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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.*

LONDON:

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





THE P R E F A C E

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 unparalleld 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

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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 Distrust 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 obsolete 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 to 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 incurable.

When the King had lost his Cause in the Field, he put himself at the Head of his Divines, and drew his learned

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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 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 enter'd as far into their Debates with the Erastians, Independants, 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

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the imposing them upon others was certainly a very great Hardship.

The remarkable Trial of Archbisshop 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 Archbisshop left in his Diary a Summary of his Answer to the Charge of the Commons, and Mr. Pryne 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 Archbisshop 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 plunder'd 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 Era 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 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 Me-Preface, mory of the late King WILLIAM III. to whom he ap. p. 8, 9. 10. plies 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. "Rebelion, says the Doctor, wasp. 11. "esteemed the most necessary Requisite to qualify any one "for being intrusted with the Government, and Disobe- "dience the principal Recommendation for her Majesty's "Service. — Those were thought the most proper "Persons 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 re- "vived."

Thus has this obscure Clergyman dared to affront the Great AUTHOR, under God, of all our present Blessings ; and to stigmatize the MARLBOROURHS, the GODOLPHINS, the STANHOPES, the SUNDERLANDS, the COWFERS 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

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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 Extreams 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.

No Man has declaimed so bitterly against the Proceedings of Parliament upon all Occasions as this Clergyman ; nor complained more loudly of the 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 Presbyterian and Independant 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 Knipper-dolings 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, Philosophy softish, 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*

Hist.
p. 537.

Walker’s
Introduct.
p. 139,
140.

Walker’s
Introd.
p. 115.
Querela
Cant.

“ 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 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 suffer-
 ed by the Exchange.

The Close of this Volume, which relates the Disputes be-
 tween the Parliament and 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 unparalell'd
 Execution before the Gates of his Royal Palace by the Mi-
 litary 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, toge-
 ther with the Indiscretion of his Friends, especially his Di-
 vines, 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 draw-
 ing 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 Appear-
 ance 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 Constitu-
 tion might have been saved ; “ but so many miraculous Vol. V.
 “ Circumstances contributed to his Majesty's Ruin (says p. 258.
 “ Lord Clarendon) that Men might well think that
 “ Heaven and Earth conspired it.”

The P R E F A C E.

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 Pamphlet, wherein I have endeavoured to discharge my self as an Historian, without undertaking the Defence of their several Principles, or making my self an Advocate for the Whole of their Conduct. 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 unpar-

donable

donable 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 it self, is allowed by all to be capable of Amendments. Some little Essays of this kind have fired the Zeal of the Bishop 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 Charge,
 " so critical a Juncture (says his Lordship) when common P. 41, 42,
 " Christianity is treated with an avowed Contempt and 44.
 " open Profaneness ; when an undisguised Immorality
 " prevails so very generally ; when there is scarce Honesty
 " enough to save the Nation from Ruin ; when with Re-
 " gard to the established Church in particular, the Royal
 " Supremacy is professedly 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 legal
 " 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 Ecclesiastical Esta-
 " blishment, the Corporation and Test Acts, with the
 " greatest Insolences towards the Church, and most un-
 " dutiful Menaces to the Civil Government. — When
 " the Episcopal Authority has been well nigh under-
 " mined, under a Pretence of reforming 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 it self might have
 " been considered as superfluous, 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

“ of the Abuses of the Matrimonial Licenses has been la-
 “ bōr’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
 “ so lately concurr’d, it is natural to infer, our Zeal for the
 “ Church shd be in proportion to its Danger; and if
 “ these are not proper Occasions for Zeal for our Ecclesi-
 “ astical Constitution, it is not easy to assign Circumstances
 “ that may justly demand it —” How fine and subtle
 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

Vid. a late one Pin of the Hierarchy be removed by the Wisdom of the excellent Legislature, the whole Building is supposed to fall, and all Examination of the Codex Ju- 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 Disgust 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 be-
 “ ing quiet with the present Limits of their Toleration, or
 “ by affecting Posts of Authority, 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 Bounda-
 ries of his Episcopal Power were enlarged, is not very
 difficult to determine.

The Dissenters have no Envy nor Ill-will to the Church’s 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 I am to attend to the Charge of Inconsistency brought Hist. Pur. against my self: I had observed upon the Reign of the bloody Vol. I. Q. Mary, that an absolute Supremacy over the Consci- p. 83. ences 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 Ib. p. 129, then claimed by the Kings and Queens of England^{130.} were in a manner the same with those claimed by the Popes in the Times preceding the Reformation, ex- cept 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 calls this a professed exposing the Royal Su- premacy, and the rather, because "THAT SUPREMA- "CY was acknowledged and sworn to by the Old Puritans "themselves, though now inconsistently enough disowned "and condemned by their Historian."^{131.} 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 Hist. Pur. "of Supremacy, as inconsistent with their Allegiance to p. 133. "the Pope, but the Puritans took it under all these Dis- Vide "advantages, with the Queen's Explication in her In- Strype's "junctions, that is, that no more was intended than that Ann. "her Majesty under God had the Sovereignty and Rule Vol. I. p. 159. "over all Persons born in her Realm, either Ecclesiasti- "cal or Temporal, so as no foreign Power had, or ought "to have any Superiority over them."^{132.} 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?

But his Lordship is pleased to reason upon this Head, and in order to support that absolute Supremacy, which was

Charge,
p. 20.

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 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 Sanctions 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 Pretender to spiritual Liberty, and the Rights of Conscience, should enquire what Authority the respective Jewish and Christian Powers had to interpose in Matters that regarded the Rights of Conscience? " Since in fact their assumed Supremacy was an Usurpation 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

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 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 Charge, " Power of Jewish Kings and Christian Emperors to F. 22. " 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 the Senate of Rome, but usurped the supreme Authority, by the Assistance of the Military Arm, and were some of them the greatest Tyrants and Scourges of Mankind.

His Lordship adds, " Have not the English Kings Ibid, " 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 King William III. No one doubts, but the Kings of England are obliged to protect Religion, and defend the Establishment as long as the Legislature 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 Di- gression,

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gression, as necessary to support a principal Fact of my History.

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 Candor 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.

VOL. III.

C H A P. I.

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

HE 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,

King Charles I.
1642.

The King pursues his

March to London,

King Charles I. and was honourably received by both Houses of Parliament, who presented him with a Gratuity of five Thousand Pounds, and 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 alarm'd 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 Whitlock, he attacked with his whole Army, Nov. 13. and after p. 62. 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

Rushw.
Vol. V.
p. 58.

Chap. I. of the PURITANS.

3

will run the same Hazards with you ; remember the Cause King
is for God and the Defence of your selves, your Wives and Charles I.
Children. Come, my honest brave Boys ! let us pray heartily, 1642.
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 Or-
ders 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:
to Oxford about the Beginning of December with his Vol. V.
Brentford Prisoners, the chief of whom were con- p. 93.
demned 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
Surprise of the City for the future, empowered the
Lord Mayor to cause Lines of Circumvallation to be
drawn around it, and all the Avenues fortified.

It was not without Reason that the two Houses Motives of
complained of the King's extraordinary Conduct on it.
this Occasion, which was owing to the violent Coun-
sels of Prince Rupert and Lord Digby, animated by
some of his Majesty's Friends in the City, who imag-
ined, that if the royal Army appeared in the Neigh-
bourhood of London, the Parliament would accept of
his Majesty's Pardon and break up ; or else the Con-
fusions 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 Man-
ner he could : He alledg'd, that there being no Ces-
sation 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 Claren-
don says, Prince Rupert having advanced to Hounslow
without Order, his Majesty at the Desire of the
Prince marched forward, to disengage him from

King Charles I. 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.

Remarks. 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 Hamil-

Hamil. M^r. 10*ton*, dated December 2, 1642. he says, " He had set Book IV. up his Rest upon the Justice of his Cause, being re-p. 203. " solved that no Extremity or Misfortune should " make him yield, for (says his Majesty) I will be " either a glorious King or a patient Martyr; and " as yet not being the first, nor at this present ap- " prehending 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.

Rapin, The two Houses admitted the Laws of p. 44, 45. 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 aver'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

Laws should have their due Course in Time of War ^{King} Charles I. 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 Strafford 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.

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 *Erasians*, 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 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,

King Charles I. 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.

Encouraging Prospect of the King's Affairs. 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 disannull'd all such Agreements.

As the two Houses depended upon the Assistance of the Scots, his Majesty had Expectations of Foreign Aids

Rushw.
Vol. V.
p. 66.

Ib. p. 94.

Aids from the Queen, who had endeavoured, by the King Influence of her Son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, to Charles I. engage the States of Holland in the King's Interest, 1642. 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 Rushw. in favour of a People who by their late Massacre were Vol. V. become the very Reproach and Infamy of human Nature! Thus the whole Kingdom was marshalled into P. 537, 538, 539. Parties, with their drawn Swords eager to plunge them into each other Breasts.

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. 1643. 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 Hypocrify*, and a *Libel against the Church*, I will transcribe the Substance of it in their own Words.

“ That flourishing Kingdoms have been ruined, Rushw.
 “ by impenitent going on in a Course of Sin, the sa- Vol. V.
 “ cred Story plainly tells us; and how near to Ruin P. 141.
 “ 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

King Charles I. " 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.*
164 $\frac{2}{3}$. " 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 God have prevailed with him : They prevailed for *Nineveh* when Sentence seemed to be gone out against 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 stirr'd up to lay hold of this only, and unfailing Remedy of *Repentance*, freely acknowledging, and heartily bewailing, with deepest Humiliation, both their own personal Sins, and those of the Nation ; a Confession 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 having been a national Sin, still calls for a national Confession.

" 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 Reformation, as God may be pleased

" sed

“ sed graciously to accept, it is ordained that all King
 “ Preachers of God’s Word do earnestly inculcate Charles I.
 “ these Duties on their Hearers, that at length we 1643.
 “ 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 Pri-
 “ vileges accompanying it, may crown this Nation
 “ unto all succeeding 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 found 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.

Though the King had rejected the Scots Mediation, *Treaty of Oxford.* 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.

1. “ That the Armies may be disbanded on both *The Par-*
“ Sides, and the King return to his Parliament. *liament’s*
2. “ That Delinquents may submit to a legal *Proposi-*
“ Trial, and Judgment of Parliament. *tions.*
3. “ That all Papists be disbanded and disarmed. *Rushw.*
4. “ That his Majesty will please to give his Con- p. 165,
“ sent to the five Bills hereafter mentioned. *166.*
5. “ That an Oath may be established by Act of
“ Parliament, wherein the Papists shall abjure and
“ renounce the Pope’s Supremacy, Transubstantia-
“ tion,

- King Charles I. " Purgatory, Worshipping the consecrated Host, Crucifixes and Images, and the refusing
^{1643.} " 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 Pro-
 " testant 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 se-
 " veral 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 1. 1642.
 " may be restored, and that those whom the Parlia-
 " ment shall except be removed.
 10. " That your Majesty will please to pass the
 " Bill now presented, to secure the Privileges of Par-
 " liament from the ill Consequences of the late Pro-
 " ceedings against the Lord Kimbolton and the five
 " Members.
 11. " That an Act may be passed for satisfying
 " such publick Debts as the Parliament has engaged
 " the publick Faith for.
 12. " That your Majesty will please to enter into
 " Alliances with foreign Protestant Powers, for the
 " Defence of the Protestant Religion, and recover-
 " ing the Palatinate.
 13. " That in the general Pardon, all Offences
 " committed before the 10th of Jan. 1641. which
 " have been, or shall be questioned in the House of
 " Commons before the 10th of Jan. 1643. be ex-
 " cepted. — 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 King
 " of this Parliament may be restored, and may Charles I.
 " have some Reparation, upon the Petition of both
 " Houses." 1643.

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 divers Innovations in Churches and Chapels in and about the gainst In- Worship of God; and for the due Observation of the Lord's novations. Day, and the better Advancement of Preaching God's holy Word in all Parts of this Kingdom.*

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 fix'd in some convenient Place in the Body of the Church. That all Tapers, 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 Innovations, 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, 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 Divine to preach to his

King Charles I. " his Congregation every Lord's Day in the Forenoon; and it shall be lawful for the Parishioners 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. Collect. Fol. 124. The second, entitled an *Act for the utter abolishing, and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, &c.* has been already inserted in the former Part of this History, Vol. II. p. 584.

For punishing scandalous Clergy. The third is entitled, an *Act for Punishing scandalous Clergymen, and others.*

Husb. Collect. Fol. 129. It ordains, " That the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, 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 enquire 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 ecclesiastical Person having Cure of Souls under the Age of Sixty, and not hinder'd by Sickness or Imprisonment: Of Blasphemy, Perjury, or Subornation of Perjury, Fornication, Adultery, common Ale-House or Tavern hunting, Drunkenness, profane Swearing or Cursing, done or committed within three Years past, by any Parson or Vicar, or other Person having Cure of Souls, or by any Lecturer, Curate, Stipendiary, School-Master, or Usher of any School. The Commissioners shall take Information 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 complain'd of, twenty Days before the Trial, that he may prepare for his Defence. Upon Conviction, by the Verdict of twelve

" twelve Men, the Party complained of shall be de- King
 " prived of his spiritual Promotions, and be adjud- Charles I.
 " ged a disabled Person in Law, to have and enjoy ¹⁶⁴³
 " the same Incumbency or ecclesiastical Promotion.
 " This Act to continue till Nov. 1. 1645. and no
 " longer.

The fourth is entitled, an *Act against the enjoying Against Pluralities of Benefices by spiritual Persons, and Non-Residence.*

It enacts, " That all Persons that have two or ^{Husb. Coll.}
 " more Benefices with Cure of Souls, of what year- Fol. 140.
 " ly Value soever they be, shall resign them All but
 " one, before April 1. 1643. any Licence, Tolera-
 " tion, Faculty, or Dispensation to the contrary not-
 " withstanding.

" 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, Imprisonment, or except he be
 " a Reader in either University, or be summoned to
 " Convocation; and be thereof lawfully convicted in
 " any Court of Justice, that his *Living* shall be
 " deemed void, and the Patron have Power to nomi-
 " nate 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 Interpretations*, will be inserted at large, when we come to the Sitting of the Assembly.

To the aforementioned Propositions and Bills, his Majesty, after a sharp Reply to the Preamble, re-turned the following Answer; That though many of them were destructive of his just Power and Preroga-tive, yet because they might be mollified and explain-ed upon Debates, he is pleased to agree, that a Time and

King Charles I. 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.

Proposals. 1. " That his Majesty's Revenues, Magazines, Towns, Forts, and Ships, may be forthwith re-

Rushw. " stored.

Vol. V.

p. 169. 2. " That whatsoever has been done, or published contrary 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 Subjects 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 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 Propo-

Proposition, concerning Restoring the Revenues of the King
 Crown, and the Delivery of his Majesty's Magazines, Charles I.
 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 in his Hands, without the Re-
 dress 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 con-
 sent 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, according to their desire, next Morning.* But when the Com-
 missioners were withdrawn, some of the King's Bed-
 Chamber, and they went higher, fearing the King's
 Concessions would tend to Peace, never left persuading him, till he had altered his Resolution, and gave
 Orders for the following Answer to be drawn up di-
 rectly contrary to what he had promised the Com-
 missioners.

“ As soon as his Majesty is satisfied concerning Rushw.
 “ his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and Forts, Vol. V.
 “ in which he desires nothing, but that the just P. 259,
 “ known legal Rights of his Majesty, devolved to
 “ him from his Progenitors, and of the Persons
 “ trusted by him, which have violently been
 “ taken

King " taken from both, be restored to him and Charles I. " them —

1642.

" 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 secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to the great Breach of the Privileges, and the high Dishonour of Parliaments, 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 Commons, to join in a Declaration against them, the complying with which Desire might have prevented all the miserable Distractions which have ensued; which Security his Majesty conceives can be only settled by adjourning the Parliament to some other Place, at the least twenty Miles from London, the Choice of which his Majesty leaves to both Houses.

" His Majesty will then most chearfully and readily consent, 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 Parliament 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 Debate, in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, such Provisions will " be

“ be made against seditious Preaching and Printing
 “ against his Majesty, and the established Laws,
 “ which hath been one of the chief Causes of the
 “ present Distractions ; and such Care will be taken
 “ concerning the legal and known Rights of his Ma-
 “ jesty, and the Property and Liberty of his Sub-
 “ jects, that whatsoever hath been published or done
 “ in, or by Colour of any illegal Declarations, Or-
 “ dinances, or Order of one or both Houses, or
 “ any Committee of either of them, and particular-
 “ ly the Power to raise Arms without his Majesty’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 en-
 “ danger the very Being of it —

King
Charles I.
1643.

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 lamented, that some of the King’s most Compl.
 “ intimate Friends were against his concluding a Hist.
 “ Peace, and Others were against his obtaining p. 135.
 “ 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
 “ conquer, 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.

King Charles I. Thus ended the Year 1642. in which died the famous *Tobias Crisp*, D.D. third Son of *Ellis Crisp*, of ^{1642.} London, Esq; He was born in *Bread-Street, London*, Death and 1600. educated at *Eaton School*, and having took Character the Degree of Bachelor of Arts at *Cambridge* retired of Dr. Crisp. 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 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 Li- " centiousness." 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

dence and great Joy, even as much as his present *King Charles I.*
Condition was capable of, resign his Life and Soul ^{1643.}
into the Hands of his heavenly Father. He pub-
lished 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 reprint-
ed 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.

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 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 ho-
p. 272." noured, and renowned, pious *Lord Brooke*, whose "most illustrious Name and Memory, both for his Piety, Prudence, incomparable Magnanimity, and heroick martial Spirit, for his Loyalty to the King, and Fidelity to his Country, deserves to remain deeply engraven in Letters of Gold on high erected Pillars of Marble." 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) I *Diary*, observe, that this great and known Enemy to Ca-
p. 201. thedral Churches died thus fearfully, in the Assault of a *Cathedral*; a fearful Manner of Death in such a Quarrel! Secondly, That this happen'd upon "St.

King Charles I. " St. Chad's Day, of which Saint the Cathedral bears the Name. *Thirdly*, That this *Lord* coming from *1643.* " Dinner about two Years since from the Lord *Herbert's House in Lambeth*, upon some Discourse of St. " *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."

Tomkins's Plot. While the *Treaty of Oxford* was depending his Majesty's Friends in the City were contriving to bring Rushw. him to *London*, and deliver the Parliament into his Vol. V. Hands. Mr. *Tomkins*, *Chaloner*, and *Waller* a Member p. 322. of the House of Commons, in Conjunction with some Rapin, p. 150, 154. 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 Gates 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 to be 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.

A new Oath or Covenant. Upon this Discovery both Houses resolved to strengthen themselves by a new *Covenant* or *Vow*, which was tender'd 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 protected " from Justice, but to assist the Parliament according " to their Abilities in the just Defence of the " Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of the Subject,

Rushw.
Vol. V.
p. 325.

“*jeſt, 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.

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, Merchandise, 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 Merchandise, 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 Tenants to pay their Rents to such

King Charles I.
1643.

Rushw.
Vol. V.
p. 357.

King Charles I. Landlords as adhered to the Rebellion, but to reserve them for his Majesty's Use.

1643. 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 half Penny; 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 were 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

of Weymouth, Dorchester, Portland Castle, Exeter, and King almost all the West. About the latter End of July Charles I. Prince Rupert besieged and took the City of Bristol, 1643. 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 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 pret- Vol. V. P. 293. ty 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 C 4 their

King their Cause. Let us now attend the Affairs of the Charles I. Church.

1643. The Clergy on both Sides had a deep Share in the *Sufferings* Calamities of the Times, being plunder'd, harrass'd, of the Puritan Clergy. 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 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 harrassed 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 Walker's Suff. Cler. and Chattles in the best Manner they could. Others Part II. p. 18. 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

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 Discipline 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.

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 *Committees for Religion*.

King Charles I. of the present Parliament. It has been remember'd, that a grand Committee, consisting of the whole House of Commons, was appointed Novemb. 6th. 1643. 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 Sub-divisions, for the Committee quicker Dispatch of Business. Nov. 19. 1640. a Sub-committee 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 Power's 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

could not with Convenience be brought up to ^{King} Charles I. *London.*

But Presentments against the Clergy came in so ^{1643.} fast, that for the Dispatch of Business they were obliged Walker's to divide again into several smaller Committees, which Attempt, from the Names of the Gentlemen in the respective p. 65. Chairs, were called Mr. *White's*, Corbet's, Sir Robert Harlow's, and Sir Edward Deering's Committees, &c. Within a short Space above 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 suffer'd. 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 Ibid. his Presence; a Copy of the Articles was given him p. 81. it desired, and a reasonable Time assigned to prepare for his Defence. The Articles of Enquiry on which they proceeded were, 1. Scandalous Immorality of Life, as Drunkenness, Swearing, Incontinency, and sometimes Blasphemy and Sodomy. 2. False or 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 censur'd 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 persuading others to do so; by reading the King's Declarations, and refusing to read the Parliament's; by not observing the Parliament's Fast, but calling them Rebels, Traytors, and wishing the Curse of God upon

King upon them and their Cause. These were apprehended
Charles I. reasonable Matters of Enquiry, and just Grounds of
1643. 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
referr'd to the House of Lords before it was decisive.
One would think, here should be little room for Com-
plaint, and yet there was too much Passion and Pre-
judice on both Sides, which was owing to the Confu-
sion 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 Com-
mittee, defaming the Witnesses, and threatening Re-
venge, for being obliged to plead their Cause before
Laymen. However, few Clergymen were seque-
ster'd by the Committee for scandalous Ministers be-
fore it was joined with that for *plunder'd Ministers* ;
an Account of which I shall lay before the Reader,
after I have given two or three Examples of the Pro-
ceedings of the present Committee, from the Rela-
tions of those Clergymen who have left behind them
an Account of their own Sufferings.

Reverend Mr. Symmonds of Rayne, his Case. Suff. Clergy, p. 67. The first is Mr. Symmonds, of Rayne in Essex, who acknowledges, That he was sequester'd for preach-
ing 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 Re-
sistance 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 Mi-
nisters, common Prudence, the Rule of Humanity, Na-
ture it self, Reason, the Oath of Allegiance, and even the
late Protestantation. Besides, he had notoriously defamed
the Parliament, and press'd his Auditors to believe
the

the King's Declarations, because a divine Sentence was ^{King} in his Mouth, and he cannot err. And that if David's ^{Charles I.} Heart smote him for cutting off Saul's Garment, ^{1643.} what would it have done if he had kept him from his Castles, Towns, and Ships? 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.*

A second Gentleman, who has left an Account of ^{Rev. Mr.} his Sufferings, is the Reverend Mr. Squire of Shore-ditch; he was articled against for "practising and pres-^{of Shore-}
 " sing the late Innovations, for saying the Papists were Suff. Cler.
 " the King's best Subjects, because of their Loyalty and p. 67.
 " Liberality; for declaring 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 Pro-
 " testant; the forward Professor the Levite, but the
 " Papist was the good Samaritan; and for affirming,
 " that the King's Subjects, and all that they had were at
 " his command." Mr. Squire denied some of these Arti-
 cles, and extenuated others; he procured a Certifi-
 cate 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 Begin-^{Ibid.}
 ning of the War he was a most strenuous Champion ^{p. 176.}
 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 Par-
 liament to silence him.

