be the pre- " rogative of an Apoſtolical Biſhop.

" We humbly ſay further, that the charging Biſhops " Lands with Leaſes for ninety nine years is not ſufficient, " becauſe there is a Rent reſerved to the Biſhop, and the " property will continue as before ; ſo that it can't be ex- " pected that the Presbyterian Government ſhould be " complied with, and exerciſed with profit or comfort to " the Church, as long as a door is left open for the return " of a ſuperior Power upon the firſt opportunity.

" We hope your Majeſty will pardon our preſſing in this " manner ; our intention is not to offer violence to your " Majeſty's Conſcience, but to endeavour to inform it in a " matter that appears to the two Houſes of ſo great Con- " ſequence. We again humbly beſeech your Majeſty to " review our former Papers ; call to mind thoſe Reaſons " and Arguments which in debate have been uſed upon this " Subject, with ſuch others as your own Wiſdom ſhall " ſuggeſt, and then be pleaſed to give your Royal con- " ſent to the Particulars above ſpecified, that both " your ſelf and your People may have Cauſe to re- " joice."

States of Scotland preſs the King's Conſent. Ruſhw. p. 1304.

The Committee of States in Scotland joined with the Parliament Commiſſioners in beſeeching his Majeſty to conſent to the Propoſition about Religion, which they underſtood to be the point his Majeſty moſt ſtuck at, and which they in honour and intereſt were obliged moſt to inſiſt upon, and without which (they add) his Throne cannot be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs. They alſo writ to the Prince of Wales to mediate with his Father. The General Aſſembly, and the Commiſſioners of the Kirk of Scotland,

land, sent at the same time two frowning letters, for (it was said) they could speak more plainly in the Name of their Master than the Commissioners of Estates would venture to do in their own. But his Majesty was deaf to all arguments and perswasions, being determined, if his two Houses did not think fit to recede from the strictness of their demands in these Particulars, to cast himself (as he said) on his Saviour's goodness to support and defend him from all afflictions, how great soever, which might befal him, rather than upon publick Considerations deprive himself of the Tranquillity of his Mind; and therefore, excepting his Majesty's "Consent to license the Assembly's lesser Catechism with a proper Preface," in all other matters in difference he resolved to abide by his former Answers.

King Charles I. 1642. Clarend. p. 224. Rushw. p. 1326. 1334.

At the close of the Treaty the King made a short Speech to the Commissioners, in which he reminds them how far he had condescended for the sake of Peace. He desired them to put a good interpretation on his vehement expressions in some parts of the Debates, there being nothing in his intentions but Kindness; and that as they had used a great deal of freedom, and shewed great abilities in their Debates, which had taken him off from some of his Opinions, that they would use the same freedom with his two Houses, to press them to an abatement of those things in which his Conscience was not yet satisfied, which more time might do, his opinion not being like the Laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable or infallible; adding his very hearty thanks for the pains they had taken to satisfy him, professing that he wanted Eloquence to commend their Abilities. He desired them candidly to represent all the Transactions of the Treaty to his two Houses, that they might see nothing of his own interest, how near or dear soever (but that wherein his Conscience is not satisfied) can hinder, on his part, an happy conclusion of the Treaty.

King's Speech to the Commissioners. Vol. Pam. No. 83.

The King's Concessions were certainly a sufficient foundation for Peace with the Presbyterians, if they could have been relied upon, and were so voted by the Parliament when it was too late. His Majesty had given up the main Pillars of the Hierarchy, by consenting to abolish Archbishops, Deans, and Chapters, and that a Bishop should not act without his Presbyters; which was Archbishop Usher's Scheme, and all that the Puritans at first contended for; but the Scots and English Presbyterians not being so apprehensive of danger from the Army as they ought,

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ought, concluded they could not fail of their whole Eſtabliſhment in a few weeks, though there was not the leaſt mention of Liberty of Conſcience for Diſſenters, which, they were ſenſible, muſt occaſion high diſcontents in the Army. The Commiſſioners would willingly have relaxed to an accommodation, and took all opportunities to aſſure his Majeſty, that if he would but yield for a time, things ſhould be made eaſy to him afterwards. But the truth is, as the King would not truſt the Parliament, ſo neither would they the King, becauſe they obſerved, (1.) His dilatorineſs in the Treaty, as if he waited for ſome advantagious Turn of Affairs to revoke his Conceſſions. (2.) His reſolute diſputing every inch of ground without yielding a ſingle Propoſition. (3.) His Majeſty's maxim, "That "what was yielded out of Neceſſity was not binding when "the Reſtraint was taken off." (4.) They ſuſpected his Sincerity, becauſe the Duke of Ormond was at this very time treating with the Iriſh Rebels by his Majeſty's Commiſſion, which he would not recal. (5.) They remembered his Majeſty's artful manner of interpreting away his Conceſſions. (6.) They gave out that he was not his own Maſter, but that his Conſcience was under the directions of his Divines, who would put him upon all extreams for their Support. (7.) They were incenſed at the Murders and Depredations of the Cavalier Soldiers, even after they were beaten out of the Field, and were afraid of their recovering the management of publick Affairs. And laſtly, they were as firmly in the belief of the divine Inſtitution of Preſbytery, and the Obligation of the Covenant, as the King and his Divines could be of the neceſſity of Epiſcopacy.

Clar. p. 222.

Book XI. p. 217.

But under all theſe Prepoſſeſſions Lord Clarendon obſerves ſome of the Commiſſioners found means to advertiſe the King in private, "that they were of his Majeſty's Judg- "ment about Church Government, which they hoped "might be preſerved, but not by the method his Majeſty "purſued; that all the reaſonable hope of preſerving the "Crown was in dividing the Parliament and the Army, "which could be done no other way than by giving ſatiſ- "faction with Reference to the Church. This might pro- "bably unite the Parliament and the City of London, and "enable them to bring his Majeſty to London with ho- "nour, where he might have an opportunity of gaining "more abatements than he could ever expect by refuſing "to ſign the Preliminaries. Many Advertiſements came

"from

" from his Majeſty's Friends in London, and other Places, " that it was high time the Treaty was at an end, before " the Army drew nearer London, which it would ſhortly " do, as ſoon as thoſe in the North had finiſhed their " Works." Sir J. Browning begged his Majeſty, in his Cloſet, to make all his Conceſſions in one Declaration, at one inſtant, and in one day. The Parliament Commiſſioners were no leſs importunate with the King, but he was inflexible, and uſually out of humour. Remarkable are the Words of Mr. Whitlock, ſpeaking of the above-mentioned Conceſſions; " More than this could not be obtained, " though moſt earneſtly begged of his Majeſty by ſome of " the Commiſſioners (great Perſons) with Tears, and up- " on their Knees, particularly, as to the Propoſition con- " cerning Religion, wherein Church Government, pub- " lick Worſhip, and chiefly the Revenues of the Church, " ſwayed more with the King's Chaplains then about him; " and they more with his Majeſty (continually whiſpering " matters of Conſcience to him) than the Parliament, " and all his Commiſſioners, could prevail with him for an " agreement, though poſſibly his own Judgment (which " was above all theirs) might not be ſo fully convinced by " his eager Divines about him." But theſe had poſſeſſion of his Majeſty's Conſcience, and directed his Anſwers: And though they abhorred the thoughts of depoſing the King, or putting him to Death, it ought to be conſidered, whether their ſtiff and imprudent behaviour did not manifeſtly lead the way to it?

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Whitl. Mem. p. 335, 336.

His Majeſty being intangled in this manner was pleaſed, before the breaking up of the Treaty, to ſend for Archbiſhop Uſher, and aſked him this Queſtion, " Whether he " found in all Antiquity, that Presbyters alone ordained " any?" To which the Archbiſhop replied frankly, that he could ſhew his Majeſty more than that, " even that Pre- " byters alone had ſucceſſively ordained Biſhops," and inſtanced in St. Jerom's Words, in his " Epiſt. ad Evagrium," where he ſays, the Presbyters of Alexandria choſe and made their own Biſhops from the Days of Mark the Apoſtle till Heraclus and Dionyſius. At the ſame time the Archbiſhop offered his Majeſty his own Scheme for the reduction of Epiſcopacy to the Form of Presbytery, which his Majeſty had formerly rejected, but was now at length willing to accept, as the Archbiſhop himſelf told Mr. Baxter; but the Scots and Engliſh Presbyterians would not acquieſce.

Archbiſhop Uſher's Sentiments.

Baxter's Life, p. 206.

Though

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Though the Commiſſioners had no power to recede from their Inſtructions, the Treaty was prolonged from Time to Time in hopes that ſomething or other might gain upon the King; but his Majeſty was frequently out of temper, and treated the Commiſſioners with no degree of confidence. The forty Days to which the Treaty was limited being ended Octob. 28, it was prolonged for ſeven Days, then for fourteen, and ſo on, to the 28th of November, for which (ſays Lord Clarendon) his Majeſty was nothing glad; nor did his Friends in the Houſe deſire the Prolongation, but was moved by thoſe that wiſhed the Treaty might have no good Effect, to give the Army time to finiſh their Summer's Work, and return to London. On the laſt Day of the Treaty, when the Commiſſioners preſſed his Majeſty to conſider, that there was not one whole Day to determine the Fate of the Kingdom, and that nothing could ſave his Majeſty from the growing Power of the Army, but giving his two Houſes ſatisfaction in the particular of the Church, "then (ſays Lord Clarendon) "his Majeſty's own Council and the Divines, beſought "him to conſider the ſafety of his Perſon, even for the "Church's ſake, which had no proſpect of being preſerv-"ed but by his Life, that the unavoidable neceſſity that "lay upon him obliged him to do any thing that was not "Sin." But why did they not do this ſooner? However, it ſeems "they could not prevail for a ſuſpenſion of the "Epiſcopal Power in a point of Ordination and Juriſdicti-"on, till he and the two Houſes ſhould agree what Go-"vernment ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the future." Which was the Subſtance of all his Majeſty meant by his Conceſſions. After Supper the Commiſſioners took their leave, and having kiſſed his Majeſty's Hand, began their Journey next Morning towards London. 'Tis heroick Language that Mr. Warwick puts into the King's Mouth on this occaſion: His Majeſty ſaid to him one Night, "I am like a "Captain that has defended a place well, and his Superi-"ors not being able to relieve him he had leave to ſur-"render it; but though they cannot relieve me in the "time let them relieve me when they can, elſe (ſays he) "I will hold it out till I make ſome Stone in this Build-"ing my Tomb-Stone; and ſo will I do by the Church of "England."

Conclusion of the Treaty.

p. 232.

Book XI. p. 227.

Lord Clarendon is of opinion, "That the major part "of both Houſes, as well as the Commiſſioners, were

"at

" at this time so far from desiring the Execution of all their " Concessions, that if they had been able to have resisted " the wild Fury of the Army, they would themselves have " been Suitors to have declined the greatest part of them." And were not the King's Counsellors and Divines sensible of this? Why then did they trifle away the Time in fruitless Debates for above a month, when it was evident to all Men that every day the King lost made his condition more desperate? But thus ended the famous Treaty of Newport, which, like all the rest, proved unsuccessful, chiefly from an incurable jealousy and distrust between the contending parties, which, how reasonable it was on either Side must be left with the Reader. King Charles I. 1648.

The noble Historian observes, that the King sent the Prince of Wales a Journal of the Proceedings of the Treaty, and an exact Copy of all the Papers that had passed to the 29th of November, together with a Letter of six Sheets of Paper writ with his Majesty's own hand, containing the reasons and motives of all his Concessions. The conclusion of the Letter, his Lordship says, deserves to be preserved in Letters of Gold, as it gives the best Character of that excellent Prince; but the copy does not in my opinion, resemble the Original. Some Passages of it are these, " ——We have laboured long in the same steps.— Prefer " the Way of Peace——Conquer your Enemies by par- " doning rather than by punishing——Never affect more " Greatness or Prerogative than that which is really and " intrinsically for the good of your Subjects, not the Satis- " faction of Favourites. You may perceive that all Men " entrust their Treasure where it returns them Interest. If " Princes, like the Sea, receive, and repay all the fresh " Streams the Rivers intrust them with, they will not " grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an Ocean " ——If God restore you to your Right what ever you " promise keep——Don't think any thing in this World " worth obtaining by false and unjust means——" These are excellent Maxims of Government; but surely if his Majesty had conducted himself by them he could not have been reduced to such a low and destitute Condition, as to have hardly a place in the World to hide himself in; " for, says Lord Clarendon, there was at that time no " Court in Christendom so honourably or generously con- " stituted, that it would have been glad to have seen him, " and they who wished him well, did not wish his escape, " becaufe King's Letter to the Prince. Book XI. p. 229. Clarend. p. 231.

King Charles I. 1648.

"because they imagined Imprisonment was the worst that "could befal him."

Remarks.

I am unwilling to suspect the genuiness of this Letter, though there were so many Forgeries put upon the World about this time to advance his Majesty's Piety and Virtue, that one can hardly feel the Ground he treads on. If such a Letter was sent to the Prince it is very strange he should never see it; or that his Lordship, who lived in the Prince's Family, and extracted his account of the Treaty of Newport from these Papers (as he declares) should never shew it his Master; and yet these are the Words of Bishop Burnet, in the History of his Life and Times, "The Duke "of York suffered me to talk very freely to him about "Religion, and he told me among other things, That "the Letter to the Prince of Wales was never brought to "him."

P. 51.

The Case of the Army.

The Army had been six Months in the Field this Summer fighting against the Cavaliers and Scots, but both being now reduced and conquered they began to express an high dissatisfaction with the present Treaty, because no provision was made for the point they had so much at Heart, which was Liberty of Conscience. Here they had just reason of complaint, but ought not to have relieved themselves by the methods, and at the expence they did. They were thoroughly incensed against the King and his Cavaliers on one hand, and the high Presbyterians on the other. It appeared to them, that the King's Sentiments in Religion and Politicks were not changed; that he would always be raising new Commotions till things returned to their former Channel; that in the present Treaty he had yielded nothing but by constraint; and, that when he was restored to his Throne they should never be safe in their Lives or Fortunes after the shedding so much loyal Blood. On the other hand, if Presbyterian Uniformity should take place by virtue of the present Treaty their condition would not be much mended; for (said they) if the King himself cannot obtain Liberty to have the Common Prayer read privately in his own Family, what must the Independants and Sectaries expect? What have we been fighting for, if after all the hazards we have run to set up Presbytery as the established Religion, we must be banished our Country or driven into Corners?

Their Proceedings.

While the Resentments of the Army ran thus high, their Officers, who were high Enthusiasts, but otherwise Men of sober and virtuous Morals, kept several days of Fasting

Faſting and Prayer at their Head Quarters at St. Alban's, till at length being in deep deſpair, and having worked themſelves up to a kind of ſpiritual phrenſy, they entered upon the moſt deſperate meaſures, reſolving to aſſume the Sovereign Power into their own Hands; to bring the King to Juſtice; to ſet aſide the Covenant; and change the Government into a Commonwealth. To accompliſh theſe monſtrous Reſolutions, which were founded (as they ſaid) upon Self Preſervation, though carried on by methods ſubverſive not only of the Rights of Parliament, but of the very Laws of Society itſelf, the Officers agreed upon a Remonſtrance, which was preſented to the Parliament by ſix of their Council, Novem. 20, eight Days before the expiration of the Treaty with the King, together with a Letter from General Fairfax to the Houſe, deſiring it might have a preſent reading. King Charles I. 1648.

The Remonſtrance ſets forth the Miſcarriages of the King's Government; his double and dilatory Proceedings in Treaties, particularly in that now on Foot; and then deſires the Houſe to return to their Votes of Non-addreſſes; to lay aſide that bargaining Propoſition of compounding with Delinquents, and bring them to Puniſhment; and among theſe Offenders, they propoſe, "(1.) That "the King be brought to Juſtice, as the capital Cauſe of "all. (2.) That a Day be ſet for the Prince of Wales "and Duke of York to ſurrender themſelves, or be declared "incapable of the Government; and, that for the future, "no King be admitted but by the free Election of the People." Their Remonſtrance. Clarend. p. 256. Rapin, p. 549.

The Commons upon reading this Remonſtrance, were ſtruck with ſurpriſe, and being all in Confuſion deferred the Debate for ten days, i. e. to the End of the Treaty. But the Officers being apprehenſive of what might happen in that time ſent Colonel Ewer to the Iſle of Wight with a Party of Horſe to ſecure the Perſon of the King, and to order Colonel Hammond to quit the Iſland, and attend the Council of Officers at their Head Quarters at Windſor; the King was ſecured the very day, after the expiration of the Treaty, and next Morning [Nov. 30.] conveyed by a Party of Horſe to Hurſt Caſtle, where he continued till he was conducted by Colonel Harriſon to Winſor, in order to his Trial. The ſame day the Officers ſent a Declaration to the Houſe to enforce their late Remonſtrance, complaining that they were wholly neglected, and deſiring the Majority of the Houſe to exclude from their Councils ſuch as would obſtruct Juſtice, or elſe withdraw They ſeize the King's Perſon a 2d Time. Ruſhw. p. 1341. Rapin, p. 555.

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draw from them. This occaſioned ſuch high Language among the Members, that ſome moved that the principal Officers who had a ſhare in the Remonſtrance might be impeached of High Treaſon. Upon which the Army marched directly to London, with General Fairfax at their Head, who writ to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, that he was marching to Weſtminſter in purſuance of the late Remonſtrance, and deſired 40000 l. of the City in part of their Arrears. Dec. 2, he quartered his Troops about Whitehall, the Mews, Covent Garden, and St. James's, aſſuring the Citizens, that they ſhould diſturb no Man in his property.

Clarend. p. 237.

They march to London and purge the Parl.

Though the Houſes were now ſurrounded with an armed Force, they had the Courage to vote, that the "Seizing the Perſon of the King, and carrying him Priſoner "to Hurſt Caſtle, was without their Advice and Conſent;" and next Day, after having ſat all Night [Dec. 5.] it was carried without a Diviſion, "that the King's Conceſſions "to the Parliament't Propoſitions were a ſufficient Ground "for the Houſes to proceed upon for ſettling the Peace of "the Kingdom; two hundred forty four Members being preſent. But the Officers being determined to carry their Point diſcharged the City Trained Bands, and placed a Regiment of Horſe, and another of Foot, the very next Day, at the Door of the Parliament Houſe, and Colonel Pride having a Liſt of the diſaffected Members in his Hand, took about forty of them into Cuſtody, and denied Entrance to about an hundred more, which diſcouraged ſeveral others from keeping their places, inſomuch that the Houſe of Commons was left in the Poſſeſſion of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred Perſons, moſt of them Officers of the Army, who carried every thing according to the plan agreed upon in their Council at St. Albans. Oliver Cromwell was not yet come to London from his Northern Expedition, but writ from Knottingſly, Nov. 20. that the Officers of his Regiments were deeply ſenſible of the Miſeries of the Kingdom, and had a great zeal for impartial Juſtice to be done on Offenders, with whom he concurred. December 6, he came to London, and next day had the thanks of the Houſe for his faithful Services to the Publick. December 11, a Paper called the Agreement of the People was preſented to the General and Council of Officers, as a Rule for future Government. 'Twas ſuppoſed to be drawn up by Ireton,

Dugdale, p. 363.

and

and propoſed a Diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, and a new one to be choſen, conſiſting of three hundred Members, who ſhall elect a Council of State from among themſelves for the management of all publick Affairs, under certain Reſtrictions; one of which is, "that they do not lay "any Reſtraints on the Conſciences of Men for religious "Differences" (as has been mentioned) but no Proceedings were had upon it, nor did it ever take place. King Charles I. 1648.

In the mean time, the Houſe of Commons (if they now deſerved that Name) voted his Majeſty's Conceſſions at the Iſle of Wight not ſatisfactory; and, "that no Member "who had been abſent when that Vote was paſſed ſhould "ſit again in the Houſe till he had ſubſcribed it; that no "more Addreſſes be made to the King for the future; that "no Malignant, who had aſſiſted againſt the Parliament "in the firſt or ſecond Civil War, or that had abetted the "late Tumults, ſhould be capable of being choſen Lord "Mayor or Alderman of the City of London, or be capa-"ble of any Place of Profit or Truſt, or ſo much as of "giving his Vote for chooſing Perſons into ſuch Offices, "for the ſpace of one year." The ſecluded Members publiſhed a proteſtation againſt all theſe Proceedings as null and void, till they were reſtored to their places; but the Lords and Commons that remained in the Houſes voted their Proteſtation falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious. Votes of the Remainder of the H. of Commons. Ruſhw. p. 1360. Ib. p. 1365. Clarend. p. 240.

The Army having conquered all oppoſition went on with irreſiſtible violence to change the whole Frame of the Government; and to make way for it, determined to impeach the King of High Treaſon, as having been the Cauſe of all the Blood that had been ſpilt in the late War. This unheard of motion met with ſome oppoſition even in that pack'd Aſſembly; Oliver Cromwell was in doubt, and ſaid, "If any Man moved this of choice or deſign he ſhould "think him the greateſt Traytor in the World; but ſince "Providence and Neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he "ſhould pray God to bleſs their Councils, though he was "not provided on the ſudden to give them Advice." Some ſaid, there was no need to bring the King to a Trial; others, that there was no Law to try him, nor any Judicatory to call him to an Account; but all this was over-ruled; and becauſe the Lords rejected the Ordinance for the King's Trial, Lord Clarendon tells us, they ſhut up their Doors; but Mr. Whitlock ſays, they entered their houſe, and paſt ſeveral Ordinances, but that the Commons would Who reſolve to try the King. Ruſhw. p. 1363. Rapin, p. 562. Dugdale, p. 366. p. 361.

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not own them any longer. Thus the Conſtitution was diſſolved, and the whole Legiſlature brought under the Power of the Sword.

Voice of the Nation.

Tho' ſome few Petitions had been procured from divers Counties, and even from the Common Council of London, "that Juſtice might be done upon the Authors of our "Troubles and Bloodſhed, in an exemplary Way, and "without reſpect of Perſons;" yet the Voice of the Nation was againſt it, as appears by the Petitions and Proteſtations of all orders of People.

Dr. Gauden and Dr. Hammond's Proteſtation.

The Prelatical Clergy lay ſtill, either becauſe they could not aſſemble in a Body, or becauſe they apprehended they could do no Service by appearing; but Dr. Gauden, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, publiſhed "a Proteſtation againſt "the declared purpoſes and proceedings of the Army, and "others, about trying and deſtroying our Sovereign Lord the "King," dated Jan. 5, and ſent it to a Colonel to be preſented to Lord Fairfax at the Council of War. Dr. Hammond ſent "an humble Addreſs alſo to the General and Council of "war, to prevent the horrid Deſign of putting the King to "death, dated Jan. 15." Both theſe papers inſiſted on the Divine Right of Kingly Government, and that to call the King before the Tribunal of the People was contrary to the Laws of the Land. The famous Mr. Prynne, one of the ſecluded Members, publiſhed "a brief Memento "to the preſent unparliamentary Junto, touching their pre-"ſent Intentions and proceedings to depoſe and execute "Charles Stewart, their lawful King of England," dated from the King's-head in the Strand, Jan. 1, 1648.

And of the whole Body of the Preſbyterian Miniſters of London.

The Officers of the Army attempted by their Creatures to gain over the London Miniſters to their ſide, or at leaſt to perſwade them to a Neutrality. Hugh Peters one of their Chaplains, was ſent to the Remains of the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter for this purpoſe, but "they de-"clared unanimouſly for the Releaſe of the King." He then invited ſeveral of the London Miniſters, as Mr. Marſhal, Calamy, Whitaker, Sedgwick, Aſh, &c. to a Conference with ſome Officers of the Army, upon the Subject "of the coercive Power of the Magiſtrate in Mat-"ters of Religion," which was nothing to the preſent purpoſe; but inſtead of meeting them, theſe Divines aſſembled with their Brethren at Sion College, who publiſhed a Paper, entitled, "A ſerious and faithful Repreſenta-"tion of the Judgment of the Miniſters of the Goſpel "within

" within the Province of London, whoſe Names are ſub- " ſcribed, contained in a Letter to the General, and his " Council of War, delivered to his Excellency by ſome of " the Subſcribers, Jan. 18. 1648. King Charles I. 1648.

In this Addreſs, after giving Reaſons why they would not conſult with the Officers upon Matters of Religion, they complain of impriſoning the Members of Parliament; " We remember (ſay they) that when the King with a " multitude of armed men demanded but a ſmall number " of the Members of Parliament it was deemed an un- " parallell'd breach of the Privilege of Parliament, and " was one reaſon that an Army was raiſed by their Au- " thority, and for their Preſervation; but that this very " Army ſhould ſo far exceed that Act, which was then " eſteemed without Parallel, is what we could not believe, " had not our Eyes been Witneſſes of it! Vol. Pamp. No. 52.

" And though both Houſes of Parliament ſaw Reaſon to " take up Arms in their own defence, and in defence of " the Proteſtant Religion, and the Fundamental Laws of " their Country, yet this cannot be pleaded in Juſtifica- " tion of your uſurping an Authority over King and Par- " liament, who are but ſo many private Perſons, and no " part of the Legiſlature.

" Moreover, though the Parliament took up Arms in " defence of the Laws, it was never their intention to do " violence to the Perſon of the King, or diveſt him of his " Royal Authority, much leſs to overthrow the whole Con- " ſtitution.

" We therefore think ourſelves bound by our Proteſta- " tion, by our Solemn League and Covenant, to appear " for our excellent Conſtitution againſt arbitrary and ty- " rannical power in the King, on the one hand, and againſt " the illegal Proceedings of private perſons, tending to " ſubvert the Conſtitution, and introduce Anarchy and " Confuſion on the other.

" Inſtead therefore of conſulting with you, we earneſtly " entreat you, as the Ambaſſadors of Chriſt, that you " would conſider of the evil of your preſent Ways, and " turn from them. You cannot but know, that the " Word of God commands Obedience to Magiſtrates, and " conſonant to Scripture this hath been the Judgment of " Proteſtant Divines, at home and abroad, with whom " we concur; diſclaiming, deteſting, and abhorring the " practices of Jeſuits, concerning the oppoſing of lawful

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" Magiſtrates by any private perſons, and the murthering " of Kings by any, though under the moſt ſpecious and " colourable pretences. Examine your Conſciences, if " any number of perſons of different Principles from your- " ſelves, had invaded the rights of Parliament, impriſon'd " the King, and carried him about from place to place, " and attempted the Diſſolution of the whole Govern- " ment, whether you would not have charged them with " the higheſt crimes?

" We deſire you not to infer the Juſtice of your pro- " ceedings from the Succeſs, but to diſtinguiſh between " God's Permiſſion and Approbation, and that God's ſuf- " fering Men to proſper in their evil Courſes is one of the " ſevereſt Judgments; the Providence of God therefore, " which is ſo often pleaded in Juſtification of your Ac- " tions, is no ſafe Rule to walk by, in ſuch Actions which " the Word of God condemns.

" Nor is it ſafe to be guided by the Impulſes of the " Spirit, when they are contrary to the written word of " God; we are to try the Spirits, and to have recourſe to " the Law and the Teſtimony, if they ſpeak not according " to them, there is no Light in them.

" If you plead Neceſſity for doing that which yourſelves " confeſs to be irregular, we anſwer, no Neceſſity can " oblige Men to ſin; beſides, 'tis apparent, you were un- " der no Neceſſity, the Parliament (till forced by you) " being full and free; beſides, you have engaged by oath " to preſerve his Majeſty's Perſon, and the Privileges of " Parliament, and no neceſſity can juſtify Perjury, or diſ- " penſe with lawful oaths.

" We therefore beſeech you to recede from this your " evil way, and learn John Baptiſt's Leſſon to Soldiers, " Do Violence to no Man, neither accuſe any Man falſly, " and be content with your Wages. But if you perſiſt in " this Way, beſure your ſin will find you out. If our " Exhortation prevail not we have diſcharged our Duty, " and we hope delivered our own Souls. If it be our " portion to ſuffer, as we are told, we truſt we ſhall ſuffer " as Chriſtians; but we hope better things of you, and " ſubſcribe ourſelves your Servants in the Lord."

James

James Nalton Paſtor Foſter-lane,
Tho. Cawton St. Bartholomew Exchange,
John Fuller Biſhopſgate,
Fran. Roberts St. Auſtin,
W. Jenkin Chriſt Church,
Elidad Blackwel Alhall. Underſhaft,
William Harriſon Grace Church,
John Sheffield St. Swithins,
Matth. Haviland Trinity,
Geo. Smallwood Poultry,
Willam Taylor Coleman-ſtreet,
Chriſt. Love Alderſgate,
Rob. Mercer St. Brides
Tho. Gataker Rotherhithe,
Geo. Walker St. John Evang.
Arthur Jackſon M. Wood-ſtreet,
Char. Offspring St. Antholines,
Hen. Roborough Eaſt-ch.
Nic. Profet Foſter-lane,
Tho. Caſe Milk-ſtreet,
Stanly Gower Ludgate,
Andrew Janeway Allhall. on the Wall,
Sam. Clarke St. Bennet Fink,
Tho. Clendon Alh. Barkin,
John Wale St. M. Cornhill,
James Crawford St. Chriſt.
Ralph Robinſon Paſtor St. Mary Woolnoth,
Will. Blackmore St. Peter Cornhill,
Fran. Peck St. Nic. Acorns,
Steph Watkins St. Saviour Southwark,
Will. Wickers St. Andrew Hubbard,
John Wallis Ironmonger-lane,
Tho. Manton Stoke-Newington,
Tho. Gouge St. Sepulchres,
Tho. Watſon Walbrook,
Nath. Staniforth St. Mary Bothaw,
John Halk Alhallows on the Wall,
John Glaſcock St. Andrew Underſhaft,
Tho. Whately St. Mary Woolchurch,
Jacob Tice Billingſgate,
Jonat. Loyd Garlickhithe,
John Morton Newington-Butts,
Joſhua Kirby,
Arth. Barham St. Helens,
Benj. Needler St. Margaret Moſes,
John Wells St. Olave Jury,
Rob. Mathew St. Andrew Wardrobe.

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Notwithſtanding this bold Remonſtrance, the Epiſcopal Divines in order to throw off all the Guilt of the King's Misfortunes from themſelves, who by their reſolute Behaviour had in reality reduced him to the laſt Extremity, reſolved to fix it upon the Preſbyterians; as their Succeſſors have done ever ſince. It was therefore given out among the people, that the Preſbyterians had brought the King to the block, and that the Independants would cut off his head. To wipe away this calumny the Preſbyterian

Their further Vindication.

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Clergy publiſhed another paper, entitled, " A Vindication " of the London Miniſters from the unjuſt Aſperſions caſt " upon their former Actings for the Parliament, as if they " had promoted the bringing the King to capital Puniſh- " ment." It was addreſſed to the people, and after they declared over again their Diſlike of the Proceedings at Weſtminſter againſt the King, they conclude in Words to this purpoſe, " Therefore according to our Covenant we " do, in the name of the great God, warn and exhort all " that belong to our reſpective charges, or to whom we " have adminiſter'd the ſaid Covenant, to abide by their " Vow, and not ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded to ſub- " ſcribe the Agreement of the People, which is ſubver- " ſive of the preſent Conſtitution, and makes way for the " Toleration of all Hereſies and Blaſphemies, and will " effectually divide the two Kingdoms of England and " Scotland. We earneſtly beſeech them to mourn for " the Sins of the Parliament and City, and for the Miſ- " carriages of the King himſelf in his Government, " which have caſt him down from his Excellency into " an horrid pit of miſery almoſt beyond example; and to " pray, that God would give him effectual Repentance, " and ſanctify the bitter Cup of Divine diſpleaſure which " Divine Providence has put into his hands; and that God " would reſtrain the violence of Men, that they may not " dare to draw upon themſelves and the Kingdom the Blood " of their Sovereign."

This was ſigned by fifty ſeven Miniſters, among whom were the following nineteen, whoſe Names were not to the above-mentioned Repreſentation.

Corn. Burges, D. D. at St. Paul's,
Will. Gouge, D. D. Black-friars,
Edm. Stanton, D. D. Kingſton,
Tho. Temple, D. D. Batterſea,
Edm. Calamy, B. D. Alder-dermanbury,
Jer. Whitaker St. Mary Magd. Bermondſey,
Dan. Cawdry St. Martin in the Fields,
William Spurſtow, D. D. Hackney,
Laz. Seaman Bread-ſtreet,
Simeon Aſh Baſiſhaw,
Tho. Thoroughgood of Crayford,
Ed. Corbet Croydon,
John Viner Aldgate,
John Croſſe Friday-ſtreet,
Peter Witham St. Alban Wood-ſtreet,
John Stileman Rotherhithe,
Joſias Ball North Grey,
Jonathan Devereux, late of St. Andrew Holborn,
Paul Ruſſel Hackney.

It

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Behaviour of the Independants. Vol. Pamp. p. 108.

It was not poſſible for the few Independant Miniſters in London to join the Preſbyterians in theſe Addreſſes, (1.) Becauſe they were not poſſeſſed of Parochial Livings, nor Members of the Provincial Aſſembly of London, nor admitted to their weekly Conſultations at Sion College, but were a ſort of Diſſenters from the publick Eſtabliſhment. (2.) Becauſe they did not believe themſelves ſo far bound by the Covenant as to oppoſe a Toleration, nor to ſupport any Conſtitution that was not conſiſtent with Chriſtian Liberty, which the Preſbyterians would not admit. None of their Miniſters, that I know of, declared their Approbation of the Proceedings of the Council of Officers in the Trial of the King, except Hugh Peters, and John Goodwin the Arminian. Some of the Independant Miniſters in the Country joined the Preſbyterians in proteſting againſt it; thoſe of Oxford and Northampton of both Denominations publiſhed their "humble Advice and earneſt "Deſire," preſented to General Fairfax and the Council of War, Jan. 25. ſubſcribed by nineteen or twenty names, in which they declare their utter diſſent from all proceedings againſt his Majeſty's Crown and Life, as contrary to Scripture, to the Laws of the Land, the Solemn League and Covenant, and tending to deſtroy the Conſtitution, and involve the Nation in a War with their Neighbours——— They expreſs their Diſſent from the late Violence upon the Parliament.——But with reference to Religion they ſay, "Though our Souls abhor that grand deſign of the Devil "and his Agents to decry all religious and zealous profeſſors "under the name of Sectaries and Independants, we wil-"lingly grant, and heartily deſire, that the intereſt of all "godly and honeſt Men may be carefully provided for, and "ſecured, as far as is conſiſtent with the Word of God, "our Covenant, and the publick peace; and that Men of "different Apprehenſions in matters of Religion may not "be utterly uncapable of all Offices of Power and Truſt, "though we cannot agree to an univerſal Toleration." They conclude with beſeeching the General to ſuſpend all further proſecution againſt the King, and to endeavour a right Underſtanding between the King, Parliament and Army; but if they cannot prevail they deſire to waſh their hands of the Blood of their dread Sovereign, and to approve themſelves innocent of all that Blood and Miſery in which the depoſing and taking away his Majeſty's Life will involve them, their Poſterity, and all Men profeſſing Godlineſs in the three Kingdoms.

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It must be confessed the Independants were a sort of Malecontents, and had reason to be dissatisfied with the Treaty of Newport, because they were not only excluded the new Establishment, but debarred of a Toleration; and yet as Mr. Eachard and Dr. Bates the Physician observe, several of them joined with their Brethren in declaring against the design of putting the King to Death, in their Sermons from the Pulpit, in Conferences, Monitory Letters, Petitions, Protestations, and publick Remonstrances.

Each. Hist. p. 654. Eleneh. Not. Narr. Ima. p. 118.

And of the Scots.

The Scots Kirk, by their Commissioners, declared and protested against putting the King to death, as absolutely inconsistent with their Solemn League and Covenant. They published a Protestation, directed to the Ministers of the Province of London meeting at Sion College, Jan. 25, 1648-9, with a Letter, exhorting them to Courage and Constancy in their Opposition to the proceeding of the House of Commons, and an universal Toleration.

Proceedings of the Army and Parliament. Rapin, p. 568.

Sundry foreign Princes and States, by their Ambassadors, interceeded for the King; some from their respect to his Person, and others from a regard to the Honour that was due to crowned Heads. But it was impossible to stop the impetuous Wildfire of the Army, who having brought the King from Hurst Castle to Windsor, obtained a vote in the Parliament (if we may so call it) that all Ceremonies due to a crowned Head be laid aside; and then came to the following Resolutions, Jan. 4. First, "That the People "under God are the original of all just Power." Secondly, "That the House of Commons are the supreme Power of "the Nation." Thirdly, "That whatever is declared for "Law by the Commons in Parliament is valid though the "Consent of the King and House of Peers be not had "thereto." The House of Lords, which was reduced to sixteen Peers, having unanimously rejected the Ordinance of the Commons for the King's Trial, and adjourned for a Fortnight, the Commons resolved to act without them, and having named a Committee of thirty eight persons to receive Informations, and draw up a Charge against the King, they constituted a High Court of Justice for his Trial, consisting of one hundred forty five persons, of whom twenty or more might proceed to business; but not above one half would be concerned; Mr. Serjeant Bradshaw was President; Mr. Cook Sollicitor General; and Mr. Steel, Mr. Dorislaus, and Mr. Aske, were to manage the Cause. The Form of Process being settled by the Commissioners, the King, who had been conducted to

The King's Trial and Execution.

St.

St. James's, Jan. 15, appeared before his Judges in Weſtminſter-Hall, the firſt time, on Saturday Jan. 20. when being ſeated at the Bar in a Chair of Crimſon Velvet, and covered, as were all his Judges, Mr. Cook the Sollicitor exhibited a Charge of High Treaſon againſt him, which being read, the King, inſtead of pleading to the Charge, excepted to the Juriſdiction of the Court, which was overruled, the Preſident replying, that they would not ſuffer their Authority to be diſputed, and therefore required the King to think better of it againſt Monday; but his Majeſty perſiſting in his Refuſal to plead both on Monday and Tueſday, the Clerk was ordered to record the Default; Wedneſday the Court ſat in the Painted Chamber, and examined Witneſſes againſt the King; Thurſday and Friday they conſulted how to proceed; and on Saturday his Majeſty was brought the laſt time to the Bar, when perſiſting to diſown the Juriſdiction of the Court, but deſiring to be heard in the Painted Chamber by the Lords and Commons, his Requeſt was denied, the Preſident pronounced Sentence of Death againſt him as a Traytor, fifty nine being preſent, and ſignifying their Concurrence by ſtanding up, as had been agreed. Sundry Indignities and Affronts were offered to the King by the Soldiers, as he paſt along Weſtminſter-Hall, but the far greater number of People pitied his unhappy Condition. Tueſday Jan. 30, being appointed for his execution his Majeſty was offered the Aſſiſtance of Mr. Calamy, Vines, Caryl, Dell and Goodwin, but he refuſed them, and choſe Dr. Juxon, Biſhop of London, who, according to Biſhop Burnet, did his Office with ſuch a dry Coldneſs as could not raiſe the King's Devotion. On the fatal Day he was conducted on Foot by a ſtrong Guard through St. James's Park to a Scaffold erected in the open ſtreet before the Banquetting Houſe at White-hall, where he made a ſhort Speech to the People, in which he made no mention of the miſtakes of his Government, but declared himſelf a Martyr for the Laws and Liberties of the People; after which he laid down his Head on the Block, which was ſever'd from his Body at one Blow by ſome bold Executioner in a Maſk, in the forty ninth year of his age, and twenty fourth of his Reign. His body was buried privately at Windſor Feb. 28th following, without Ceremony, and with no other Inſcription on the Coffin, than King Charles, 1648.

King Charles I. 1648.

The

King Charles I. 1648.

His Character.

The Reader will collect the Character of this Prince rather from the foregoing History, than from the satyrical reflections of his determined Enemies, or the flattering Encomiums of his Friends and Admirers, who, in their anniversary Sermons, have almost equalled his Sufferings with those of our blessed Saviour. It must be admitted, that King Charles I. was sober, temperate, chaste, an Enemy to Debauchery and Lewdness, and very regular in his Devotions. But these excellent Qualities were sullied with some of a very different nature; his Temper was distant and grave to a Fault; he was far from being liberal, and when he bestowed any Favour it was in a very disagreeable and uncourtly Manner; his judgment in Affairs of Government was weak, insomuch that he was always under the direction of a Favourite. In his Treaties with the Parliament he was chargeable with great insincerity, making use of doubtful and ambiguous Terms, the Explication of which he reserved for a proper Time and Place. He had high Notions of the absolute power of Kings, and the unlimited obedience of Subjects; and tho' he was very scrupulous about his Coronation Oath with regard to the Church, it gave him no trouble with regard to the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects, which he lived in the constant violation of for fifteen years. He was a perfect Slave to his Queen, who had too much the direction of publick Affairs both in Church and State; no wonder therefore that he had a perfect aversion to the Puritans, and leaned so much to the Pomp and Ceremony of the Church of Rome, that though he was a Protestant he was for meeting the Papists half way, and for establishing one motley Religion throughout Great Britain, in which both Parties might unite. He told Dr. Sanderson, that if God ever restored him to his Crown he would go bare Foot from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's, by way of Penance, for consenting to the Earl of Strafford's Death, and to the abolishing Episcopacy in Scotland, and desire the people to intercede with God for his Pardon. Such was his Majesty's Superstition! Upon the whole, though King Charles I. had Virtues enough for a private Gentleman, his Foibles were so many as rendered him a very weak and impolitick Prince; far from appearing truly Great in any one Scene of his whole Life except the last. Mr. Coke says, he was wilful, and impatient of Contradiction; his actions sudden and inconsiderate, and his Councils without secrecy. He would never

Clarend. Hist, p. 430.

Life of Sanderson.

Detect p. 336.

ver own any of his Irregularities in Government, but justified them all to his Death. If any gave him advice contrary to his Inclination he would never be Friends with him again. He was unaffable, and difficult of addreſs, requiring ſuch ſtrain'd Submiſſions as were not uſual to his Predeceſſors. The Sincerity of his Promiſes and Declarations were ſuſpected by his Friends as well as Enemies, ſo that he fell a Sacrifice to his arbitrary Principles, the beſt Friends of the Conſtitution being afraid to truſt him. Biſhop Burnet adds, "That he affected in his Behaviour the "ſolemn Gravity of the Court of Spain, which was ſullen "even to moroſeneſs; this led him to a grave reſerved "deportment, in which he forgot the Civilities and Affabi- "lities which the Nation naturally loved; nor did he, in "outward Deportment, take any pains to oblige any Per- "ſons whatſoever. He had ſuch an ungracious way of "ſhewing Favour, that the Manner of beſtowing it was al- "moſt as mortifying as the Favour was obliging. He "loved high and rough Meaſures, but had neither Skill to "conduct them, nor height of Genius to manage them. "He hated all that offered prudent and moderate Coun- "ſels, and even when it was neceſſary to follow ſuch Ad- "vices he hated thoſe that gave them. His whole Reign, "both in Peace and War, was a continued Series of Er- "rors, ſo that it does not appear that he had a true judg- "ment of things. He was out of Meaſure ſet upon fol- "lowing his Humour, but unreaſonably feeble to thoſe "whom he truſted, chiefly to the Queen, and (it may be "added alſo) to the Clergy. He had a high Notion of the "Regal Power, and thought that every oppoſition to it "was Rebellion. He minded little things too much, and "was more concerned in drawing up a Paper than in "fighting a Battle. He had a firm averſion to Popery, "but was much inclined to a middle Way between Proteſ- "tants and Papiſts, by which he loſt one without gaining "the other. At his Death he ſhewed a calm and compo- "ſed Firmneſs which amazed all people, and ſo much the "more, becauſe it was not natural to him, and was there- "fore by his Friends imputed to an extraordinary Meaſure "of ſupernatural Aſſiſtance."

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His Life, p. 47.

After his Majeſty's Death the Epiſcopal Clergy did all they could to canonize him for a Martyr; they printed "his Sayings, his Prayers, his Meditations, and Forms of "Devotion under his Sufferings," with his Picture in the moſt

His Works.

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moſt devout and heavenly Poſture. His Works, conſiſting of ſundry Declarations, Remonſtrances, and other Papers, have been printed in a moſt pompous and elegant form; among which one is of very ſuſpected authority, if not abſolutely ſpurious, I mean his Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, "i. e. "Eikoon Baſilikè, or the Portraiture of his ſacred Majeſty "in his Solitude and Sufferings," ſaid to be written with the King's own Hand: It was firſt printed in the year 1649, and paſſed through fifty Editions in divers Languages within twelve months. No Book ever raiſed the King's Reputation ſo high as this, which obliged the new Council of State to employ the famous Mr. Milton to deſtroy its Credit, which he attempted, in a Treatiſe under the Title of Εἰκόνο Κλάστης [Eikono Claſteſe] or an anſwer to a Book entitled, Eikoon Baſilikè, printed by Du Garde, 1652, but the fraud was not fully diſcovered till ſome years after.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ a ſpurious Performance. Vide Bayle's Dict. Title Milton. His Life, p. 51.

The Grounds and Evidences of the ſpuriouſneſs of this Book are theſe, 1. That Lord Clarendon, in his Hiſtory of the Grand Rebellion, makes no mention of it. 2. Biſhop Burnet ſays the Duke of York, afterwards King James II. told him in the year 1673, that the Book called Eikoon Baſilikè was not of his Father's Writing, but that Dr. Gauden writ it; that after the Reſtoration, the Doctor brought the Duke of Somerſet to the King and to the Duke of York, who both affirmed, they knew it to be his [the Doctor's] writing; and that it was carried down by the Earl of Southampton, and ſhewed the King during the Treaty of Newport, who read and approved it. 3. The Earl of Angleſey gave it under his Hand, that King Charles II. and the Duke of York declared to him in the Year 1675, that they were very ſure the ſaid Book was not written by the King their Father, but by Dr. Gauden, Biſhop of Exeter. 4. Dr. Gauden himſelf, after the Reſtoration, pleaded the Merit of this Performance in a Letter to Lord Chancellor Hyde, who returned for anſwer, that the particular he mentioned [i. e. of his being the Author of that Book] was communicated to him as a ſecret; I am ſorry (ſays his Lordſhip) that it was told me, for when it ceaſes to be a ſecret it will pleaſe no body but Mr. Milton. 5. Dr. Walker, a Clergyman of the Church of England, after invoking the great God, the ſearcher of Hearts, to witneſs to the Truth of what he declares, ſays, in his Treatiſe entitled, "A true Account of "the Author of Eikoon Baſilikè," "I know and believe "the Book was written by Dr. Gauden, except Chap. 16th and

Crit. Hiſt. p. 191.