King Charles I. 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 profess'd Enemies."

p. 72. 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.

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 plunder'd 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 Household 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 plun-

plunder'd ; and what malignant Clergymen have Benefices King
in and about the Town, whose Benefices being sequester'd Charles I.
may be supplied by others who may receive their Profits. 1643.

The Names of the Committee were Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Martyn, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Ardyn, 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, p. 73. who sat in the Chair of this Committee, March 2.

1643. 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 fort united, and so continued to the End of the Long Parliament.

In order to silence the Clamours of the Royalists, White's and justify the severe Proceedings of these Com- Century
mittees, it was resolved to print the Cases of those of scandalous Ministers.
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*

King Charles I. the Prelates, in whose Hands the Ordination of Ministers, and Government of the Church hath been; or, a Narration of the Causes for which the Parliament has ordered the Sequestration of the Benefices of several Ministers complained of before them, for Vitiouſneſſe 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, That the Parliament might appear just in their Doings, that 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 Disaffectiōn to the Parliament; and about Eighty of them of scandalous Immorality in their Lives. Dr. Walker has endeavoured to recover the Reputation of Seven or Eight, and would infiuate 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 prov'd, muſt have touch'd 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

Other Testimonies of their Character. were ejected. 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 ned

“ ned 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, “ That in ^{Baxter’s}
 “ all the Countries where he was acquainted ^{fix to} Life, p. 74;
 “ one at least, if not many more, that were seque-
 “ ster’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 dis-*
 “ *please the Party, but I am sure that this is true.*”

’Tis impossible to account for the particular Pro-^{Their Pro-}
 ceedings of all the Committees, of which great Out-^{ceedings}
 cries have been made by the Friends of the Sufferers. ^{censur’d.}
 “ If the meanest and most vicious Parishioners could Suff. Cler.
 “ be brought to prefer a Petition against their ^{p. 65.} Parson
 “ to the House of Commons, how falsely 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 vo-
 “ ting them out of their Livings, right or wrong.”

In another Place he says, “ That these Com-
 “ plaints were frequently exhibited by a few of the
 “ Meanest of the People against the Judgment of the
 “ Parish.” The like Account is given by most of
 the Royalists ; but the Writers on the Side of the
 Parliament deny the Charge, and complain as loudly
 of the contemptuous Behaviour of the King’s Clergy
 to the Commissioners, treating them as a Combina-
 tion of illiterate Laymen, who had nothing to do

King Charles I. 1643. with the Church ; nay, as Rebels and Traytors. Some refused 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, foreign to the Purpose. They declared roundly, they did not own the Tribunal before which they stood ; they insulted the Witnesses, and threaten'd 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 obliged 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 Mechanicks, 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.

Country
Commit-
tees.

With regard to the *Country Committees*, the Commissioners 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 whereas 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 In-
structions. But whatever might be the Excesses, or Partiality of particular Committees, no reasonable Blame can be

be laid upon the two Houses, whose Instructions ^{King} were, in my Opinion, unexceptionable: The Words ^{Charles I:} of the Ordinance are these, — “ And to the End that ^{1643.} ~~~~~ ”
“ those who will appear before the Committee may ^{Husb. Col.} have the Witnesses examined in their Presence, it is p. 311,
“ 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 Hous-
“ ses; 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 plunder'd Ministers; which Com-
“ mittee shall from Time to Time transmit them to
“ this House.” And further, to prevent all Abuses,
tis ordained in the Ordinance for Sequestration,
“ That if any Person or Persons find themselves ^{Ibid. p. 154}
“ aggrieved with any Acts done by the Sequestrators,
“ their Agents or Deputies, and shall not therein be
“ relieved by the Sequestrators, upon Complaint
“ made to them, or any Two or more of them; then
“ upon Information given to both Houses of Parlia-
“ ment, or to the Committee of Lords and Com-
“ mons aforementioned, such further Order shall be
“ taken therein as shall be agreeable to Justice.”
Here was an Appeal from a lower to a higher Court;
and to prevent too severe a Scrutiny into the Lives ^{Suff. Cler.} and Manners of the Clergy, they were limited in p. 84.
their Enquiries, to such Crimes as had been com-
mitted within three Years before the Beginning of the
present Parliament; so that if the Committees ob-
served their Orders there could be no just Ground
of Complaint; but as no one will undertake to vindi-
cate all their Proceedings, we must not, on the other
hand, give ear to the petulant and angry Complaints

King Charles I. 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 suspense, but when the 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.

Quality of Persons ejected.

p. 95.

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 groffer 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.

Sequestration of their Estates.
Husb.
Collect.
Vol. 13.

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 bear the Expences of it; for this Purpose they passed the following Ordinance, April 1, 1643. the Preamble to which sets forth,

" That

“ That it is most agreeable to common Justice, that King Charles I.
 “ the Estates of such notorious Delinquents as have
 “ been the Causers or Instruments of the publick Ca-
 “ lamities, which have hitherto been employed to
 “ the fomenting and nourishing of this miserable Di-
 “ straction, should be converted and applied towards
 “ the Support of the Commonwealth.

“ BE it therefore enacted, that the Estates, as
 “ well real as 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, Ammunition, or other Aid or
 “ Assistance, towards the Maintenance of any Force rai-
 “ sed 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, Chat-
 “ tels, Debts, and personal Estates, and all the Ma-
 “ nors, 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 Delin-
 “ quents: And all the Monies, Rents, and Reve-
 “ nues, that shall arise from this Ordinance, shall
 “ be applied to the Maintenance of the Army and
 “ Forces

King Charles I. " Forces raised by the Parliament, and such other
1643. " Uses as shall be directed by both Houses of Parlia-
 ment for the Benefit of the Commonwealth:

*A further
Explana-
tion 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.

*Abjuration
Oath.* " **I** A. B. do abjure and renounce the Pope's Su-
 premacy, and Authority over the Catholick
 Church in general, and over my self in particular.
 " And I do believe that there is not any Transub-
 stantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,
 " or in the Elements of Bread and Wine after Con-
 secration thereof by any Person whatsoever. And
 " I do also believe that there is not any Purgatory,
 " or that the consecrated Host, Crucifixes, or Im-
 ages, ought to be worshipp'd; or that any Wor-
 ship 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

“ do abjure, and renounce, without any Equivocation,
 “ mental Reservation, or secret Evasion whatsoever,
 “ taking the Words by me spoken according to the
 “ common Meaning of them.

“ So help me G O D.”

Divers Clergymen of good Learning, and blameless Lives, sound 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.

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 publickly pray against us and our Assistants, but conform to the Book of Common Prayer established by Law, and preach God’s

^{King}
^{Charles I.}
1643.

*The Effects
of this Or-
dinance.*

*The King
makes Re-
prisals.*

Husb.

Collect.

P. 177.

King Charles I. " 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 seditious Persons are introduced. — His Majesty therefore forbids all his Subjects to hinder any of his Clergy from exercising their Functions, or to displace them ; and if any transgress this Command his Majesty declares them Assistants 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,

Hist of L. 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 Ministers, yet commonly those whom they put in were such as set themselves laboriously to seek the Saving of Souls. Indeed the one Half of them

" were

and Times, p. 74.

“ were very young, but that could not be help’d,
“ because there were no others to be had; the Par-
“ liament could not make Men learned or godly,
“ but only put in the learnedest and ablest that they
“ could have; and though 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 successfully, as that they
“ much encreased in Learning themselves whilst
“ they profited others, and proportionably more
“ than many in the Universities do.” Those Cler-
gymen 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 preferr’d to considerable Lectures in the City,
or to the Livings of those who were sequester’d.
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 remember’d, that the Par-
liament did not give their Divines an absolute and
full Possession of the sequester’d Livings, but reser-
ved to themselves a Right in their Warrants to dis-
place 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*, *Brick-
layers*, and those who had no Call from God or Man,
they ordained, July 27. 1643. “ That the Commit-
tees should not nominate any Persons to vacant
Benefices, but such as should be examined and
“ appro-

King
Charles I.
1643.

King Charles I. “ 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 sequester'd 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.

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. 164 $\frac{2}{3}$. 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 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 express Charge to all Inn-Keepers, Taverns, Cooks - 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

strict observation of the Sabbath.

Husband's Collect.

p. 7.

"ceive their ordinary Guests or Travellers, who ^{King} come for the Dispatch of their necessary Business; Charles I.
"and if any Persons offend in the Premises, they ^{1643.}
"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 con- Husb. Col.
siderable Influence upon the City, which began to P. 159.
wear a different Face of Religion to what it had be-
fore. May 5. the Book tolerating Sports upon 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.

Next to the *Lord's Day* they had a particular Re- Manner of
gard to their monthly Fast: April 24. all Constables, ^{keeping the}
or their Deputies, were ordered to repair to every ^{Monthly}
House within their respective Liberties, the Day be-
fore every publick Fast, and charge all Persons strict-
ly to observe it according to the said Ordinances.
And upon the Day of the publick Fast they were en-
joined to walk through their said Liberties, to search
for Persons who either by following the Work of
their Calling, or sitting in *Taverns*, *Viuetualling*, or
Ale-Houses, or any other Ways should not duly ob-
serve the same; and to return their Names to the
Committee for Examination, that they may be pro-
ceeded against for Contempt. The Fast was obser-
ved 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,
and (as has been already observed) with uncommon
Strictness and Rigor.

Besides these stated Fasts, it was usual upon extra- Occasional
ordinary Emergencies to appoint occasional Ones; as Fasts.
when the Army was going upon any hazardous En- Husb. Col.
terprise, or within sight of the Enemy, or under ve- P. 534.
ry disadvantageous Circumstances. When the Earl
of *Essex* was shut up in *Cornwal*, the two Houses ap-
pointed

King Charles I. pointed 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.

King dissolves the Parliament Fast, and appoints another. The King apprehending the Parliament's monthly Fast was perverted from its original Design, and turn'd into a Nursery of Rebellion, was pleased to dissolve it, and appoint another, for the Reasons contained in the following Proclamation from Oxford, dated Octob. 5. 1643. "When a general Fast was first propounded to us in Contemplation 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 seditious 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 Dishonour 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 Humiliation, 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 expressly 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 publick 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

“ have caused devout Forms of Prayer to be composed and printed, and intend to disperse them, that they may be 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 enter’d 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 sequester’d; 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 enjoin’d 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.

The next Thing the Parliament undertook was the Removal of those Monuments of Superstition out of Monuments 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

King Charles I.

1643.

King they past the following Ordinance, " That before Charles I. " the first of November all Altars and Tables of
1643. " Stone shall be utterly taken away and demolish-
Ordinance " ed ; and all Communion Tables removed from the
for that " East End of every Church, Chapel, or Place of
purpose. " publick Worship, and be set in some other fit
Husb. Col. " and convenient Place or Places of the Body of the
Fol. 307. " Church or Chapel ; and all Rails whatsoever
" which have been erected near to, or before, or
" about any Altar or Communion Table, 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 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 levell'd as it was before ; and all
" Tapers, Candlesticks, and Basins, shall before
" the said Day be removed and taken away from the
" Communion Table in every Church, Chapel, or
" Place of publick Prayer, and not be used again
" afterwards. And all Crucifixes, Crosses, Im-
" ages, and Pictures, of any one or more Persons
" of the Trinity, or of the Virgin Mary ; and all
" other Images, and Pictures of Saints, or supersti-
" tious Inscriptions in, or upon any of the said
" Churches, Church Yards, or other Places be-
" longing 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 'tis 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 repair-
" ed in good and sufficient Manner, in all and every
" the said Parish Churches, Chapels, or Places of
" publick Prayer belonging to the Parish, by the
" Church Wardens for the Time being, and in any
" Cathe-

“ 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 De-
 fault ; and if Default be made after December 1.
 “ the Justice of Peace of the County or City shall
 “ have Power to perform it. Provided 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.”

This Ordinance is almost the same with the Bill ^{Manner of} against Innovations presented to the King at the Treaty ^{the Execu-} of Oxford, and does not much differ from Queen ^{of it.} Elizabeth's Injunctions at the Reformation ; there were some Disorders and Tumults in putting it in Execution, and great Neglect of Repairs ; but if the Reader will look back to the superstitious Decorations and Ornaments of the Cathedrals, mentioned in the former Volume of this Work, p. 224. 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, Hist. Pref. the Rabble violated the Monuments of the Dead, p. 45. spoiled the Organs, took down the Rails, &c. and affronted the Statue of our blessed Saviour. Dec. 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 stripp'd about the same Time, the Candlesticks,

King
Charles I.
1643.

dlesticks, Crucifixes, and Plate, being sold for the Service of the War ; and within a few Months most of the Cathedrals throughout *England* underwent the same Fate. If the Parliament, instead of leaving this Work to the Officers of every Parish, had put it 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 complain'd 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.

Orders for
Restraining the
Press.

The Paper Combate between the two Parties at *Oxford* and *London* was carried on with no less Fury than the War it self ; numberless Pamphlets were scatter'd 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 6. 1643. 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. 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 Di-spersing scandalous Pamphlets having been ineffectual

Rushw.
Vol. V.
p. 335.

King
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“ Etual, 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 appoint-
 “ ed by Parliament; nor shall any Book be reprint-
 “ ed without the Licence and Consent of the Owner,
 “ and the Printer to put his Name to it; the Com-
 “ pany of Stationers, and the Committee of Exam-
 “ nations are required to make strict Enquiry after
 “ private Presses, and to search all suspected Shops
 “ and Warehouses for unlicensed Books and Pam-
 “ phlets, and to commit the Offenders against this
 “ Order to Prison to be punished as the Parliament
 “ shall direct..” The Names of the Licensers ap-
 pointed by this Ordinance were these;

For Books of Divinity.

<i>The Reverend</i>	Mr. Tho. Gataker,	<i>The Reverend</i>	Mr. Carter, of York-
	Mr. J. Downham,		shire,
	Mr. Callicut Down-		Mr. Ch. Herle,
	ing,		Mr. Ja. Cranford,
	Dr. Tho. Temple,		Mr. Obad. Sedg-
	Mr. Jos. Caryl,		wick,
	Mr. Edmund Cala-		Mr. Batchelor,
	my,		Mr. John Ellis, <i>jun.</i>

For Law Books.

Sir John Brampton,	Mr. Serj. Pheasant,
Mr. Serj. Rolls,	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. For Philosophy, History, Poetry, Morality and Arts.
 1643. Sir Nath. Brent, Mr. Langley, and Mr. Farnaby,
 School-Masters of St. Paul's.

For small Pamphlets, 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 Preses, 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.



C H A P. 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 represent 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.* To make way for which the Houses turned their Bill into an Ordinance, and convened the Assembly by their own Authority.

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

King
Charles I.
1643.

King Charles I. bly from exercising any Jurisdiction, or Authority Ecclesiastical whatsoever. It is entitled,
1643.

Ordinance for calling 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.

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 forasmuch 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, 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

“ Church of *England* from all false Calumnies and
 “ Aspersions, it is thought fit to call an Assembly
 “ of learned, godly, and judicious Divines, to con-
 “ sult and advise of such Matters and Things touch-
 “ ing the Premises, as shall be proposed to them by
 “ both, or either Houses of Parliament; and to
 “ give their Advice and Counsel therein to both, or
 “ either of the said Houses, when, and as often as
 “ they shall be thereunto required.”

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“ BE it therefore ordained by the Lords and
 “ Commons in this present Parliament assem-
 “ bled, 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 Sicknesse,
 “ or other necessary Impediment, shall meet and as-
 “ semble, and are hereby required and enjoined up-
 “ on 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* Cha-
 “ pel, 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 manner as by both Hou-
 “ ses 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
 “ vindicating and clearing of the Doctrine of the same
 “ from all false Aspersions and Misconstruktions, as shall be
 “ proposed by either or both Houses of Parliament, and
 “ no other; and to deliver their Advices and Opini-

King Charles I. " ons touching 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 $\text{£} \frac{1}{2}$ 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 Proviso : " Provided always, That this Ordinance shall not give them, nor shall they in this Assembly assume or exercise any Jurisdiction, Power, or Authority Ecclesiastical whatsoever, or any other Power than is herein particularly expressed."

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

Sir Henry Vane, *Knt. jun.*
 John Glynne, *Esq; Re-*
corder 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;*

Mr. Serjeant Wild,
 Mr. Young, Charles I:
 Sir Matth. Hale, after-
 wards Lord chief Ju-
 stice 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 Burgessees 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 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 } Assessors.
 Dorchester, A. M.

- King Charles I. * *The Rev.* { Mr. HENRY ROBOROUGH, } Scribes,
 1643. { Mr. ADONIRAM BYFIELD, } but had no
 Names of ** *The Rev.* John Arrowsmith, of Lynne, afterwards
 the Di-vines. 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. Cafe, 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, superadd.
 ** Humph. Chambers, D. D. of Claverton
 ** Francis Cheynel, D. D. of Petworth
 ** Mr. Peter Clarke, A. M. of Carnaby
 ** Mr. Richard Clayton, of Showell
 ** Mr. Francis Coke, of Yoxhall
 ** Mr. Tho. Coleman, A. M. of Bliton
 ** John Conant, of Lymington, D. D. afterwards
 Archdeacon of Norwich, and Preb. of Worcester
 ** Mr. Edw. Corbet, A. M. Merton Coll. Oxon
 * Rob. Crosse, D. D. aft. Vicar of Chew, Somerset
 ** Mr. Philip Delmé, superadded
 Mr. Tho. Dillingham, of Dean
 * Calibute Downing, D. D. of Hackney
 Mr. William Dunning, of Godalston

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- ** 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 Foxcroft, 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-Friars
- ** Mr. William Greenhill, of Stepney
- ** Mr. Green, of Pentecomb
- John Hacket, D. D. of St. Andrew's, Holborn, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield
- 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
- ** Rob. Harris, D. D. of Hanwel, Presi. Trin. Coll. Oxon
- ** Mr. CHARLES HERLE, A. M. Winwick, aft. 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. M. Eman. Coll. Camb.
- ** Joshua Hoyle, D. D. of Dublin, Ireland
- Mr. Henry Hutton
- ** Mr. John Jackson, 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

- King Charles I. *** The Rev. John Lightfoot, D.D. of Ashby, M.Cath.H.
 1643. * Rich. Love, D. D. of Ekinton
 * Mr. Christoph. Love, A. M. superadded
 Mr. William Lyford, A. M. Sherbourne
 * Mr. John de la March, *Minst. of the French Church*
 ** Mr. Stephen Marshal, B. D. of Finchfield
 * Mr. William Massam, *superadded*
 Mr. John Maynard, A. M. *superadded*
 ** Mr. William Mew, B. D. of Effington
 ** Mr. Tho. Micklethwait, Cheriburton
 George Morley, D. D. afterwards Bp. Winchester
 Mr. William Moreton, Newcastle
 * Mr. Moore
 ** Mr. Matth. Newcomen, Dedham
 * Mr. William Newscore, *superadded*
 William Nicholson, D. D. aftw. Bp. of Gloucester
 Mr. Henry Nye, of Clapham
 ** Mr. Philip Nye, of Kimbolton
 Mr. HERBERT PALMER, B.D. Ashwel, aft. 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, *Min. of 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 Bereferrals
 ** Mr. William Rathband, of Highgate
 ** Mr. William Reyner, B. D. Egham
 ** Edw. Reynolds, of Brampton, D.D. aft. Bp. Norwich
 ** Mr. Arthur Salway, Severn Stoke
 Rob. Saunderson, D. D. aft. *Bishop of Lincoln*
 ** Mr. Henry Scudder, of Colingbourne
 ** Lazarus Seaman, B. D. of Lond. M. Peter H. Camb.
 ** Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, B.D. Coggeshall
 Mr. Josias Shute, B. D. Lombard-Street

Chap. II. of the PURITANS.

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King

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- ** 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, *afterw. Master of Saint John's Coll. Oxon, and Regius Professor*
** Mr. Tho. Valentine, B. D. Chalfont, Saint Giles's
** Mr. Rich. Vines, A. M. of Calcot, M. Pemb. H. Camb.
The most Rev. Dr. James Usher, Archbp. 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, *afterw. 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. Camb.*
** Mr. Thomas Young, Stow Market
 Ministers from Scotland.
** Mr. Alexander Henderson
** Mr. George Gillespie
** Mr. Samuel Rutherford
** Mr. Robert Bayly

Before

King Charles I. Before the Assembly sat, the King by his royal Proclamation of June 22. forbid their Meeting, for the 1643. Purposes therein mentioned ; and declared, that no Acts done 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 Obj. 1. " Because the Assembly was prohibited by the Episcopal Divines against the Assembly. " 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 necessary, 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 appear as their Representatives.

Answ. To which it was answered, " That the Assembly was not designed for a National Synod, or Representative 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 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

“ might choose their own Council, without being
 “ obliged to depend upon the Nomination of the ^{King}
 “ Clergy.” <sup>Charles I.
1643.</sup>

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 Clergy; the *Divines* were for the
 “ most part of a puritanical Stamp, and Enemies to
 “ the Hierarchy; and their Business (they appre-
 “ hended) was to pull down that which they would
 “ uphold.

Answ. “ This being not designed for a legal Con-
 “ vocation, but for a *Council* to the Parliament
 “ in the Reformation of the Church, they appre-
 “ hended they had a Power to join some of their own
 “ Members with such a *Committee or Council*, with-
 “ out 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.”

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 Proclama-^{Character}
 tion of June 22. the far greatest Part of them are said of the *Assembly*.
 to be *Men of no Learning or Reputation*. Lord *Clarendon* admits, “ about Twenty of them were revere-^{Vol. I.}
 rend and worthy Persons, and Episcopal in their ^{P. 530.}
 Judgments; but as to the Remainder, they were
 but Pretenders to Divinity; some were infamous
 in their Lives and Conversations, and most of
 them of very mean Parts and Learning, if not of
 scandalous Ignorance, and of no other Re-
 putation

King Charles I. 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 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 Independents, 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 Independents 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 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 was opened on Saturday July 1. with a Sermon preached by Dr. Twisse in King Henry the Seventh's

Seventh's Chapel, both Houses of Parliament being present. The Ordinance for their Convention was King Charles I. then read, and the Names of the Members called over, after which they adjourned to Monday, and agreed on the following Rules. 1643.