" and 24th, by Dr. Duppa. Dr. Gauden (ſays he) ac- King Charles I. 1648.
" quainted me with his deſign, and ſhewed me the heads
" of ſeveral Chapters, and ſome of the Diſcourſes. Some
" time after the King's Death I aſked him, whether his Crit. Hiſt. p. 189. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 283.
" Majeſty had ever ſeen the Book? he replied, I know it
" certainly no more than you; but I uſed my beſt endea-
" vours that he might, for I delivered a copy of it to the
" Marquis of Hertford, when he went to the Treaty of
" the Iſle of Wight"———Dr. Gauden delivered the MS. to this Walker, and Walker carried it to the Preſs; it was copied by Mr. Gifford, and both the Doctor's Son and his Wife affirm, that they believe it was written in the Houſe where they lived.

Notwithſtanding all this Evidence Mr. Archdeacon Eachard ſays, the Book is inconteſtably the King's; and Biſhop Kennet adds, that thoſe who pretend Eikoon Baſilikè was a Sham put upon the World, are a Set of Men that delight to judge and execute the Royal Martyr over again by murdering his Name. Dr. Hollingworth, Dugdale, Wagſtaffe, and others, have endeavoured to invalidate the above-mentioned Authorities, by ſhewing that Dr. Gauden was not capable of writing ſuch a Book; but ſurely, the Evidence already produced is as ſtrong and convincing as any thing of this Nature can poſſibly be.

The King's Trial and Execution in ſuch an illegal and unheard of manner ſtruck the whole Chriſtian World with Aſtoniſhment. The Prince of Wales, then in Holland, encouraged the learned Salmaſius to write a Latin Treatiſe, entitled, " Defenſio Regia, or a Defence of King Charles I. " dedicated to his Son Charles II. which was anſwered by Milton in a Book, entitled, " Defenſio pro Populo Angli- " cano, or a Defence of the People of England," writ in an elegant but ſevere Stile. This Book, ſays Mr. Bayle, made the Author's Name famous over all the learned World. Another Performance appeared about the ſame Time, entitled, " Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cœlum; or, " The Cry of the King's Blood to Heaven." It was writ in Latin by Peter du Moulin, jun. and anſwered by Milton in the ſame Language. But to ſatisfy the Engliſh Reader, Mr. John Goodwin publiſhed a ſmall Treatiſe, which he called " A Defence of the Sentence paſſed upon the late " King by the High Court of Juſtice—wherein the Juſtice " and Equity of the ſaid Sentence is demonſtratively aſſer- " ted, as well from clear Texts of Scripture as Principles " of Reaſon, Grounds of Law, Authorities and Preſi- " dents, Books publiſhed for and againſt the King's Death.

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" as well foreign as domeſtick;" a very weak and inconcluſive Performance! for admitting our Author's Principles, that " the original of Government is from the People, " and that Magiſtrates are accountable to them for their " Adminiſtration," they are not applicable to the preſent Caſe, becauſe the Officers of the Army had neither the Voice of the People, nor of their Repreſentatives in a free Parliament; the Houſe of Commons was purged, and the Houſe of Lords quite ſhut up, in order to make way for this outrage upon the Conſtitution. Our Author was ſo ſenſible of this Objection, that in order to evade it he advances this ridiculous Concluſion, that " though the erect- " ing an high Court of Juſtice by the Houſe of Commons " alone be contrary to the Letter, yet it being for the Peo- " ple's Good it is ſufficient that it is agreeable to the Spirit " of the Law." But who gave a few Officers of the Army Authority to judge what was for the People's Good, or to act according to the Spirit of a Law in contradiction to the Letter? This would expoſe every Man's Life and Eſtate to the Will and Pleaſure of the moſt arbitrary Tyrant, and introduce a Rule of Government ſo juſtly complained of in the former Part of this Reign, in oppoſition to a Rule of Law. The Preſident Bradſhaw, in his Speech at pronouncing Sentence, goes upon the ſame general Topicks, that the People are the origin of Civil Power, which they tranſfer to their Magiſtrates under what Limitations they think fit, and that the King himſelf is accountable to them for the abuſe of it; but if this were true, it is not to the preſent purpoſe, becauſe as has been obſerved, the King's Judges had not the conſent of the People of England in their diffuſive or collective Capacity. His Majeſty's own Reaſons againſt this High Court of Juſtice, which he would have given in Court, if he might have been heard, are, in my opinion, a ſufficient anſwer to all that can be ſaid on the other ſide.

Ib. p. 20.

" —Admitting, but not granting (ſays his Majeſty) that " the People of England's Commiſſion could grant your " pretended power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that, " for certainly you never aſked the queſtion of the tenth " Man of the Kingdom; and in this way you manifeſtly " wrong even the pooreſt Plough-man, if you demand not " his free conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this " your pretended Commiſſion without conſent at leaſt of " the major part of England, of whatſoever Quality or " Condition, which I am ſure you never went about to

" ſeek,

" ſeek, ſo far are you from having it—Nor muſt I forget " the privileges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this " Day's Proceedings do not only violate, but likewiſe oc- " caſion the greateſt breach of the publick Faith that I be- " lieve ever was heard of, with which I am far from charg- " ing the two Houſes—Then for any thing I can ſee, the " higher Houſe is totally excluded ; and for the Houſe of " Commons it is too well known, that the major part of " them are detained, or deterred from ſitting--And after all, " how the Houſe of Commons can erect a Court of Judi- " cature, which was never one itſelf, as is well known to " all Lawyers, I leave to God and the World to judge."--

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King Charles therefore died by the Hands of Violence, or by the military Sword, aſſumed and maintained in an arbitrary manner, by a few deſperate Officers of the Army, and their Dependants, of ſundry Denominations as to Religion, without any regard to the ancient conſtitution of their Country, or the fundamental Laws of Society ; for by the former, the King cannot be tried for his Life before any inferior Court of Juſtice ; nor could they feign any Pretence for the latter, without the expreſs conſent of the majority of the Nation, in their perſonal or repreſentative Capacities, which theſe Gentlemen never conſulted. But ſince all Parties have endeavoured to throw off the Odium of this Fact from themſelves, it may not be improper to ſet before the Reader the Sentiments of our beſt Hiſtorians upon this Head, leaving every one to draw what concluſion from them he pleaſes.

Authors of the King's Death.

Not to inſiſt upon the King's ſervile Fondneſs for his Queen and her Friends ; his reſolute Stiffneſs for his old Principles of Government in Church and State ; his untimely and ungracious manner of yielding to what he could not avoid ; his diſtant and reſerved Behaviour towards thoſe that were only capable of ſerving him, and his manifeſt doubling between the Parliament and Army, which ſome very reaſonably apprehend were the principal Cauſes of all his Misfortunes, Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Coke lay a good deal of blame on his Majeſty's Chaplains ; the latter reproaches them with inſiſting peremptorily to the laſt upon the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy ; and the former for continual whiſpering in the King's Ears the importance of preſerving the Revenues of the Church to the hazard of the King and Kingdom ; and ſurely if theſe warm and eager Divines could have diſintangled his Majeſty's Conſcience (which Mr. Whitlock apprehends was not fully ſatisfied) as ſoon

Of the King and his Divines. Wh. Mem. p. 335. Coke's Detect. p. 331, 332.

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as ſoon as the Cavaliers had ſeen diſperſed, and the Scots beaten out of the Field, the miſchief that followed might have been prevented. I will not take upon me to ſay how far their influence might reach, though his Majeſty's profound deference to their Judgment was notorious; but the conviction does not ſeem impracticable, when it is remember'd the King was of opinion, that "what he yielded "through the neceſſity of his Affairs was not binding when "he ſhould be at liberty;" but neither his Majeſty nor his Clergy foreſaw the event.

Of the Presbyterians.

Moſt of the Writers on the King's Side, as well as the Preachers after the Reſtoration, in their Anniverſary Sermons, have with great ingratitude charged the "Presby-"terians with bringing the King to the Block," contrary to the ſtrongeſt and moſt convincing evidence; for though their Stiffneſs for the divine Right of Presbytery, and their antipathy to Liberty of Conſcience, is not to be juſtified, yet I apprehend enough has been ſaid in the foregoing pages to vindicate them from this unrighteous charge; if the zeal of the Presbyterians for their Diſcipline and Covenant was culpable, the Behaviour of the King and his Divines in the Oppoſition was no leſs ſo, conſidering he was a Priſoner, and in the Hands of a victorious Parliament; neither ſide were ſenſible of the danger till it was too late, but when the Storm was ready to break over their heads, I do not ſee what Men could do more in their circumſtances to divert it, than the Presbyterians did; they preached and prayed, and proteſted againſt it in the moſt publick manner; many of them reſigned their Preferments becauſe they would not take the Engagement to the new Commonwealth; they groaned under all the ſucceeding changes of Government, and had a principal Share in the Reſtoration of the Royal Family in the year 1660, without which theſe Anniverſary Declaimers would never have had an opportunity of pelting them with their eccleſiaſtical Artillery as they have done.

Of the Independants.

The forementioned Writers, together with Mr. Rapin, in his late Hiſtory of England, load the Independants, as a religious Sect, with all the Guilt of cutting off the King's Head; and with being in a Plot from the beginning of the Civil War to deſtroy equally King, Monarchy, Epiſcopacy, and Presbyterianiſm; but this Writer not being acquainted with their religious Principles conſtantly confounds the Independants with the Army, which was made up of a number of Sectaries, the Majority of whom were not of that diſtinguiſh-

distinguishing Character. There were no doubt among the Independants, as well as among other Parties, Men of Republican Principles, who had a large Share in the Reproach of this day; but besides what has been observed, of some of their number joining with the Presbyterians in protesting against putting the King to death, the Divines of this Perswasion had no difference with the Presbyterians, or moderate Episcopalians, about Forms of Civil Government; the Officers would have contributed their part toward restoring his Majesty to his Throne, when he was with the Army, upon more equal terms than some others, if they had not discovered his designs to destroy them when it should be in his power. In their last Propositions they consented to the restoring the King upon the Foot of a Toleration for themselves and the Episcopal Party; leaving the Presbyterians in Possession of the Establishment. Both Whitlock and Welwood observe, that at the very time of the King's Trial the prevailing Party were not determined what Form of Government to set up, "Many having thoughts "of making the Duke of Gloucester King;" which his Majesty being informed of, forbid the Duke, in his last interview, to accept the Crown while his elder Brothers were living. And though Mr. Rapin says, that after the force put upon the Members of Parliament on the 6th and 7th of December, the House consisted of none but Independant Members, 'tis certain to a Demonstration, that there were then left in the House Men of all Parties, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, and others; so little Foundation is there for this Writer's conclusion, that the Independants, and these only, put the King to Death.

King Charles I. 1648.

Mem. p. 99.

P. 563.

Dr. Lewis du Moulin, History Professor in Oxford, who lived through these times, says, "That no party of Men, "as a religious Body, were the Actors of this Tragedy, "but that it was the contrivance of an Army, which, like "that of King David's in the Wilderness, was a Medley or "Collection of all Parties that were discontented; some "Courtiers, some Presbyterians, some Episcopalians; few "of any Sect, but most of none, or else of the Religion of "Tho. Hobbs and Dr. Scarborough; not to mention the "Papists, who had the greatest hand in it of all." The same learned Professor, in his Book entitled, "The Conformity "of the Independant discipline with that of the Primitive "Christians," published 1680, had a chapter entitled, "An "Answer to those who accuse the Independants for having "an immediate hand in the death of King Charles I." but

Sentiments of Dr. Du Moulin. Vind. Prot. Relig. p. 53, 59.

King Charles I. 1648.

the times were such that the Author was advised not to publish it.

Of Mr. Baxter. Baxter's Life, p. 63.

Mr. Baxter says, "Many that minded no side in Religion thought it was no policy to trust a conquered King, and therefore were wholly for a Parliamentary Government without a King; of these (says he) some were for an Aristocracy, and others for a Democracy, and some thought they ought to judge the King for all the Blood that had been shed; the Vanists, the Independants, and other Sects, with the Democratical Party being left by Cromwell to do the business under the Name of the Parliament of England."

Bp. Burnet. Hist. Life and Times. Vol. I. p. 46, 47.

Bishop Burnet says, that "Ireton was the Person that drove it on, for Cromwell was all the while in suspense about it; Ireton had the Principles and Temper of a Cassius, he stuck at nothing that might turn England into a Commonwealth; Fairfax was much distracted in his mind, and changed purposes every day; the Presbyterians, and the Body of the City were much against it, and were every day fasting and praying for the King's Preservation. There were not above eight Thousand of the Army about the Town, but these were the most engaged in Enthusiasm, and were kept at prayer in their way almost Day and Night, except when they were upon duty, so that they were wrought up to a pitch of fury that struck Terror into all People."

Of the Papists.

Mr. Eachard, and some others, are of opinion, that great numbers of Papists, under hopes of Liberty of Conscience, or of destroying Episcopacy, joined with foreign Priests and Jesuits against the King. The celebrated Author of Foxes and Firebrands has this remarkable passage;

Part. III. p. 188.

"Let all true Protestants who desire sincerely to have an happy Union, recollect what a blemish the Emissaries of Rome have cast upon those Protestants named Presbyterian and Independant, Rome saying the Presbyterians brought Charles the First's Head to the Block, and Independants cut it off; whereas it is certain, that the Members and Clergy of Rome, under dissenting Shapes, contrived this Murder. Nay, the good King himself was informed, that the Jesuits in France, at a general meeting, resolved to bring him to Justice, and take off his Head by the power of their Friends in the Army."

Ib. p. 168, 169.

Bishop Bramhall, in a Letter to Archbishop Usher, dated July 20, 1654, adds, "Thus much to my Knowledge have I seen and heard, since my leaving your Lordship,

"which

" which I myſelf could hardly have credited had not mine " Eyes ſeen ſure Evidence of the ſame (viz.) that when " the Romiſh Orders which were in diſguiſe in the Parlia- " ment Army writ to their ſeveral Convents, and eſpeci- " ally to the Sorboniſts, about the Lawfulneſs of taking " away the King's Life, it was returned by the Sorboniſts, " that it was lawful for any Roman Catholick to work a " change in Governments for the Mother Church's Ad- " vancement, and chiefly in an heretical Kingdom, and ſo, " lawful to make away with the King." Mr. Prynne adds, " That Mr. Henry Spotſwood ſaw the Queen's " Confeſſor on Horſeback among the crowd in the Habit " of a Trooper, with his drawn Sword flouriſhing it over " his head in triumph, as others did, when the King's " Head was juſt cut off; and being aſked how he could " be preſent at ſo ſad a Spectacle, anſwered, there were " above forty more Prieſts and Jeſuits there beſides him- " ſelf, and when the fatal blow was given he flouriſhed " his Sword, and ſaid, Now the greateſt Enemy we have " in the World is dead." But this Story does not ſeem to me very probable, nor eaſy to believe that the Papiſts ſhould triumph in the Death of a King who was their Friend and Protector in proſperity, and whoſe Sufferings are in a great meaſure chargeable upon his too great attachment to their Intereſt.

King Charles I. 1648.

Neceſſ. Vind. p. 45.

Fox and Firebrand, Part II. p. 86.

But the ſtrongeſt, and moſt authentick Teſtimony, is " the Act of Attainder of the King's Judges at the Re- " ſtoration of King Charles II." the preamble to which ſets forth, " That the execrable Murder of his Royal " Father was committed by a Party of wretched Men " deſperately wicked, and harden'd in their Impiety, who " having firſt plotted and contrived the ruin of this ex- " cellent Monarchy, and with it the true Proteſtant Reli- " gion, which had long flouriſhed under it, found it ne- " ceſſary, in order to carry on their pernicious and traite- " rous Deſigns, to throw down all the Bulwarks and Fen- " ces of Law, and to ſubvert the very Being and Conſti- " tution of Parliament——And for the more eaſy ef- " fecting their attempts on the Perſon of the King him- " ſelf, They firſt ſeduced ſome part of the then Army into a " Compliance, and then kept the reſt in ſubjection, partly " for hopes of preferment, and chiefly for fear of loſing " their Employments and Arrears, till by theſe, and other " more odious arts and devices, they had fully ſtrength- " ned themſelves in Power and Faction; which being

Sentiments of the Convention Parliament. 12 Car. II. chap. 30.

King Charles I. 1648.

" done, they declared againſt all manner of Treaties with " the Perſon of the King, while a Treaty with him was " ſubſiſting; they remonſtrated againſt the Parliament for " their Proceedings; they ſeized upon his Royal Perſon " while the Commiſſioners were returned to London with " his Anſwers, which were voted a ſufficient Foundation " for Peace; they then ſecluded and impriſoned ſeveral " Members of the Houſe of Commons, and then there " being left but a ſmall Number of their own Creatures " (not a tenth Part of the Whole) they ſheltered them- " ſelves under the Name and Authority of Parliament, " in that Name prepared an Ordinance for the Trial of " his Majeſty; which being rejected by the Lords they " paſſed alone in the Name of the Commons of England, " and purſued it with all poſſible Force and Cruelty till " they murdered the King, before the Gates of his own " Palace. Thus (ſay they) the Fanatick Rage of a few " Miſcreants, who were neither true Proteſtants nor good " Subjects, ſtands imputed by our Adverſaries to the " whole Nation; we therefore renounce, abominate, " and proteſt againſt it——"

If this be a true State of the Caſe it is evident, that the King's Death was not chargeable upon any religious party, or Sect of Chriſtians, as ſuch; nor upon the the People of England aſſembled in a free Parliament, but upon the Council of Officers and Agitators, who being made deſperate by the reſtleſs Behaviour of the Cavaliers, and ill conduct of the ſeveral Parties concerned in the Treaty of Newport, plotted the the Deſtruction of the King and Conſtitution, and accompliſhed it by the power of the Sword; that it was but a ſmall part of the Army that were ſeduced into a compliance, and theſe kept the reſt in ſubjection till the others had executed their pernicious purpoſes; ſo that though the Wiſdom of the Nation has thought fit to perpetuate the Memory of this unhappy day by an Anniverſary Faſt, as " that which may be inſtructive both to Princes and Subjects," yet if we may believe the Declaration of his Majeſty at his Trial, or the Act of Parliament that reſtored his Succeſſor, the putting the King to Death was not the Act of the People of England, nor of their legal Repreſentatives, and therefore ought not to be remembered as a National Sin.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

NUMB. I.

THE

ARTICLES

Of the

Church of *England*.

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE there is but One living and true God, everlasting, without Body, Parts, or Passions; of infinite Power, Wisdom, and Goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in Unity of this Godhead there be three Persons of one Substance, Power, and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

ARTICLES

Of the

Church of *England*.

Revised and altered by the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster in the Year 1643, with Scripture References.

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but [a] One living and true God [b], everlasting [c], without Body, Parts [d], or Passions [e], of infinite Power [f], Wisdom [g], and Goodness [h]; the Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible [i]. And in Unity of this Godhead there be three Persons of one Substance, Power, and Eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost [k].

[a] Isa. 46. 9. 1 Cor. 8. 4, 6. [b] Jer. 10. 10. 1 Thes. 1. 9. [c] Psal. 90. 2. Rom. 16. 26. [d] Deu. 4. 15, 16. John 4. 24. with Luke 24. 39. [e] Acts 14. 15. Jam. 1. 17. [f] Jer. 32. 17, 27. Mar. 10. 27. [g] Psal. 147. 5. Rom 11. 33. [h] Psal. 119, 68. with Mat. 19. 17. [i] Neh. 9. 6. Col. 1. 16, 17. [k] Mat. 3. 16, 17. Chap. 28. 19. 1 John 4. 7. 2 Cor. 13. 14.

Articles revised.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father [l], the very [m] and eternal God [n], of one Substance with the Father [o], took Man's Nature in the Womb of the blessed Virgin, of her Substance [p]; so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and the Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man [q], who for our sakes truly suffered most grievous Torments in his Soul from God [r], was crucified, dead, and buried [s], to reconcile his Father to us [t], and to be a Sacrifice, not only for original Guilt, but also for actual Sins of Men [u].

[l] Prov. 8. 22—31. Joh. 1. 12, 14. [m] 1 John 5. 20. Rom. 9. 5. [n] John 17. 5. Heb. 1. 8. with Psal. 45. 6. [o] John 10. 30. Heb. 1. 3. [p] John 1. 14. Isa. 7. 14. Luke 1. 35. Gal. 4. 4. [q] Isa. 7. 14. with Mat. 1. 23.

Articles of the Ch. of England.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one Substance with the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the blessed Virgin, of her Substance; so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice, not only for original Guilt, but also for all actual Sins of Men.

[r] Isa. 53. 10, 11. Mark 14. 33, 34. [s] 1 Pet. 2. 24. Phil. 2. 8. 1 Cor. 15. 3, 4. [t] Ezek. 16. 63. Rom. 3. 25. 2 Cor. 5. 12. [u] Isa. 53. 10. Eph. 5. 2. 1 John 1. 7. Heb. 9. 26.

ARTICLE III.

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so it is to be believed that he continued in the State of the Dead, and under the Power and Dominion of Death [w], from the time of his Death and Burial until his Resurrection [x]; which hath been otherwise expressed thus, He went down into Hell.

[w] Psal. 16. 10. with Acts 2. 24, 25, 26, 27, 31. [x] Rom. 6. 9. Mat. 12. 40.

ARTICLE III.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried: So also is it to be believed, that he went down into Hell.

ARTI-

Articles of the Ch. of England.

ARTICLE IV.
Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from Death, and took again his Body, with Flesh, Bones, and all Things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all Men at the last Day.

Articles revised.

ARTICLE IV.
Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again [y] from Death [y], and took again his Body, with Flesh, Bones, and all Things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature [z], wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth [a], until he return to judge [b] all Men [c] at the general Resurrection of the Body at the last Day [d].

[y] 1 Cor. 15. 4. Rom. 8. 34. Psal. 16. 10. with Acts 1. 31. Luke 24. 34. [x] Luk. 24. 39. with John 20. 25, 27.

[a] Psal. 68. 18. with Eph. 4. 8. Psal. 110. 1. with Acts 2. 34, 35. Mar. 19. 10. Rom. 8. 34. [b] Acts 3. 21. Psal. 110. 1. with 1 Cor. 15. 25, 26. Acts 1. 11. [c] 2 Cor. 5. 20. Acts 17. 31. [d] Exod. 3. 6. with Luke 20. 37, 38. Acts 24. 14, 15. 1 Cor. 15. 12. to the end; John 5. 28, 29.

ARTICLE V.
Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Substance, Majesty and Glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

ARTICLE V.
Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost is very and eternal God, of one Substance [e], Majesty [f], and Glory with the Father and the Son [g], proceeding from the Father and the Son [h].