(1.) " That every Session begin and end with *Rules agreed to by the Assembly*
" Prayer.

(2.) " That after the first Prayer the Names of
" the Assembly be called over, and those that are
" absent marked ; but if any Member comes in af-
" terwards 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 Pro-
" testation.

" *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 refer-
" ved for Committees.

(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 Com-
" mons, and a third to the Committee of both Kings-
" doms." The usual Method was to take it by
Turns, and every Friday the Chaplains were appointed for the following Week.

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

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

- Regulations sent 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 Protestantion.
 - (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 enjoin'd 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 Busines they petition'd the two Houses for a Fast. Upon which Bishop Kennet passes the following severe Censure, *Impartially speaking*, 'tis stuft 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.

King
Charles I:
1643.

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,

" **T**HAT 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 unexpected 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 publick and extraordinary Day of Humiliation this Week, throughout the Cities of London, 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 professedly new Resolution of more full Performance of the late Covenant, for the Amendment of our Ways.

Rushw.
Vol. V.
P. 344.

King Charles I. 1643. 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 Ordinances within this Kingdom, and reform all Things amiss throughout the Land, where in 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 grossly ignorant, and notoriously profane, may be henceforth with all Christian Care, and due Circumspection prevented.

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

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 Officers in every Place for the due Execution of all good Laws and Ordinances against the same.

5. " That there may be a thorough and speedy Proceeding against blind Guides, and scandalous Ministers; and that your Wisdom would find out some Way to admit into the Ministry such godly and hopeful Men as have prepared 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

6. " That the Laws may be quickened against
 " Swearing and Drunkenness, with which the Land ^{King Charles I.}
 " is filled and defiled, and under which it mourns. ^{1643.}
7. " That some severe Course be taken against
 " Fornication, Adultery and Incest, which do great-
 " ly abound.
8. " That all Monuments of Idolatry and Super-
 " stition, but more especially the whole Body and
 " Practice of Popery may be totally abolished.
9. " That Justice may be executed on all Delin-
 " quents, according to your religious *Vow* and *Pro-
 testation* to that Purpose.
10. " That all possible Means may be used for
 " the speedy Relief and Release of our miserable,
 " and extreamly distressed Brethren, who are Priso-
 " ners 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
 " they miscarry, suffering as they do for the Cause
 " of God.
- " That so God, who is now by the Sword aveng-
 " ing 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 Assembly together; and the Fast was observed with great Solemnity in all the Churches within the Limits abovementioned.

Next Day a Committee of Divines was appointed ^{Alterations} to consider what Amendments were proper to be ^{in the} made in the doctrinal Articles of the Church of Eng- ^{XXXIX} land, and report them to the Assembly, who were ^{Articles.}

King Charles I. 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.

Censures of Antinomianism. As the Assembly were for strengthening the Doctrines of the Church 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 Country against the Power of the Royal Army in the North; and a general Assembly, Aug. 2. 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

Rushw. Vol. V. P. 463, 466, 469. the Concerns of their own Country; but the Parliament of England sent the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Sir H. Kane, Mr. Hatchier, 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

Church Government for the two Nations. To enforce ^{King} these Requests they delivered a Letter from the As-^{Charles I.} sembly, " setting forth the deplorable Condition of ^{1643.} " the Kingdom of *England*, which was upon the Edge " of a most desperate Precipice, ready to be swalio- " ed up by Satan and his Instruments ; they repre- " sent the Cruelty of their Enemies 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 gi- " ven 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 Prayers 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 Antichrist as one Man.".

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 ^{Reasons of} the G. As-
" Religion. 2. Because the Protestant Faith was in ^{sembly of} Scotland
" danger. 3. Gratitude for former Assurances at ^{for assisting} the English
" the Time of the *Scots* Reformation, required a ^{the English} suitable Return. 4. Because the Churches of Scot- ^{Parlia-}
" land and *England* being imbarked in one Bottom, ^{ment.} Rushw.
" if one be ruined the other can't subsist. 5. The Vol. V.

King Charles I. 1643. " 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.*"

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.

Committee appointed to frame a Solemn League and Covenant. 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.

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 Episcopalian 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,

nant, we are perswaded the whole Body of the Scots King
Kingdom will live and die with them, and speedily Charles I.
come to their Assistance. 1643.

When their Commissioners arrived at London they Debates presented the Covenant to the two Houses, who refer-^{upon it.}
red 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 Independent Prelacy ; but it
was carried against him. Dr. Burges objected to se-
veral Articles, and was not without some Difficulty
perswaded to subscribe, after he had been suspended.
The Prolocutor, Mr. Gataker, and many others, de-
clared for primitive Episcopacy, or for one stated Pres-
ident with his Presbyters to govern every Church ; and
refused to subscribe till a Parenthesis was inserted, de- Calamy's
claring what Sort of Prelacy was to be abjured, (viz.) Abridg.
[Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans p. 81.
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.

Bishop Burnet says, our Commissioners pressed Hamil. M.
chiefly for a Civil League, but the Scots would have a p. 237,
Religious One, to which the English were obliged to 240.
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 Coven-
nant ; and in the first Article he inserted that ge-
neral Phrase, of Reforming ACCORDING TO THE
WORD OF GOD ; by which the English thought them-
selves secure from the Inroads of Presbytery ; but
the Scots relied upon the next Words, AND ACCORD-
ING TO THE PRACTICE OF THE BEST REFORMED

King Charles I. 1643. CHURCHES ; in which they were confident their Discipline must be included. When Mr. Colman 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 out-wit each other in wording the Articles ; and with these slight Amendments the Covenant pass'd the Assembly, and both Houses of Parliament ; and by an Order dated September 21. was printed and published as follows :

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.

The Solemn League and Covenant. Rushw. Vol. V. p. 478. WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeses, 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 Advance-ment of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Honour and Happiness of the King's Majesty, and his Posterity, 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 Kingdom of Ireland, the distressed Estate of the Church and King-

“ Kingdom of *England*, and the dangerous Estate of
 “ the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, are present ^{King}
 “ and publick Testimonies; we have (now at last) Charles I.
 “ after other Means of Supplication, Remonstrance,
 “ Protestations, and Sufferings, for the Preservation
 “ of our Lives, and our Religion, from utter Ruin
 “ and Destruction, according 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 determi-
 “ ned 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 seve-
 “ ral Places and Callings, the Preservation of the
 “ Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in
 “ Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government,
 “ against our common Enémies; the Reformation
 “ of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*,
 “ in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Govern-
 “ ment, 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
 “ Uniformity in Religion, Confessing 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 Persons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery,
 “ Prelacy (that is, Church Government by Arch-
 “ bishops,

King Charles I. 1643. " bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissioners, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness, lest we partake in other Mens Sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their Plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one, in the three Kingdoms.

III.

" We shall with the same Reality, Sincerity and Constancy, 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 Majesty's Person and Authority, in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the World may bear Witness with our Consciences, 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 Discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindring the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making 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 suprem Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having Power from them for that Effect, shall judge convenient.

V.

V.

“ And whereas the Happiness of a blessed Peace
“ between these Kingdoms, denied in former Times
“ to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of
“ God granted 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 remain conjoined in a
“ firm Peace and Union to all Posterity, and that
“ Justice may be done on all the wilful Opposers
“ thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent
“ Articles.

VI.

“ We shall also, according to our Places and
“ Callings, in this common Cause of Religion, Li-
“ berty, and Peace of the Kingdom, assist and de-
“ fend all those that enter into this League and Co-
“ venant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof ;
“ and shall not suffer our selves, directly or indirect-
“ ly, by whatsoever Combination, Perswasion, or
“ Terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this
“ blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make
“ Defection to the contrary Part, or give our selves
“ 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 according
“ to our Power, against all Lets and Impediments
“ whatsoever ; and what we are not able our selves
“ to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make
“ known, that it may be timely prevented or re-
“ moved.

“ And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many
“ Sins and Provocations against God, and his Son
Jesus

King " Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present Di-
 Charles I. " stresses and Dangers, the Fruits thereof, we pro-
 1643. " fess and declare before God and the World, our
 " unfeigned Desire to be humbled for our own Sins,
 " and for the Sins of these Kingdoms; especially
 " that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable Benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured 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 Reformation, 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 Encouragement to the Christian Churches, groaning under, 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."

Manner of taking it. Monday, September 25. was appointed for subsci-
 bing this Covenant, when both Houses, with the
 Scots

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 display'd 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 the 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 tender'd to all Persons within the Bills of Mortality, being read in the several Churches to their Congregations as above. Oct. 15. it was taken by the House of Lords, after a Sermon preached by Dr. Temple, from *Nebemiah x. 29.* and an Exhortation by Mr. Coleman. October 29. it was Hamil. M. ordered by the Committee of States in Scotland to be p. 240, sworn to, and subscribed all over that 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 unbound-
ed

King Charles I.

1643.

King Charles I. ed Zeal of that Nation ! February 2. following, 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 of the Solemn League and Covenant. 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 Clearfulness 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, and 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.

King

Charles I.

1643.

“ ever, yet it goeth forth in its own Strength with
 “ such convincing Evidence of Equity, Truth, and Righteousness, as may raise in all (not willfully 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 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 Supremacy 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

King Charles I. 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.

It is answered. 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 scruple, 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. 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

Rapin,
Vol. XII.

p. 133.

" That the several Ministers be required to read King Charles I.
 " the Covenant to the People the next Lord's Day
 " after they have prepared the People to take it. 1643.

" That the Committees of Parliament take it
 " themselves within seven Days after they have re-
 " ceived the Copies; and then disperse themselves
 " throughout their Counties, so as three or four of
 " them may be together at the several Places ap-
 " pointed for the People to take it. That they sum-
 " mon all the Ministers, Church-Wardens, Consta-
 " bles, and other Officers, to that Place, and af-
 " ter a Sermon preached by a Minister whom they
 " shall appoint, they shall cause the said Minister to
 " tender the Covenant to all such Ministers, and
 " other Officers, 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 Par-
 " shioners 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 Com-
 " mittee shall appoint another Minister to do it in
 " his place.

" If any Minister refuse to take, or tender the Co-
 " venant; 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 themselves after Notice given,
 " shall be returned as Refusers.

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 Husb. Ccl. Lords and Commons, That no Person should be P. 172. capa-

King Charles I. 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. *1643.* On the 29th of Jan. 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 forbids it.

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 Nineteenth Year of his Reign.

By the King.

Rush.
Vol. V.
p. 482.

“ WHEREAS there is a printed Paper, en-
“ titled *A Solemn League and Covenant, for*
“ *Reformation and Defence of Religion, &c.* pretended
“ to

“ to be printed by Order of the House of Commons, King
 “ Sept. 21. which Covenant, though it seems to Charles I.
 “ make specious Expressions of Piety and Religion, 1643.
 “ is in truth nothing else but a traiterous and sedi-
 “ tious 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
 “ therefore straitly charge and command all our
 “ loving Subjects, of what Degree or Quality so-
 “ ever, upon their Allegiance, that they presume
 “ not to take the said seditious and traiterous Cove-
 “ nant. And we do likewise hereby further inhibit
 “ and forbid all our Subjects to impose, administer,
 “ or tender the said Covenant, as they, and every
 “ one of them, will answer the contrary at their ut-
 “ most and extreamest Perils.”

His Majesly 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.

Great Complaints have been made, and not without some Reason, of the Execution this Test did upon ^{the Influe-}ce it had the King's Clergy throughout the Kingdom. It was ^{on the} Clergy. 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 producing a Number of Witnesses, as had been the Method hitherto, they now tender'd the 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 Incum-

King Charles I. bent 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 ejected 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, 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.

The

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 Inchiquin, and another Party at Beaumaris, which committed great Spoils, destroying 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, 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, empowering 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.

King Charles I.
1643.
King brings over Forces from Ire-
land.
p. 75, 76.
Rapin, p.
141, 144.
Clarend.
Vol. II.
Part I.
p. 414.

King Charles I. This unhappy Management of the King alienated
 1643. 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,
 as the Earls of *Holland, Bedford, Clare, Carlisle*, Sir
Rushw. *Edward Deering*, and others ; this last Gentleman
 p. 383. published the Reasons of his Conduct to the World,
 the chief of which were, the *Irish Cessation* ; his Ma-
 jesty'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 certain-
 ly a very malignant Spirit among those Gentlemen at
 this Time, as appears by their Form of Thanksgiv-
 ing, or rather Imprecation, for the taking of *Bri-
 stol*, and the Success of the Earl of *Newcastle*'s Army
 in the North ; " O Lord (say they) though 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 miserably 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 Sol-
 diers in the North, upon News of the *Irish Cessation*,
 Part III. p. 86. 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 Pro-
 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.*

My Lord,

" I Espy here many resolved Protestants, who ^{1643.}
 " may declare to the World the Declaration I ^{King's}
 " do now make. I have, to the utmost of my ^{Protestan-}
 " Power, prepared my Soul to be a worthy Recei-
 " ver, and may I so receive Comfort from the bles- ^{Rushw.}
 " sed Sacrament, as I do intend the Establishment of ^{P 346.}
 " the true reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood <sup>Vide
Rapin,</sup>
 " in its Beauty in the happy Days of Queen ^{p. 169,}
 " Eliza-
 " beth, without any Connivance at Popery. I bleſſ &c.
 " God, that in the midst of these publick Distrac-
 " tions I have ſtill liberty to communicate. And
 " may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my
 " Heart do not join with my Lips in this Protesta-
 " tion."

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 Ma- jesty 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 Pa- pist, 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 pur- fuanſe

King Charles I. suance of this Order the Assembly wrote the following Letter, dated Nov. 30. 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. P. 373. 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 Miseries 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 your selves. — And we sometimes doubt, whether we have not been wanting to our own Innocence, 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 Amazement, 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 Destruction 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

" we suppose their inveterate Hatred against you all
" is sufficiently manifest, in that Multitudes of them King Charles I.
" have refused to acknowledge any of you for
" Churches of Christ because you are not Prelatical,
" and thereby (as they conceive) want a lawful Vo-
" cation of Ministers. Sure we are, that among our
" selves, 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 condemn'd Priests ;
" Jesuits set free ; Houses of Superstition in Ireland
" and England have been set up and not discountenanced ; notorious Papists harbour'd about the Court
" and preferr'd ; many released from legal Penalties
" 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 leav-
" en the People with all Points of Popery, except
" the Supremacy, and introduced abundance of cor-
" rupt Innovations into the Worship of God ; for
" Non-compliance with which many have been for-
" ced 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 prevail-
" ed with his Majesty to proclaim them Rebels, and
" raise an Army against them, to which all the Pa-
" pists, and those who were Popishly affected, con-
" tributed ; and had not the Lord, by his Blessing
" on the Scots Arms, and by the Calling of this Par-
" liament prevented it, the two Nations had been
" imbruining their Hands in each others Blood.

" But though we hoped through the Goodness of
" God, and his Blessing upon this Parliament, whose
" Hearts were inclined to a more perfect Reforma-
" tion,

King " tion, that our Winter had been past, yet, alas !
Charles I. " we find it to be quite otherwise. We know our
1643. " 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 Anti-
" christian Faction not being discouraged, by their
" want of Success in *Scotland*, have stirred up a bloody
" Rebellion in *Ireland*, wherein above one hundred
" Thousand Protestants have been destroyed in one
" Province, within a few Months. They have alie-
" nated the Heart of his Majesty from his Parlia-
" ment, and prevailed with him to withdraw and
" raise an Army, which at first pretended only to be
" made up of Protestants — but soon after Papists
" were armed by Commission from the King ; many
" great Papists were put into Places of publick Com-
" mand, and the Body of all the Papists have join'd his
" Majesty with all their Might ; they profess and exer-
" cise their Religion publickly in several Parts of the
" Kingdom, and go up and down plundering, mur-
" dering, and spoiling of their Goods, all such as ad-
" here to the Parliament ; and to the Cause of Reli-
" gion. 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 Punishment, but the Sword rages almost
" in every Corner of this woful Land.

" And to compleat our Miseries, they have pre-
" vailed with his Majesty so far to own the Rebels
" in *Ireland*, as not only to call them his *Roman Ca-*
" *tholick 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, Ammuni-
" tion, &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 alrea-
" dy) 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 —

King

Charles I.

1643.

“ The Church and Kingdom of *Scotland* have made Offer of their humble Mediation to the King for a *Pacification*, 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 Kingdoms.

“ 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 our selves bound in all Christian 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 Misinformations.

“ 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 *Covenant* (a Copy of which we humbly pre-

King Charles I. 1643. " present you herewith) will sufficiently clear us. Let the righteous Lord judge between us, whom we implore to help us no further 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 your selves have been oppressed.

Thirdly, " That you would conceive of our Condition as your own common Cause, which, if it be lost with us, your selves 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 Prayers, 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 our selves, 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 sacred Word, nearest in Conformity to the best reformed Churches, and to establish Uniformity among our selves; 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 Christians under your Charge) by the honourable House of Commons, in whose Name,

" and

" and in our own, we bid you heartily farewell in
 " the Lord." King Charles I. 1643.

Your most affectionately devoted Brethren in Christ,

William Twisse, *Prolocutor,*

Cornelius Burges, }
 John White, } *Assessors,*

Henry Roborough, }
 Adoniram Byfield, } *Scribes,*

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

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.*

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. The Answer from the French Church at *Paris* was read in the Assembly the beginning of *March*; from *Switzerland* *June 12. 1644.* and from *Geneva* 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 Approval of the Proceedings of the Parliament and Assembly touching the Covenant, but desired to join with the two Kingdoms therein.

The

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, Defender 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 re-
 " formed Churches in foreign Parts, by the poli-
 " tick, or rather the pernicious Industry of some ill
 " affected Persons, that we have an Inclination to
 " recede from that orthodox Religion 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 Do-
 " minions; which most detestable Calumny being
 " grounded upon no imaginable Foundation, hath
 " raised these horrid Tumults, and more than bar-
 " barous 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 entertain'd the least Thought to attempt
 " such a Thing, or to depart a Jot from that holy
 " Religion, which when we received the Crown and

" Scepter

“ 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 Exercise of this Religion, with so many Asse-
“ verations at the Head of our Armies, and the pub-
“ lic Attestation of our Barons, with the *Circum-*
“ *specion used in the Education of our royal Off-*
“ *spring*, besides divers other undeniable Arguments
“ only demonstrate this, but also that happy Alli-
“ ance of Marriage we contracted between our eld-
“ est Daughter and the illustrious Prince of Orange,
“ most closely confirms the Reality of our Intentions
“ herein; by which it appears, that our Endeavours
“ are not only to make a Profession thereof in our
“ own Dominions, but to strengthen it abroad as
“ much as lieth in our Power.

“ This most holy Religion of the *Anglicane Church*,
“ ordain’d by so many Convecations of learned Di-
“ vines, confirm’d by so many Acts of Parliament,
“ and strengthened by so many royal Proclamations,
“ together with the Ecclesiastical Discipline and Li-
“ turgy, which the most eminent Protestant Au-
“ thors, as well as *Germans, French, Danes, and*
“ *Swedes, Dutch and Bohemians*, do with many Elo-
“ gies, 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 Prelates) one of our Bishops assist’d, to
“ whose Dignity all due Respects and Precedency
“ were given: This Religion, we say, which our
“ royal Father, of blessed Memory, doth publickly
“ assert in his famous Confession address’d to all
“ Christian Princes, with the Hierarchy and Litur-
“ gy 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

King Charles I. 1643. " 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 offer'd."

*Given in our University and City of Oxford,
May 14. 1643.*

Remarks. This Declaration did the King little Service among foreign Protestants, for though it assured them his Majesty would not turn Papist, it convinc'd 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 *Papist* 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 *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 incapable 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.

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 it self. 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,*

King Charles I. " 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, Dignities, Promotions, &c. in the said Archbishop's Gift or Collation, as are, or shall hereafter become void, Institution or Induction, shall henceforward be given by the Archbishop's Vicar General, or any other having Authority on this behalf, upon the Nomination and Recommendation 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 Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Sequestration of the Temporalities of his Archbischoprick into the Hands of the present high Court of Parliament, the same belonging 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.

Parl. Chr. 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 join'd 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 Advice of the Assembly."

This

This created a great deal of Business ; for though King Charles I. had not a Parliamentary Authority to ^{1643.} 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 referr'd to them, they were obliged to chuse a select Committee for this Work ; their Names were,

The Rev. Dr. Gouge,
Dr. Staunton,
Dr. Lightfoot,
Dr. Smith,
Dr. Temple,
Dr. Tuckney,
Dr. Hoyle,
Dr. Burges,
Dr. Spurstow,
Mr. Ley,
Mr. Reynolds,

The Rev. Mr. Conant,
Mr. Gower,
Mr. Colman,
Mr. Hill,
Mr. Corbet,
Mr. Gataker,
Mr. Herle,
Mr. Hall,
Mr. Whitaker,
Mr. Bathurst,
Mr. Cheynel.

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 H 2 “ of

King Charles I. " of ——, and so to officiate in the Cure thereof,
1643. " 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 turn'd *Roman Catholick*, and went to the *Jesuits College* at *St. Omer's*, but not being thoroughly satisfied in some of their Principles he return'd to *England*, 1631. and having embraced the Religion of the Church of *England*, publish'd an excellent Treatise, entitled *The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation*, for which he was preferr'd to the Chancellorship of the Church of *Sarum*, and made Master of *Wygstan Hospital* in *Leicester*. He was put into the List with other Loyalists to be created *D. D.* in the Year 1642.

Chill. Life, but came not thither to receive that Honour. It was p. 370. the general Opinion of the Times that he was a *Socinian*, but in his last Letter at the End of his Works, *Chill. Letter to Dr. Sheldon*, 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

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 anp. 101. Imposition on Men's Consciences, much like the Authority which the Church of *Rome* assumes. Mr. Chillingworth blesses God, that when he had entertain'd some Thoughts of Subscription, two unexpected Impediments diverted him from it; “For (says Chilling-
 “ he) I profess, since I entertain'd it I never en- worth's L
 “ joy'd Quiet Day nor Night, till now that I have p. 97.
 “ rid my self of it again; and I plainly perceive,
 “ that if I had swallowed this Pill, howsoever gilded
 “ over with Glosses and Reservations, 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 above-mentioned 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 tyrannical Violence of Princes may not be rejected; this being unlawful, even though Princes be most impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous. But though his political

King Charles I. 1643. 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 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. 1644. '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 !

Character of Mr. Hampden. Among the considerable States-Men who died this Year, may be reckon'd 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 publicly guided, that no corrupt or private Ends could bias them. He was indeed a very wise Man, of great Parts and Modesty, and possessed of the most absolute Spirit of Popularity (says

(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 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 Clearfulness and Affability, but of extraordinary Sobriety and Strictness of Life. Mr. Hampden was certainly in all Respects one of the greatest and best Men of his 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 a Skirmish with Prince Rupert's Forces in Chalgrave Field.

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 pleas'd; he was a Man of Business and for moderate Measures, according to Lord Clarendon, till the King impeach'd him of High Treason. In his private Life he was a Person of true Piety and Exactness of Manners; and though inclin'd 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

King
Charles I.
1643.

Rushw.
P. 376.

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 concerning him. " He declares himself a faithful Son of the Protestant Religion, and of the Orthodox Doctrine of the Church of *England*. He confesses he had been for reforming 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; bringing 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 between the King and his Parliament, abetting and encouraging Malignants with large Supplies of Men and Money, and stirring up the People to Tumults by their seditious 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 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 proscribed for a Traitor, merely 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 *Cave* their own.

C H A P. III.

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

THE Campaign being over without a Prospect ^{King} of Peace, both Parties endeavour'd to strength- ^{Charles I.}en themselves by new and sovereign Acts of Power. ^{1643.} The Parliament experiencing the Want of a Great ^{The Ox-} Seal for many Purposes, gave Orders that one should ^{ford Par-} be made. They continued to list Soldiers, to levy ^{liament.} Taxes, and to use every Method they thought proper ^{Rushw.} to support their Cause. On the other hand, the ^{Vol. V.} King raised Contributions without Form of Law; ^{p. 560.} 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. 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 employ'd in his Majesty's Service, or absent with leave. Lord *Clarendon* says; the Appearance of both Hou- ^{Clar. Rem.} ses with the King was superior in Number, as well as ^{165.} Quality, to those at *Westminster*, which must be a Mistake; for though the Majority of Peers were on his Side, Mr. *Whitelock* assures us, that upon a Call ^{Mem.} of the House of Commons, the very Day the others ^{p. 76.} 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 Major-

King Charles I. Majority, though if there had been but Forty the
 1642. King could not have prorogued or dissolved them
 without their own Consent. However, the *Oxford*
 Members stiled themselves the *Parliament*, 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
 Religion may be secured from the Danger of Po-
 pery, 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 entring *England* with an Army, *Traytors*,
 and the Lords and Commons at *Westminster* guilty of
High Treason, for inviting them, as well as for coun-
 terfeiting 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 expell'd
 them the House, except they returned to their Seats
 within a limited Time. April 16. the King pro-
 rogued 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 teasing 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.

Dear

Dear Heart,

“ **W**HAT I told thee last Week, concerning ^{King's Letter} a good Parting with our Lords and Com-^{1643.}
 “ mons here, was on Monday last handsomly per-^{ter to the}
 “ formed; now if I do any Thing unhandsome, or Queen.
 “ disadvantagious to my self 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 Cau-
 “ sers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden
 “ by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by
 “ them — ”

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. 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;

Scots Army enters England. Rushw. Vol. VI. p. 603.

^{King Charles I.} lery ; after which the Marquis of Newcastle left the royal Army, and embarked with divers Lords and Gentlemen for *Hamburg*, Prince Rupert retired towards *Chester*, and deserted all the Northern Garrisons to the Mercy of the Enemy, which falling into their Hands next Summer, concluded the War in those Parts.

^{E. of Essex} 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 *Cornwall*, so that he could neither fight nor retreat. Here the King invited the ^{Cornwall.} 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 underwent 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.} 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

rise to a Combination of Men, distinguish'd by the King Name of CLUB-MEN, who got together in Worcester and Dorsetshire, agreed to defend themselves against the Orders both of King and Parliament.

Charles I.
1644.

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, p. 87. 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 Clar. King's General of the Horse, was one of the most Vol. II. finished Debauchees of the Age, and wanted no- p 555. thing but Industry 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 p. 537.

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 p 534. exercised all kinds of Cruelty, and would sometimes make one of the Company hang all the rest, contrary to the Law of Arms.

The Licentiousness of the King's Soldiers was not inferior to that of his Officers, for having no regular Pay, And Sol- diers. 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 the noble Historian) Clar. committed horrid Outrages and Barbarities in p. 631. Hampshire, and infested the Borders of Dorsetshire, " Somer-

King Charles I. " 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 redeem
 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; in Devonshire two Thousand
 two 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 ex-
 ecuted according to the Ordinance of Parliament. In
 short, where-ever they came they lived at free Quar-
 ter, and took but every Thing they could, and there-
 fore no wonder the CLUB-MEN united in their own
 Defence.

Fight of Newbury. 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 Har-
 rington, 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.

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 Burden to the Towns and Villages where they quartered.

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 triumph'd 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 State of Affairs at the End of the Year.

King Charles I. 1644. siderable 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 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 to the End of these Troubles.

Affairs of the Church. 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 Clergy-

Clergymen training up in the Principles they had espoused.

King Charles I.

The Town of Cambridge was in the Interest of the Parliament, but the Colleges were so many little Gar-^{1644.} risons 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 enjoyned 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.

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, Jan. 6. 164³. declaring, “ That none of the Husb. Col. Estates, Rents, and Revenues of the University, p. 409. or of the Colleges and Halls respectively, shall be sequester'd or seized upon, or in any wise disposed of, by virtue of the Ordinance for sequestring the Estates, Rents, and Revenues of Delinquents, but shall remain to the University, and the respective 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

King Charles I. " if any of the Heads, Fellows, Scholars, or other Officers, were convicted of Delinquency, the Receiver was to pay their Dividend into the Hands of the Committee of Sequestrations."

This Committee was founded upon an Ordinance of Jan. 22. for regulating the University of Cambridge, and removing scandalous Ministers in the several associated Counties; the Preamble sets forth, " That the Service of the Parliament was retarded, the People's Souls starved, by the idle, ill-affectioned, and scandalous Clergy of the University of Cambridge, and the associated Counties; and that many who were willing to give Evidence against them not being able to bear the Charges of a Journey to London, the Earl of Manchester was therefore empowered to appoint Committees in all the associated Counties, to consist of ten Persons, being Deputy-Lieutenants, or such as had been nominated to Committees by some former Ordinance of Parliament; Five of these were a Quorum, and they were empowered to call before them all Provoft, 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 Committees were also empowered to send for Witnesses, and to examine any Complaints against the forementioned 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 sequester their Estates, Means, and Revenues, and to dispose of them as he shall think fit, and place others in their room, being first

" first approved by the Assembly of Divines sitting ^{King}
 " at Westminster. He had also Power to order the ^{Charles I.}
 " Covenant to be administer'd where he thought fit, ^{1644.}
 " and to assign the Fifths of sequester'd Estates for
 " the Benefit of their Wives and Children." The
 Ordinance makes no mention of the Doctrine or Disci-
 pline of the Church, but seems to be levell'd only against
 those who took part with the King in the War.

The Earl of Manchester, who was at the Head of ^{Character}
 these Sequestrations, was in the Life time of his Fa- ^{of Earl of}
 ther, Lord Kimbolton, and one of the impeached Mem- ^{Manche-}
 bers of the House of Commons: Lord Clarendon ob- ^{Clarend.}
 serves, that " he was of a genteel and generous Na- ^{Vol. I.}
 ture; that his natural Civility and good Manners ^{p. 183.}
 flowed to all Men, and that he was never guilty of ^{Vol. II.}
 any Rudeness even to those whom he was obliged to ^{p. 211.}
 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
 Return." The Earl repaired in Person to Cam- ^{Manner of}
 bridge about the middle of February, with his two ^{his Pro-}
 Chaplains, Mr. Ashe and Mr. Good, and by his War- ^{ceeding.}
 rant of the 24th Instant, required the Heads of the se- ^{Suff. Cler.}
 veral Colleges and Halls to send him their Statutes, ^{p. 112.}
 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. Pal-
 grave, Fellows of Corpus Christi College, to appear be-
 fore 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,

~~King Charles I.~~ 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 Suff. Cler. Misdemeanors. If the Parties ejected returned after p. 151, 160. this, they were required 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 tender'd to the whole University.~~ The Covenant, which was read March 18. in the Churches and Chapels of the Town and University, and tender'd to the Inhabitants and Soldiers, was not offer'd to the whole University, but only to such of Suff. Cler. whose Disaffection they had sufficient Proof. Arch-bishop Tillotson says, the greatest part of the Fellows of King's College were exempted, by the Interest of Dr. Witchcott; and nodoubt, 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 the 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 remember'd 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.

~~Numbers ejected.~~ The whole Number of Graduates expell'd 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,

Appeal,
p. 72.

~~Introd.~~
~~Suff. Cler.~~
p. 114.

lars, 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 ^{King Charles I.} Suff. Cler. ^{1644.} and fifty therefore kept their Places, and far the ^{p. 163.} 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. Bainbridge, of Christ's College, Dr. Eden, of Trinity Hall, Dr. Richard Love, of Bennet College, Dr. Brownrigge, of Katharine Hall, ejected in the Year 1645. Dr. Babb-croft, 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.

Masters turn'd out.	Colleges.	Succeeded by
Dr. Jn. Cosins, from	Peter House	Dr. Laz. Seaman,
Dr. Tho. Pask,	Clare Hall	Dr. R. Cudworth,
Dr. Benj. Laney,	Pembroke 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. Arrowsmith,
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. W: Spurstow,
Dr. Ralph Brown-	Kath. Hall	} and afterwards,
rigge,		} 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 ^{Reasonableness of it.} Hist. Camb. ^{lays p. 170.}"

King Charles I. " (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.

Character of the ejected Professors. 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 prefer'd to the rich Bishopric of Durbam: He was a learned Man, of an open, frank, and generous Temper, and well versed in the Canons, Councils and Fathers.

Ib. p. 141. 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.

Ib. p. 153. Dr. LANEY was first Chaplain to Dr. Neil, and afterwards Prebendary of Westminster; he was one of Calamy's 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

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.

Xing
Charles I.
1644.
Suff. Cler.

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 Schenie 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 preferr'd to the Deanry 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.

p. 670.

Dr. STERN was another of Archbishop 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*, 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.

Suff. Cler.
P. 145.

Dr. BEALE was also imprisoned for sending the University Plate to the King; after his Enlarge-

King Charles I. ment 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.

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 Ejection.

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 Constitution and Liberties of *England*, and exposed them very justly to the Resentments of the Parliament in these boisterous Times.

King
Charles I.
1644.

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

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.

King Charles I. Dr. BENJAMIN WITCHCOT was Fellow of Emanuel College, and upon the Ejection of Dr. Collins 1644. 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 Til. Works, him is this; " That he was an excellent Tutor and Vol. I. " Instructor of Youth, and bred up many Persons of p. 277. " 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 Imposition."

Cl. Lives, Mr. HERBERT PALMER, B. D. was one of the p. 183. 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.

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 *SmeElymnus*. Dr.

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.

King
Charles I.
1644.

Dr. THOMAS HILL was Fellow of *Emanuel College*, C. Lives, and one of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*. P. 230. 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.

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 up-^{Calamy's} on the Death of Dr. *Arrowsmith* Regius Professor, Abridg. which Place he enjoyed till the Restoration, when King *Charles II.* by Letter under 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 £ 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

King Charles I. he conformed, and was confirmed in his Place, which he filled with Reputation to his Death.

1644. 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 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

rished 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.

Though the Form of inducting the new *Masters* ^{Form of Induction of} was not according to the Statutes (as has been observed) because of the Distraction of the Times, it ^{the new Masters.} is evident, this was not designed to be a Precedent for Suff. Cler. 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 ^{Ib. p. 115.} 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,

“ I Do solemnly and seriously promise, in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, that during the Time of my Continuance in this Charge, I shall faithfully labour to promote

King Charles I. "mote Learning and Piety in my self, the Fellows,
1644. " Scholars, and Students, that do or shall belong to
 " the said College, agreeably to the late solemn, na-
 " tional League and Covenant, by me sworn and sub-
 " scribed, with respect to all the good and wholsome
 " Statutes of the said College, and of the Univer-
 " sity correspondent to the said Covenant; and by
 " all Means to procure the Good, Welfare, and per-
 " fect Reformation both of the College and Univer-
 " sity so far as to me appertaineth."

The other Masters were introduced into their sev-
 eral Chairs after the same solemn Manner, their War-
 rants 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. But the vacant Fellowships being more numerous
Suff. Cler. were not so quickly filled, though the Earl took the
 most prudent Method in that Affair, for April 10. he
 p. 114. directed a Paper to the several Colleges, declaring, that
 " his Purpose was forthwith to supply the vacant
 " Fellowships, and desiring, that if there were any
 " in the respective Colleges, who in regard of De-
 " gree, Learning and Piety, should be found fit for
 " such Preferment, they would, upon Receipt 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 pre-
 sented, were constituted Fellows by Warrant under
 the Hand and Seal of the Earl of Manchester, to the
 Heads of the several Colleges, in the following
 Form.

Ib. p. 115. " WHEREAS A. B. has been ejected out of
 " his Fellowship in this College; and where-
 " as 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

“ of A. B. and to give him place, according to his King
 “ Seniority in the University, in Preference to all Charles I.
 “ those that are, or shall hereafter be put in by 1644.
 “ me.”

I have before me the Names of Fifty five Persons, *ms. penes*
who after they had been examined by the Assembly, were me.
 put into vacant Fellowships in the Compas of the
 Year 1644. and within six Months more all the Va-
 cancies were in a manner supplied, with Men of ap-
 proved 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 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 Knipperdollings of the Age reduced a glo- Querela;
 “ rious and renowned University almost to a meer Pref. p. 2,
 “ Munster, and did more in less than three Years, than 26, 27.
 “ the Apostate Julian could effect in his Reign, (viz.) Walker’s
 “ broke the Heart-strings of Learning, and all Attempt,
 “ learned Men, and thereby luxated all the Joints p. 115.
 “ of Christianity in this Kingdom. We are not
 “ afraid to appeal to any impartial Judge, Whether
 “ if the Goths and Vandals, or even the Turks them-
 “ selves, 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 Eloquence dumb, Philosophy
 “ softish; widdowed the Arts, drove the Muses
 “ from their ancient Habitation, plucked the Reve-
 “ rend and Orthodox Professors out of the Chairs,
 “ and

King Charles I. " and silenced them in Prison or their Graves; turn'd Religion into Rebellion; 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 Ignorance, and unhived those numerous Swarms of labouring Bees, which used to drop Honey-dews over all this Kingdom, 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!

Committee for scandalous Ministers. 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.

March 15.

E. of Manch. Warrant empowering them to act. BY virtue of an Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, bearing Date Jan. 22. 1642. I do authorize and appoint you ——, or any five of you, to call before you all Ministers or School-Masters within the Counties of ——, that are scandalous in their Lives, or ill-affected to the Parliament, or Fomenters of this unnatural War; or that shall wilfully refuse Obedience to the Ordinances of Parliament; or that have deserted their ordinary Places of Residence, not being employed in the 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.

First,

First, " That they should be speedy and effectual ^{King} in executing the Ordinances, and sit in such Pla-^{Charles I.} ces within the County that all Parties, by the easi-^{1644.} ness of Access, may be encouraged to address them-^{E. of Man-} selves to them with their Complaints. ^{chester's Instructi-}

Secondly, " That they should issue their Warrants, ^{Instructi-} to summon before them such Ministers and Witnes-^{s to them.} ses as the Articles preferr'd against them should Suff. Cler, require. ^{p. 117.}

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.

Fifthly, " If the Party accused would not appear ^{Husb. Col.} to make his Defence they were to certify the Cause ^{p. 311.} 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 Par-
ishioners were not forward to complain of their
Ministers, though very scandalous; some being
Enemies to the intended Reformation, and others
sparing their Ministers, because they favoured
them in their Tithes, and were therefore esteemed
quiet Men; therefore they were required to call unto
them, some well-affected Men within every Hun-

* 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.

King Charles I. " dred, who having no private Engagements, were
1644. " to be encouraged by the Committees to enquire af-
 " ter the Doctrines, Lives, and Conversations of all
 " Ministers and School-Masters, and to give Infor-
 " mation what could be deposed, and who could de-
 " pose the same.

Seventhly, " Each Commissioner shall have five
 " Shillings for every Day he sits; and the Clerk to
 " receive some Pay, that he might not have occa-
 " sion to demand Fees for every Warrant or Copy,
 " unless the Writings were very large.

Eighthly, " Upon the Ejecting of any scandalous,
 " or malignant 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 *Anabaptist*, or *An-*
tinomian, 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 Assign-
 " ment 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,

The Earl's Letter. " I Send you by this Bearer a Commission, with
Suff. Cler. p. 118. " Instructions, for executing the Ordinance, &c.
 " within your County. I neither doubt of your Abi-
 " lities, nor Affections, to further this Service, yet,
 " according to the great Trust imposed on me here-
 " in by the Parliament, I must be earnest with you
 " to be diligent therein. You know how much the
 " People of the Kingdom have formerly suffered in
 " their Persons, Souls, and Estates, under an idle,

" ill-

“ ill-affected, scandalous, and insolent Clergy, up-
 “ held by the Bishops; and you can’t but foresee,
 “ that their Presiures and Burthenes will still conti-
 “ nue, though the Form of Government be alter’d,
 “ unless great Care be taken to displace such Mini-
 “ sters, and to place orthodox and holy Men in eve-
 “ ry 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
 “ themselves. 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 ex-
 “ pect to be called to Account for it, both here and
 “ hereafter. For my part, I am resolved to employ
 “ the utmost of my Power, given to me by the Or-
 “ dinance for procuring a general Reformation in all
 “ the associated Counties, expecting your forward-
 “ ness, and heartily joining with me herein,”

I rest, &c.

When a Clergyman was convicted according to ^{Their Me-}
 the Instructions above-mentioned, report was made ^{thod of Pro-}
 to the Earl, who directed a Warrant to the Church-
 Wardens of the Parish, to eject him out of his Parso- ^{ceeding.}
 nage, and all the Profits thereof; and another to re-
 ceive the Tithes, and all the Benefits into their own
 Hands, and to keep them in safe Custody till they
 should receive further Order 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 Cha-
 racter, for their Trial and Examination. And upon
 a Certificate from the Assembly, that they approved
 of him as an orthodox Divine, and qualified to offi-
 ciate in the pastoral Function, his Lordship issued out

King
Charles I.
1644.

Suff. Cler.

p. 119.

King Charles I. 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 1644. " to officiate as Minister, to preach, teach, " and catechize 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 fur- " ther Order concerning the same, requiring all Of- " ficers 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 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 merely 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.

The

The Committees for the associated Counties acted, King Charles I. last Warrant of Ejection mentioned by Dr. Nalson, 1644. bearing Date March 17. 164³. in which Time A-suff. Cler. fairs were brought to such a Settlement in those Parts, p. 119. 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* it self was set aside, and changed into an ENGAGEMENT to the new Commonwealth.

'Tis hard to compute the Number of Clergymen *Numbers ejected*. 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 fallaciously increased 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 reckon'd above two Hundred. If one Clergyman was possess'd Ch. and Dissenters compared, of p. 52.

King Charles I. 1644. of three or four Dignities there appear as many Sufferers. The like is to be observed in the Case of Pluralists; for Example, *Richard Stuart, L. L. D.* is set down as a 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 *Northampton* 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 Reverend 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 Dr. *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

the Crown, the Remainder that were displaced *only* King
for refusing the Covenant, must be very inconsiderable; Charles I.
 Mr. Baxter says, they cast out the grosser Sort of in- 1644.
 sufficient and scandalous 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 acquaint- Hist. of L.
 " ed six to one at least, if not more, that were sequester'd and Times,
 " by the Committees, were by the Oaths of Witnesses p. 74, 75.
 " proved insufficient or scandalous, or both."

But admitting their Numbers to be equal to those Puritan Ministers ejected at the Restoration, yet the Cause of their Ejection, and the Circumstances of the Times, being very different, compared with the sufferings of the former ought not to be compared 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 Circumstances, he will be gladly deemed not only to have lost all his Labour, but to have revived a great and unanswerable 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 answer (says one) for the Conformity and Injustice of Actions in a Civil War? first Plea,

" Those sufferings were in a Time of general 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

King Charles I. " 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 Turmoil 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 scandalous 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 was reserved for the Maintenance of their poor Families, " Which was a Christian 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 fore-mentioned Exceptions, the two Houses published the following Explanation, November 11. 1647. (viz.)

" That

" That the Wives and Children of all such Persons
 " whose Estates and Livings 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 Ministers, and all other Ministers, are required 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.

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 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, 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

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p. 100.

King Charles I. ed 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 referr'd them to a Committee, but came to no Agreement, because they could not fix upon another Fund, nor provide for the Lay-Improvements.



C H A P. 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. ^{King Charles I, 1644.} 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 ^{Parties in the Assembly of Divines.} were for taking down the main Pillars of the Hierarchy, before they had agreed what Sort of Building to erect in its room.

The Majority at first intended only the Reducing of the Episcopacy to the Standard of the first or second Age, ^{Presbyterians.} but for the Sake of the Scots Alliance, they were prevailed with to 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 expressly 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.

The ERASTIANS formed another Branch of the As. ^{Of the Erastians.} sembly, so called from *Eraustus*, a German Divine of the sixteenth Century. The *Pastoral Office*, according to ^{Baxter's Life, p. 39.}

King Charles I. 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 coercive Power over the Consciences 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*, *Redmayne*, *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 Government 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 Patrons of this Scheme in the Assembly were Dr. *Lightfoot*, Mr. *Colman*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Whitlock*; and in the House of Commons, besides *Selden* and *Whitlock*, Oliver St. John, Esq; Sir Thomas *Widdrington*, John *Crew*, Esq; Sir John *Hipsey*, and others of the greatest Names.

The INDEPENDANTS, or *Congregational Brethren*, King composed a third Party, and made a bold Stand Charles I. against the Proceedings of the high Presbyterians; ^{1644.} their Numbers were small at first, but encreased ^{of the In-} prodigiously in a few Years, and grew to a consider-^{depen-}able Figure under the Protectorship of Oliver Crom-^{dants.} well.