[e] 2 Sam. 23. 2. with verse 3. Isa. 6. 5, 8. with Acts 28. 25. Acts 5. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 3. 16. 1 Cor. 6. 19. [f] Job 26. 13. Job 33. 4. 1 Cor. 12th Chap. Mat. 28. 19. 2 Cor. 13. 14. [g] 1 Cor. 12. 11. Eph. 1. 17. and 1 Cor. 2. 8. with 1 Pet. 4. 14. [h] John 15. 26. Mat. 10. 20, and 1 Cor. 2. 11, 12. with Gal. 4. 6. and Rom. 8. 9. and Phil. 1. 9. John 16. 14. Isa. 11. 2. Isa. 61. 1. Gen. 1. 2. 2 Chron. 15. 1.

ARTICLE VI.
Of the Sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to Salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required

ARTICLE VI.
Of the Sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture [i] containeth all things necessary to Salvation [k], so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be believed

[i] Rom. 1. 2. 2 Tim. 3. 15. 2 Pet. 1. 20. 21. [k] Psal. 19. 7. 2 Tim. 3. 15, 16, 17. Jam. 1. 21, 25. Acts 20. 32.

Articles revised.

lieved as an Article of Faith, or necessary to Salvation [l].

[l] Prov. 30. 5, 6. Isa. 8. 20. Acts 26. 22. with ver. 20, 27. Gal. 1. 8, 9. John 5. 39.

By the Name of holy Scripture we understand all the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, which follow,

Of the Old Testament,
Genesis,
Exodus, &c.

Of the New Testament,
The Gospel of St. Matthew, &c.

All which Books, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and acknowledge them to be given by the Inspiration of God, and in that regard to be of most certain Credit, and highest Authority.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, in the Doctrine contained in them [m]; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ [n], who is the only Mediator between God and Man [o], being

[m] Acts 26. 21, 23. 2 Pet. 3. 2. Luke 24. 44. Rom. 3. 31. Gal. 3. 21, 23, 24. [n] Gen. 3. 15. Gen. 22. 18. with Gal. 3. 8, 14. 1 Cor. 10. 2, 3, 4. Luke 1. 69, 70. Acts 3. 24. Isa 53. Chap. [o] Dan. 9. 17. Rom. 8. 34. 1 John 2. 1. Heb. 7. 25. 1 Tim. 2. 5. John 14. 6.

Articles of the Ch. of England.

quired of any Man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation. In the Name of the holy Scripture we do understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis,
Exodus,
Leviticus,
Numbers, &c.

And the other Books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of Life and instruction of Manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any Doctrine: Such are these following,

Third of Esdras, Book of Tobias, Fourth of Esdras, Judith, &c.

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them for Canonical.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting Life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore

they

Articles of the Ch. of England.

they are not to be heard which fain that the old Fathers did look only for tranſitory Promiſes. Although the Law given from God by Moſes, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Chriſtian Men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of Neceſſity to be received in any Commonwealth; yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is free from the Obedience of the Commandments, which are called moral.

Articles reviſed.

both God and Man [p]. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign, that the old Fathers did look only for temporary Promiſes [q].

Although the Law given from God by Moſes, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Chriſtians [r]; nor the civil Precepts given by Moſes, ſuch as were peculiarly fitted to the Commonwealth of the Jews, are of neceſſity to be received in any Commonwealth [s]; yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral [t]. By the Moral Law we underſtand all the Ten Commandments taken in their full extent.

[p] Gal. 4. 4, 5. Acts 20. 28. Phil. 2. 7, 8.
[q] Acts 26. 6, 7. Rom. 4. 11. Gal. 3. 9. Heb. 11. 10, 16, 35.
[r] Gal. 4. 9, 10. Col 2. 14, 16, 17. Heb. 9. 9, 10.
[s] Acts 25. 9, 10, 25. with Deut. 17. 8--- 13. Rom. 13. 1, 5. Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

[t] Mat. 5. 17, to the end. Rom. 13. 8, 9, 10. Eph. 6. 1, 2, 3. Jam. 2. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Rom. 7. 25. Rom. 3. 31. Mat. 7. 12.

ARTICLE VIII.

Of the three Creeds.

The three Creeds, Nice Creed, Athanaſius Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apoſtles Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed; for they may be proved by moſt certain Warrants of holy Scripture.

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original Sin ſtandeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk) but it is the Fault and Corrup-

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original Sin[u] ſtandeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk[w]; but

[u] Pſal. 51. 5. Joh. 3. 5, 6.
[w] Job 14. 4. Job 15. 14. Rom. 6. 6. Joh. 3. 3, 5, 7.

Articles revised.

but, together with his first Sin imputed [x], it is the Fault and Corruption of the Nature of every Man, that naturally is propagated from Adam; whereby Man is wholly deprived of original Righteousness [y], and is of his own Nature inclined only to Evil [z]. So that the Lust of the Flesh, called in Greek φρόνημα σαρκὸς, which some do expound the Wisdom, some Sensuality, some the Affection, some the desire of the Flesh, is not subject to the Law of God [a], and therefore in every Person born into this World it deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation [b]. And this infection of Nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerate [c], whereby the Flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit [d]. And although there is no Condemnation for them that are regenerate, and do believe [e], yet the Apostle doth confess, that Concupiscence and Lust is truly and properly Sin [f].

[x] Rom. 5, 12---19. Gen. 2. 17. with 1 Cor. 15. 22. [y] Col. 2. 13. Rom. 7. 18. Eccl. 7. 29. [z] Gen. 6. 5. Gen. 8. 21. Jer. 17. 9. Rom. 7. 8. James 1. 14. [a] Rom. 8. 7. 1 Cor. 2. 14. Col. 1. 21. [b] Eph. 2. 3. Rom. 8. 6, 7. [c] Prov. 20. 9. Rom. 7. 17, 20, 23, 25. [d] Gal. 5. 17. [e] Rom. 8. 1, 13. John 3. 13. [f] Rom. 8. 17, 20.

Articles of the Ch. of England.

tion of the Nature of every Man, that naturally is engendered of the Off-spring of Adam, whereby Man is very far gone from original Righteousness, and is of his own Nature enclined to Evil, so that the Flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit, and therefore in every Person born into this World, it deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation. And this infection of Nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the Lust of the Flesh, called in Greek φρόνημα σαρκὸς, which some do expound the Wisdom, some Sensuality, some the Affection, some the Desire of the Flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no Condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess that Concupiscence and Lust hath of itself the Nature of Sin.

ARTICLE X.
Of Free Will.

The Condition of Man after the Fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn or prepare himself, by his own natural Strength and good Works, to Faith and Calling upon God [g]; wherefore we have no Power

[g] Eph. 2. 1, 5. 1 Cor. 2. 14. Eph. 2. 8, 9, 10. John 6. 44, 65.

ARTICLE X.
Of Free Will.

The Condition of Man after the Fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural Strength and good Works to Faith and Calling upon God. Wherefore we have no Power

to

Articles of the Ch. of England.

to do good Works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a Good-will, and working with us, when we have that Good-will.

Articles revised.

to do good Works pleasing and acceptable to God [h], without the Grace of God by Christ, both preventing us, that we may have a good Will, and working so effectually in us, as that it determineth our Will to that which is good [i], and also working with us when we have that Will unto good [k].

[h] Rom. 8. 8. Heb. 11. 6. [i] Ezek. 11. 19, 20. Ezek. 36. 26, 27. Jer. 31, 32, 33. with Heb. 8, 10, 11. Phil. 2. 12. 13. John 6. 45. Eph. 1. 19, 20. 1 Cor. 4. 7. [k] Heb. 13. 21. Phil. 1. 6. Heb. 12, 22. 1 Pet. 5. 10. 1 Thess. 5. 23, 24. 1 Kings 8. 57, 58.

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted Righteous before God, only for the Merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by Faith, and not for our own Works or Deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of Comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man before God.

We are justified, that is, we are accounted Righteous before God, and have Remission of Sins [l], not for, nor by our own Works or Deservings [m], but freely by his Grace [n], only for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake [o], his whole Obedience and Satisfaction being by God imputed unto us [p], and Christ with his Righteousness, being apprehended and rested on by Faith only [q]. The Doctrine of Justification by Faith only is an wholsome Doctrine, and very full of Comfort [r], notwithstanding God doth not forgive them that are impenitent, and go on still in their Trespasses [s].

[l] Rom. 4. 5, 6, 7. Psal. 32. 1, 2. [m] Rom. 3. 20. Gal. 2. 16. Gal. 3. 10, 11. Phil. 3. 9. [n] Rom. 3. 24. Tit. 3. 7. [o] Rom. 3. 24, 25. Rom. 5. 1. 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. [p] Rom. 5. 9, 17, 18, 19. Rom. 3, 25, 26. Rom 4. 6, 24. 2 Cor. 5. 21. [q] Rom. 3. 22, 25, 26, 28. Gal. 2. 16. Isa 28. 16. with Rom. 9. 33. and 1 Pet. 2. 6. Phil. 3 9. [r] 2 Tim. 1. 13. Rom. 5. 1, 2, 8, 11. Rom. 15, 13. 1 Pet. 1. 8. [s] Psal. 68. 20, 21. Exod. 34. 6, 7. Luke 13. 3, 5.

ARTI-

Articles revised.

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Good Works, which are the Fruits of Faith [t], and follow after Justification [u], cannot put away our Sins [w], and endure the Severity of God's Judgment; yet are they, notwithstanding their Imperfections [x], in the Sight of God pleasing and acceptable unto him in and for Christ [y]; and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith [z], in so much that by them a lively Faith may be evidently known, as a Tree discerned by the Fruits [a].

[t] Gal. 5, 6. James 2. 17, 18. 22.
[u] Tit. 2. 14. Tit. 3. 7, 8. Eph. 2. 8, 9, 10.
[w] Rom. 3. 20, 21. Rom 4. 4. —9. Dan. 9. 18, 19.
[x] Neh. 13. 22. Pfal. 143. 2. Job 9. 14, 15, 19, 20. Exod. 28. 38. Rev. 8. 3, 4. 21. Col. 1. 10. Phil. 4. 18.
[y] 1 Pet. 2. 5. Heb. 13. 16, 20.
[z] James 2. 16. 1 John 1. 4.
[a] James 2. 18, 19. John 15. 4, 5. 1 John 2, 3, 5. Mat. 12, 33.

Articles of the Ch. of England.

ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Albeit that good Works, which are the Fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our Sins, and endure the Severity of God's Judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith, in so much that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known as a Tree discerned by the Fruit.

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before Justification by Christ, and Regeneration by his Spirit, are not pleasing unto God [b], for as much as they spring not of Faith in Jesus Christ [c]; neither do they make Men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School Authors say) deserve Grace of Congruity [d]; yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, they are sinful [e].

[b] Tit. 1. 15, 16. Mat. 7. 18. Rom. 8. 8. Prov. 15. 8. 26. Prov. 21. 27. Rom. 3. 12.
[c] Heb. 11. 5, 6. Gal. 5, 6.
[d] 2 Tim. 1. 9 John 1. 13.
[e] Rom. 8. 7, 8. Hag. 2. 14. Isa. 58. 1—5. Isa. 6 2. 3.

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the Grace of Christ, and the Inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, for as much as they spring not of Faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make Men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School Authors say) deserve Grace of Congruity; yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the Nature of Sin.

ARTI-

Articles of the Ch. of England.

ARTICLE XIV.
Of the Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary Works beſides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety. For by them Men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his ſake than of bounden Duty is required; whereas Chriſt ſaith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, ſay, We be unprofitable Servants.

Articles reviſed.

ARTICLE XIV.
Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary Works, beſides over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without Arrogancy and Impiety [f]; for by them Men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do; but that they do more for his ſake than of bounden Duty is required [g]; whereas Chriſt ſaith plainly, "When you have done all "thoſe Things that are com- "manded you, ſay, We are "unprofitable Servants, we "have done that which was "our Duty to do [h].

[f] Mat. 5. 48. Mar. 12, 30, 31. Phil. 4. 8, 9.
[g] Job 9. 2, 3, 20, 21. Pſal. 143. 2. Prov. 20. 9. Phil. 3. 8—15.
[h] Luke 17. 10, with ver. 7, 8, 9.

ARTICLE XV.
Of Chriſt alone without Sin.

Chriſt in the Truth of our Nature, was made like unto us in all things (Sin only except) from which he was clearly void, both in his Fleſh and in his Spirit. He came to be a Lamb without ſpot, who by Sacrifice of himſelf once made, ſhould take away the Sins of the World; and Sin (as St. John ſaith) was not in him. But all we the reſt (although baptized, and born again in Chriſt) yet offend in many Things; and if we ſay we have no Sin,

[n] Eph. 5. [n] Heb. 9. 26, 28. Heb. 10. 10, 12. [o] John 1. 29. [p] 1 John 3. 5.

ARTICLE XV.
Of Chriſt alone without Sin.

Chriſt in the Truth of our Nature was made like unto us in all Things, Sin only excepted [i], from which he was clearly void both in his Fleſh and in his Spirit [k]. He came to be the Lamb without ſpot [l], who by Sacrifice of himſelf [m] once made [n], ſhould take away the Sins of the World [o]; and Sin (as St. John ſaith) was not in him [p]. But all we the reſt, although baptized and regenerate, yet offend in many things; and "if we ſay we have no

[i] Iſa. 53. 3, 4, 5. Heb. 2. 17. with Heb. 5, 15.
[k] Luke 1. 35, with Acts 3. 14. John 14. 30. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Heb. 7. 26.
[l] 1 Pet. 1. 19.

"Sin,

Articles revised.	Articles of the Ch. of England.
" Sin, we deceive ourselves, " and the Truth is not in us 9.	we deceive ourselves, and the Truth is not in us.

9 James 3. 2. 1 John 1. 8, 10.

Charles Herle, Prolocutor.
Henry Robrough, Scriba.
Adoniram Byfield, Scriba.

N. B. The Assembly proceeded no further in the Revisal.

APPENDIX.

NUMB. II.

THE DIRECTORY FOR THE PUBLICK WORSHIP of GOD,

Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; examined and approved, Anno 1645, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and ratified by Act of Parliament the same Year.

The PREFACE.

'IN the beginning of the blessed Reformation, our wise and pious Ancestors took care to set forth an Order for redress of many things, which they then, by the Word, discovered to be Vain, Erroneous, Superstitious, and Idolatrous, in the publick worship of God. This occasioned many godly and learned Men to rejoice much in the Book of Common-Prayer, at that time set forth; because the Mass, and the rest of the Latin Service being removed, the publick Worship was celebrated in our own Tongue; many of the common People also received benefit by hearing the Scriptures read in their own Language, which formerly were unto them as a Book that is sealed.

'Howbeit,

'Howbeit, long and ſad experience hath made it manifeſt, that the Liturgy uſed in the Church of England (notwithſtanding all the Pains and religious Intentions of the Compilers of it) hath proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at Home, but alſo to the reformed Churches abroad. For, not to ſpeak of urging the reading of all the Prayers, which very greatly increaſed the Burden of it; the many unprofitable and burthenſome Ceremonies contained in it, have occaſioned much miſchief, as well by diſquieting the Conſciences of many godly Miniſters and People, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the Ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or ſubſcribing to thoſe Ceremonies. Sundry good Chriſtians have been, by means thereof, kept from the Lord's Table, and divers able and faithful Miniſters debarred from the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry (to the endangering of many thouſand Souls, in a Time of ſuch ſcarcity of faithful Paſtors) and ſpoiled of their Livelihood, to the undoing of them and their Families. Prelates and their Faction have laboured to raiſe the eſtimation of it to ſuch an height, as if there were no other Worſhip, or way of Worſhip of God amongſt us, but only the Service-book; to the great hindrance of the preaching of the word, and (in ſome places, eſpecially of late) to the juſtling of it out, as unneceſſary; or (at beſt) as far inferior to the reading of Common-Prayer, which was made no better than an Idol by many ignorant and ſuperſtitious People, who pleaſing themſelves in their preſence at that Service, and their Lip-labour in bearing a part in it, have thereby harden'd themſelves in their Ignorance and Careleſneſs of ſaving Knowledge and true Piety.

'In the mean time, Papiſts boaſted, that the Book was a compliance with them in a great part of their Service; and ſo were not a little confirmed in their Superſtition and Idolatry, expecting rather our Return to them, than endeavouring the Reformation of themſelves: In which expectation they were of late very much encouraged, when, upon the pretended warrantableneſs of impoſing of the former Ceremonies, new ones were daily obtruded upon the Church.

'Add hereunto (which was not foreſeen, but ſince hath come to paſs) that the Liturgy hath been a great means, as on the one hand to make and increaſe an idle and unedifying Miniſtry, which contented itſelf with ſet Forms made

to

‘ to their hands by others, without putting forth themſelves
‘ to exerciſe the gift of Prayer, with which our Lord Jeſus
‘ Chriſt pleaſeth to furniſh all his Servants whom he calls
‘ to that Office: So on the other ſide, it hath been (and
‘ ever would be, if continued) a matter of endleſs Strife
‘ and Contention in the Church, and a Snare both to many
‘ godly and faithful Miniſters, who have been perſecuted
‘ and ſilenced upon that occaſion, and to others of hopeful
‘ parts, many of which have been, and more ſtill would be
‘ diverted from all Thoughts of the Miniſtry to other Stu-
‘ dies; eſpecially in theſe later Times, wherein God
‘ vouchſafeth to his People more and better means for the
‘ diſcovery of Error and Superſtition, and for attaining of
‘ Knowledge in the Myſteries of Godlineſs, and Gifts in
‘ Preaching and Prayer.

‘ Upon theſe, and many the like weighty conſiderations,
‘ in Reference to the whole Book in general, and becauſe
‘ of divers Particulars contained in it; not from any Love
‘ to Novelty, or Intention to diſparage our firſt Reformers
‘ (of whom we are perſwaded, that, were they now alive,
‘ they would join with us in this Work, and whom we ac-
‘ knowledge as excellent Inſtruments raiſed by God, to be-
‘ gin the purging and building of his Houſe, and deſire they
‘ may be had of us and Poſterity in everlaſting Remem-
‘ brance, with thankfulneſs and honour;) but that we may,
‘ in ſome Meaſure, anſwer the gracious providence of God,
‘ which at this time calleth upon us for further Reformati-
‘ on, and may ſatisfy our own conſciences, and anſwer the
‘ expectation of other reformed Churches, and the deſires
‘ of many of the godly among ourſelves, and withal give
‘ ſome publick Teſtimony of our endeavours for Unifor-
‘ mity in divine Worſhip, which we have promiſed in our
‘ Solemn League and Covenant: We have, after earneſt
‘ and frequent calling upon the Name of God, and after
‘ much conſultation, not with Fleſh and Blood, but with
‘ his holy Word, reſolved to lay aſide the former Liturgy,
‘ with the many Rites and Ceremonies formerly uſed in the
‘ Worſhip of God; and have agreed upon this following
‘ Directory for all the parts of publick Worſhip, or ordi-
‘ nary and extraordinary Times.

‘ Wherein our care hath been, to hold forth ſuch things
‘ as are of divine Inſtitution in every Ordinance; and other
‘ things we have endeavoured to ſet forth according to the
‘ Rules of Chriſtian Prudence, agreeable to the general
‘ Rules of the Word of God: Our meaning therein be-
‘ ing

'ing only, that the general Heads, the Senſe and Scope 'of the Prayers, and other parts of publick Worſhip, be- 'ing known to all, there may be a conſent of all the 'Churches, in thoſe things that contain the ſubſtance of the 'Service and Worſhip of God; and the Miniſters may be 'hereby directed in their Adminiſtrations, to keep like 'ſoundneſs in Doctrine and Prayer; and may, if need be, 'have ſome help and furniture; and yet ſo, as they be- 'come not hereby ſlothful and negligent in ſtirring up the 'Gifts of Chriſt in them; but, that each one, by Medita- 'tion, by taking heed to himſelf and the flock of God com- 'mitted to him, and by wiſe obſerving the ways of divine 'Providence, may be careful to furniſh his Heart and 'Tongue with further, or other materials of Prayer and 'Exhortation, as ſhall be needful upon all Occaſions.

Of the Aſſembling of the Congregation, and their Behaviour in the publick Worſhip of God.

WHEN the Congregation is to meet for publick Worſhip, the people (having before prepared their Hearts thereunto) ought all to come, and join therein; not abſenting themſelves from the publick Ordinances through Negligence, or upon pretence of private Meetings.

Let all enter the Aſſembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and ſeemly manner, taking their Seats or Places without Adoration, or bowing themſelves towards one Place or other.

The Congregation being aſſembled, the Miniſter, after ſolemn calling on them to the worſhipping of the great Name of God, is to begin with Prayer.

"In all Reverence and Humility acknowledging the in- "comprehenſible Greatneſs and Majeſty of the Lord (in "whoſe Preſence they do then in a ſpecial manner appear) "and their own Vileneſs and Unworthineſs to approach ſo "near him, with their utter Inability of themſelves to ſo "great a Work; and humbly beſeeching him for Pardon, "Aſſiſtance and Acceptance in the whole Service then to "be performed; and for a Bleſſing on that particular Por- "tion of his Word then to be read: And all in the Name "and Mediation of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt."

The Publick Worſhip being begun, the People are wholly to attend upon it, forbearing to read any thing, except what the Miniſter is then reading or citing; and abſtaining much more from all private Whiſperings, Conferences, Salutations,

lutations, or doing Reverence to any Perſons preſent, or coming in; as alſo from all gazing, ſleeping, and other indecent behaviour, which may diſturb the Miniſter or People, or hinder themſelves or others in the Service of God.

If any, through Neceſſity, be hindered from being preſent at the beginning, they ought not, when they come into the Congregation, to betake themſelves to their private Devotions, but reverently to compoſe themſelves to join with the Aſſembly, in that Ordinance of God which is then in Hand.

Of publick Reading of the holy Scriptures.

READing of the Word in the Congregation, being Part of the publick Worſhip of God, (wherein we acknowledge our dependance upon him, and ſubjection to him) and one means ſanctified by him for the edifying of his People, is to be performed by the Paſtors and Teachers.

Howbeit, ſuch as intend the Miniſtry, may occaſionally both read the Word, and exerciſe their Gift in Preaching in the Congregation, if allowed by the Preſbytery thereunto.

All the Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament (but none of thoſe which are commonly called Apocrypha) ſhall be publickly read in the vulgar Tongue, out of the beſt allowed Tranſlation, diſtinctly, that all may hear and underſtand.

How large a Portion ſhall be read at once, is left to the Wiſdom of the Miniſter; but it is convenient, that ordinarily one Chapter of each Teſtament be read at every Meeting; and ſometimes more, where the Chapters be ſhort, or the coherence of Matter requireth it.

It is requiſite that all the Canonical Books be read over in Order, that the People may be better acquainted with the whole Body of the Scriptures; and ordinarily, where the reading in either Teſtament endeth on one Lord's Day, it is to begin the next.

We commend alſo the more frequent Reading of ſuch Scriptures, as he that readeth ſhall think beſt for edification of his Hearers, as the Book of Pſalms, and ſuch like.