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 pro- Apologet.
 " fess before God and the World, that we do appre- Narr. of
 " hend a great deal of Defilement in their Way of ^{the Inde-}
 " Worship, and a great deal of unwarranted Power ^{pendants,} p. 78.
 " exercised by their Church Governors, yet we al-
 " lowed Multitudes of their Parochial Churches to
 " be true Churches, and their Ministers true Mini-
 " sters. In the late Times, when we had no Hopes of
 " returning to our own Country, we held Communi-
 " on 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

King Charles I. " in England, they professing themselves to be Members thereof, and belonging thereto. The same
 1644. " charitable Disposition we maintained towards the
 " Dutch Churches among whom we lived. We
 " mutually gave and received the right Hand of
 " Fellowship, holding a brotherly Correspondence
 " with their Divines, and admitting some of the
 " Members of their Churches to Communion in the
 " Sacrament, and other Ordinances, by virtue of
 " their Relation 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 it self. This
 " they are sure must have been the Form of Go-
 " vernment in the Primitive Church, before the
 " Numbers of Christians in any City were multiplied
 " so far as to divide into many Congregations,
 " which, 'tis dubious, whether it was the Fact in
 " the Apostles Times.

" Not that they claim an entire Independency
 " with regard to other Churches, for they agree,
 " that in all cases of Offence the offending Church is
 " to submit to an open Examination, by other neigh-
 " bouring Churches, and on their persisting in their
 " Error or Miscarriage, they then are to renounce
 " all Christian Communion with them, till they re-
 " pent, which is all the Authority or Ecclesiastical
 " Power that one Church may exercise over another,
 " unless they call in the civil Magistrate, for which
 " they find no Authority in Scripture.

" Their Method of publick Worship 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 Authority ; and
 " though they did not approve of a prescribed Form,
 " they

“ they admitted that publick Prayer in their Assemblies 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 frequently 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 Officers, and publick Rulers in the Church, were Pastors, Teachers, Ruling Elders (not Lay, but Ecclesiastical Persons, separated to that Service) and Deacons.

“ They practised no Church Censures but Admonition ; and Excommunication upon obstinate and impenitent Offenders, which latter they apprehended should not be pronounced 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, p. 24, 25, that out of a Regard to the publick Peace they had²⁷, forbore to 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 Reaproaches 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 Assembly 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

King Charles I. " Point of Religion, to acknowledge their Mistakes
 1644. " when they are convinced of them, as to hold fast
 " the Truth ; and when Matters are brought to the
 " neatest Agreement, to promote such a Temper as
 " may tend to Union, as well as Truth.

p. 30. " They therefore beseech the honourable Houses
 " of Parliament, not to look upon them as Disturb-
 " ers of the publick 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 Indulgence in some lesser Differences, as
 " long as they continue peaceable Subjects."

Sign'd by,

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

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

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.

Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Eachard* represent the *In-Their vindication.* dependants 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 *Vol. XII.* *p. 290.* most disadvantageous Colours, affirming, “ That their Principles were exceeding 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 Heaters.”

’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 Government.* Whereas they assure the World in their Apology, That they prayed publickly for Kings, and all in Authority. This was no Point of Controversy between them and the Presbyterians, for when they had the King in their Custody they served

King Charles I. 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 Administiring the Sacraments, as *Pastors*, *Teachers*, and *Elders* (who were Ecclesiasticks) and *Deacons* to take Care of the Poor; nor did they admit

admit of Persons unordained to any Office, to exercise their Gifts publickly, except as *Probationers*, in order to their devoting themselves to the Ministry. ^{King Charles I. 1644.} The Words of their Confession are; “The Work ^{Savoy} of Preaching is not so peculiarly confined to Pa-Conf. 4to. Stors and Teachers, but that others also gifted, p. 24. and fitted by the Holy Ghost for it, and appro- Art. 14. ved (being by lawful Ways and Means, by the Providence of God called thereunto) may publickly, or- dinarily, 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 Enemis 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.

Mr. Baxter, who was no Friend to the Independants, and knew them much better than the above-mentioned Writers, admits, “That most of them ^{Baxter’s} were zealous, and very many learned, discreet Life, and pious, capable of being very serviceable to the P. 140, Church, and Searchers into Scripture and Anti- 143. 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 Coun-

King Charles I. *1644.* Councils ; but then adds, " I saw a commendable Care of serious Holiness and Discipline in most of the Independant Churches ; and I found, that some Episcopal Men, of whom Archbishop 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 Concord." 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.

Proceedings of the Assembly.

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 more considerable, and encouraged their Opposition to the *Presbyterians* who were for establishing their own Discipline, without regard to such as differ'd from them.

It is not to be wonder'd, 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:

Order to confer about Discipline.

" 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 among 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

“ of Scotland, &c. to be settled in this Church instead
 “ of the present Church Government by Archbi-
 “ shops, Bishops, &c. which it is resolved to take
 “ away; and to deliver their Advice touching the
 “ same to both Houses of Parliament with all con-
 “ venient speed.”

King
Charles I.
1644.

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, Lightfoot's Re mains, in 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.

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 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.

The first Point that came upon the Carpet was of *Ordination of Ministers*; which was the *nation*. more necessary, because the Bishops refused to ordain

King Charles I. 1644. any who were not in the Interest of the Crown : This gave occasion to enquire into the *ancient 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 extraordinary 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 fraternitatis?*"

To the last of which the *Independants* enter'd 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, " Give us leave, we beseech you, in pursuance of our *National Covenant*, to sigh out our Sorrows at the Foot of this honourable Senate. Through many erroneous Opinions, ruining Schisms, and damnable Heresies, unhappily fomented in this City and Country, the orthodox Ministry is neglected, the People are seduced, Congregations torn asunder, Families distracted, Rights and Duties of Relations, National, Civil, and Spiritual, scandalously violated, the Power of Godliness decayed, Parliamentary Authority undermined, fearful Confusions introduced, imminent Destru-

“ction threaten’d, and in part inflicted upon us late-
 “ly in the West. May it therefore please your Wis-
 “doms, as a sovereign Remedy for the Removal of
 “our present Miseries, and preventing their fur-
 “ther Progress, to expedite 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 Obstructions that
 “may impede and retard our humble Desires.” Upon *Advice of*
 this the Assembly were ordered to send up their *hum- the Assembly*
bly. *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 neces-
 sary 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 *Vol. P.M.* *penes me,*
 in and about the City of *London* be appointed by pub- *No 68.*
 lic Authority, to ordain Ministers for the City and
 the neighbouring Parts, keeping as near to the Rule
 as may be.

(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 recom-
 mended, 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 Min-
 isters *pro tempore*, which appoints the following ten
 Persons, being Presbyters, and Members of the As-
 semby, to examine and ordain, by Imposition of

King Charles I. Hands, all those whom they shall judge qualified to be admitted into the sacred Ministry, (*viz.*)
1644.

Dr. Cornelius Burgess, <i>Af-</i> <i>ſeffor,</i>	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.*

The Rev. Mr. John Down-
ham,
Mr. Charles Off-
spring,
Mr. Richard Lee,
Mr. Tim. Dod,
Mr. James Cran-
ford,
Mr. Tho. Horton,

The Rev. Mr. Tho. Glen-
don,
Mr. Sam. Clarke,
Mr. Arthur Jack-
fon,
Mr. Em. Bourne,
Mr. Fulk Billers,
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

was added, that “ If any Person do publickly preach, or otherwise exercise any ministerial Office, that shall not be ordained, or thereunto allowed by severall 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 Parl. Chr. 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.

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 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. 1645. under the Title of a *DIRECTORY FOR PUBLICK WORSHIP*.

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;

*pref. to
Directory.*

King Charles I. " vances ; and the many unprofitable and burden-some Ceremonies has occasioned much Mischief,
1644. " 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 Fa-
" tion 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 de-
" preciated, and in some Places entirely neg-
" lected.

" 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 Cere-
" monies where daily obtruded on the Church.

" Besides, the Liturgy has given great Encou-
" ragement 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 Considera-
" tions, relating to the Book in general, besides di-
" vers Particulars, which are a just Ground of Of-
" fense, it is thought adviseable to set aside the for-
" mer Liturgy, with the many Rites and Ceremo-
" nies formerly used in the Worship of God, not out
" of any Affectation of Novelty, nor with an In-
" tention to disparage our first Reformers, but that
" we may answer in some Measure the gracious Pro-
" vision of God, which now calls upon us for a fur-
" ther Reformation ; that we may satisfy our own

" Con-

" Consciences ; answer the Expectations of other re-
 " formed Churches ; ease the Consciences of many
 " godly Persons among our selves ; and give a pub-
 " lick Testimony of our Endeavours after an Uni-
 " formity in divine Worship, pursuant to what we
 " had promised in our Solemn League and Cove-
 " nant."

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 fringing 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.

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.

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

in the Directory

from the Common Prayer

King Charles I. the Sign of the Cross, are discontinued. In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper no mention is made of private Communion, or administering 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 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, profane, or that live in any Sin or Offence against their Knowledge or Conscience, that they presume not to come to that 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 Pembroke 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

Clar.
Vol. II.
P. 588.

being apprehended more proper for a *Confession of Faith*; and accordingly the Creed and Ten Com-^{King Charles I.}mandments 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.

It was a considerable Time before this great Re-^{The Success}volution in the Form of publick Worship took place ^{of it,} over the whole Kingdom. In some Parts of the Country the Church-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. 23. 1645. and enacts, that "the Knights and Burghesses of the several Coun-ties in *England* and *Wales* shall send printed Books ^{Ordinance} of the *Directory* fairly Bound to the Committee of for enfor-^{cing the} Parliament in their several Counties, who shall de-^{Use of the} liver them to the Officers of the several Parishes ^{Directory.} in *England* and *Wales*, by whom they shall be deli-^{Rushw.} vered to the several Ministers of each Parish. It Part IV. ordains further, That the several Ministers next Vol. I. Lord's Day after their receiving the *Book of the Di-*^{p. 205.} rector shall read it openly in their respective Churches before Morning Sermon. — It then forbids the Use of the Common Prayer Book in any Church, Chapel, or Place of publick Wor-ship,

King Charles I. " ship, 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 tho' 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.

King forbids the Use of it.
Rushw.
Part IV.
Vol. I.
p. 207.

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 Con-

" ceits,

“ ceits, and utter those Things in their long Prayers
 “ which 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 Parlia-
 ment, inflicting Penalties on Offenders, which was
 “ never pretended to be in their Power without our
 “ Consent : Now, least our Silence should be inter-
 “ preted as a Connivance in a Matter so highly con-
 cerning 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.”

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 ^{Rise and} make a considerable Figure, and spread themselves ^{Progress of} into several separate Congregations. We have al- ^{the Eng-}
 ready distinguished the *German* Anabaptists from the ^{baptists.} *English*, who differ'd only from their Protestant Bre-
 thren about the Subject and Mode of *Baptism* ; these
 were

King

Charles I.

1644.

King Charles I. 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, MS. penes [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 derive 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 up on the Patience of the State (says Dr. Featly) 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 Defence of their Heresy (says the same Author) and challenged 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,

tions, by *William Kiffin*; *Thomas Patience*, *George Tipping*, *John Spilsbury*, *Thomas Sheppard*, *Thomas Munden*, *Thomas Gun*, *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.

King.
Charles I.
1646.

Their Confession consisted of Fifty two Articles, *Their Confession of Faith.* 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; that as our Practice is, so it may prove us to be a conscientiable, 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 Enemy; accounting it more excellent to give than to receive.

“ 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 stripp'd 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

King Charles I. 1644. "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 immoveable,
 always abounding in Obedience to Christ, as know-
 ing our Labour shall not be in vain in the Lord."

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.

Their Character. 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, 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 Opposers and Troublers of faithful Ministers — That in this they strengthen'd the Hands of the Profane, and that in general, *Reproach of Ministers, Faction, Pride, and scandalous 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

Baxter's Life, p. 102, 144.

he

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 dipp'd. 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.

Besides the above-mentioned Writers, the most eminent Divines in the City of London, as Mr. Vines, ^{Their Sufferings.} 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 Denii, formerly ordain'd by the Bishop of St. David's; and possessed of the Living of Pyeton in Herefordshire; 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 Antipædobaptism; and being forbid to preach in the publick Churches, he opened a separate Meeting in Great St. Helen's, from 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

King Charles I.
1644.

King Charles I. Recantation, as enter'd in the Committee's Books,
was in these Words ;
1644.

July 15: 1645.

Mr. Clark- son's Recantation. **T**HIS 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 imprudent 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, Elektor 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 Elektor 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

and five Daughters, among whom were Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, and 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.

“ I HOLD my self 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 Actions of some of my Relations, or the ill Effects of what my Enemies might by my Absence cast upon me.

King

Charles I.

1644.

the Palatinate Familiy Favours of the Puritans.

Hist.

P. 449.

Stuarts,

P. 268.

King Charles I. “ 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.”

Hist.
Stuarts,
p. 279.

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 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 Deceale 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 !

State of Religion.

Ordinance for better Observati-
on of the Lord's Day
Scobel's Collec.
p. 68.

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 Streets, upon Penalty of forfeiting the Goods. That no Person, without Cause, shall travel, or carry a Burden, or do any world-

“ 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, Ringing of Bells for Pleasure, Markets,
 “ Wakes, Church-Ales, Dancing, Games or Sports
 “ whatsoever, upon Penalty 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 King’s Declaration con-
 “ cerning lawful Sports on the Lord’s Day be called
 “ in, suppressed, and burnt.

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“ This Ordinance shall not extend to prohibit
 “ dressing Meat in private Families, or selling Vi-
 “ ctuals in a moderate Way in Inns or Victualling
 “ Houses, for the Use of such as can’t otherwise be
 “ provided for; nor to the Crying of Milk before
 “ Nine in the Morning, or after Four in the After-
 “ noon.”

The Solemn League and Covenant was in such high Repute at this Time, that by an Order of the House of Commons, Jan. 29. 1644. it was appointed, ^{Testimony to the Truth of} That on every Fast-Day, and Day of publick Humiliation, the Covenant should be publickly p. 26. read in every Church and Congregation within the Kingdom; and that every Congregation be enjoined to have one of the said Covenants fairly 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

King Charles I. 1644. 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 Observations of Christmas. Rushw. p. 817. 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 order'd by both Houses; and that this Day in particular is to be kept with the more solemn Humiliation, because it may call to remembrance our Sins, and the Sins of our Fathers, who have turned this Feast, pretending the Memory of Christ, into an extreme Forgetfulness of him, by giving liberty to carnal and sensual Delights, being contrary to the Life which Christ led here on Earth, and to the spiritual Life of Christ in our Souls, for the sanctifying and saving whereof, Christ was pleased both to take a human Life, and to lay it down again."

Remarks. 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,

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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 observ'd 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 heretofore 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*, thereby, 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 reform 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.

About

King Charles I. Westfield, Bishop of Bristol ; he was born in the Isle of Ely, 1573. educated in Jesus College Cambridge, and afterwards Rector of Hornsey, and of St. Bartholomew the Great, London, and Arch-Deacon of St. Albans. 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 of 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 Defence of Religion, and

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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.

King
Charles I.
1644.



C H A P.

C H A P. V.

*Abstract of the Trial of Archbishop LAUD; and,
of the Treaty of Uxbridge.*

King Charles I. *1644.* *Trial of Abp. Laud.* **N**EXT 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.

Articles of Impeachment. 1. " That the Archbishop had endeavoured to destroy the Use of Parliaments, and to introduce an arbitrary Government.

Prynne's Compl. 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.

Hist. of the Trial of Abp. Laud. 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

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 Clergy-
 " man by nihil dicit.

6. " That large Sums of Money having been con-
 " tributed for buying in Impropropriations, the Arch-
 " bishop had caused the Feoffments to be overthrown
 " in his Majesty's Exchequer, and by that Means
 " suppressed the Design.

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 Con-
 " formity, declaring thereby his Intention to alter
 " the true Protestant Religion established in it.

9. " That after the Dissolution of the last Parlia-
 " ment he had caused a Convocation to be held, in
 " which sundry Canons were made contrary to the
 " Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and an ille-
 " gal Oath imposed upon the Clergy, with certain
 " Penalties, commonly known by the *Et cetera*
 " Oath.

10. " That upon the abrupt Dissolving of the
 " short Parliament 1640. he had told the King, *He*
 " was now absolved 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.

The Lords ordered the Archbishop to deliver in Prynne, 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

King Charles I. 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 Archbishop'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 additional Articles, when there was no Issue joyn'd on the original ones ; he therefore prayed, that the Archbishop might forthwith put in his Answer to all their Articles, and then they should be ready to confirm their Charge whenever their Lordships should appoint."

Wharton's Hist. of Abp. Laud's Troubles, p. 214, 215. 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 call'd for. His *Grace* would have embarrass'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.

Abp's Answer. " As to the 13th Article, concerning the Troubles in Scotland, and all Actions, Attempts, Assistance, Counsel, or Device relating thereto, this Defendant pleadeth the late Act of Oblivion, he being

“ being none of the Persons excepted by the said
“ Act, nor are any of the Offences charged upon this
“ Defendant excepted by the said A&t.

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“ And as to all the other Articles, both Original
“ and Additional, 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 Articles charged, in such
“ Manner and Form as the same are by the said Ar-
“ ticles charged against him.”

The Trial was deferr'd all the Month of *February*, *Order and Method of the Trial.*
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 us could be reasonably desired. When he complain'd of the Seizure of his Papers, the Lord's ordered him a Copy 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 incapable of feeing 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.

King Charles I. 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 my self 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 subvert 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 arbitrary Government against Law, and the Liberties of the Subject.

Thirdly,

*T*hirdly, " 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."

The Trial began *March 12. 1642.* 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.

The Archbishop having obtained leave to reply, endeavoured to wipe off 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 Troubles, 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 England, as establish'd 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 attempting 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

King Charles I. one Persons whom he had converted from Popery to the Protestant Religion.

1644. 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.

March 13. 1643. The next Day the Managers for the Commons enter'd on their first Charge, to the following Purpose.

First Branch of the Charge for subverting the King's Power above the Laws.

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."

p. 229, 230, 231. The Archbishop replied, That this was the Vote of the whole Council Table, of which he was but a single Member, and therefore 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?

3. They

3. They averr'd, "That he had said in Council, ^{King Charles I.}
 " that the King's Proclamation was of as great Force as ^{1644.}
 " an Act of Parliament; and that he had compared ^{the King to the Stone spoken of in the Gospel, Managers}
 " the King to the Stone spoken of in the Gospel, Managers
 " That whosoever falls upon it shall be broken, but upon Charge.
 " whomsoever it falls it will grind him to Powder."

The Archbishop replied, That this was in the ^{Abp's Re-}
 Case of the Soap Business, twelve Years ago; and he ^{by,} ^{1 and's}
 thinks it impossible those Words should be spoken by ^{him.} ^{p. 234.}
 nor does he apprehend the Gentlemen who ^{press this Evidence can believe it themselves, consi-}
 dering 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.*

4. In further Maintenance of this Part of their ^{Arbitrary} Charge the Managers produced ^{Speeches} two Speeches which ^{made for}
 " his Grace framed for the King to be spoken to the ^{the K. by}
 " Parliament; and his Majesty's Answer to the Re-^{the Abp.}
 " monstrance of the House of Commons in the Year ^{M. Charge.}
 " 1628. which was all written with the Archbishop's
 " own Hand, and these Words endors'd by himself,
 " *My Answer to the Parliament's Remonstrance.* In
 " which Papers were sundry Passages tending 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 ^{King's} his Power is only ^{Speech,}
 " from God, and to him only he is accountable for his ^{March 29,}
 " Actions. That never King was more jealous of ^{1626.}
 " his Honour, nor more sensible of the Neglect and
 " Contempt of his Royal Rights. His Majesty bids
 " the Commons remember, that Parliaments are
 " altogether in his Power, for their Calling, Sitting,
 " and Dissolution; and that according as they be-
 " haved themselves they should continue, or not be.
 " When some of the Members of Parliament had

King Charles I. " spoken freely against the Duke of Buckingham,
1644. " they were, by the King's Command, sent to the
King's Speech, " Tower; and his Majesty coming to the House of
May 11. " Peers, tells them, That he had thought fit to pu-
1626. " nish 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 dissolved in the Year 1628. a Pro-
 clamation was published together with the above-
 mentioned Remonstrance, in which his Majesty de-
March 27. " clares, That since his Parliament was not so
1629. " dutiful as they ought to be, he was resolved to
 live without them, till those who had interrupted
 his Proceedings should receive condign Punish-
 ment, and his People 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."

Abp's Reply, The Archbishop replied, That he did indeed make
Laud's Hist. p. the abovementioned Speeches, but was commanded
230, 403, to the Service, and followed his Instructions as close
404, 406. as he could. As for the smart Passages com-
 plained 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 pass'd by. The Answer to the Re-
 monstrance was drawn by his Majesty's Com-
 mand, as appears by the Endorsement; and the se-
 vere 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?

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

i. " That

1. "That the Archbishop had said at the Council ^{King Charles I.} Table, after the ending of the late Parliament, ^{1644.} that now the King might make use of his own Power." This was attested by Sir Harry Vane the Elder, ^{Arbitrary} who was a Privy Counsellor, and then present." ^{Speeches of the Abp.} 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. ^{M. Charge. Abp's Re-ply,} 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!

2. The Archbishop had affirmed, "That the Parliament might not meddle with Religion, without the Assent of the Clergy in Convocation." Now, if this were so (say the Managers) we should have had no Reformation, for the Bishops and Clergy dissented."

The Archbishop in his Reply cited the Statute ^{Abp's Re-ply.} 1 Eliz. cap. 1: which says, that what is Heresy shall be determined by the Parliament, with the Assent of the Clergy in Convocation, from whence he concluded, the ^{Laud's Hift.} 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

~~King Charles I.~~ 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 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*.

~~Of the K
Preroga
tive and
the Canons
of the
Church.
M. Charge.~~ 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."

~~Ahp's Re-
ply,
Laud's
Hist. p.
236, 237.~~ 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-

Parliament, 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 Particulars 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 discuss'd by Law, neither of which can be done by any Judges to an Act of Parliament. But however, if 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.

The Managers went on to the second Charge against ^{2d Charge,} the Archbishop, which was his Design to SUBVERT ^{Attempts} THE FUNDAMENTAL TEMPORAL LAWS OF THE ^{to set aside} KINGDOM, AND TO INTRODUCE AN ARBITRARY ^{the Laws.} GOVERNMENT AGAINST LAW AND THE LIBERTY ^{Of Ship-} OF THE SUBJECT. In Maintenance whereof they al- ^{Tonnage} ledged, " His illegal Pressures of Tonnage and Pound- ^{and Pound-} age. " age without Act of Parliament, Ship-Money, Coat ^{M. Charge.} " and Conduct Money, Soap-Money, &c. and his Com- " mitment of divers Persons to Prison for Non-Pay- " ment; for Proof of which there appeared, among " others, three Aldermen (*viz.*) Aldermen Atkins, " Chambers, and Adams."