When the Miniſter, who readeth, ſhall judge it neceſſary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole Chapter or Pſalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time, that neither Preaching, nor

nor other Ordinance, be ſtraitned, or render'd tedious. Which Rule is to be obſerved in all other publick Performances.

Beſide publick reading of the holy Scriptures, every Perſon that can read, is to be exhorted to read the Scriptures privately, (and all others that cannot read, if not diſabled by Age, or otherwiſe, are likewiſe to be exhorted to learn to read) and to have a Bible.

Of publick Prayer before the Sermon.

AFter reading of the Word (and ſinging of the Pſalm) the Miniſter who is to preach, is to endeavour to get his own, and his Hearers Hearts to be rightly affected with their Sins, that they may all mourn in Senſe thereof before the Lord, and hunger and thirſt after the Grace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, by proceeding to a more full confeſſion of Sin, with Shame and holy confuſion of Face, and to call upon the Lord to this Effect;

" To acknowledge our great Sinfulneſs, Firſt, by Rea-
" ſon of original Sin, which (beſide the guilt that makes us
" liable to everlaſting Damnation) is the Seed of all other
" Sins, hath depraved and poiſoned all the Faculties and
" Powers of Soul and Body, doth defile our beſt Actions,
" and (were it not reſtrained, or our Hearts renewed by
" Grace) would break forth into innumerable Tranſgreſſi-
" ons, and greateſt Rebellions againſt the Lord, that ever
" were committed by the vileſt of the Sons of Men. And,
" next, by reaſon of actual Sins, our own Sins, the Sins
" of Magiſtrates, of Miniſters, and of the whole Nation,
" unto which we are many ways acceſſory: Which Sins of
" ours receive many fearful Aggravations, we having bro-
" ken all the Commandments of the holy, juſt, and good
" Law of God, doing that which is forbidden, and leav-
" ing undone what is enjoined; and that not only out of
" Ignorance and Infirmity, but alſo more preſumptuouſly,
" againſt the Light of our Minds, Checks of our Conſci-
" ences, and Motions of his own holy Spirit to the con-
" trary, ſo that we have no Cloke for our Sins; yea, not
" only deſpiſing the Riches of God's Goodneſs, Forbear-
" ance, and Long-ſuffering, but ſtanding out againſt many
" Invitations and Offers of Grace in the Goſpel; not en-
" deavouring, as we ought, to receive Chriſt into our
" Hearts by Faith, or to walk worthy of him in our
" Lives.

" To bewail our blindneſs of Mind, hardneſs of Heart, " Unbelief, Impenitency, Security, Lukewarmneſs, Barrenneſs; our not endeavouring after Mortification and " Newneſs of Life; nor after the exerciſe of Godlineſs in " the Power thereof: And that the beſt of us have not ſo " ſtedfaſtly walked with God, kept our Garments ſo unſpotted, nor been ſo zealous of his Glory, and the good " of others, as we ought: And to mourn over ſuch other " Sins, as the Congregation is particularly guilty of, notwithſtanding the manifold and great Mercies of our God, " the Love of Chriſt, the Light of the Goſpel, and Reformation of Religion, our own Purpoſes, Promiſes, " Vows, ſolemn Covenant, and other ſpecial Obligations " to the contrary.

" To acknowledge and confeſs, that, as we are convinced of our guilt, ſo, out of a deep Senſe thereof, we " judge ourſelves unworthy of the ſmalleſt Benefits, moſt " worthy of God's fierceſt Wrath, and of all the Curſes " of the Law, and heavieſt judgments inflicted upon the " moſt rebellious Sinners; and that he might moſt juſtly " take his Kingdom and Goſpel from us, plague us with " all ſorts of ſpiritual and temporal Judgments in this Life, " and after caſt us into utter Darkneſs, in the Lake that " burneth with Fire and Brimſtone, where is Weeping and " Gnaſhing of Teeth for evermore.

" Notwithſtanding all which, to draw near to the " Throne of Grace, encouraging ourſelves with hope of a " gracious anſwer, of our Prayers, in the Riches and All-ſufficiency of that only one Oblation, the Satisfaction " and Interceſſion of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, at the right " Hand of his Father and our Father; and, in Confidence " of the exceeding great and precious Promiſes of Mercy " and Grace in the New Covenant, through the ſame Mediator thereof, to deprecate the heavy Wrath and Curſe " of God, which we are not able to avoid, or bear; and " humbly and earneſtly to ſupplicate for Mercy in the free " and full Remiſſion of all our Sins, and that only for the " bitter Sufferings and precious Merits of that our only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

" That the Lord would vouchſafe to ſhed abroad his " Love in our Hearts by the Holy Ghoſt; ſeal unto us, " by the ſame Spirit of Adoption, the full Aſſurance of our " Pardon and Reconciliation; comfort all that mourn in " Zion, ſpeak Peace to the wounded and troubled Spirit, " and bind up the Broken-hearted: And as for ſecure and

" preſumptu-

" preſumptuous Sinners, that he would open their Eyes,
" convince their Conſciences, and turn them from Dark-
" neſs unto Light, and from the Power of Satan unto
" God, that they alſo may receive forgiveneſs of Sin, and
" an Inheritance among them that are ſanctified by Faith
" in Chriſt Jeſus.

" With Remiſſion of Sins through the Blood of Chriſt,
" to pray for Sanctification by his Spirit; the Mortificati-
" on of Sin dwelling in, and many times tyrannizing over
" us; the quickning of our dead Spirits, with the Life of
" God in Chriſt; Grace to fit and enable us for all Duties
" of Converſation and Callings towards God and Men;
" Strength againſt Temptations, the ſanctified uſe of
" Bleſſings and Croſſes, and Perſeverance in Faith and
" Obedience unto the End.

" To pray for the Propagation of the Goſpel and King-
" dom of Chriſt to all Nations, for the Converſion of the
" Jews, the Fulneſs of the Gentiles, the Fall of Antichriſt,
" and the haſtening of the ſecond coming of our Lord;
" for the Deliverance of the diſtreſſed Churches abroad
" from the Tyranny of the Antichriſtian Faction, and
" from the cruel Oppreſſions and Blaſphemies of the
" Turk; for the bleſſing of God upon all the Reformed
" Churches, eſpecially upon the Churches and Kingdoms
" of Scotland, England, and Ireland, now more ſtrictly
" and religiouſly united in the Solemn National League and
" Covenant; and for our Plantations in the remote parts
" of the World: More particularly for that Church and
" Kingdom whereof we are Members, that therein God
" would eſtabliſh Peace and Truth, the Purity of all his
" Ordinances, and the power of Godlineſs; prevent and
" remove Hereſy, Schiſm, Profaneneſs, Superſtition, Se-
" curity, and Unfruitfulneſs under the Means of Grace;
" heal all our Rents and Diviſions, and preſerve us from
" the Breach of our Solemn Covenant.

" To pray for all in Authority, eſpecially for the King's
" Majeſty, that God would make him rich in Bleſſings,
" both in his Perſon and Government; eſtabliſh his Throne
" in Religion and Righteouſneſs, ſave him from evil Coun-
" ſel, and make him a bleſſed and glorious Inſtrument,
" for the Converſation and Propagation of the Goſpel, for
" the Encouragement and Protection of them that do well,
" the Terror of all that do Evil, and the great Good of
" the whole Church, and of all his Kingdoms; for the
" Converſion of the Queen, the religious Education of the

" Prince, and the reſt of the Royal Seed; for the Com-
" forting the afflicted Queen of Bohemia, Siſter to our So-
" vereign; and for the Reſtitution and Eſtabliſhment of
" the illuſtrious Prince Charles, Elector Palatine of the
" Rhine, to all his Dominions and Dignities; for a Bleſ-
" ſing upon the High Court of Parliament (when ſitting in
" any of theſe Kingdoms reſpectively) the Nobility, the
" ſubordinate Judges and Magiſtrates, the Gentry, and
" all the Commonalty; for all Paſtors and Teachers, that
" God would fill them with his Spirit, make them exem-
" plarily Holy, Sober, Juſt, Peaceable and Gracious in
" their Lives; Sound, Faithful, and Powerful in their
" Miniſtry; and follow all their Labours with abun-
" dance of Succeſs and Bleſſings; and give unto all his
" People Paſtors according to his own Heart; for the
" Univerſities, and all Schools and Religious Semina-
" ries of Church and Commonwealth, that they may flou-
" riſh more and more in Learning and Piety; for the par-
" ticular City or Congregation, that God would pour out
" a Bleſſing upon the Miniſtry of the Word, Sacraments
" and Diſcipline, upon the Civil Government, and all the
" ſeveral Families and Perſons therein; for Mercy to the
" Afflicted, under any inward or outward Diſtreſs; for
" ſeaſonable Weather, and fruitful Seaſons, as the Time
" may require; for averting the Judgment that we either
" feel or fear, or are liable unto, as Famine, Peſtilence,
" the Sword, and ſuch like.

" And, with Confidence of his Mercy to his whole
" Church, and the acceptance of our Perſons, through the
" Merits and Mediation of our High Prieſt the Lord Jeſus,
" to profeſs that it is the deſire of our Souls to have Fel-
" lowſhip with God, in the reverend and conſcionable Uſe
" of his holy Ordinances; and, to that purpoſe, to pray
" earneſtly for his Grace, and effectual Aſſiſtance to the
" Sanctification of his holy Sabbath, the Lord's Day, in all
" the Duties thereof, publick and private, both to our-
" ſelves and to all other Congregations of his People, ac-
" cording to the Riches and Excellency of the Goſpel,
" this Day celebrated and enjoyed.

" And, becauſe we have been unprofitable Hearers in
" Times paſt, and now cannot of ourſelves receive, as we
" ſhould the deep things of God, the Myſteries of Jeſus
" Chriſt, which require a ſpiritual Diſcerning; to pray,
" that the Lord who teacheth to profit, would graciouſly
" pleaſe to pour out the Spirit of Grace, together with the
" outward

" outward Means thereof, cauſing us to attain ſuch a mea-
" ſure of the Excellency of the Knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus
" our Lord, and, in him, of the things which belong to
" our Peace, that we may account all things but as Droſs
" in Compariſon of him: And that we taſting the firſt
" Fruits of the Glory that is to be revealed, may long for
" a more full and perfect Communion with him, that
" where he is, we may be alſo, and enjoy the fulneſs of
" thoſe Joys and Pleaſures which are at his Right Hand for
" evermore.

" More particularly, that God would in ſpecial Manner
" furniſh his Servant (now called to diſpenſe the Bread of
" Life unto his Houſhold) with Wiſdom, Fidelity, Zeal,
" and Utterance, that he may divide the Word of God
" aright, to every one his Portion, in Evidence and De-
" monſtration of the Spirit and Power; and that the Lord
" would circumciſe the Ears and Hearts of the Hearers, to
" hear, love and receive with Meekneſs the ingrafted Word,
" which is able to ſave their Souls; make them as good
" Ground to receive in the good Seed of the Word, and
" ſtrengthen them againſt the Temptations of Satan, the
" Cares of the World, the hardneſs of their own Hearts,
" and whatſoever elſe may hinder their profitable and fav-
" ing hearing; that ſo Chriſt may be ſo formed in them,
" and live in them, that all their Thoughts may be
" brought into Captivity to the Obedience of Chriſt, and
" their Hearts eſtabliſhed in every good Word and Work
" for ever."

We judge this to be a convenient Order, in the ordinary publick Prayers; yet ſo, as the Miniſter may defer (as in prudence he ſhall think meet) ſome part of theſe Petitions, till after his Sermon, or offer up to God ſome of the Thankſgivings hereafter appointed, in his Prayer before his Sermon.

Of the Preaching of the Word.

PReaching of the Word being the Power of God unto Salvation, and one of the greateſt and moſt excellent Works belonging to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, ſhould be ſo performed, that the Workman need not be aſhamed, but may ſave himſelf and thoſe that hear him.

It is preſuppoſed (according to the Rules for Ordination) that the Miniſter of Chriſt is in ſome good meaſure gifted for ſo weighty a Service, by his ſkill in the original Languages, and in ſuch Arts and Sciences as are Handmaids

unto Divinity; by his Knowledge in the whole Body of Theology, but moſt of all in the holy Scriptures, having his Senſes and Heart exerciſed in them above the common Sort of Believers; and by the illumination of God's Spirit, and other Gifts of Edification, which (together with Reading and Studying of the Word) he ought ſtill to ſeek by prayer, and an humble Heart, reſolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God ſhall make it known unto him. All which he is to make uſe of, and improve, in his private Preparations, before he deliver in publick what he hath provided.

Ordinarily, the Subject of his Sermon is to be ſome Text of Scripture, holding forth ſome Principle or Head of Religion, or ſuitable to ſome ſpecial Occaſion emergent; or he may go on in ſome Chapter, Pſalm, or Book of the holy Scripture, as he ſhall ſee fit.

Let the Introduction to his Text be brief and perſpicuous, drawn from the Text itſelf, or Context, or ſome parallel place, or general Sentence of Scripture.

If the Text be long (as in Hiſtories and Parables it ſometimes muſt be) let him give a brief Sum of it; if ſhort, a Paraphraſe thereof, if need be: In both, looking diligently to the Scope of the Text, and pointing at the chief Heads and Grounds of Doctrine, which he is to raiſe from it.

In analyſing and dividing his Text, he is to regard more the Order of Matter, than of Words; and neither to burden the Memory of the Hearers in the Beginning with too many Members of Diviſion, not to trouble their Minds with obſcure Terms of Art.

In raiſing Doctrines from the Text, his Care ought to be Firſt, That the Matter be the Truth of God. Secondly, That it be a Truth contained in, or grounded on that Text, that the Hearers may diſcern how God teacheth it from thence. Thirdly, That he chiefly inſiſt upon thoſe Doctrines which are principally intended, and make moſt for the Edification of the Hearers.

The Doctrine is to be expreſſed in plain Terms; or, if any thing in it need Explication, is to be opened, and the Conſequence alſo from the Text cleared. The parallel places of Scripture confirming the Doctrine are rather to be plain and pertinent, than many, and (if need be) ſomewhat inſiſted upon, and applied to the purpoſe in hand.

The

The Arguments or Reaſons are to be ſolid; and, as much as may be, convincing. The Illuſtrations, of what kind ſoever, ought to be full of Light, and ſuch as may convey the Truth into the Hearer's Heart with ſpiritual Delight.

If any Doubt, obvious from Scripture, Reaſon, or Prejudice of the Hearers, ſeem to ariſe, it is very requiſite to remove it, by reconciling the ſeeming Differences, anſwering the Reaſons, and diſcovering and taking away the Cauſes of Prejudice and Miſtake. Otherwiſe, it is not fit to detain the Hearers with propounding or anſwering vain or wicked Cavils, which as they are endleſs, ſo the propounding and anſwering of them doth more hinder than promote Edification.

He is not to reſt in general Doctrine, although never ſo much cleared and confirmed, but to bring it home to ſpecial Uſe, by Application to his Hearers; which albeit it prove a Work of great Difficulty to himſelf, requiring much Prudence, Zeal, and Meditation, and to the natural and corrupt Man will be very unpleaſant; yet he is to endeavour to perform it in ſuch a manner, that his Auditors may feel the Word of God to be quick and powerful, and a Diſcerner of the Thoughts and Intents of the Heart; and that if any Unbeliever or ignorant Perſon be preſent, he may have the Secrets of his Heart made manifeſt, and give Glory to God.

In the uſe of Inſtruction or Information in the Knowledge of ſome Truth, which is a Conſequnce from his Doctrine, he may (when convenient) confirm it by a few firm Arguments from the Text in hand, and other Places of Scripture, or from the Nature of that Common-Place in Divinity, whereof that Truth is a Branch.

In Confutation of falſe Doctrines, he is neither to raiſe an old Hereſy from the Grave, nor to mention a blaſphemous Opinion unneceſſarily: But if the People be in danger of an Error, he is to confute it ſoundly, and endeavour to ſatisfy their Judgments and Conſciences againſt all Objections.

In exhorting to Duties, he is, as he ſeeth Cauſe, to teach alſo the Means that help to the Performance of them.

In Dehortation, Reprehenſion, and publick Admonition (which require ſpecial Wiſdom) let him, as there ſhall be Cauſe, not only diſcover the nature and greatneſs of the Sin, with the Miſery attending it, but alſo ſhew the Danger

ger his Hearers are in to be overtaken and surprized by it, together with the Remedies and best Way to avoid it.

In applying Comfort, whether general against all Temptations, or particular against some special Troubles or Terrors, he is carefully to answer such Objections, as a troubled Heart and afflicted Spirit may suggest to the contrary.

It is also sometimes requisite to give some Notes of trial (which is very profitable, especially when performed by able and experienced Ministers, with Circumspection and Prudence, and the Signs clearly grounded on the holy Scripture) whereby the Hearers may be able to examine themselves, whether they have attained those Graces, and performed those Duties to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the Sin reprehended, and in danger of the Judgments threatened, or are such to whom the Consolations propounded do belong; that accordingly they may be quicken'd and excited to Duty, humbled for their Wants and Sins, affected with their Danger, and strengthned with Comfort, as their Condition upon Examination shall require.

And, as he needeth not always to prosecute every Doctrine which lies in his Text, so he is wisely to make Choice of such Uses, as by his Residence and conversing with his Flock, he findeth most needful and seasonable; and, amongst these, such as may most draw the Souls to Christ, the Fountain of Light Holiness and Comfort.

This Method is not prescribed as necessary for every Man, or upon every Text; but only recommended, as being found by Experience to be very much blessed of God, and very helpful for the Peoples Understandings and Memories.

But the Servant of Christ, whatever his method be is to perform his whole Ministry,

1. Painfully, not doing the Work of the Lord negligently.

2. Plainly, that the meanest may understand, delivering the Truth, not in the enticing Words of Man's Wisdom, but in Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power, lest the Cross of Christ should be made of none Effect; abstaining also from an unprofitable Use of unknown Tongues, strange Phrases, and Cadences of Sounds and Words, sparingly citing Sentences of Ecclesiastical, or other human Writers, Ancient or Modern, be they never so elegant.

3. Faith-

3. Faithfully, looking at the Honour of Chriſt, the Converſion, Edification and Salvation of the People, not at his own Gain, or Glory, keeping nothing back which may promote thoſe holy Ends, giving to every one his own Portion, and bearing indifferent Reſpect unto all, without neglecting the Meaneſt, or ſparing the Greateſt in their Sins.

4. Wiſely, framing all his Doctrines, Exhortations, and eſpecially his Reproofs, in ſuch a manner as may be moſt likely to prevail, ſhewing all due Reſpect to each Man's Perſon and Place, and not mixing his own Paſſion or Bitterneſs.

5. Gravely, as becometh the Word of God, ſhunning all ſuch Geſture, Voice and Expreſſions, as may occaſion the Corruptions of Men to deſpiſe him and his Miniſtry.

6. With loving Affection, that the People may ſee all coming from his godly Zeal, and hearty Deſire to do them good. And,

7. As taught of God, and perſuaded in his own heart, that all that he teacheth is the Truth of Chriſt; and walking before his Flock, as an Example to them in it; earneſtly, both in private and publick, recommending his Labours to the Bleſſing of God, and watchfully looking to himſelf and the Flock, whereof the Lord hath made him Overſeer: So ſhall the Doctrine of Truth be preſerved uncorrupt, many Souls converted and built up, and himſelf receive manifold Comforts of his Labours, even in this Life, and afterward the Crown of Glory laid up for him in the World to come.

Where there are more Miniſters in a Congregation than one, and they of different Gifts, each may more eſpecially apply himſelf to Doctrine or Exhortation, according to the Gift wherein he moſt excelleth, and as they ſhall agree between themſelves.

Of Prayer after Sermon.

THE Sermon being ended, the Miniſter is, "To give "Thanks for the great Love of God, in ſending his "Son Jeſus Chriſt unto us; for the Communication of his "Holy Spirit; for the Light and Liberty of the glorious "Goſpel, and the rich and heavenly Bleſſings revealed "therein; as namely, Election, Vocation, Adoption, Juſ"tification, Sanctification, and hope of Glory; for the "admirable Goodneſs of God, in freeing the Land from "Antichriſtian Darkneſs and Tyranny, and for all other "National

" National Deliverances; for the Reformation of Religi-
" on; for the Covenant; and for many Temporal Bleſ-
" ſings.

" To pray for the Continuance of the Goſpel, and all
" Ordinances thereof, in their Purity, Power and Liber-
" ty: To turn the chief and moſt uſeful Heads of the Ser-
" mon into ſome few Petitions; and to pray that it may
" abide in the Heart and bring forth Fruit.

" To pray for Preparation for Death and Judgment,
" and a Watching for the Coming of our Lord Jeſus
" Chriſt: To entreat of God the Forgiveneſs of the Ini-
" quities of our holy Things, and the Acceptation of our
" ſpiritual Sacrifice, through the Merit and Mediation
" of our great High Prieſt and Saviour the Lord Jeſus
" Chriſt."

And becauſe the Prayer which Chriſt taught his Diſciples, is not only a Pattern of Prayer, but itſelf a moſt comprehenſive Prayer, we recommend it alſo to be uſed in the Prayers of the Church.

And whereas, at the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, the holding Publick Faſts, and Days of Thankſgiving, and other ſpecial occaſions, which may afford Matter of ſpecial Petitions and Thankſgivings, it is requiſite to expreſs ſomewhat in our publick Prayers (as at this Time, it is our Duty to pray for a Bleſſing upon the Aſſembly of Divines, the Armies by Sea and Land, for the Defence of the King, Parliament and Kingdom;) Every Miniſter is herein to apply himſelf in his Prayer, before or after Sermon, to thoſe Occaſions; but for the Manner, he is left to his Liberty, as God ſhall direct and enable him, in Piety and Wiſdom to diſcharge his Duty.

The Prayer ended, let a Pſalm be ſung, if with Conveniency it may be done. After which (unleſs ſome other Ordinance of Chriſt, that concerneth the Congregation at that Time, be to follow) let the Miniſter diſmiſs the Congregation with a ſolemn Bleſſing.

The Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

And firſt, Of Baptiſm.

BAptiſm, as it is not unneceſſarily to be delayed, ſo it is not to be adminiſter'd in any Caſe by any private Perſon, but by a Miniſter of Chriſt, called to be the Steward of the Myſteries of God. Nor

Nor is it to be adminiſter'd in private Places, or privately, but in the place of Publick Worſhip, and in the Face of the Congregation, where the People may moſt conveniently ſee and hear, and not in the places where Fonts, in the Time of Popery, were unfitly and ſuperſtitiouſly placed.

The Child to be baptized, after Notice given to the Miniſter the Day before, is to be preſented by the Father, or (in caſe of his neceſſary Abſence) by ſome Chriſtian Friend in his Place, profeſſing his earneſt Deſire that the Child may be baptized.