The Archbishop confessed, that as to the Business ^{Abp's Re-} of Ship-Money, he was zealous in that Affair, but not ^{ply.} with an intent to violate the Law, for though this was ^{Laud's} before Judgment given for the King, yet it was after ^{Hist. p.} 232, 233, ^{the 234.}

King Charles I. 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. 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 Brewhouse 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 fifty Pounds for Non-compliance; and when he pleaded the Statute of the 39th of Eliz. the Archbishop replied, *Do you plead Law here? Either abide the Order, or take your Trial at the Star Chamber.* When Mr. Wakern had one Hundred 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."

Aby's Reply. This the Archbishop admitted, and replied to the rest, that he humbly and heartily thank'd God, that he was counted worthy to suffer for the Repair of St. Laud's H. p. 235, 244, 256.

King
Charles I.
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St. Paul's, which had cost him, out of his own Purse, above twelve Hundred Pounds. As to the Grievances complain'd 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 Council, 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 can't forbear to add (says the Archbishop) that the Bishop and Dean, and Chapter, did ill in giving way to these 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 Commission was no legal War-
rant for pulling down Houses, without 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 own'd 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 it 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

^{King Charles I. 1644.} in 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 we 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 Mens 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 imprison'd 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 prohibit 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 complain'd 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

many *Prohibitions* had been admitted in his Time as King Charles I. 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 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.

The Managers objected further; "The Archbi-
 "shop's taking undue Gifts, and among others, his ^{settled to}
 "receiving two Buts of Sack, in a Cause of some Che-
 "ster Men, whom it was in his Power to relieve, by
 "mitigating the Fine set on them in the High Com-
 "mission, 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 obtain'd from
 "the King, which took away all Opportunity from
 "his Majesty of doing Justice, and shewing Mercy
 "to his poor Subjects, and invested the Archbishop
 "with the final Determination."

His Grace heard this Part of his Charge with great ^{Abp's Re-} Resentment and Impatience. If I would have had ^{Abp's Re-} any Thing to do in the base, dirty Business of Bribe-
 ry (says he) I needed not be in such Want as I now am. As to the Sack, he protested, as he should an-
 swer it to God, that he knew nothing of it, and offer-
 ed

King Charles I. ed 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 disgrac'd, and protested he did not do it on the Account of the *Chester Business*, though after this he went home and put it on their Account ; for which they complain'd 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.

Commutation of Penance. 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 *Bread Seal* from the King, for applying them to Repairing the West End of St. Paul's, 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 pleas'd ; 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 Practice 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.

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 Rubick 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 Almigh- ty 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."

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 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

*Abp. Rep^y,
Laud's
Hist..*

*p. 318.
Prynne,*

p. 475.

King Charles I. 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.

Attempt to set up an Independent Power in the Clergy. 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 produced several Examples ; one was, the Archbishop's forbidding the Lord Mayor of the City of London to carry 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 Archbishop'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 Constable should meddle with Men in holy Orders. A fourth was, his calling

" some

" some Justices of Peace into the High Commission,
 " for holding the Sessions at Tewksbury 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 executing the Warrant of a Justice
 " of Peace upon an Ale-House-Keeper, contrary to
 " the Statutes of Jacob. 7. and Carol. 3."

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The Archbishop replied in general, that he never at- *Abb's Rec-*
tempted to bring the temporal Power under the Clergy, ply.
 nor to free the Clergy from being under it; but this *Laud's*
 he confess'd, that he had labour'd to preserve the *Hist. p.*
Clergy from some Lay-Men's Oppressions, for *287, 292.*
Vis Laica has been an old, and a just Complaint; and this I took to be my Duty (says he) assuring my self that God did not raise me to that Place of Eminency to sit still, and see his Ministers disconcerted 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 *Trea-*
son.

King Charles I. 1644. son. 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. Lastly, The Managers objected to the Archbishop; The Convocation's sitting after the Parliament was dissolved, contrary to Law; their imposing an Oath on the Subject, and their making sundry Canons, which had since been voted Article 5. 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 Property and Liberty of the Subject, and containing Matters tending to Sedition, and of dangerous Consequence."

Abp's Reply, Laud's Hist. p. 282. 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

though President of that Synod, so by me (says the King Charles I.
Archbishop) they were not made.

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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 ^{Remarks;} 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.

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 though he had set his Hand to them; because what is carried by a Majority ^{Laud's} is supposed to be the Act of the whole Body, and not of any ^{Hist.} particular Member. According to which way of Reasoning the Constitution 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

King Charles I. 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. 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 ESTABLISH’D 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. (I.) “ 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 Reformatory Cant. on, 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

p. 60, &c. 462.

" Christ raising Lazarus out of the Grave ; and of King
 " God himself raining down Manna from Heaven ; Charles I.
 " of God's giving the Law to Moses on Mount Sinai ; 1644.
 " of Fire descending from Heaven at the Prayer of
 " Elisha, 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 Cha-
 " pel at Lambeth, at Whitehall, and at the Univer-
 " sity 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 Al-
 " lowance ; nay, so zealous was this Prelate (say
 " the Managers) in defence of Images, that he pro-
 " cured 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 Sta-
 " tute of the 3d and 4th of Edward VI. and the In-
 " junctions of Queen Elizabeth, which enjoin, *All Pi-*
 " *Etures, Paintings, Images, and other Monuments of*
 " *Idolatry and Superstition to be destroy'd*, so as that
 " *there remain no Memory of them in Walls, Glass Win-*
 " *dows, or elsewhere, within any Church or House.*"

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 p. 311. 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. i. cap. 11. Sect. 12.* *Neque tamen ea Superstitione teneor ut nullas prorsus Imagines ferendas censeam, sed quia sculptura & pictura, Dei dona sunt, purum & legitimum utriusque*
 Abp's Answ. Laud's Hist. P. 462, 463, 479.

King Charles I. que usum requiro. The Archbishop appeal'd 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 Worship, 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,*

Ala-

Alabaster, or Earth, graven, carved, or painted, taken out of any Church, &c. shall be destroyed. So here is not a Word of Glass Windows, nor Images in them.

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 ancient Fathers agree, that they had none in their Churches. *La-* p. 463, *Eusebius* 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 latter Times, as our own Homilies expressly declare, *Peril of Idolatry*, Part II. p. 38. As for *Tertullian*, all that can be proved from him is, that those Heretics 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 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 Homilies 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 is 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

King Charles I. gers observed further, that the Archbishop had confess'd 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.

*Consecration
of
Churches
and Altars,
and Feasts
of Dedica-
tion.*

*M. Charge.
Prynne,
p. 114,
497.*

(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 perform'd 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 to the Judgment of Bishop Parker, and our first Reformers."

"They objected further, his consecrating of Altars, with all their Furniture, as Pattens, Chalices, Altar-Cloths, &c. even to the Knife that was to cut the sacramental Bread; and his dedicating the Churches to certain Saints, together with his proposing

" moting annual Revels, or Feasts of Dedication on King
 " the Lord's Day in several Parts of the Country, Charles I.
 " whereby that holy Day was profaned, and the Peo- 1644.
 " ple encouraged in Superstition and Ignorance."

The Archbishop answered to the *Consecration of Abp's An-*
Churches, that the Practice was as ancient as *Moses*, ^{sweer to the} *Conse-*
who consecrated the Tabernacle, with all its Vessels crating
and Ornaments; that the Temple was afterwards *churches*.
consecrated by King Solomon; that as soon as Chri- Laud's
stian Churches began to be built, in the Reign of Hist.
Constantine the Great, they were consecrated, as Eu- p. 339,
sebius 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 Prynne,
Churches were not consecrated they would not be p. 115.
holy; nor does Archbishop Parker speak against Con-
secrations in general, but against Popish Consecra-
tions, which mine were not (says the Archbishop)
for I had them from Bishop Andrews.

As to the Manner of consecrating *Creed-Church*, St. To Feasts of
Giles's, &c. his Grace confessed, that when he came Dedicati-
to the Church Door, that Passage in the Psalms was on.
read, Lift up your Heads, O ye Gates, even lift them up,
ye everlasting 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 Pontifi-
cal; that afterwards he pronounced 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 Fa-

King Charles I. thers, 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, 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.

To consecrating Altars and their Furniture.

Ib. p. 313.

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 it self 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 *Roman Pontifical*, but from Bishop *Andrews*.

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

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

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 it self, 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, ceremonial, and abolished by the Coming of Christ.

From the beginning of Christianity we have no Prynne, credible Authority for consecrating Churches for p. 501, 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

King Charles I. 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 Promoters of it ; and it is no where p. 1644. 116, 117. to be found but in the *Roman Pontifical*, publish'd by command of Pope *Clement VIII. De Ecclesiae Dedicazione*, 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.

Ib. p. 502. 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 it self, 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 mentioned; and though the Archbishop had not his Form of Consecration in the *Roman Pontifical*, he acknowledges, he had it in *Andrews*, who could have it nowhere else.

To consecrating Altars, Patens, Altar-Cloths, and other Altar Furniture; then there is no higher than the *Roman Missal* and *Pontifical*, both which there are particular Chapters, and set Forms of Prayer for this Purpose; but to imagine p. 65, &c. that these Vessels may not be reputed *Holy*, though 467, 470. 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 the Archbishop's Account of Feasts of 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.

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 or Revels, but were the Occasion of so much Idleness and Debauchery, that King Henry VIII. Ann. 1536. restrain'd them all to the first Sunday in October, not to be kept on any other Day; and afterwards, by the Statute 5 & 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 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,

King Charles I.
1644.

To Antiq. of Feasts of Dedication
Prynne,
p. 128.

King Day, we shall leave to your Lordships Consideration.
Charles I. 1644.

Antiq. of Altars, their Situation and Railings 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 Parishes 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 Linen 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 answered, that the placing the Communion Table at the East End of the Chancel was commanded by Queen Elizabeth'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

ons to Sir Nath. Brent, my Vicar-General, neither King by Letter, nor otherwise, to remove or rail in Com- Charles I: munion Tables in all Parish Churches; and I desire Sir Nath. may be called to testify the Truth upon his ¹⁶⁴⁴ Oath. Sir Nath. being sworn, the Archbishop asked p. 89. 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, otherwise 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.

SIR,

" I Require you to command the Communion Ta-
" ble at Maidstone to be placed at the East, or
" upper End of the Chancel, and there railed in,
" and that the Communicants 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 Metropolitically."

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

King Charles I. 1644. 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, *Antiq. of* and Ministers of the New Testament, *i Cor. ix. Altars, and Railing them in.* Christ himself celebrated the Sacrament at a Table, not at an Altar, and he calls it a Supper, *Prynne, p. 480, 481.* or Canon of the Church of England, that it is called an Altar more than once, *Stat. i Edward VI. cap. 1.* which Statute was repealed within three Years, and another made, in which the Word *Altar* is changed *Life of Bp. Williams.* 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 to their Situation. were set up in their stead, which continued till the Archbishop was pleas'd to turn' them again into Altars. But the Archbishop is pleased to maintain, that East Wall the Queen's Injunctions prescribe the Communion Table to be set in the Place where the Altar stood, and Chancel. was anciently at the East End of the Choir ; *Prynne, p. 482, 484.*

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 ^{Vide Bp.} *Jews and Christians*, stood anciently in the Midst of ^{Vide Bp.} *William's* their Churches or *Choirs* * ; where the People might ^{Life,} sit, stand, and go conveniently round them. So it ^{P. 109.} 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*, *Albanus*, *Augustine*, &c. affirm, that the Table of the Lord stood in the middle of the Chancel, so that they 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.

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 witbin the Chancel, as whereby the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the Communicants, and the Communicants may more conveniently, and in greater Numbers, commu-

* *Choir* or *Corus* has its Denomination from the Multitude standing round about the Altar [*in modum Corone*] 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.

King Charles I. nicate 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 encompas'd with Rails. ^{1644.} ~~the~~ ^{sides,} Prynne, p. 467, 481. 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 it self 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.

To their Furniture. 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.

Prynne, p. 63, 468. The like may be said of the *Credentia* [or Side-Table] which is taken expresly out of the *Roman Ceremonial and Pontifical*, and is used amongst the Papists only in their most soiemn 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

than the former, being enjoin'd by the *Roman Ceremoniale*, Ed. Par. 1633. lib. I. 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 gloriose 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 Particularavouring of Popish Superstition or Idolatry.

Another Innovation charged on the Archbishop, *Antiquity of Bowing*
 was his introducing divers Superstitions into divine *of Bowing*
Worship, as bowing towards the Altar, bowing at the towards
Name of JESUS, enjoining People to do Reverence at the Altar.
their Entrance into Church, reading the second Service Prynne,
at the Communion Table, standing up at the GLORIA p. 72, &c.
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 ; to-
gether with the above-mention'd Superstitions in
the Manner of divine Worship."

The Archbishop answered, that Bowing in divine *Alb's An-*
 Worship was practised among the Jews, 2 Chron. *swer.*
 xxix. 29. and the Psalmist says, *O come, let us wor-*
Laud's Hist. p.

King Charles I. 1644. *Ship, and bow down, let us kneel before the Lord our Ma-*
ker, Psal. xcv. 6. that it was usual in Queen Eli-
zabeth's Time; and, 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 whi-
ther I come to worship him? Surely I must worship
God, and bow to him, though neither Altar nor
Communion Table be in the Church.

Bowing at the Name of Jesus.

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 though 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 Cathedrals, and warranted by the Rubrick.

of Copes.

The Use of Copes is prescribed by the 24th Canon of 1603. which says, *That in all Cathedrals, and Collegiate Churches, the Communion shall be administer'd on principal Feast Days, sometimes by the Bishop if present, sometimes by the Dean, and sometimes by the Canon or Prebendary, 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.

Laud's Hist.
P. 504.

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.

Prynne,

p. 63, 64, 474, 477, 487. The Managers replied, that Bowing to the Altar is Popish, Superstitious, and Idolatrous, being prescribed

bed 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. 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.

The Archbishop confesses, that there is neither Canon nor Injunction for standing up at the *Gloria Patri*, ^{To the} *Gloria Patri* and ^{tri} which must therefore be an Innovation, and is of no ^{Bowing at} greater Antiquity than the Office of the Mass, for ^{the Name of Jesus.} 'tis derived from the *Ordo Romanus*, as appears from ^{of} the Works of Cassander, p. 98. And though Bowing ^{Prynne,} at the Name of ^{p. 64.} Jesus be mention'd in the Canons, yet these Canons are not binding, not being confirm'd 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

King
Charles I.
1644.

King Charles I. 1644. 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. 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, though used in some Cathedrals, where the Rubrick enjoins the Communion to be administer'd 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. 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 Popish Wardrobe, and the last Common-Prayer-Book of King Edward VI. expressly 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 administer'd 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 Chanting of Prayers*, of any great Antiquity, being first introduced by Pope Vitalian, and encouraged only by Popish Prelates.

To the University of Oxford. And though the Archbishop pleads, that the Statutes of Oxford are agreeable to ancient Custom and Usage, we affirm they contain sundry Innovations, not

not only with regard to the Liberty of the Subject, ^{King} but with regard to Religion, for *Latin Prayers* were ^{Charles I.} formerly said only on *Ash Wednesdays* before the ^{1644.} *Bachelors of Arts*, whereas now, none others are to be ^{Prynne,} said throughout all Lent; the Statute for singing p. 478. 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 Religion of the Church of England, they will be judged so in the highest degree.

Further they charged the Archbishop with advi-^{Book of}
sing the King “to publish his Declaration for the Use of ^{Sports.} Sports on the Lord’s Day, in order to suppress After-^{M. Charge.} noon Sermons; with obliging the Clergy of his ^{Prynne,} Diocese to read it in their Pulpits, and punishing ^{p. 128,} those that refused.” ^{156,} ^{382.}

The Archbishop answered, that he had the King’s ^{Abp’s An-} Warrant for printing the *Book of Sports*; that there is ^{swver.} no Proof that it was by his Procurement, nor that it ^{Laud’s} was done on purpose to take away *Afternoon Ser-*mons, since these Recreations are not allowed till ^{Hist. p.} 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 ^{343, 344.} observed strictly the *Lord’s Day*. What he enjoin’d about the Reading the Declaration was by his Majesty’s Command, and he did not punish above three or four for not reading it.

The Commons replied, that it was evident by the Managers’ ^{Reply,} Archbishop’s Letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, ^{Prynne,} that the Declaration was printed by his Procurement, ^{p. 505.} the Warrant for printing it being written all with his own Hand, and without Date, and therefore might probably be obtain’d afterwards; moreover, some of the Recreations mention’d in it are *unlawful* on the ^{Lord’s}

King Charles I. Lord's Day, according to the Opinion of *Fathers*,
1644. 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 Declaration for Sports has been read and published by the Minister?* 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 profaned, 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.

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,

nion, 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 *Communion*, &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.

The Managers went on next to the second Branch *Doctrinal Errors.* of their Charge, to prove the Archbishop's Design to subvert the Protestant Religion, By COUNTER-NANCING AND ENCOURAGING SUNDY, DOCTRINAL ERRORS IN FAVOUR OF ARMINIANISM AND POPERY.

And here they charged him, *First*, "With being Arminianism. the great Patron of that Part of the Clergy who M. Charge. 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. Mawaring, 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 transgres the King's Declaration were punished in the High

King Charles I.
1644.

King Charles I. 1644. " Commission, when their Adversaries were left at large to spread their Opinions at their Pleasure."

Abp's Answer.
Laud's Hist.
p. 352.
Prynne,
p. 529.

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 prov'd 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 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 confirm'd by many Proofs, tho' 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

Bene-

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.

The King's Declaration for prohibiting Preaching *Breaking* on the five controverted Points, was an Artifice of the Archbishop's, to introduce the *Arminian* Errors, *Prynne*, by preventing orthodox Ministers from awakening the Minds of People against them. And whereas he ^{on the five Points.} _{p. 172,} 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 imprison'd, 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, 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, *Harfnet* 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. " The Managers objected further to the Archbishop,
 1644. " that having obtained the sole Licensing of the
 Abuse of the Press " Press, by a Declaration 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
 by prohibiti. " ed, and sold by Authority, as the Geneva Bible
 M. Charge. " with Notes, Gillibrand's Protestant Almanack, in
 Prynne, " which the Popish Saints were left out of the Kalender, and Protestant Martyrs put in their Places ; that his Chaplains had refused to licence the
 p. 180, " Confession of Faith of the Palatine Churches, Fox's
 182, &c. " 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 Stationers 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
 By castrating them " 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
 Prynne, " the Charge, and among others, Dr. Feally, Dr. Clarke,
 p. 257, Dr. Jones, Mr. Ward, &c. It was said in particular,
 258, &c. " that he had expunged divers Passages which bore hard upon the Papists out of the Collection of publick Prayers for a general Fast against the Plague ; and that in the Prayer-Book appointed by Authority for the 5th of Nov. instead of Root out that babylonish and antichristian Sect, whose Religion is Rebellion, whose Faith is Faction, and whose Practice is murdering 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.

" And

“ And as the Archbishop had castrated some Books, because they refuted the Doctrines he would countenance ; so he gave full Licence to others, wherein the grossest Points of Arminianism and Popery were openly asserted ; as *Cosin's sing Popish Hours of Prayer, Sales's Introduction to a devout Life, Christ's Epistle to a devout Soul, and others,* in which the following Doctrines were maintain'd, (1.) The Necessity of Auricular Confession, and the Power of Priests to forgive Sins. (2.) The Lawfulness and Benefit of Popish Penance, as wearing Hair-Cloth, and other corporal Punishments. (3.) Absolute Submission to the Commands of Priests as Directors of Conscience. (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 present in the Eucharist ; and that there can be no true Sacrament or Consecration of it where there is no Altar. (5.) That Crucifixes, Images and Pictures, may be lawfully set up in Churches, and ought not to be remov'd. (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 preserved 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 Traditions of equal Authority with the Word of God.” To which were added sundry Articles of Arminian Doctrine, as of Free-Will, total and final Apostasy from Grace ; Examples of which the Managers produced from the several Authors.

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 p. 349.

^{King Charles I.}
^{1644.}

^{By licens-}

^{ing Books.}

^{Prynne,}

^{p. 188,}

^{202.}

King " the Statute of 3 Jacob. I. by which means many
 Charles I. " Thousands of them were dispers'd over the whole
 1644. " 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 Innovations. All which put together,
 " amount to no less than a Demonstration of the
 " Archbishop's Design to subvert our established
 " Religion, by introducing Doctrinal Arminianism
 " and Popery."

*Abp's An-
swer.
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 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 suppress'd 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) least the Book it self should be brought into disuse, and least 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.

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.

King Charles I.1644.

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 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 Durban, 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,

ManagersReply.Prynne,p. 515.

King Charles I. 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 licence any Thing without his Privity and Command.

1644. Besides, 'tis apparent, these Books were castrated by the Archbishop's Approbation, for otherwise he would have punished the Licensers, 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.

Prosecuting Puritans. The Managers went on to charge the Archbishop with his "severe Prosecution of those Clergymen who M. Charge. Prynne, p. 361, 362, &c. had dared to preach against the dangerous Increase " of *Arminianism* and *Popery*, or the late Innovati- " ons; they instanced in Mr. Chancry, Mr. Workman, " Mr.

" 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 ob-
 " jected further, *his suppressing Afternoon Sermons on*
 " *the Lord's Day,* and the laudable Design of buying
 " in Impropropriations, which was designed for the
 " encouraging such Lecturers." *ibid. 14. sri. o. v.*

The Archbishop answered, that the Censures past *Abp's An-*
 on the Ministers abovementioned was the *Act of the fwer.*
 High Commission, and not his ; but he confesses, *Laud's*
 their Sentences appeared to him just and reasonable, *Hist. p.*
 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 Plan-
 tations 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.

As to the *Suppressing Afternoon Sermons,* the Instru-
 ctions for turning them into catechizing was before *p. 388.*
 his Time, and he could not but approve of the De-
 sign, as a proper Expedient for preserving Peace be-
 tween 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 Impropropriations, 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,

King Charles I. King, and on all the Peers and Bishops of the King-dom 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.

M. Reply. 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 particular Person* that gives his *Vote for it*, and every individual 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 suffered 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.

Prynne, 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 level'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 Doctrine, or how Diligent soever in their Callings, and Pious in their Lives,

p. 370,

537, 538.

Lives, being reputed factious, schismatical, and unworthy of the least Employment in the Church. King Charles I.