Before Baptiſm the Miniſter is to uſe ſome Words of Inſtruction, touching, the Inſtitution, Nature, Uſe, and Ends of this Sacrament: Shewing,

" That it is inſtituted by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; that it " is a Seal of the Covenant of Grace, of our ingrafting " into Chriſt, and of our Union with him, of Remiſſion " of Sins, Regeneration, Adoption, and Life eternal. " That the Water in Baptiſm repreſenteth and ſignifieth, " both the Blood of Chriſt, which taketh away all Guilt of " Sin, original and actual; and the ſanctifying Vertue of " the Spirit of Chriſt againſt the Dominion of Sin, and the " Corruption of our ſinful Nature: That Baptizing, or " Sprinkling and Waſhing with Water, ſignifieth the " Cleanſing from Sin by the Blood, and for the Merit of " Chriſt, together with the Mortification of Sin, and Ri- " ſing from Sin to Newneſs of Life, by vertue of the " Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt: That the Promiſe is " made to Believers and their Seed; and that the Seed " and Poſterity of the Faithful, born within the Church, " have, by their Birth, Intereſt in the Covenant, and Right " to the Seal of it, and to the outward Privileges of the " Church, under the Goſpel, no leſs than the Children of " Abraham in the time of the Old Teſtament; the Cove- " nant of Grace, for Subſtance, being the ſame; and the " Grace of God, and the Conſolation of Believers, more " plentiful than before: That the Son of God admitted " little Children into his Preſence, embracing and bleſſing " them, ſaying, " For of ſuch is the Kingdom of God:" " That Children, by Baptiſm, are ſolemnly received into " the Boſom of the viſible Church, diſtinguiſhed from the " World, and them that are without, and united with " Believers; and that all who are baptized in the name " of Chriſt, do renounce, and, by their Baptiſm, are " bound to fight againſt the Devil, the World, and " the Fleſh: That they are Chriſtians, and fœderally holy

" before

" before Baptiſm, and therefore are they baptized: That " the inward Grace and Vertue of Baptiſm, is not tied " to that very Moment of Time wherein it is adminiſter- " ed, and that the Fruit and Power thereof reacheth to " the whole Courſe of our Life; and that outward Bap- " tiſm is not ſo neceſſary, that thro' the want thereof the " Infant is in danger of Damnation, or the Parents guilty, " if they do not contemn nor neglect the Ordinance of " Chriſt, when and where it may be had."

In theſe, or the like Inſtructions, the Miniſter is to uſe his own Liberty and godly Wiſdom, as the Ignorance or Errors in the Doctrine of Baptiſm, and the Edification of the People ſhall require.

He is alſo to admoniſh all that are preſent,

" To look back to their Baptiſm; to repent of their " Sins againſt their Covenant with God; to ſtir up their " Faith; to improve and make the right Uſe of their Bap- " tiſm, and of the Covenant ſealed thereby betwixt God " and their Souls."

He is to exhort the Parent,

" To conſider the great Mercy of God to him and his Child; to bring up the Child in the Knowledge of the " Grounds of the Chriſtian Religion, and in the Nurture and " Admonition of the Lord; and to let them know the Dan- " ger of God's Wrath to himſelf and Child, if he be negli- " gent; requiring his ſolemn Promiſe for the Performance " of his Duty."

This being done, Prayer is alſo to be joined with the Word of Inſtitution, for ſanctifying the Water to this ſpiritual Uſe; and the Miniſter is to pray to this or the like Effect,

" That the Lord, who hath not left us as Strangers " without the Covenant of Promiſe, but called us to the " Privileges of his Ordinances, would graciouſly vouch- " ſafe to ſanctify and bleſs his own Ordinance of Baptiſm " at this Time: That he would join the inward Baptiſm " of his Spirit with the outward Baptiſm of Water; " make this Baptiſm to the Infant a Seal of Adoption, Re- " miſſion of Sin, Regeneration, and eternal Life, and all " other Promiſes of the Covenant of Grace: That the " Child may be planted into the Likneſs of the Death and " Reſurrection of Chriſt; and that the Body of Sin being " deſtroyed

" deſtroyed in him, he may ſerve God in Newneſs of Life " all his Days."

Then the Miniſter is to demand the Name of the Child, which being told him, he is to ſay (calling the Child by his Name.)

I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

As he pronounceth theſe Words he is to baptize the Child with Water; which, for the manner of doing it, is not only lawful but ſufficient, and moſt expedient to be, by pouring or ſprinkling of the Water on the Face of the Child, without adding any other Ceremony.

This done, he is to give thanks, and pray to this or the like purpoſe;

" Acknowledging with all Thankfulneſs, that the Lord is " True and Faithful in keeping Covenant and Mercy; that " he is Good and Gracious, not only in that he numbereth " us among his Saints, but is pleaſed alſo to beſtow upon our " Children this ſingular Token and Badge of his Love in " Chriſt: That, in his Truth and ſpecial Providence, he " daily bringeth ſome into the Boſom of his Church, to " be Partakers of his ineſtimable Benefits, purchaſed by the " Blood of his dear Son, for the Continuance and Increaſe " of his Church.

" And praying, That the Lord would ſtill continue, and " daily confirm more and more this his unſpeakable Favour: That he would receive the Infant, now baptized, " and ſolemnly entered into the Houſhold of Faith, into his " Fatherly Tuition and Defence, and remember him with " the Favour that he ſheweth to his People: That, if he " ſhall be taken out of this Life in his Infancy, the Lord, " who is rich in Mercy, would be pleaſed to receive him " up into Glory; and if he live, and attain the Years of " Diſcretion, that the Lord would ſo teach him by his " Word and Spirit, and make his Baptiſm effectual to him, " and ſo uphold him by his Divine Power and Grace, " that by Faith he may prevail againſt the Devil, the " World, and the Fleſh, till in the End he obtain a full " and final Victory, and ſo be kept by the Power of God " through Faith unto Salvation, through Jeſus Chriſt our " Lord."

Of

Of the Celebration of the Communion, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

THE Communion, or Supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebated: But how often, may be conſidered, and determined by the Miniſters, and other Church-Governor of each Congregation, as they ſhall find moſt convenient for the Comfort and and Edification of the People committed to their Charge. And when it ſhall be adminiſtered, we judge it convenient to be done after the Morning Sermon.

The Ignorant and Scandalous are not fit to receive this Sacrment of the Lord's Supper.

Where this Sacramant cannot with Convenience be frequently adminiſter'd, it is requiſite that publick Warning be given the Sabbath Day before the Adminiſtration thereof: And that either then, or on ſome Day of that Week, ſomething concerning the Ordinance, and the due Preparation thereunto, and Participation thereof, be taught; that, by the diligent uſe of all Means ſanctified of God to that End, both in publick and private, all may come better prepared to that heavenly Feaſt.

When the day is come for Adminiſtration, the Miniſter, having ended his Sermon and Prayer, ſhall make a ſhort Exhortation;

" Expreſſing the ineſtimable Benefit we have by this Sa-
" crament; together with the Ends and Uſe thereof: Set-
" ting forth the great Neceſſity of having our Comforts and
" Strength renewed thereby, in this our Pilgrimage and
" Warfare: How neceſſary it is, that we come unto it
" with Knowledge, Faith, Repentance, Love, and with
" hungring and thirſting Souls after Chriſt and his Bene-
" fits: How great the Danger to eat and drink unwor-
" thily.

" Next, he is, in the Name of Chriſt, on the one Part,
" to warn all ſuch as are Ignorant, Scandalous, Profane,
" or that live in any Sin or Offence againſt their Know-
" ledge or Conſcience, that they preſume not to come to
" that holy Table; ſhewing them, That he that Eateth
" and Drinketh Unworthily, Eateth and Drinketh Judg-
" ment unto himſelf: And on the other part, he is in
" eſpecial Manner to invite and encourage all that labour
" under the Senſe of the Burden of their Sins, and Fear of
" Wrath, and deſire to reach out unto a greater Pro-
" greſs

" greſs in Grace than yet they can attain unto, to come to " the Lord's Table; aſſuring them, in the ſame Name, of " Eaſe, Refreſhing, and Strength, to their weak and wea- " ried Souls."

After this Exhortation, Warning, and Invitation, the Table being before decently covered, and ſo conveniently placed, that the Communicants may orderly ſit about it, or at it, the Miniſter is to begin the Action with ſanctifying and bleſſing the Elements of Bread and Wine ſet before him (the Bread in comely and convenient Veſſels, ſo prepared, that being broken by him, and given, it may be diſtributed among the Communicants: The Wine alſo in large Cups;) having firſt in a few Words ſhewed, That thoſe Elements, otherwiſe common, are now ſet apart and ſanctified to this holy Uſe, by the Word of Inſtitution and Prayer.

Let the Words of Inſtitution be read out of the Evange- liſts, or out of the firſt Epiſtle of the Apoſtle Paul to the Corinthians, Chap. xi. verſe 23. " I have received of the " Lord, &c." to the 27th Verſe, which the Miniſter may, when he ſeeth requiſite, explain and apply.

Let the Prayer, Thankſgiving, or Bleſſing of the Bread and Wine, be to this Effect;

" WITH humble and hearty acknowledgment of the " Greatneſs of our Miſery, from which neither " Man nor Angel was able to deliver us, and of our great " Unworthineſs of the leaſt of all God's Mercies; to give " Thanks to God for all his Benefits, and eſpecially for " that great Benefit of our Redemption, the Love of God " the Father, the Sufferings and Merits of the Lord Jeſus " Chriſt the Son of God, by which we are delivered; and " for all Means of Grace, the Word and Sacraments; and " for this Sacrament in particular, by which Chriſt, and all " his Benefits, are applied and ſealed up unto us, which, " notwithſtanding the denial of them unto others, are in " great Mercy continued unto us, after ſo much and long " abuſe of them all.

" To profeſs, that there is no other Name under Hea- " ven by which we can be ſaved, but the Name of Jeſus " Chriſt, by whom alone we receive Liberty and Life, " have Acceſs to the Throne of Grace, are admitted to " eat and drink at his own Table, and are ſealed up by " his Spirit to an Aſſurance of Happineſs and everlaſting " Life.

" Earneſtly to pray to God, the Father of all Mercies, " and God of all Conſolation, to vouchſafe his gracious " Preſence, and the effectual Working of his Spirit in us, " and ſo to ſanctify theſe Elements, both of Bread and " Wine, and to bleſs his own Ordinance, that we may " receive, by Faith, the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt " crucified for us, and ſo to feed upon him, that he may " be one with us, and we with him; that he may live in " us, and we in him, and to him, who hath loved us, and " given himſelf for us."

All which he is to endeavour to perform with ſuitable Affections, anſwerable to ſuch an holy Action, and to ſtir up the like in the People.

The Elements being now ſanctified by the Word and Prayer, the Miniſter, being at the Table, is to take the Bread in his Hand, and ſay, in theſe Expreſſions (or other the like, uſed by Chriſt, or his Apoſtle upon this Occaſion:)

" According to the holy Inſtitution, Command, and " Example of our bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I take this " Bread, and having given Thanks, I break it, and give " it unto you (There the Miniſter, who is alſo himſelf to " communicate, is to break the Bread and give it to the " Communicants:) Take ye, eat ye; This is the Body of " Chriſt which is broken for you; Do this in Remembrance " of him."

In like manner the Miniſter is to take the Cup, and ſay, in theſe Expreſſions (or other the like, uſed by Chriſt, or the Apoſtle, upon the ſame Occaſion;)

" According to the Inſtitution, Command, and Exam- " ple of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I take this Cup, and give " it unto you (Here he giveth it to the Communicants) " This Cup is the New Teſtament in the Blood of Chriſt, " which is ſhed for the Remiſſion of the Sins of many; " Drink ye all of it."

After all have communicated, the Miniſter may, in a few Words, put them in mind,

" Of the Grace of God, in Jeſus Chriſt, held forth " in this Sacrament; and exhort them to walk worthy " of it."

The Miniſter is to give ſolemn Thanks to God,

" For his rich Mercy, and invaluable Goodneſs vouch- " ſafed to them in that Sacrament; and to entreat for Par- " don for the Defects of the whole Service, and for the " gracious

" gracious Assistance of his good Spirit, whereby they may " be enabled to walk in the Strength of that Grace, as be- " cometh those who have received so great Pledges of Sal- " vation."

The Collection for the poor is so to be ordered that no part of the Publick Worship be thereby hindered.

Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

THE Lord's Day ought to be so remembered beforehand, as that all worldly Business of our ordinary Callings may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be Impediments to the due Sanctifying of the Day when it comes.

The whole Day is to be celebrated as Holy to the Lord, both in publick and private, as being the Christian Sabbath. To which end, it is requisite that there be a holy Cessation, or resting all the day, from all unnecessary Labours; and an Abstaining, not only from all Sports and Pastimes, but also from all worldly Words and Thoughts.

That the Diet on that Day be so ordered, as that neither Servants be unnecessarily detained from the Publick Worship of God, nor any other Persons hindered from the sanctifying that Day.

That there be private Preparation of every Person and Family, by Prayer for themselves, and for God's Assistance of the Minister, and for a Blessing upon his Ministry; and by such other holy Exercises, as may further dispose them to a more comfortable Communion with God in his Publick Ordinances.

That all the People meet so timely for Publick Worship, that the whole Congregation may be present at the Beginning, and with one Heart solemnly join together in all Parts of the Publick Worship, and not depart till after the Blessing.

That what Time is vacant, between, or after the solemn Meetings of the Congregation in Publick, be spent in Reading, Meditation, Repetition of Sermons; (especially by calling their Families to an Account of what they have heard) and Catechizing of them, holy Conferences, Prayer for a Blessing upon the Publick Ordinances, Singing of Psalms, Visiting the Sick, relieving the Poor, and such like Duties of Piety, Charity and Mercy, accounting the Sabbath a Delight.

The Solemnization of Marriage.

ALthough Marriage be no Sacrament, nor peculiar to the Church of God, but common to Mankind, and of Publick Intereſt in every Commonwealth; yet, becauſe ſuch as marry are to marry in the Lord, and have ſpecial need of Inſtruction, Direction, and Exhortation, from the Word of God, at their entering into ſuch a new Condition; and of the Bleſſing of God upon them therein; we judge it expedient, that Marriage be ſolemnized by a lawful Miniſter of the Word, that he may accordingly counſel them and pray for a Bleſſing upon them.

Marriage is to be betwixt one Man and one Woman only; and they, ſuch as are not within the Degrees of Conſanguinity or Affinity prohibited by the Word of God; and the Parties are to be of years of Diſcretion, fit to make their own Choice, or, upon good Grounds, to give their mutual Conſent.

Before the Solemnizing of Marriage between any Perſons, their Purpoſe of Marriage ſhall be publiſhed by the Miniſter, three ſeveral Sabbath days, in the Congregation at the Place or Places of their moſt uſual and conſtant Abode reſpectively. And of this Publication, the Miniſter who is to join them in Marriage, ſhall have ſufficient Teſtimony, before he proceed to ſolemnize the Marriage.

Before that Publication of ſuch their Purpoſe (if the Parties be under Age) the Conſent of the Parents, or others under whoſe Power they are (in caſe the Parents be dead) is to be made known to the Church Officers of that Congregation, to be recorded.

The like is to be obſerved in the Proceedings of all others, although of Age, whoſe Parents are living, for their firſt Marriage. And in after Marriages of either of thoſe Parties, they ſhall be exhorted not to contract Marriage without firſt acquainting their Parents with it (if with Conveniency it may be done) endeavouring to obtain their Conſent.

Parents ought not to force their Children to marry without their free Conſent, nor deny their own Conſent without juſt Cauſe.

After the Purpoſe or Contract of Marriage hath been thus publiſhed, the Marriage is not to be long deferred. Therefore the Miniſter, having had convenient Warning, and nothing being objected to hinder it, is publickly to ſolemnize it in the Place appointed by Authority for Publick Worſhip,

Worſhip, before a competent Number of credible Witneſſes, at ſome convenient Hour of the Day, at any time of the Year, except on a Day of publick Humiliation. And we adviſe that it be not on the Lord's Day.

And becauſe all Relations are ſanctified by the Word and Prayer, the Miniſter is to pray for a Bleſſing upon them, to this Effect;

" Acknowledging our Sins, whereby we have made ourſelves leſs than the leaſt of all the Mercies of God, and provoked him to imbitter all our Comforts; earneſtly, in the Name of Chriſt, to entreat the Lord (whoſe Preſence and Favour is the Happineſs of every Condition, and ſweetens every Relation) to be their Portion, and to own and accept them in Chriſt, who are now to be joined in the honourable Eſtate of Marriage, the Covenant of their God: And that, as he hath brought them together by his Providence, he would ſanctify them by his Spirit, giving them a new Frame of Heart, fit for their new Eſtate; enriching them with all Graces whereby they may perform the Duties, enjoy the Comforts, undergo the Cares, and reſiſt the Temptations which accompany that Condition, as becometh Chriſtians."

The Prayer being ended, it is convenient that the Miniſter do briefly declare unto them out of the Scripture,

" The Inſtitution, Uſe, and Ends of Marriage, with the Conjugal Duties, which, in all Faithfulneſs, they are to perform each to the other; exhorting them to ſtudy the holy Word of God, that they may learn to live by Faith, and to be content in the midſt of all Marriage-cares and Troubles, ſanctifying God's Name, in a thankful, ſober, and holy Uſe of all conjugal Comforts; praying much with, and for one another; watching over, and provoking each other to Love and good Works; and to live together as the Heirs of the Grace of Life."

After ſolemn charging of the Perſons to be married before the great God, who ſearcheth all hearts, and to whom they muſt give a ſtrict Account at the laſt day, that if either of them know any Cauſe, by Precontract, or otherwiſe, why they may not lawfully proceed to Marriage, that they now diſcover it: The Miniſter (if no Impediment be acknowledged) ſhall cauſe firſt the Man to take the Woman by the right Hand, ſaying theſe Words,

" *I* N. do take thee N. to be my married Wife, and " do, in the Preſenc of God, and before this Congregation, " promiſe and covenant to be a loving and faithful Huſband " unto thee, until God ſhall ſeparate us by Death."

Then the Woman ſhall take the Man by his right Hand, and ſay theſe Words,

" *I* N. do take thee N. to be my married Huſband, " and I do, in the Preſence of God, and before this Con- " gregation, promiſe and covenant to be a loving, faithful, " and obedient Wife unto thee, until God ſhall ſeprate us " by Death."

Then, without any further Ceremony, the Miniſter ſhall, in the Face of the Congregation, pronounce them to be Huſband and Wife, according to God's Ordinance; and ſo conclude the Action with Prayer, to this Effect;

" That the Lord would be pleaſed to accompany his own " Ordinance with his Bleſſing, beſeeching him to enrich " the Perſons now married, as with other Pledges of his " Love, ſo particularly with the Comforts and Fruits of " Marriage, to the Praiſe of his abundant Mercy, in and " through Chriſt Jeſus."

A Regiſter is to be carefully kept, wherein the Names of the Parties ſo married, with the Time of their Marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a Book, provided for that Purpoſe, for the Peruſal of all whom it may concern.

Concerning Viſitation of the Sick.

IT is the Duty of the Miniſter, not only to teach the People committed to his Charge in publick; but privately and particularly to admoniſh, exhort, reprove, and comfort them upon all ſeaſonable Occaſions, ſo far as his Time, Srength, and perſonal Safety will permit.

He is to admoniſh them, in Time of Health, to prepare for Death; and, for that Purpoſe, they are often to confer with their Miniſter about the Eſtate of their Souls; and in Time of Sickneſs, to deſire his Advice and Help, timely and ſeaſonably, before their Strength and Underſtanding fail them.

Times of Sickneſs and Affliction are ſpecial Opportunities put into his Hand by God, to Miniſter a Word in Seaſon to

to weary Souls: Becauſe then the conſciences of Men are, or ſhould be more awaken'd to bethink themſelves of their ſpiritual Eſtates for Eternity; and Satan alſo takes advantage then, to load them more with ſore and heavy Temptations: Therefore the Miniſter being ſent for, and repairing to the Sick, is to apply himſelf with all Tenderneſs and Love, to adminiſter ſome ſpiritual Good to his Soul, to this Effect.

He may, from the Conſideration of the preſent Sickneſs, inſtruct him out of Scripture, that diſeaſes come not by Chance, or by Diſtempers of Body only, but by the wiſe and orderly Guidance of the good Hand of God, to every particular perſon ſmitten by them. And that, whether it be laid upon him out of diſpleaſure for Sin, for his Correction and Amendment, or for Trial and Exerciſe of his Graces, or for other ſpecial and excellent Ends, all his Sufferings ſhall turn to his Profit, and work together for his Good, if he ſincerely labour to make a ſanctified uſe of God's Viſitation, neither deſpiſing his chaſtening, nor waxing weary of his Correction.

If he ſuſpect him of ignorance, he ſhall examine him in the principles of Religion, eſpecially touching Repentance and Faith; and, as he ſeeth Cauſe, inſtruct him in the Nature, Uſe, Excellency, and Neceſſity of thoſe Graces; as alſo touching the Covenant of Grace, and Chriſt the Son of God, the Mediator of it, and concerning Remiſſion of Sins by Faith in him.

He ſhall exhort the ſick Perſon to examine himſelf, to ſearch and try his former Ways, and his Eſtate towards God.

And if the ſick Perſon ſhall declare any Scruple, Doubt, or Temptation that are upon him, Inſtructions and Reſolutions ſhall be given to ſatisfy and ſettle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due Senſe of his Sins, Endeavours ought to be uſed to convince him of his Sins, of the Guilt and Deſert of them; of the Filth and Pollution which the Soul contracts by them; and of the Curſe of the Law, and Wrath of God, due to them; that he may be truly affected with, and humbled for them: And withal to make known the danger of deferring Repentance, and of neglecting Salvation at any time offered; to awaken his Conſcience, and rouze him up out of a ſtupid and ſecure Condition, to apprehend the Juſtice and Wrath of God, before whom none can ſtand, but he that, being loſt in himſelf, layeth hold upon Chriſt by Faith.

If he have endeavoured to walk in the ways of Holineſs, and to ſerve God in Uprightneſs, although not without many Failings and Infirmities; or if his Spirit be broken with the Senſe of Sin, or caſt down through Want of the Senſe of God's Favour, then it will be fit to raiſe him up, by ſetting before him the Freeneſs and Fulneſs of God's Grace, the Sufficiency of Righteouſneſs in Chriſt, the gracious Offers in the Goſpel, that all who repent and believe with all their Heart in God's Mercy through Chriſt, renouncing their own Righteouſneſs, ſhall have Life and Salvation in him: It may be alſo uſeful to ſhew him, that Death hath in it no ſpiritual Evil to be feared by thoſe that are in Chriſt, becauſe Sin, the Sting of Death, is taken away by Chriſt, who hath delivered all that are his, from the Bondage of the fear of Death, triumphed over the Grave, given us Victory, is himſelf enter'd into Glory, to prepare a Place for his People: ſo that neither Life nor Death ſhall be able to ſeparate them from God's Love in Chriſt, in whom ſuch are ſure, though now they muſt be laid in the Duſt, to obtain a joyful and glorious Reſurrection to eternal Life.

Advice alſo may be given, as to beware of an ill-grounded Perſwaſion on Mercy, or on the Goodneſs of his Condition for Heaven, ſo to diſclaim all merit in himſelf, and to caſt himſelf wholly upon God for Mercy, in the ſole Merits and Mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, who hath engaged himſelf never to caſt off them who in Truth and Sincerity come unto him. Care alſo muſt be taken, that the ſick Perſon be not caſt down into Deſpair, by ſuch a ſevere Repreſentation of the Wrath of God due to him for his Sins, as is not mollified by a ſeaſonable propounding of Chriſt and his Merit, for a Door of Hope to every penitent Believer.