As to the *Impropriations*, there was no Design in 1644. the Feoffees to render the Clergy independent on the Prynne, Bishops, for none were presented but conformable p. 537. Men, nor did any preach but such as were licensed 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 perceiv'd the Archbishop was bent on their Ruin, Mr. White went to his Grace, and promised to rectify any Thing that was amiss, if the Thing it self might stand. But he was determined to destroy it, and by his mighty Influence obtain'd a Decree, 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.

The last Charge of the Managers, was " his Recenci-
 " Grace's open Attempts to reconcile the Church of ^{ring the} Church of
 " England with the Church of Rome, as appears, England
 " First, By the Papal Titles he suffered the Univer- ^{with}
 " sities to give him in their Letters, as *Sanctitas ve-* Rome, and
 " *stra*, your Holiness ; *Sanctissima Pater*, most holy ^{assuming} Papal Ti-
 " Father ; *Spiritus sancti effusissime plenus*, full of the ^{Papal Ti-}
 " Holy Ghost ; *Summus Pontifex*, optimus maximusque discoura-
 " *in terris*, &c. Agreeably to this he assumed to give fo-
 " himself the Title of PATRIARCH, or Pope of Great ^{reign Pro-}
 " Britain, *Alterius Orbis Papa* ; which gave the *Rc-* testants.
 " manists such an Opinion of him, that they offered ^{M. Charge.} Ibid.
 " him twice a Cardinal's Hat ; though as Things p. 441.
 " then stood, he did not think it prudent to receive
 " it. But Sir H. Mildmay, and Sir N. Brent, swore,
 " that both at *Rome* and elsewhere, he was reputéd
 " 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

King Charles I. " 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 threatening those Pur-suivants 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."

Abp's Answer. To this long Charge the Archbishop answered some Things in general, in satirical 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 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 offered 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 cherished it, and endeavoured to accomplish it. (6.) I endeavoured to reconcile the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* ; ergo, I laboured to bring in Popery.

To the Particulars he answered 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. ^{King Charles I.} ~~An-~~^{1644.} ~~Augustine,~~ and others, and therefore not peculiar to the summing Pope; why then should so grave a Man as Mr. Brown ^{To his as-} ~~Papal Titles.~~ (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; ^{Laud's Hist. p. 383.} 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.

To the Objection, of the Church of *Rome*'s being ^{To the} a true Church, I confess my self of that Opinion, and ^{Church of} do still believe, that she never erred in Fundamentals, ^{Rome's being} for the Foundations of the Christian Religion are in ^{ing a true} ^{Church.} 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 the Church of England, who have the Honour to be capable of deriving their Calling from St. Peter, must deduce their Succession. She is there-

King Charles I. 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 my self 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.

To the Un-churching foreign Protestants. 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 Judgment 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 ancient 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

Prynne,
P. 556.

Laud's
Hist.
p. 374.
Prynne,
p. 540.

Ibid.
p. 378.

have done the Church of *England* so much harm as they have since done.

King Charles I.

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 responding 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 strongly pre-judiced ; 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 remember'd no such Thing.

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 intro-

M. Reply,
Prynne,

p. 543.

^{King Charles I. 1644.} ducing Popery, but to quite different Purposes. So that the Archbishop in these, and the other Particulars above-mentioned, 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 Answer summing up 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 Exorbitancies, nor find the least Fault with them. And though there be a Difference between papal Titles and 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.

And

Prynne,
p. 413.

And whereas the Archbishop had said, that it was not proved, that he 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, Whereas 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. 1633. for the Release of William Walgrave, deposed to be a dangerous seducing Priest, in these Words:

" 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.*

But the Archbishop's Memory frequently fail'd him on these Occasions.

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

King
Charles I.
1644.

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 Re-
conciling
the Church
of Eng-
land 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

her Infallibility. 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.

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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 our selves, is a sufficient Proof of the contrary. The Maxim that he cites from St. Jerome, *No Bishop, no Church*, is a plain perverting of P. 541. his Sense, for his Words are, *Ubi non est sacerdos, non est ecclesia*; but 'tis well known, that according to St. Jerome, 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.

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

To his countenanc-
ing Popish
Priests.

P. 448,
456, 552,
561.

King
Charles I.
1644.

The like has been proved of *Santa 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, 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 Prynne, p. Quibble, is an unanswerable Argument of his Affecti-
458, 448. on to the one beyond the other.

And Dis- The Managers produced six or eight Witnesses to countenan- prove the Archbishop's Discountenancing, and threa- cing their tening such as were active in apprehending Priests Prosecutors. and Jesuits. And though he would wash his Hands Prynne, p. 446. 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 Confident, 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

Count Rosetti, till driven away by the present Parliament.

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It has 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 Anti-christ; for the Duke of Buckingham was the Prince's Director, and himself acknowledged that he was the Duke's Confessor.

And as to the late Plots of Habernfield we have ^{To his Con-} own'd in our Evidences, that at first he discover'd it ^{cealing} to the King, because he imagined it to be a Plot of ^{Habern-} field's Plot. the Puritans, but when he found the Parties engaged ^{Prynne,} in it to be Papists, and among others, Secretary p. 564, &c. Windebank and Sir Toby Mathew, his own Creatures, he then concealed his Papers, call'd 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, 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.

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 endeavoured 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.

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 Hists. p. 412, 419.

Days 412, 419.

King Charles I. 1644. 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 complain'd 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 Mens 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, *Refertur ad universos quod publicé 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 King-
dom. (2.) Whether the Impeachment and Articles did contain such Certainties and Particularities as is re-
quired 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. Accord-ingly, October 11. the Archbishop being present at the Bar, Mr. Hearn proposed to argue these two ge-
neral Questions.

(1.) "Whether there be at this Day any other Tre-
son than what is enacted by the Statute of Edward 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 Treasons declared by that Law, or enacted by any subsequent Law?"

And for the clearing of both these he humbly in-
listed, 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 alledged against the Archbishop may be reduced, is not Treason 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 expressly contained, or declared in that, or some other Statute, but by Bill; from whence it will follow,

" that

King Charles I. 1644.

Points of Law de-bated.

Hist. P. 423.

P. 423.

Mr. Hearn's Argument.

Ibid. P. 424.

P. 425.

Ibid.

King Charles I. 1644. " that the Particulars charged against the Archbishop, being only *an Endeavour to subvert fundamental Laws*, are of so great Latitude and Uncertainty, that every Action not warranted by Law may be extended to Treason, though there is no particular Statute to make it so. If it be replied, that the Statute of 25 Edward III. takes notice of *compassing or imagining*, we answer, it confines it to the Death of the King; but an *Endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Realm*, is no determinate Crime by the Laws of England, but has been esteemed an Aggravation of a Crime, and has been usually join'd as the Result of some other Offence below Treason."

Ibid. p. 429. " 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. 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 Subjects to the Pope or See of Rome it shall be deem'd Treason; but we conceive this does not reach the Archbishop, because, (1.) He is charged only with an *Endeavour*, whereas 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 Statute it is reconciling any of his Majesty's Subjects to the See of Rome; now reconciling with, may as well be construed a Reducing Rome to England, as England to Rome.

" Thus, says Mr. Hearn, we have endeavoured to make it appear, that none of the Matters in any

" of

“ 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 apart, below Treason, they cannot be made Treason by putting them together.”

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These Arguments of the Archbishop’s Council stagger’d the House of *Lords* ; nor could the Managers for the Commons 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 question’d, and therefore the *Lords* deferr’d giving Judgment till the Commons thought fit to take another Method to obtain it.

Various are the Accounts of the Archbishop’s Behaviour on his Trial ; his Friends and Admirers flatter’d him beyond Measure, and said, that he perfectly triumphed over his Accusers ; and his Grace seems to be of the same Mind, when he tells us, that *all Laud’s Men magnified his Answer to the House of Commons, but Hist. be 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.

Censures of the Abp’s Behaviour.

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

*Hist. of his Life, Vol. I.**P. 50.**“ in*

King Charles I. " 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 an Appeal to the World; for if a Thing be true, 'tis no matter how full or defective the Proof is."

His Character of the Witnesses.

Laud's Hist.

p. 237.

ib. p. 417.

ib. p. 434.

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 perjur'd; that their Evidence was the Effect of Malice, Envy, and a Thirst after his Blood: Sometimes he threaten'd 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 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 Balfour, Sir Nath. Brent, Vicar General; sundry Aldermen of the City of London, and many excellent Divines, as Dr. Featly, Dr. Haywood the Archbishop's Chaplain, Mr. Dell his Secretary, Mr. Osbaldeston, and others, of an equal, if not superior Character. When his Grace was check'd at the Bar for

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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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*, Laud’s one of the ablest Lawyers of his Age; he lived to be Hist. the Father of his Profession; and when the Prince of P. 330. 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 it self. 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.”

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. 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

King Charles I. " by his Proceedings with me I found it exactly true."

^{1644.} Samuel Browne, 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!"

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 sought 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."

Such was the unhappy Spirit of this Prelate, who, though he had seen the violent Effects of his ill Counsels, and had been so long shut up, and so

Laud's
Hist.
P. 390.

Ib. p. 271.

" much at leisure to reflect 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 acknowledge his own Errors, nor mix any wise or pious Reflections upon the unhappy Steps he had made." It was, no doubt, a great Mortification to his high Spirit, to 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.

While the Proceedings against the Archbishop were *Petitions* at a stand, by reason of the Lords being dissatisfied, *for Justice* *Whether the Facts proved against him were Treason by him.* *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 summ'd 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. concerning the Archbishop's Trial, should be brought in to the Clerk of the Parliament,* which

King Charles I. 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 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-rul'd 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.

*His last
Speech.*

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*

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Charles I.
1644.

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 ransack'd every Corner of his Heart, he thanks God, that he has not found any of his Sins deserving 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 Sectaries 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 of the Laws of the Realm, nor any Change of the Protestant Religion into Popish Superstition; nor was he an Enemy to Parliaments.

In his last Prayer he desires that God would give ^{And Pray:} him Patience to die for his Honour, for the King's ser. Happiness, and the Church of England. He then prays for the Preservation of the King in his just Rights; for the Parliament in their ancient 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 ancient Laws, and other Liberties; and then, ha-

King Charles I. ving 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 Exuviae Gulielmi Laud, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, qui securi percussus Immortalitatem adiit, die x^o Januarii, Aetatis 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.

His Character.

Thus died Dr. WILLIAM LAUD, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan; some Time 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 twelfth of his Archepiscopal 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 Enterprizes. His Conduct was rash and precipitate, for according to Dr. Heylin, he attempt-

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ed 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.

King

Charles I.

1644.

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.

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

Diary,

p. 56.

King Charles I. 1644. 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, and so long at leisure to reflect on what had passed in the Hurry of Passion, in the Exaltation of his Prosperity, he does not in any one part of that great Work acknowledge 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

Hist. of his 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, suppressing the Walloon Privileges, breaking of Lectures, and encouraging of Sports on the Lord's Day, &c. His Severity in the Star Chamber, and in the High Commission Court; but above all his violent, and indeed inexcusable Injustice, in the Prosecution of Bishop Williams, were such visible Blasphemies, that nothing but the putting 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 superstitious 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 his Life, and Wharton by publishing his Vindication of himself."

“ self.” Mr. Rapin adds, “ Let the Archbishop’s King
 “ Favourers say what they please, he was one of the Charles I;
 “ chief Authors of the Troubles that afflicted Eng- 1644.
 “ land, First, By supporting with all his Might the Rapin,
 “ Principles of that arbitrary Power which the Court Vol. XII.
 “ strove for several Years to establish. Secondly, By p. 254.
 “ using too much Strictness and Rigidness in the Ob-
 “ servance of Trifles in divine Service, and in com-
 “ pelling every body to conform themselves there-
 “ to.” To which I would beg leave to add, that
 since nothing relating to the Doctrine or Discipline
 of the Church of England establish’d 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.*

The last, and most memorable Transaction of this ^{Treaty of} Year, was the Treaty of Uxbridge. His Majesty had ^{Uxbridge,} 1644. sent the two Houses sundry Propositions for Peace last Summer, which 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 ^{Whitlock,} delivered their Propositions, his Majesty received ^{P 114.} 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

King his Answer in writing sealed up ; and when they de-
Charles I. fired 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 Coun-
cil 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,

King's Ca- “ That his calling them a Parliament did not imply
bine open- “ his acknowledging them as such ; upon which Con-
ed. struction, and no other (says he) I called them,
Whitlock, “ as it is register'd in the Councils-Books, and if
p. 277. “ there had been but two of my Opinion (says the
“ King) I would not have done it.” In another in-
tercepted Letter to the Queen he tells her, “ He
“ could not prevail with his Parliament at Oxford to
“ vote those at Westminster no Parliament, but af-
“ sures her, he would not make Peace without her
“ Approbation, nor go one Jot beyond the Pa-
“ per she sent him.” In another the King in-
forms his Queen, “ That the Parliament were send-
“ ing him Propositions 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 determin'd by the Queen and
her Popish Council. Besides, his Majesty was un-
happily elevated at this Time by the Divisions at
Westminster, which produced the new Modeling the
Army ; and with a false and romantick Account of
the Successes of the Marquis of Montross in Scotland,
which were so magnified, that it was expected the
Scots must immediately march back into their own
Country ; whereas, in reality, they were not so con-
siderable,

siderable, as to oblige them to draw off a single Regiment.

King
Charles I.
1642.

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. 1642. and to continue twenty Days.

There were sixteen Commissioners for the King, *The Commissioners.* (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 Chiesly. These with their Retinue, to the Number of one Hundred and eight Persons, were included in the safe Conduct.

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 *Treaty before Prayer* on both Sides for a Blessing, but was interrupted by 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 *Mr. Love's with Hearts full of Blood,* and that there was as great a *Sermon.* *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

Dugdale's Treaty of Uxbridge,
p. 764.

" (says

King " (says he) go on in their wicked Practices, and we Charles I. " keep to our Principles, we may as soon make Fire
 1645. " 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 '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
 " Damnation." Though there might be some
 Truth in what the Preacher said, yet these Expressions were unbecoming a private Person in so nice a
 Conjunction; he was therefore confined to his House during the Treaty, and then discharged.

Rapin,
p. 278.

It was too evident, that neither Party come 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

that after three Years they should be in a worse Condition than before the War ; they therefore proposed, that the Parliament should name the Commissioners for seven Years, and then to be settled as the King and Parliament should agree, or else to limit their Nomination to three Years after the King and Parliament should declare the Kingdom to be in a settled 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.

As to Ireland, the King's Commissioners justified his Majesty's Proceedings in the Cessation, and in sending for the 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 replied, " 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 rebellious Subjects to their Duty and Obedience." Admirable Arguments to induce the Parliament to put the Sword into the King's Hands !

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 ;

King Charles I. ^{1644.} missioners; as did Mr. *Henderson* behind those of the Parliament. The Assistant Divines were present in Places appointed for them, opposite to each other.

King'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 Government, but likewise I hold my self 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 Property, I can't suffer any Diminution or Alienation of it, it being, without peradventure, Sacrilege, and Likewise contrary to my Coronation Oath; but whatsoever shall be offered for rectifying Abuses, if any have crept in, or for the Ease of tender Consciences, (provided the Foundation be not damaged) I am content to hear, and willing to return a gracious Answer. 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

firming 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 Presbyterial Government.

“ That the Church be governed by Congregational, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies, in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.

“ That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of Provincial 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. 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 now the Question was not, whether the Government of the Church by Bishops was lawful, but whether it was so necessary that Christianity

King Charles I.
1644.

*Mr. Hen-
derson's
Speech a-
gainst Bps.*

Clar.

Vol. II.

p. 584.

King " Christianity could not subsist without it? — That this
 Charles I. " latter Position could not be maintain'd in the Affir-
 1644. " mative, without condemning all other reformed
 " Churches in Europe. — That the Parliament of
 " England had found Episcopacy a very inconvenient
 " and corrupt Government — That the Hierar-
 " chy had been a publick Grievance from the Re-
 " formation downwards — That the Bishops had
 " always abett'd Popery, had retained many super-
 " stitious Rites and Customs in their Worship and
 " Government; and over and above had lately
 " brought in a great many Novelties into the Church,
 " and made a nearer Approach to the *Roman Com-*
 " *union*, to the great Scandal of the Protestant
 " Churches of *Germany, France, Scotland, and Hol-*
 " *land*. That the Prelates 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 Alter-
 " ration was the best Expedient to unite all Pro-
 " testant Churches, and extinguish the Remains of
 " Popery — He hoped therefore the King
 " would concur in so commendable and godly an
 " Undertaking; and conceived his Majesty's Con-
 " science could not be urged against such a Compli-
 " ance, because he had already done it in *Scotland*;
 " nor could he believe that Episcopacy was absolute-
 " ly necessary to the Support of the Christian Re-
 " ligion."

Dr. Steward, Clerk of the King's Closet, address-
Steward's Reply. sing himself to the Commissioners, replied, " He
 " knew their Lordships 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 Opinion,
" that a Government, which from the first Planting
" of Christianity in *England* had continued without
" Interruption ; that a Government under which
" Christianity had spread and flourished to a remark-
" able Degree, could have nothing Vicious or Anti-
" christian 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
" Concurrence, would have endeavoured to prove
" the Unlawfulness of that Government they pressed
" so strongly to remove — But though in their Ser-
" mons and Prints they gave Episcopacy an Anti-
" christian Addition, Mr. Henderson had prudently
" declined charging so deep, and only argued from
" the Inconveniences of that Government, and the
" Advantages which would be consequent on an Al-
" teration — Forasmuch as an Union with the Pro-
" testant Churches abroad was the chief Reason for
" this Change, the Doctor desired to know what fo-
" reign 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 upon a Censure of
" those Communions, yet it was well known that
" the most learned Men of those Churches had la-
" mented a Defect in their Reformation ; and that
" the want of Episcopacy was an unhappy Circum-
" stance — 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 proceeded to en-
" large upon the Apostolical Institution of Episco-
" pacy, and endeavoured to prove, that without
" Bishops the sacerdotal Character could not be con-

King
Charles I.
1647.

King Charles I. "veyed, nor the Sacraments administred to any Significancy.

^{1645.} "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 furer in this Kingdom 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 Commissioners, 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 Presbyterian Government, as that which had the only claim to a divine Right. Upon which the Marquis of Hertford spoke to this Effect.

My Lords,

HERE is much said concerning Church Government 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 whatsoever to be *Jure Divino*; and I desire we may leave this Argument, and proceed to debate on the particular Proposals.

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

strongly opposed by Mr. *Henderson*, Mr. *Marshall*, King Charles I.
and Mr. *Vines*, and very learnedly replied to by his Majestys Divines, who severally declared their Judgments upon the Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy; but neither Party were convinced or satisfied. 1644.

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 Differences in Matters of Religion, and procuring a blessed Peace, they were willing to consent,

- (1.) "That Freedom be left to all Persons, of what King's
"Opinion soever, in Matters of Ceremony, and Concessions:
"that all the Penalties of the Laws and Customs Rushw.
"which enjoin those Ceremonies be suspended. p. 872, 818.
- (2.) "That the Bishop shall exercise no Act of Dugdale;
"Jurisdiction or Ordination, without the Consent P. 780.
"and Counsel of the 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 Majesty to attend him on any Occasion, and that (if he be not hinder'd by the Infirmities of old Age, or Sicknes) he preach every Sunday in some Church within his Diocese.
- (4.) "That the Ordination of Ministers shall be always in a publick and solemn Manner, and very strict Rules observed concerning the Sufficiency, and other Qualifications of those Men who shall be received into holy Orders, and the Bishops shall not receive any into holy Orders, without the Approbation and Consent of the Presbyters, or the major Part of them.

King Charles I. “
1644: “ (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 Impropriations, and according to the Value of those Impropriations of the several Parishes.

(6.) “ That for Time to come no Man shall be capable of two Parsonages or Vicarages, with Cure of Souls.

(7.) “ That towards settling the publick Peace, one hundred Thousand Pounds shall be raised by Act of Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, 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, Decimal, 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 Excommunications, and all other Abuses in the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in such manner as shall be agreed upon by the King and both Houses of Parliament.

“ And if your Lordships shall insist upon any other Thing, which your Lordships shall think necessary for Reformation, we shall very willingly apply our selves to the Consideration thereof.” But they absolutely refused their Consent to the main Points (*viz.*) the abolishing Episcopacy, establishing the Directory, confirming the Assembly of Divines, and taking the Covenant.

Remar's. Mr. Rapin observes upon the first of these Concessions, that since the penal Laws were not to be abolished,

lished, 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.

The Commissioners for the Parliament replied to these Concessions, that they were so many new Positions, 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 pass'd, 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.

The King's Commissioners deny, that their Objections against passing the Bill for abolishing Episcopacy have been answer'd, or that they had received any Satisfaction in those Particulars, and therefore cannot consent to it.

The Parliament Commissioners add, that after so long a 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.

King Charles I.
1642.

*Parliament's
Reply.*
Dugdale,
p. 883.

King Charles I. " 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 Interruption or Interruption, and is therefore *Jure Divino.*"
1642.

Dugdale, " 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 prov'd."
p. 788.

Ib. p. 790, " 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 Inconveniences of that Government are remedied by the Alterations which they had offer'd. 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.
§ 78.

Remarks upon them. The abovementioned Concessions would surely have been a sufficient Foundation for Peace, if they had been made twelve Months sooner, before the Scots had been call'd 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 hinder'd the Success of the Treaty; his Words are these, " The Parliament

Clar.
p. 581.

" took

“ took none of the Points of Controversy less to King
 “ heart, or were less united in any Thing than in Charles I.
 “ what concern’d the Church ; the Scots would have 1645.
 “ given up every Thing into the Hands of the King Clar.
 “ for their beloved Presbytery ; but many of them, 1645.
 “ 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 pre-
 vail with the King to give them Security, and divide
 the Parliament, or put an End to the War.

The last Day of the Treaty the Parliament conti- *Treaty*
 nued sitting till nine of the Clock at Night, in hopes *breaks up*
 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 Propo-
 sitions they broke up without doing any Thing in the
 Business. Each Party laid the Blame upon the other ;
 the King’s Commissioners complain’d, that the Par-
 liament 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.

Bishop Burnet in the History of his Life and Times, *Reasons of*
 says, that Lord Hollis, who was one of the Cominiſſit.
 sioners, 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 Ma-
 “ jesty to put such Limitations on his Commissioners
 “ as made the whole Design miscarry.”

King Charles I. 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 prevail'd with, and appointed next Morning to sign a Warrant to that Purpose, but that Montrois's romantick Letter, of his Conquest in Scotland, coming in the mean Time, made the unhappy King alter his Resolution.