When the ſick Perſon is beſt compoſed, may be leaſt diſturbed, and other neceſſary Offices about him leaſt hindered, the Miniſter, if deſired, ſhall pray with him, and for him, to this Effect;

" Confeſſing and bewailing of Sin original and actual,
" the miſerable Condition of all by Nature, as being Chil-
" dren of Wrath, and under the Curſe; acknowledging
" that all Diſeaſes, Sickneſſes, Death, and Hell itſelf, are
" the proper Iſſues and Effects thereof; imploring God's
" Mercy for the ſick Perſon through the Blood of Chriſt;
" beſeeching that God would open his Eyes, diſcover unto
" him his Sins, cauſe him to ſee himſelf loſt in himſelf,
" make known to him the Cauſe why God ſmiteth him,
" reveal Jeſus Chriſt to his Soul for Righteouſneſs and Life,
" give

" give unto him his Holy Spirit to create and ſtrengthen " Faith, to lay hold upon Chriſt, to work in him comfort- " able Evidences of his Love, to arm him againſt Temp- " tations, to take off his Heart from the World, to ſancti- " fy his preſent Viſitation, to furniſh him with Patience " and Strength to bear it, and to give him Perſeverance in " Faith to the End.

" That if God ſhall pleaſe to add to his Days, he would " vouchſafe to bleſs and ſanctify all Means of his Recovery, " to remove the Diſeaſe, renew his Strength, and enable " him to walk worthy of God, by a faithful Remembrance " and diligent obſerving of ſuch Vows and Promiſes of Ho- " lineſs and Obedience, as Men are apt to make in Times " of Sickneſs, that he may glorify God in the remaining " part of his Life.

" And if God have determined to finiſh his Days by the " preſent Viſitation, he may find ſuch Evidence of the " Pardon of all his Sins, of his intereſt in Chriſt, and eter- " nal Life by Chriſt, as may cauſe his inward Man to be re- " newed, while his outward Man decayeth; that he may " behold Death without Fear, caſt himſelf wholly upon " Chriſt without doubting, deſire to be diſſolved and to be " with Chriſt, and ſo receive the end of his Faith, the " ſalvation of his Soul, through the only Merits and Inter- " ceſſion of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our alone Saviour, and " All-ſufficient Redeemer."

The Miniſter ſhall admoniſh him alſo (as there ſhall be Cauſe) to ſet his Houſe in Order, thereby to prevent inconveniencies; to take care for the payment of his Debts, and to make Reſtitution or Satisfaction where he hath done any Wrong; to be reconciled to thoſe with whom he hath been at Variance, and fully to forgive all Men their Treſpaſſes againſt him, as he expects forgiveneſs at the Hand of God.

Laſtly, The Miniſter may improve the preſent Occaſion to exhort thoſe about the ſick Perſon, to conſider their own Mortality, to return to the Lord, and make peace with him; in Health to prepare for ſickneſs, death, and judgment; and all the Days of their appointed time ſo to wait until their change come, that when Chriſt, who is our Life, ſhall appear, they may appear with him in Glory.

Concerning Burial of the Dead.

WHEN any Perſon departeth this Life let the dead Body, upon the Day of Burial, be decently attended

ed from the Houſe to the Place appointed for publick Burial, and there immediately interred, without any Ceremony.

And becauſe the Cuſtoms of kneeling down, and praying by, or towards the dead Corps, and other ſuch uſages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to Burial, are ſuperſtitious; and for that, praying, reading, and ſinging, both in going to, and at the Grave, have been groſly abuſed, are no way beneficial to the Dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the Living, therefore let all ſuch Things be laid aſide.

Howbeit, we judge it very convenient, that the Chriſtian Friends which accompany the dead Body to the place appointed for publick Burial, do apply themſelves to Meditations, and Conferences ſuitable to the occaſion: And that the Miniſter, as upon other Occaſions, ſo at this time, if he be preſent, may put them in Remembrance of their Duty.

That this ſhall not extend to deny any civil Reſpects or Deferences at the Burial, ſuitable to the Rank and Condition of the Party deceaſed, while he was living.

Concerning Publick ſolemn Faſting.

WHEN ſome great and notable Judgments are either inflicted upon a People, or apparently imminent, or by ſome extraordinary Provocations notoriouſly deſerved; as alſo, when ſome ſpecial Bleſſing is to be ſought and obtained, publick ſolemn Faſting (which is to continue the whole Day) is a duty that God expecteth from the Nation or People.

A religious Faſt requires total Abſtinence, not only from all Food (unleſs bodily Weakneſs do manifeſtly diſable from holding out till the Faſt be ended, in which Caſe, ſomewhat may be taken, yet very ſparingly, to ſupport Nature, when ready to faint) but alſo from all worldly Labour, Diſcourſes and Thoughts, and from all bodily Delights (although at other Times lawful) rich Apparel, Ornaments, and ſuch like, during the Faſt; and much more from whatever is in the Nature, or Uſe, ſcandalous and offenſive, as gaudiſh Attire, laſcivious Habits, and Geſtures, and other Vanities of either Sex; which we recommend to all Miniſters, in their Places, diligently and zealouſly to reprove, as at other Times, ſo eſpecially at a Faſt, without reſpect of Perſons, as there ſhall be occaſion.

Before

Before the publick Meeting, each Family and Perſon apart, are privately to uſe all religious Care to prepare their Hearts to ſuch a ſolemn Work, and to be early at the Congregation.

So large a portion of the Day, as conveniently may be, is to be ſpent in publick Reading and Preaching of the Word, with ſinging of Pſalms fit to quicken Affections ſuitable to ſuch a Duty, but eſpecially in Prayer, to this or the like Effect:

"Giving Glory to the great Majeſty of God, the Creator, Preſerver, and ſupreme Ruler of all the World, the better to affect us thereby with an holy Reverence and Awe of him; acknowledging his manifold, great, and tender Mercies, eſpecially to the Church and Nation, the more effectually to ſoften and abaſe our Hearts before him; humbly confeſſing of ſins of all ſorts, with their ſeveral Aggravations; juſtifying God's righteous Judgments, as being far leſs than our Sins do deſerve; yet humbly and earneſtly imploring his Mercy and Grace for ourſelves, the Church and Nation, for our King, and all in Authority, and for all others for whom we are bound to pray (according as the preſent Exigent requireth) with more ſpecial Importunity and Enlargement than at other Times; applying, by Faith, the Promiſes and Goodneſs of God, for Pardon, Help, and Deliverance from the Evils felt, feared, or deſerved; and for obtaining the Bleſſings which we need and expect; together with a giving up of ourſelves wholly and for ever unto the Lord."

In all theſe, the Miniſters, who are the Mouths of the People unto God, ought ſo to ſpeak from their Hearts, upon ſerious and thorough Premeditation of them, that both themſelves and their People may be much affected, and even melted thereby; eſpecially with ſorrow for their Sins, that it may be indeed a Day of deep Humiliation and afflicting of the Soul.

Special choice is to be made of ſuch Scriptures to be read, and of ſuch Texts for preaching, as may beſt work the Hearts of the Hearers to the ſpecial Buſineſs of the Day, and moſt diſpoſe them to Humiliation and Repentance; inſiſting moſt on thoſe Particulars which each Miniſter's Obſervation and Experience tells him are moſt conducing to the Edification and Reformation of that Congregation to which he preacheth.

Before

Before the close of the publick Duties, the Minister is, in his own and the Peoples Names, to engage his and their Hearts to be the Lord's with professed Purpose and Resolution to reform whatever is amiss among them, and more particularly such Sins as they have been more remarkably guilty of; and, to draw nearer unto God, and to walk more closely and faithfully with him in new Obedience, than ever before.

He is also to admonish the People with all Importunity, that the Work of that Day doth not end with the publick Duties of it, but that they are so to improve the Remainder of the Day, and of their whole Life, in reinforcing upon themselves and their Families in private, all those godly Affections and Resolutions which they professed in Publick, as that they may be settled in their Hearts for ever, and themselves may more sensibly find that God hath smelt a sweet Savour in Christ from their Performances, and is pacified towards them, by answers of Grace, in pardoning of Sin, in removing of Judgments, in averting or preventing of Plagues, and in conferring of Blessings, suitable to the Conditions and Prayers of his People, by Jesus Christ.

Beside solemn and general Fasts enjoined by Authority, we judge, that at other Times Congregations may keep Days of Fasting, as Divine Providence shall administer unto them special Occasions. And also, that Families may do the same, so it be not on Days wherein the Congregation to which they do belong is to meet for Fasting, or other publick Duties of Worship.

Concerning the Observation of Days of Publick Thanksgiving.

WHEN any such Day is to be kept let Notice be given of it, and of the Occasion thereof, some convenient time before, that the people may the better prepare themselves thereunto.

This Day being come, and the Congregation (after private Preparations) being assembled, the Minister is to begin with a Word of Exhortation, to stir up the People to the Duty for which they are met, and with a short Prayer for God's Assistance and Blessing (as at other Conventions for publick Worship) according to the particular Occasion of their Meeting.

Let him then make some pithy Narration of the Deliverance obtained, or Mercy received, or of whatever hath occasioned

occaſioned that aſſembling of the Congregation, that all may better underſtand it, or be minded of it, and more affected with it.

And becauſe ſinging of Pſalms is of all other the moſt proper Ordinance for expreſſing of Joy and Thankſgiving, let ſome pertinent Pſalm or Pſalms be ſung for that purpoſe, before or after the reading of ſome Portion of the Word, ſuitable to the preſent Buſineſs.

Then let the Miniſter, who is to preach, proceed to further Exhortation and Prayer before his Sermon, with ſpecial Reference to the preſent Work: After which, let him preach upon ſome Text of Scripture pertinent to the Occaſion.

The Sermon ended, let him not only pray, as at other times after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the Neceſſities of the Church, King, and State (if before the Sermon they were omitted) but enlarge himſelf in due and ſolemn Thankſgiving for former Mercies and Deliverances, but more eſpecially for that which at the preſent calls them together to give Thanks: With humble Petition for the Continuance and Renewing of God's wonted Mercies, as need ſhall be, and for ſanctifying Grace to make a right uſe thereof. And ſo, having ſung another Pſalm ſuitable to the Mercy, let him diſmiſs the Congregation with a Bleſſing, that they may have ſome convenient time for their repaſt and refreſhing.

But the Miniſter (before their Diſmiſſion) is ſolemnly to admoniſh them, to beware of all Exceſs and Riot, tending to Gluttony or Drunkenneſs, and much more of theſe Sins themſelves, in their Eating and Refreſhing; and to take care that their Mirth and Rejoicing be not Carnal, but Spiritual, which may make God's Praiſe to be glorious, and themſelves humble and ſober; and that both their feeding and rejoicing may render them more cheerful and enlarged, further to celebrate his Praiſes in the Midſt of the Congregation, when they return unto it, in the remaining Part of that Day.

When the Congregation ſhall be again aſſembled, the like Courſe in Praying, Reading, Preaching, Singing of Pſalms, and Offering up of more Praiſe and Thankſgiving, that is before directed for the Morning, is to be renewed and continued ſo far as the Time will give leave.

At one, or both of the publick Meetings that Day, a Collection is to be made for the Poor (and in the like manner upon the Day of publick Humiliation) that their Loins may

may bleſs us, and rejoice the more with us. And the people are to be exhorted, at the end of the latter Meeting, to ſpend the Reſidue of that Day in holy Duties, and Teſtifications of Chriſtian Love and Charity one towards another, and of Rejoicing more and more in the Lord; as becometh thoſe who make the Joy of the Lord their Strength.

Of Singing of Pſalms.

IT is the Duty of Chriſtians to praiſe God publickly, by ſinging of Pſalms together in the Congregation, and alſo privately in the Family.

In ſinging of Pſalms, the Voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered: but the chief care muſt be, to ſing with Underſtanding, and with Grace in the Heart, making Melody unto the Lord.

That the whole Congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a Pſalm-book; and all others, not diſabled by Age, or otherwiſe, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the preſent, where many in the Congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the Miniſter, or ſome other fit Perſon appointed by him, and the other Ruling Officers, do read the Pſalm Line by Line, before the Singing thereof.

An Appendix, touching Days and Places for Publick Worſhip.

THERE is no Day commanded in Scripture to be kept holy under the Goſpel, but the Lord's Day, which is the Chriſtian Sabbath.

Feſtival Days, vulgarly called Holy Days, having no Warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued.

Nevertheleſs, it is lawful and neceſſary, upon ſpecial emergent Occaſions, to ſeparate a Day or Days for publick Faſting or Thankſgiving, as the ſeveral eminent and extraordinary diſpenſations of God's Providence ſhall adminiſter Cauſe and Opportunity to his People.

As no place is capable of any Holineſs, under pretence of whatſoever Dedication or Conſecration; ſo neither is it ſubject to ſuch Pollution by any Superſtition formerly uſed, and now laid aſide, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Chriſtians to meet together therein for the publick Worſhip of God. And therefore we hold it requiſite, that the places of publick Aſſembling for Worſhip among us, ſhould be continued, and employed to that Uſe. The

The Contents of the Directory for the Publick Worſhip of God.

THE Preface.
Of the Aſſembling of the Congregation.
Of Publick Reading of the holy Scripture.
Of Publick Prayer before the Sermon.
Of Preaching of the Word.
Of Prayer after Sermon.
Of the Sacrament of Baptiſm.
Of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.
Of the Solemnization of Marriage.
Of the Viſitation of the Sick.
Of Burial of the Dead.
Of Publick ſolemn Faſting.
Of the Obſervation of Days of Publick Thankſgiving.
Of Singing of Pſalms.
An Appendix, touching Days and Places of Publick Worſhip.

APPENDIX.

NUMB. III.

THE

Form of Preſbyterial Church Government,

Agreed upon by the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter; examined and approved, Anno 1645, by the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland, &c.

The PREFACE.

'JESUS CHRIST, upon whoſe Shoulders the 'Government is, whoſe Name is called Wonderful, 'Counſellor, the Mighty God, the Everlaſting Fa-'ther, the Prince of Peace [a], of the increaſe of whoſe 'Government

[a] Iſa. ix. 6, 7.

' Government and Peace there ſhall be no End, who ſits ' upon the Throne of David, and upon his Kingdom, to ' order it, and to eſtabliſh it with Judgment and Juſtice, ' from henceforth even for ever, having all Power given ' unto him in Heaven and in Earth by the Father, who ' raiſed him from the Dead, and ſet him at his own right ' Hand, far above all Principalities and Power, and Might ' and Dominion, and every Name that is named, not only ' in this World, but alſo in that which is to come, and put ' all Things under his Feet, and gave him to be the Head ' over all Things to the Church, which is his Body, the ' Fullneſs of him that filleth all in all; he being aſcended ' up far above all Heavens, that he might fill all Things, ' received Gifts for his Church, and gave Offices neceſſary ' for the Edification of his Church, and perfecting of his ' Saints [b].

Of the Church.

THERE is one general Church viſible held forth in the New Teſtament, 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13, 28. together with the reſt of the Chapter.

The Miniſtry, Oracles, and Ordinances of the New Teſtament, are given by Jeſus Chriſt to the general Church viſible, for the gathering and perfecting of it in this Life, until his ſecond coming, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 4, 5. compared with Ver. 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, of the ſame Chapter.

Particular viſible Churches, Members of the general Church, are alſo held forth in the New Teſtament, Gal. i. 21, 22. Rev. i. 4, 20. and Rev. ii. 1. Particular Churches, in the primitive Times, were made up of viſible Saints, viz. of ſuch as, being of Age, profeſſed Faith in Chriſt, and Obedience unto Chriſt, according to the Rules of Faith and Life, taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles; and of their Children, Acts ii. 38, 41. Acts ii. verſe laſt, compared with Acts v. 14. 1 Cor. i. 2. compared with 2 Cor. ix. 13. Acts ii. 39. 1 Cor. vii. 14. Rom. ix. 16. and ſo forward; Mark x. 14. compared with Mat. xix. 13, 14. Luke xviii. 15, 16.

[b] Mat. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. Eph. i. 20, 21, 22. compared with Eph. iv. 8, 11. and Pſal. lxviii. 18.

Of

Of the Officers of the Church.

THE Officers which Chriſt hath appointed for the Edification of his Church, and the perfecting of the Saints, are,

Some extraordinary, as Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, and Prophets, which are ceaſed.

Other ordinary and perpetual, as Paſtors, Teachers, and other Church Governors, and Deacons.

Paſtors.

THE Paſtor is an ordinary and perpetual Officer in the Church, Jer. iii. 15, 16, 17; propheſying of the time of the Goſpel. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, 4. Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13.

Firſt, It belongs to his Office.

To pray for and with his Flock, as the Mouth of the People unto God, Acts, vi. 2, 3, 4. Acts xx. 36; where preaching and prayer are joined as ſeveral Parts of the ſame Office. James v. 14, 15. The Office of the Elder, that is the Paſtor, is to pray for the Sick, even in private, to which a Bleſſing is eſpecially promiſed; much more therefore ought he to perform this in the publick Execution of his Office, as a part thereof, 1 Cor. xiv. ver. 15, 16.

To read the Scripture publickly; for the proof of which,

1. That the Prieſts and Levites in the Jewiſh Church were truſted with the publick Reading of the Word, as is proved, Deut. xxx. 9, 10, 11. Neh. viii. 1, 2, and 13.

2. That the Miniſters of the Goſpel have as ample a Charge and Commiſſion to diſpenſe the Word, as well as other Ordinances, as the Prieſts and Levites had under the Law, proved, Iſa. lxvi. 21. Mat. xxiii. 34. where our Saviour intituleth the Officers of the New Teſtament, whom he will ſend forth, by the ſame names of the Teachers of the Old.

Which Propoſitions prove, that therefore (the Duty being of a moral Nature) it followeth by juſt Conſequence, that the publick Reading of the Scriptures belongeth to the Paſtor's Office.

To feed the Flock, by preaching of the Word, according to which he is to teach, convince, reprove, exhort, and comfort, 1 Tim. iii. 2. 2 Tim. iii. ver. 16, 17. Tit. i. 9.

To Catechiſe, which is a plain laying down the firſt principles of the Oracles of God, Heb. v. 12. or of the Doctrine of Chriſt, and is a part of Preaching.

To dispense other Divine Mysteries, 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

To administer the Sacraments, Matth. xxviii. 19, 20. Mark xvi. 15, 16. 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25. compared with 1 Cor. x. 16.

To bless the People from God, Numb. vi. 23, 24, 25, 26, compared with Rev. xiv. 5. (where the same Blessings, and Persons from whom they come, are expresly mentioned) Isa. lxvi. 21. where, under the names of Priests and Levites, to be continued under the Gospel, are meant Evangelical Pastors, who therefore are by Office to bless the People, Deut. x. 8. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. Eph. i. 2.

To take Care of the Poor, Acts xi. 30. Acts iv. 34, 35, 36, 37. Acts vi. 2, 3, 4. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. Gal. ii. 9, 10.

And he hath also a ruling Power over the Flock as a Pastor, 1 Tim. v. 17. Acts xx. 17, and 28. 1 Thess. v. 12. Heb. xiii. 7, 17.

Teacher or Doctor.

THE Scripture doth hold out the Name and Title of Teacher, as well as of the Pastor, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11.

Who is also a Minister of the Word as well as a Pastor, and hath power of Administration of the Sacraments.

The Lord having given different Gifts, and divers Exercises according to these Gifts, in the Ministry of the Word, Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7. though these different Gifts may meet in, and accordingly be exercised by one and the same Minister, 1 Cor. xiv. 3. 2 Tim. iv. 2 Tit. i. 9. yet, where be several Ministers in the same Congregation, they may be designed to several Imployments, according to the different Gifts in which each of them doth most excel, Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. And he that doth more excel in Exposition of Scriptures, in teaching sound Doctrine, and in convincing Gainsayers, than he doth in Application, and is accordingly imployed therein, may be called a Teacher, or Doctor, (the places alledged by the Notation of the Word do prove the Proposition) Nevertheless, where is but one Minister in a particular Congregation, he is to perform so far as he is able the whole Work of the Ministry, as appeareth in 2 Tim. iv. 2. Tit. i. 9. before alledged, 1 Tim. vi. 2.

A Teacher

A Teacher or Doctor is of most excellent Use in Schools and Universities; as of old in the Schools of the Prophets, and at Jerusalem, where Gamaliel and others taught as Doctors.

Other Church Governors.

AS there were in the Jewish Church Elders of the People joined with the Priests and Levites in the Government of the Church (as appeareth in 2 Chron. xix. 8, 9, 10.) So Christ, who hath instituted a Government, and Governors Ecclesiastical in the Church, hath furnished some in his Church, beside the Ministers of the Word, with Gifts for Government, and with Commission to execute the same when called thereunto, who are to join with the Minister in the Government of the Church, Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Which Officers Reformed Churches commonly call Elders.

Deacons.

THE Scripture doth hold out Deacons as distinct Officers in the Church, Phil. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 8.

Whose Office is perpetual, 1 Tim. iii. 8. to ver. 15. Acts vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. To whose Office it belongs not to preach the Word, or administer the Sacraments, but to take special Care in distributing to the Necessities of the Poor, Acts vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. and the Verses following.

Of particular Congregations.

IT is lawful and expedient that there be fixed Congregations, that is, a certain Company of Christians to meet in one Assembly ordinarily for publick Worship. When Believers multiply to such a number, that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, it is lawful and expedient that they should be divided into distinct and and fixed Congregations, for the better Administration of such Ordinances as belong unto them, and the Discharge of mutual Duties, 1 Cor. xiv. ver. 26. "Let all Things be done unto Edifying;" and Verses 33, and 40.

The ordinary Way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for Edification, is by the respective Bounds of their Dwellings.

First, Because they who dwell together, being bound to all kind of moral Duties one to another, have the better Opportunity thereby to discharge them; which moral Tye is perpetual, for Christ came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it, Deut. xv. 7, 11. Mat. xxii. 39. Mat. v. 17.

Secondly, The Communion of Saints must be so ordered, as may stand with the most convenient Use of the Ordinances, and Discharge of moral Duties, without respect of persons, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. "Let all Things be done unto Edify-"ing." Heb. x. 24, 25. James ii. 1, 2.

Thirdly, The Pastor and People must so nearly cohabit together, as that they may mutually perform their Duties to each other with most Conveniency.

In this Company some must be set apart to bear Office.

Of the Officers of a particular Congregation.

FOR Officers in a single Congregation, there ought to be one at the least, both to labour in the Word and Doctrine, and to Rule, Prov. xxix. 18. 1 Tim. v. 17. Heb. xiii. 7.

It is also requisite that there should be others to join in Government, 1 Cor. xii. 28.

And likewise it is requisite that there be others to take special Care for the Relief of the Poor, Acts vi. 2, 3.

The number of each of which is to be proportioned according to the Condition of the Congregation.

These Officers are to meet together at convenient and set Times, for the well ordering the Affairs of that Congregation, each according to his Office.

It is most expedient that in these Meetings, one whose Office is to labour in the Word and Doctrine, do moderate in their proceedings, 1. Tim. v. 17.

Of the Ordinances in a particular Congregation.

THE Ordinances in a single Congregation, are Prayer, Thanksgiving, and Singing of Psalms, 1 Tim. ii. 1. 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16. The Word read (although there follow no immediate Explication of what is read) the Word expounded and applied, Catechising, the Sacraments administer'd, Collection made for the Poor, dismissing the People with a Blessing.

Of

Of Church Government, and the ſeveral Sorts of Aſſemblies for the ſame.

CHRIST hath inſtituted a Government, and Governors Eccleſiaſtical in the Church: To that purpoſe the Apoſtles did immediately receive the Keys from the Hand of Jeſus Chriſt, and did uſe and exerciſe them in all the Churches of the World upon all Occaſions.

And Chriſt hath ſince continually furniſhed ſome in his Church with Gifts of Government, and with Commiſſion, to execute the ſame, when called thereunto.

It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that the Church be governed by ſeveral ſorts of Aſſemblies, which are Congregational, Claſſical, and Synodical.

Of the Power in common of all theſe Aſſemblies.

IT is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that the ſeveral Aſſemblies before mentioned have power to convene, and call before them any Perſon within their ſeveral Bounds, whom the Eccleſiaſtical Buſineſs which is before them doth concern; proved by Matth. Chap. xviii.

They have power to hear and determine ſuch Cauſes and Differences, as do orderly come before them.

It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of Gord, that all the ſaid Aſſemblies have ſome power to diſpenſe Church Cenſures.

Of Congregational Aſſemblies, that is, the Meeting of the Ruling Officers of a particular Congregation for the Government thereof.

THE Ruling Officers of a particular Congregation have power authoritatively, to call before them any Member of the Congregation, as they ſhall ſee juſt Occaſion.

To enquire into the Knowledge and Spiritual Eſtate of the ſeveral Members of the Congregation.

To Admoniſh and Rebuke.

Which three Branches are proved by Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Theſſ. v. 12, 13. Ezek. xxxiv. 4.

Authoritative Suſpenſion from the Lord's Table of a perſon not yet caſt out of the Church, is agreeable to the Scripture.

Firſt, Becauſe the Ordinance itſelf muſt not be profaned.

Secondly, Becauſe we are charged to withdraw from thoſe that walk diſorderly.

Thirdly, Becauſe of the great Sin and Danger, both to him that comes unworthily, and alſo to the whole Church, Matth. vii. 6. 2 Theſſ. iii. 6, 14, 15. 1 Cor. xi. 27. to the end of the Chapter, compared with Jude ver. 23. 1 Tim. v. 22. And there was Power and Authority, under the Old Teſtament, to keep unclean Perſons from holy Things, Levit. xiii. 5. Numb. ix. 7. 2 Chron. xxiii. 19.

The like Power and Authority, by way of Analogy, continues under the New Teſtament.

The Ruling Officers of a particular Congregation, have Power authoritatively to ſuſpend from the Lord's Table a Perſon not yet caſt out of the Church.

Firſt, Becauſe thoſe who have Authority to judge of, and admit ſuch as are fit to receive the Sacrament, have Authority to keep back ſuch as ſhall be found unworthy.

Secondly, Becauſe it is an Eccleſiaſtical Buſineſs of ordinary Practice belonging to that Congregation.

When Congregations are divided and fixed they need all mutual help from one another, both in regard of their intrinſical Weakneſſes and mutual Dependance; as alſo, in regard of Enemies from without.

Of Claſſical Aſſemblies.

THE Scripture doth hold out a Preſbytery in a Church, both in the firſt Epiſtle to Timothy, Chap. iv. ver. 14. And in Acts xv. verſes 2, 4, 6.

A Preſbytery conſiſteth of Miniſters of the Word, and ſuch other publick Officers as are agreeable to, and warranted by the Word of God, to be Church Governors, to join with the Miniſters in the Government of the Church; as appeareth, Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

The Scripture doth hold forth, that many particular Congregations may be under one Preſbyterial Government.

This Propoſition is proved by Inſtances.

I. Firſt, Of the Church of Jeruſalem, which conſiſted of more Congregations than one, and all theſe Congregations were under one Preſbyterial Government.

This appeareth thus:

1. Firſt, The Church of Jeruſalem conſiſted of more Congregations than one, as is manifeſt.

Firſt,

First, By the Multitude of Believers mentioned in divers places. Both before the Disperſion of the Believers there, by means of the perſecution (mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles, Chap. viii. in the beginning thereof) witneſs, Chap. i. verſe 11. Chap. ii. verſe 41, 46, and 47. Chap. iv. 4. Chap. v. 14. Chap. vi. of the ſame Book of the Acts, Verſes 1, 7. And alſo after the diſperſion, Acts ix. 31. Chap. xii. 24. Chap. xxi. ver. 20. of the ſame Book.

Secondly, By the many Apoſtles and other Preachers in the Church of Jeruſalem: And if there were but one Congregation there, then each Apoſtle preached but ſeldom; which will not conſiſt with Chap. vi. ver. 2. of the Acts of the Apoſtles.

Thirdly The Diverſity of Languages amongſt the Believers, mentioned both in the ſecond and ſixth Chapters of the Acts, doth argue more Congregations than one in that Church.

2. Secondly, All thoſe Congregations were under one Preſbyterial Government; becauſe, First, they were one Church, Acts viii. 1. and Chap. ii. 47. compared with Chap. v. 11. Chap. xii. 5. and Chap. xv. 4. of the ſame Book.

Secondly, The Elders of the Church are mentioned, Acts xi. 30. Chap. xv. 4, 6, 22. and Chap. xxi. 17, 18. of the ſame Book.

Thirdly, The Apoſtles did the ordinary Acts of Preſbyters, as Preſbyters in that Kirk; which proveth a Preſbyterial Church before the Diſperſion, Acts vi.

Fourthly, The ſeveral Congregations in Jeruſalem being one Church, the Elders of that Church are mentioned as meeting together for Acts of Government, Acts xi. 30. Acts xv. 4, 6, 22. and Chap. xxi. 17, 18. and ſo forward; which proves that thoſe ſeveral Congregations were under one Preſbyterial Government.

And whether theſe Congregations were fixed, or not fixed, in regard of Officers or Members, it is all one as to the truth of the Propoſition.

Nor doth there appear any material difference betwixt the ſeveral Congregations in Jeruſalem, and the many Congregations now in the ordinary Condition of the Church, as to the point of Fixedneſs required of Officers or Members.

3. Thirdly, Therefore the Scripture doth hold forth, that many Congregations may be under one Preſbyterial Government.

II. Secondly, By the Inſtance of the Church of Epheſus; for,

1. That they were more Congregations than one in the Church of Epheſus, appears by Acts xx. 31. where is mention of Paul's Continuance at Epheſus in preaching for the ſpace of three years; and Acts xix. 18, 19, 20. where the ſpecial Effect of the Word is mentioned; and Verſe 10, and 17. of the ſame Chapter, where is a Reaſon of Paul's Stay at Epheſus until Pentecoſt; and Verſe 19, where is mention of a particular Church in the Hauſe of Aquila and Priſcilla then at Epheſus; as appears, Acts xviii. 19, 24, 26. All which laid together doth prove, that the Multitude of Believers did make more Congregations than one in the Church of Epheſus.

2. That there were many Elders over theſe many Congregations, as one Flock, appeareth, Acts xx. 17, 25, 28, 30, 36, 37.

3. That theſe many Congregations were one Church, and that they were under one Preſbyterial Government, appeareth, Rev. ii. the firſt ſix Verſes, joined with Acts xx. ver. 17, 18.

Of Synodical Aſſemblies.

THE Scripture doth hold out another Sort of Aſſemblies, for the Government of the Church, beſide Claſſical and Congregational, all which we call Synodical, Acts xv. Paſtors and Teachers and other Church Governors (as alſo other fit Perſons, when it ſhall be deemed expedient) are Members of thoſe Aſſemblies which we call Synodical, where they have a lawful Calling thereunto.

Synodical Aſſemblies may lawfully be of ſeveral Sorts, as Provincial, National, and Oecumenical.

It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that there be a Subordination of Congregational, Claſſical, Provincial, and National Aſſemblies, for the Government of the Church.

Of Ordination of Miniſters.

UNDER the Head of Ordination of Miniſters is to be conſidered, either the Doctrine of Ordination, or the the power of it.

Touching

Touching the Doctrine of Ordination.

NO Man ought to take upon him the Office of a Minister of the Word, without a lawful Calling, John iii. 27. Rom. x. 14, 15. Jer. xiv. 14. Heb. v. 4.

Ordination is always to be continued in the Church, Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a Person to some publick Church-Office, Numb. viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22. Acts vi. 3, 5, 6.

Every Minister of the Word is to be ordained by Imposition of Hands, and Prayer with Fasting, by those preaching Presbyters, to whom it doth belong, 1 Tim. v. 22. Acts xiv. 23. and Acts xiii. 3.

It is agreeable to the Word of God, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained Ministers, be designed to some particular Church, or other Ministerial Charge, Acts xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Acts xx. 17, and 28.

He that is to be ordained Minister, must be duly qualified, both for life and Ministerial Abilities, according to the Rules of the Apostle, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. and Tit. i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

He is to be examined and approved by those by whom he is to be ordained, 1 Tim. iii. ver. 7, and 10, and Chap. v. ver. 22.

No Man is to be ordained a Minister for a particular Congregation, if they of that Congregation can shew just Cause of Exception against him, 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7.

Touching the Power of Ordination.

ORdination is the Act of a Presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

The power of ordering the whole Work of Ordination, is in the whole Presbytery, which when it is over more Congregations than one, whether those Congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of Officers or Members, it is indifferent, as to the point of Ordination, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

It is very requisite that no single Congregation, that can conveniently associate, do assume to itself all and sole power in Ordination.

1. Because there is no Example in Scripture, that any single Congregation, which might conveniently associate, did assume to itself all and sole Power in Ordination; neither is there any Rule which may warrant such a Practise.

2. Because

2. Becauſe there is in Scripture Example of an Ordination in a Preſbytery over divers Congregations; as in the Church of Jeruſalem, where were many Congregations; theſe many Congregations were under one Preſbytery, and this Preſbytery did ordain.

The Preaching Preſbyters orderly aſſociated, either in Cities or neighbouring Villages, are thoſe to whom the Impoſition of Hands doth appertain, for thoſe Congregations within their Bounds reſpectively.

Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Miniſters.

1. NO Man ought to take upon him the Office of a Miniſter of the Word, without a lawful Calling, Joh. iii. 27. Rom. x. 14, 15. Jer. xiv. 14. Heb. v. 4.

2. Ordination is always to be continued in the Church, Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

3. Ordination is the ſolemn ſetting Apart of a Perſon to ſome publick Church Office. Numb. viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22. Acts, vi. 3, 5, 6.

4. Every Miniſter of the Word is to be ordained by Impoſition of Hands and Prayer, with Faſting, by thoſe Preaching Preſbyters to whom it doth belong, 1 Tim. v. 22. Acts xiv. 23. Acts xiii. 3.

5. The Power of ordering the whole Work of Ordination is in the whole Preſbytery, which, when it is over more Congregations than one, whether thoſe Congregations be fixed, or not fixed, in regard of Officers or Members, it is indifferent as to the Point of Ordination, 1. Tim. iv. 14.

6. It is agreeable to the Word, and very expedient, that ſuch as are to be ordained Miniſters, be deſigned to ſome particular Church, or other Miniſterial Charge, Acts xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Acts xx. 17, and 28.

7. He that is to be ordained Miniſter muſt be duly qualified both for Life and Miniſterial Abilities according to the Rules of the Apoſtle, 1. Tim. iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Tit. i. 5, 6, 7, 8. 9.

8. He is to be examined, and approved of by thoſe by whom he is to be ordained, 1 Tim. iii. 7, 10. 1 Tim. v. 22.

9. No Man is to be ordained a Miniſter for a particular Congregation, if they of that Congregation can ſhew juſt Cauſe of Exception againſt him, 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7.

10. Preaching Preſbyters orderly aſſociated, either in Cities,

Cities, or neighbouring Villages, are thoſe to whom the Impoſition of Hands do appertain, for theſe Congregations within their Bounds reſpectively, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

11. In extraordinary Caſes, ſomething extraordinary may be done, until a ſettled Order may be had, yet keeping as near as poſſibly may be to the Rule, 2 Chron. xxix. 34, 35, 36. 2 Chron. xxx. 2, 3, 4, 5.

12. There is at this Time, (as we humbly conceive) an extraordinary Occaſion for a Way of Ordination for the preſent Supply of Miniſters.

The Directory for the Ordination of Miniſters.

IT being manifeſt by the Word of God, that no Man ought to take upon him the Office of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto; and that the Work of Ordination is to be performed with all due Care, Wiſdom, Gravity, and Solemnity; we humbly tender theſe Directions as requiſite to be obſerved.

Firſt, He that is to be ordained, being either nominated by the People, or otherwiſe commended to the Preſbytery for any Place, muſt addreſs himſelf to the Preſbytery, and bring with him a Teſtimonial of his taking the Covenant of the Three Kingdoms: of his Diligence and Proficiency in his Studies; what Degrees he hath taken in the Univerſity, and what hath been the time of his Abode there; and withal of his Age, which is to be twenty four Years; but eſpecially of his Life and Converſation.

2. Which being conſidered by the Preſbytery, they are to proceed, to enquire touching the Grace of God in him, and whether he be of ſuch Holineſs of Life, as is requiſite in a Miniſter of the Goſpel; and to examine him touching his Learning and Sufficiency, and touching the Evidences of his Calling to the holy Miniſtry, and in particular, his fair and direct Calling to that Place.

The Rules for Examination are theſe,

" 1. That the Party examined be dealt withal in a brotherly Way, with Mildneſs of Spirit, and with ſpecial Reſpect to the Gravity, Modeſty, and Quality of every one.

" 2. He ſhall be examined touching his Skill in the Original Tongues, and his Trial to be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Teſtaments, and rendering ſome Portion of ſome into Latin; and if he be defective in them, Enquiry

" quiry ſhall be made more ſtrictly after his other Learn-
" ing, and whether he hath Skill in Logick, and Philo-
" ſophy.

" 3. What Authors in Divinity he hath read, and is beſt
" acquainted with. And Trial ſhall be made in his Know-
" ledge of the Grounds of Religion, and of his Ability to
" defend the orthodox Doctrine contained in them, againſt
" all unſound and erroneous Opinions, eſpecially thoſe of
" the preſent Age: of his Skill in the Senſe and Meaning
" of ſuch Places of Scripture, as ſhall be propoſed unto
" him, in Caſes of Conſcience, and in the Chronology of
" the Scripture, and the eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

" 4. If he hath not before preached in Publick, with
" Approbation of ſuch as are able to judge, he ſhall, at a
" competent Time aſſigned him, expound before the Preſ-
" bytery ſuch a Place of Scripture as ſhall be given him.

5. " He ſhall alſo, within a competent Time, frame a
" Diſcourſe in Latin, upon ſuch a Common Place or Con-
" troverſy in Divinity, as ſhall be aſſigned him, and exhi-
" bit to the Preſbytery ſuch Theſes as expreſs the Sum
" thereof, and maintain a Diſpute upon them.

6. " He ſhall preach before the People, the Preſbytery,
" or ſome of the Miniſters of the Word appointed by them,
" being preſent.

7. " The proportion of his Gifts in relation to the Place
" unto which he is called ſhall be conſidered.

8. " Beſide the Trial of his Gifts in Preaching, he ſhall
" undergo an Examination in the Premiſes two ſeveral
" Days, and more, if the Preſbytery ſhall judge it neceſ-
" ſary.

" 9. And as for him that hath formerly been ordained
" a Miniſter, and is to be removed to another Charge, he
" ſhall bring a Teſtimonial of his Ordination, and of his
" Abilities and Converſation, whereupon his Fitneſs for that
" Place ſhall be tried by his Preaching there, (if it ſhall
" be judged neceſſary) by a further Examination of him."

3. In all which he being approved, he is to be ſent to the Church where he is to ſerve, there to preach three ſeveral Days, and to converſe with the People, that they may have Trial of his Gifts for their Edification, and may have Time and Occaſion to enquire into, and the better to know his Life and Converſation.

4. In the laſt of theſe three Days appointed for the Trial of his Gifts in Preaching, there ſhall be ſent from the Preſbytery

Presbytery to the Congregation, a publick Intimation in Writing, which shall be publickly read before the People, and after affixed to the Church Door, to signify that such a Day, a competent Number of the Members of that Congregation, nominated by themselves, shall appear before the Presbytery, to give their Consent and Approbation to such a Man to be their Minister; or otherwise, to put in, with all Christian Discretion and Meekness, what Exceptions they have against him; and if, upon the Day appointed, there be no just Exception against him, but the People give their Consent, then the Presbytery shall proceed to Ordination.

5. Upon the Day appointed for Ordination, which is to be performed in that Church, where he that is to be ordained is to serve, a solemn Fast shall be kept by the Congregation, that they may the more earnestly join in Prayer, for a Blessing upon the Ordinance of Christ, and the Labours of his Servant for their Good. The Presbytery shall come to the Place, or at least three or four Ministers of the Word shall be sent thither from the Presbytery; of which one, appointed by the Presbytery, shall preach to the people, concerning the Office and Duty of Ministers of Christ, and how the people ought to receive them for their Work's sake.

6. After the Sermon, the Minister who hath preached, shall, in the Face of the Congregation, demand of him who is now to be ordained, concerning his Faith in Christ Jesus, and his Persuasion of the Truth of the Reformed Religion according to the Scripture; his sincere Intentions and Ends in desiring to enter into this Calling; his diligence in Prayer, Reading, Meditation, Preaching, Ministring the Sacraments, Discipline, and doing all Ministerial Duties towards his Charge; his Zeal and Faithfulness in maintaining the Truth of the Gospel, and Unity of the Church, against Error and Schism; his care that himself and his Family may be unblameable, and Examples to the Flock; his Willingness and Humility, in Meekness of Spirit, to submit unto the Admonitions of his Brethren and Discipline of the Church; and his Resolution to continue in his Duty against all Trouble and Persecution.

7. In all which having declared himself, professed his Willingness, and promised his Endeavours, by the help of God; the Minister likewise shall demand of the People, concerning their Willingness to receive and acknowledge him, as the Minister of Christ; and to obey, and submit unto him, as having Rule over them in the Lord; and to maintain

maintain, encourage, and assist him in all the Parts of his Office.

8. Which being mutually promised by the People, the Presbytery, or the Ministers sent from them for Ordination, shall solemnly set him apart to the Office and Work of the Ministry, by laying their Hands on him, which is to be accompanied with a short Prayer or Blessing, to this Effect;

"Thankfully acknowledging the great Mercy of God, "in sending Jesus Christ for the Redemption of his People; "and for his Ascension to the right Hand of God the Father, and thence pouring out his Spirit, and giving gifts "to Men, Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors, and "Teachers, for the gathering and building up of his "Church; and for fitting and inclining this Man to this "great Work *; to entreat him to fit him with his holy "Spirit, to give him (who in his Name we thus set apart to "this holy Service) to fulfil the Work of his Ministry in all "Things, that he may both save himself, and his People "committed to his Charge."

9. This, or the like Form of Prayer and Blessing being ended, let the Minister who preached briefly exhort him, to consider of the Greatness of his Office and Work, the Danger of Negligence both to himself and his People, the Blessing which will accompany his Faithfulness in this Life, and that to come; and withal exhort the People to carry themselves to him, as to their Minister in the Lord, according to their solemn Promise made before; and so by Prayer commending both him and his Flock to the Grace of God, after singing of a Psalm let the Assembly be dismissed with a Blessing.

10. If a Minister be designed to a Congregation, who hath been formerly ordained Presbyter according to the Form of Ordination which hath been in the Church of England, which we hold for Substance to be valid, and not to be disclaimed by any who have received it; then there being a cautious Proceeding in Matters of Examination, let him be admitted without any new Ordination.

11. And in case any Person already ordained Minister in Scotland, or in any other Reformed Church, be designed to another Congregation in England, he is to bring from that Church to the Presbytery here, within which that Congregation is, a sufficient Testimonial of his Ordination, of his

* Here let them impose Hands on his Head.

his Life and Converſation while he lived with them, and of the Cauſes of his Removal; and to undergo ſuch a Trial of his Fitneſs and Sufficiency, and to have the ſame Courſe held with him in other Particulars, as is ſet down in the Rule immediately going before, touching Examination and Admiſſion.

12. That Records be carefully kept in the ſeveral Preſbyteries, of the Names of the Perſons ordained, with their Teſtimonials, the Time and Place of their Ordination, of the Preſbyters who did impoſe Hands upon them, and of the Charge to which they are appointed.

13. That no Money or Gift of what Kind ſoever ſhall be received from the Perſon to be ordained, or from any on his Behalf, for Ordination, or ought elſe belonging to it, by any of the Preſbytery, or any appertaining to any of them, upon what pretence ſoever.

" Thus far of ordinary Rules and Courſe of Ordinati-
" on in the ordinary Way; that which concerns the
" extraordinary Way, requiſite to be now practiſed,
" followeth.

1. In theſe preſent Exigences, while we cannot have any Preſbyteries formed up to their whole Power and Work, and that many Miniſters are to be ordained for the Service of the Armies and Navy, and to many Congregations where there is no Miniſter at all; and where (by Reaſon of the publick Troubles) the People cannot either themſelves enquire, and find out one who may be a faithful Miniſter for them, or have any with ſafety ſent unto them, for ſuch a ſolemn Trial as was before mentioned in the ordinary Rules, eſpecially when there can be no Preſbytery near unto them, to whom they may addreſs themſelves, or which may come or ſend to them a fit Man to be ordained in that Congregation, and for that People: And yet notwithſtanding, it is requiſite that Miniſters be ordained for them, by ſome, who, being ſet apart themſelves for the Work of the Miniſtry, have power to join in the ſetting apart others who are found fit and worthy. In thoſe caſes, until, by God's Bleſſing, the aforeſaid Difficulties may be in ſome good Meaſure removed, let ſome godly Miniſters in or about the City of London, be deſigned by publick Authority, who being aſſociated, may ordain Miniſters for the City and the Vicinity, keeping as near to the ordinary Rules forementioned as poſſibly they may; and let this Aſſociati-

on

on be for no other intent or purpoſe, but only for the Work of Ordination.

2. Let the like Aſſociation be made by the ſame Authority in great Towns, and the neighbouring Pariſhes in the ſeveral Counties, which are at the preſent quiet and undiſturbed, to do the like for the Parts adjacent.

3. Let ſuch as are choſen, or appointed for the Service of the Armies or Navy, be ordained as aforeſaid, by the aſſociated Miniſters of London, or ſome others in the Country.

4. Let them do the like when any Man ſhall duly and lawfully be recommended to them for the Miniſtry of any Congregation, who cannot enjoy Liberty to have a Trial of his Parts and Abilities, and deſire the help of ſuch Miniſters ſo aſſociated, for the better furniſhing of them with ſuch a Perſon, as by them ſhall be judged fit for the Service of that Church and People.

The Contents of the Form of Preſbyterial Church Government.

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Teacher or Doctor.
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