Remarks. 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 Parliament, 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. 1645. 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 against Roman Ca- " tholicks it will discourage them from serving you ; " nor can you expect Relief from any Roman Cat- " holic 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 Catholicks." 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

Rapin,
p. 275.

" ad.

“ adhering to the Bishops, and all our Friends — ” King
March 5. “ I give thee Power in my Name, to de- Charles I.
 “ clare to whom thou thinkest fit, that I will take ^{1645.}
 “ away all the penal Laws against the *Roman Ca-* Rushw.
 “ *tholicks in England,* as soon as God shall make Vol. V.
 “ me able to do it, so as by their Means, Ip. 942,
 “ may have so powerful Assistance as may deserve ^{944, 946;}
 “ so great a Favour, and enable me to do it ^{947.}

As for *Ireland*, his Majesty had already commanded the Duke of *Ormond*, by his Letter of *Feb. 27.* to make Peace with the Papists, cost what it would.

“ If the suspending *Poynings’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 ^{lb. p. 712.}
 “ Assistance they have promised I will consent to the ^{978.}
 “ Repeal by Law.”

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 remembers, and which he would not alter. When the Treaty was ended he writes thus to the Queen, *March 13.* “ Now is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless End of this Treaty — Now if I do any ^{Rapin,} Thing unhandsome to my self or my Friends it will ^{p. 283.} 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 ^{Claren.} Ascendant over the King, and his Majesty’s servile ^{Vol. III.} Attachment to her imperious Dictates ; the Fate of ^{p. 364.} 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 destroyed

King Charles I. 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.

E. of Glamorgan's Treaty with the Irish, Rushw. Vol. VI. p. 239, &c. King 1644. 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 yield 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 on 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,

quently, to whose Account the Calamities of the King War, and the Confusions that followed after this Charles I; Time ought to be placed. 164².

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 Impropropriations, 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 plunder'd Ministers. He died Jan. 29. and was buried in the Temple Church^{Mem;} p. 122.



C H A P. 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.

King
Charles I.
1645.
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 preserve the GENERAL, and not only disappoint the Designs of the Enemies to Monarchy, but soon be in Circumstances to enable his Majesty to recover all he should part with. However, the Commissioners look'd 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.

E. of Essex
removed,
and the Ar-
my new
modell'd.

The House of Commons had been dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Earls of Essex and Manchester last Summer, as tending to lengthen out the War, least one Party should establish it self 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

Civil or Military, during the present War ; accordingly the Ordinance commonly called the SELF DENYING ORDINANCE was brought 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 dismissed 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 nodell'd Army ; but their Courage quickly revenged the Contempt.

Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX was a Gentleman of no character quick Parts or Elocution ; but religious, faithful, valiant, and of a grave, sober, resolved 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.

When the old Regiments were broken the Chap- lains 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

King Charles I;
1645.

Rise of Eng-
thusiasm in the
Army.

King Charles I. 1645. fessed 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 Régiments, 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 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 becoming taking 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 Naseby he admits, great Numbers of the Officers and Soldiers were sober and orthodox; and from the little Good which he did whilst Baxter's Life, p. 51, 56. 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.

Their strict Discipline. The new modell'd Troops were kept under the strict Discipline, Commissioners being appointed to take

take Care that the Country was not oppressed ; that no ^{King} Soldiers were quarter'd 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 compell'd to furnish more Provisions than they were able and willing to spare, under the severest Penalties ; whereas the Royal Army haying no regular Pay, lived upon the Plunder of those Places that had the Misfortune to receive them.

May 30. the King took the Town of *Leicester* ^{Progress of} by Storm, with a very great Treasure, which the ^{the King's} Country People had brought thither for Security, Forces. but his Soldiers divided the Spoil and treated the Inhabitants in a most cruel and unmerciful Manner ; ^{Mem.} After this Conquest, his Majesty writ to the Queen, ^{P. 140.} that his Affairs were never in so hopeful a Posture since ^{144.} 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 Ordinance* 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, 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*.

The Battle began about ten in the Morning, ^{Battle at} and ended about three or four in the Afternoon, *Naseby*. 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 ²²² four.

King fourteen Thousand on a Side, but the Parliament
 Charles I. Soldiers were better disciplin'd, and fought with all
 1645. 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 Be-
 ginning 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
 Whitl.
 p. 145.
 Clarend.
 Vol. II.
 p. 658.
 courageous 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 Ma-
 ster 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 imme-
 diately to the Battel, and with his victorious
 Troops charged the Royal Infantry in Flank, and
 drove them entirely out of the Field. The Parlia-
 ment 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 af-
 terwards 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 Bri-
 stol ; but the Parliament Forces pursued their Victo-
 ry with such Eagerness, and marched with that rapid
 Swiftness over the whole West of England, to the very
 Land's End, that in a few Monthes all the Royal For-
 ces

ces were dispersed, and his Majesty's Garrisons surrendered'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.

King
Charles I.
1645.

To return to the Affairs of the Church. When it ^{Parlia-}
is recollect'd what great Numbers of Clergymen had ^{ment's}
deserted to the King, or were otherwise dissatisfied ^{Care for a}
with the new Terms of Conformity, we must con- ^{regular}
clude it very difficult to supply the vacant Pulpits ^{Clergy.}
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 ordain'd, April 26. " That no Person shall be permitted ^{Husb. Col.}
" to preach who is not ordained a Minister in this or ^{p. 645.}
" some other reformed Church, except such as intend
" the Ministry who shall be allowed for the Trial of
" their Gifts, by those that shall be appointed there-
" unto by both Houses of Parliament; and it is eas-
" nestly desired, that Sir Tho. Fairfax take care, that
" this Ordinance be put in Execution in the Army.
" It is further ordered to be sent to the Lord Mayor,
" and Committee of the Militia in London; to the
" Governors and Commanders of all Forts, Garri-
" sons, Forces, Cities and Towns, with the like In-
" junction; and the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Justices

King Charles I. " of the Peace, are to commit all Offenders to safe Custody, and give Notice to the Parliament, who
 1645. " will take a speedy Course for their Punishment."

Directory for 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 *Erasians* and *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.

Rushw. Part IV. Vol. I. p. 212. The Ordinance sets forth; " That whereas the Words *Presbyter* and *Bishop* do in Scripture signify the same Function, though the Title of *Bishop* has been, by corrupt 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 Presbyters*, is an Institution of Christ, it is therefore ordained by the Lords and Commons, with the Advice of the Assembly of Divines at Westminister, that the several and respective Classical Presbyters within their respective Bounds may examine, approve, and ordain Presbyters, according to the following Directory," which I have placed in the Appendix, and is in Substance as follows:

First, " The Person to be ordained must apply to the Presbytery, with a Testimonial of his taking the Covenant, of his Proficiency in his Studies," &c.

Second-

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 Appendix.

" After Examination he shall receive a publick Testimonial from his Examiners, which shall be read publickly before the People, and then fix'd to the Door of the Church where he preaches for Approbation, with Liberty to any Person or Persons to make Exceptions.

" Upon the Day of Ordination a solemn 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 there is to be an Exhortation to Minister and People, and the whole Solemnity to conclude with a Psalm and a Prayer.

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 re-formed 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 Ministers concerned, and of the Time and Place where they were settled. No Money or Gift whatsoever shall be received from the Person ordained, or from any on his Behalf, for his Ordination, or any Thing relating to it, except for the Instruments or Testimonials, which shall not exceed ten Shillings.

Lastly, It is ordained, " That all Persons ordained according to this Directory, shall be for ever reputed and taken, to all Intents and Purposes, for lawfully, and sufficiently authorized Ministers of the Church of England, and as capable of any ministerial

King Charles I.
1645.

King Charles I. "Employment in the Church, as any other Presbyter already ordained, or hereafter to be ordained." *1645.*

Debates upon it. To give a short Specimen of the Debates upon this Ordinance; when the Passage in *Timothy*, of *Laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery* was voted a full Proof for Presbyters ordaining without a Bishop, Mr. *Selden*, *Lightfoot*, 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 Independents.

Grand Debate,
p. 185.

The *Independants* argued for the Right of every particular Congregation to ordain its own Officers; this was debated ten Days; the Arguments on both Sides were afterwards published by Consent of the several Parties, in a Book, entitled, *The grand Debate between Presbytery and Independency*. At length the Question being put, That it is requisite no single Congregation that can conveniently associate with others, should assume to it self the sole Right of Ordination, it was carried in the Affirmative, but the following Independant Ministers enter'd their Dissent.

<i>Tho. Goodwin,</i>	<i>William Bridge,</i>
<i>Phil. Nye,</i>	<i>William Greenhill,</i>
<i>Jer. Burroughs,</i>	<i>William Carter.</i>
<i>Sidrach Simpson,</i>	

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

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.

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 Com-promise 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 particular 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 Conveyance of Office-Power.*

It might seem absurd to begin the Reformation of *Power of the Church*, with an Ordinance appointing *Classical Ordination* *Presbyters* to ordain Ministers within their several ^{given to} _{the Assembly} Bounds, when there was not as yet one *classical Presbytery* in all *England* ; but the Urgency of Affairs re-tempore. required it ; the Scarcity of Ministers would not suffer a *Vide App. Delay till the whole Fabrick of Presbytery was erected.* N^o III. ^{p. ult.}

King Charles I. ed; 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 the Assembly. 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 Institution; 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 Presbyterian Government. The Debate lasted thirty Days; the Erastians did not except against the Presbyterian 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. “ 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 “ ob-

" observed you to be most capable to give Satisfaction
 " on 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.

King
Charles I.
1645.

" By Government all Men understand the prudent
 " and well ordering of Persons and Affairs, that Men
 " may live well and happily ; and by the Govern-
 " ment of the Church, the ordering and ruling of Per-
 " sons and Matters having Relation to the Worship
 " of God in spiritual Matters.

" The Word *Presbyter* was in great Honour among
 " the Jews, being given to the Members of their
 " great Sanhedrim, and therefore is not now so pro-
 " perly to be attributed to the Rulers of every small
 " Congregation. I am none of those, Mr. *Prolocu-*
tor, who except against the Presbyterian Govern-
 " ment ; I think it has a good Foundation, 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, Whether it be now requisite for you to de-
 "clare, that it is so ?

" If the Meaning be, that it is *Jure Divino Eccle-*
siaستico, then the Question will be raised, of the
 " Magistrates imposing Forms upon Mens Consci-
 " ences, 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 Govern-
 " ment is *Jure Divino*, but that in general, all
 " Things must be done Decently, and in Order.
 " A Government is certainly *Jure Divino*, but whe-
 " ther Presbytery, Episcopacy, Independency, or
 " any other Form of Government be *Jure Divino*, 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.

King Charles I. " 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 Opinion 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 Government 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 cloth your Question?

* And I hope you may soon have a desired Issue."

Mr. Selden and St. John were of this Mind; 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 Independents. 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, &c. 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

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 together 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 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.

To remove these Difficulties the Presbyterians maintained, That the Church of Jerusalem was made up ^{Puritans} of more Congregations than one, as appeared from the ^{Reply.} Grand Multitude of Disciples mentioned in divers Places ; ^{Debate,} — from the many Apostles and Teachers in the p. 41. Church

King Charles I. 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.

Subordination of Synods. 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 reads thus, *Qui non obedi- verit 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

*Lighthf.
Rem.
p. 17.*

of

of inferior Courts went up to Jerusalem by way of Appeals it was only for Advice and Consultation; but when the Question was put, Dec. 12, for a Sub-ordination of Synods 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 Vide App. 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 Officers the reformed Churches generally call ELDERS.”

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 obscure, 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.

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,

^{King Charles I.}
1645.

^{Nº III.}
Chapter of Ch. Govern-
ment.

Complaints
of the In-
depend-
dants.

the Era-
stians.

King Charles I. 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 Right lost should stand thus, *That it is LAWFUL AND AGREEABLE in the H. of TO THE WORD OF GOD, that the Church be governed by Congregational, Clasical and Synodical Assemblies.*

Several Petitions to 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 Congregations ; and immediately appointed a Committee to enquire into the Rise of these Petitions.

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, prevail'd with the Lord Mayor and Court of Alderman to go at their Head, Jan. 16. with an Ad-

Vol. Pamp. dress, " For a speedy Settlement of Church-Government, according to the Covenant, and that no
N^o 34. p. 3. " Tole-

“ Toleration might be given to Popery, Prelacy, King
 “ Superstition, Heresy, Profaneness, or any Thing Charles I.
 “ contrary to sound Doctrine, and that all private As-
 “ semblies might be restrain’d.” The Lords thank’d
 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 Pres-
 byterian Cause.

But the fiercest Contention between the Assembly *of the Keys*, which *Power of the Keys in Excommunication.*
 and Parliament arose upon the *Power of the Keys*, which the former had voted to be in the Eldership or Pres-
 bytery, in these Words, “ The Keys of the King-
 dom of Heaven were committed to the Officers of Vid. App.
 the Church, by virtue whereof they have Power N° III.
 respectively to retain and remit Sins, to shut the Chapter of Cong. As-
 Kingdom of Heaven against the Impenitent both sembly.
 by the Word and Censures, and to open it to the
 Penitent by Absolution, and to prevent the Profa-
 nation of the Holy Sacrament by notorious and ob-
 stinate Offenders, the said Officers are to proceed
 by Admonition, Suspension from the Sacrament
 of the Lord’s Supper for a Season, and by Excom-
 munication 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 Appoint-
 ment.

The *Independants* claimed a like Power for the Brother. *The Inde-*
pendants of every particular Congregation, but without any civil Sanctions or Penalties annexed; the *Erastians* were *Opinion.*
 for laying the Communion open, and referring all Crimes to the Civil Magistrate. When the Question therefore came into Debate in the House of Commons, the Learned Mr. Selden delivered his Opinion against all Suspensi- *And Selden’s*
 ons and Excommunications to this Effect, “ That for four Rushw.
 Thousand Years there was no Law to suspend Per. p. 203.
 “ Sons

King Charles I. " sons from religious Exercises. Strangers, indeed, were kept from the Passover, but they were Pagans, and not of the Jewish Religion. The Question 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 Sinner; 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 appears, that Excommunication is an human Invention, taken from the Heathens."

And Whit. 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 Presbyterian Congregation, the Pastors and ruling Elders may have the Power of Excommunication, and of Suspending 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 Congregation as shall be chosen for the Execution of Government 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

King

Charles I.

1645.

“ ’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 produce a Commission for another to be Judge thereof. But it is said, that Ruling Elders are to be joined with the Pastors; now, in some Country Villages and Congregations, perhaps, they may not be very learned, and yet the Authority 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, *Seigneur*, 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 substantial 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 Excommunication be given them they may challenge the Title of Elders in the highest Signification.

Power is desired to be given to suspend from the Sacrament two Sorts of Persons, the Ignorant and, Scandalous; now ’tis possible, that they who are judged to be Competent in one Place may be deemed Ignorant in another; however, to keep them from the Ordinances is no way to improve their Knowledge. Scandalous Persons are likewise to be suspended, and this is to be left to the Discretion of the Pastors and Ruling Elders; but where have

King Charles I. " have they such a Commission ? Scandalous Sinners should be admonished to forsake their evil Ways, 1645. " and amend their Lives ; and how can this be done. " better, than by allowing them to hear good Sermons, and partake of the holy Ordinances. A Man may be a good Physician though he never cuts 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 sufficient 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 Pastors of Churches had not Power to keep unworthy Communicants 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 Communion ? 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 Octo. 20. 1645. together with certain Provisos of their own.

Ordinance for Suspension and Excommunication. 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 no others.

King

Charles I.

1645.

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 doth'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 in him, for the Remission
" of Sins, and Life everlasting.
5. — " The Necessity of sincere Repentance, and
" a holy Life, in order to Salvation.
6. — " The Nature and Importance of the two
" Sacraments, especially of the Lord's Supper.
7. — " That the Souls of the Faithful do imme-
" diately live with Christ after Death ; and the Souls
" of the Wicked immediately go to Hell.
8. — " The Resurrection of the Body, and a final
" Judgment."

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 Con-
" fession ; that is to say,

1. " All Blasphemers against God, his holy Word
" or Sacraments.
2. " Incestuous Persons.
3. " Adulterers.
4. " Fornicators.
5. " Drunkards.
6. " Profane Swearers and Cursers.
7. " Murderers.

- King Charles I. " 8. " Worshippers of Images, Crosses, Crucifixes,
or Relicks.
1645. " 9. " All that make Images of the Trinity, or of
any Person thereof.
- " 10. " All religious Worshippers of Saints, An-
gels, or any meer Creature.
- " 11. " Such as declare themselves not to be in Chari-
ty with their Neighbours.
- " 12. " Such as challenge others to a Duel, or that
shall accept such Challenge.
- " 13. " Such as knowingly shall carry a Challenge
either by Word, Message, or Writing.
- " 14. " Such as profane the Lord's Day by Dan-
cing, playing at Cards or Dice, or any other
Game; or that shall on the Lord's Day use Mask-
ing, Wakes, Shooting, Bowling, playing at
Foot-Ball, or Stool-Ball, Wrestling; or that shall
resort to Plays, Interludes, Fencing, Bull-Bait-
ing, or Bear-Baiting; or, that shall use Hawk-
ing, Hunting, Coursing, Fishing, or Fowling;
or, that shall publickly expose any Wares to sale,
otherwise than is provided by the Ordinance of
April 6. 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 himself, or another.
- " 16. " Such Parents as give their Consent to mar-
ry their Children to Papists; and such as do them-
selves marry a Papist.
- " 17. " Such as consult for Advice, Witches, Wi-
zards, or Fortune-Tellers.
- " 18. " Such as assault their Parents, or any Magi-
strate, Minister, or Elder, in the Execution of
his Office.
- " 19. " Such as shall be legally attainted of Barre-
try, Forgery, Extortion, or Bribery."

“ And the several Elderships shall have Power ^{King}
 “ to suspend all MINISTERS who shall be duly con- ^{Charles I.}
 “ victed of any of the Crimes abovementioned from
 “ giving or receiving the Lord’s Supper. ^{1645.}

“ Persons suspended by one Congregation shall
 “ not be admitted to the Sacrament by another,
 “ without Certificate from that Congregation of which
 “ he was a Member. But in all Cases of Suspen-
 “ sion, if the Party suspended shall manifest his Re-
 “ pentance before the Eldership by whom he was
 “ suspended, he shall be re-admitted to the Lord’s
 “ Supper, and the Suspension taken off.”

But then follow the Proviso’s, which stripp’d the Presbyteries of that *Power of the Keys* which they were reaching at.

Provided always, “ That if any Person find him- ^{Parlia-}
 “ self aggrieved with the Proceedings of the Presby- ^{ment’s}
 “ tery to which he belongs, he may appeal to the ^{Proviso’s.}
 “ Classical Eldership ; from them to the Provincial
 “ Assembly ; from them to the National ; and from
 “ them TO THE PARLIAMENT.

’Tis further provided, “ That the Cognizance and
 “ Examination of all capital Offences shall be reser-
 “ ved entire to the Magistrate appointed by the
 “ Laws of the Kingdom, who, upon his commit-
 “ ting the Party to Prison, shall make a Certificate
 “ to the Eldership of the Congregation to which
 “ they belong’d, who may thereupon suspend them
 “ from the Sacrament.

“ The Presbytery or Eldership shall not have
 “ Cognizance of any Thing relating to Contracts,
 “ Payments, or Demands ; or of any Matter of
 “ Conveyance, Title, Interest, 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.

King Charles I. 1645. " And 'tis further ordained, That those Members of Parliament who are Members of the Assembly of Divines, or any seven of them, shall be a standing Committee, to consider of such other Offences or Scandals not mentioned in this Ordinance, which may be conceived 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 dissenting. 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 *Erasian 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. 174 $\frac{1}{2}$. which enacts,

" That an Appeal shall lie from the Decisions of every Classis to the Commissioners chosen by Parliament out of every Province, and from them to the Parliament it self. That if any Person commit any scandalous Offences not mentioned in the Ordinance, the Minister may forbear to administer

" ster

“ After the Sacrament to him for that Time ; but then
 “ he shall, within eight Days, certify the same to King
 “ the Commissioners, who shall send up the Case, Charles I.
 “ with their Opinions, to the Parliament, by whose
 “ Determination the Eldership shall abide.” 1645.

This Ordinance of Suspension from the Sacrament was extorted from the two Houses before the Time, by the importunate Solicitations 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.

It was then ordained, 1. “ That there be forth- *Ordinance*
 “ with a Choice of [Ruling] Elders throughout the *for erect-*
 “ Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*. *ing Pres-*
 “ *byteries.*

2. “ That publick Notice be given of such Ele- *Rushw.*
 “ ction in every Parish, by the Minister of the Vol. V.
 “ Church, a Fortnight before ; and that on the p. 226.
 “ 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 Congrega-
 “ tion, or the major Part of them then assembled,
 “ being Heads of Families, 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 deter-
 “ mine the Validity of Elections. 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
 “ Congregation, and that in the Parish where he
 “ lives.

6. “ The Qualifications of a Ruling Elder are,
 “ that he be of good Understanding in Religion,

King Charles I. " found in the Faith, prudent, discreet, grave, of
1645. " 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 continue free for the Exercises of Religion, according to the Directory, but not otherwise.

8. " The Province of *London* shall be divided into twelve Classical Elderships, each to contain about twelve Parishes 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 appointed by Parliament for this Purpose, who shall settle the Boundaries of each Clasis, 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 Assembly within the Province shall send two Ministers, and four Ruling Elders at least, but not to exceed 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.

King

Charles I.
1645.

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 be settled at once, but that there will be need of Supplements and Additions, and perhaps Alterations, as Experience shall bring to light the Necessity thereof."

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

King Charles I. ter managed by the English Army, who were for Independency, and a better Principle of Toleration ; ^{1645.} but as Things stood nobody was pleased ; the Episcopilians 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. (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 appointing such Provincial Commissioners as are settled in the Ordinance will occasion Disputes, create a Disconformity between 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.) " That the Ordinance for Ordination of Ministers may be perpetual.

(5.) " The Manner of subjecting Church Assemblies to the Controul and Decision of Parliament, being very liable to Mistakes ; the Exemption likewise of Persons of Distinction from Ecclesiastical

" cal

“ cal Censures ; and the Administiring the Sacra-
 “ ment to some Persons, against the Conscience of
 “ the Ministry and Elderships ; these, and some
 “ other Particulars, being more than they can admit,
 “ they desire may be alter'd to general Satisfaction.

King
Charles I.
1645.

(6.) “ As to the Articles, relating to the perpe-
 “ tual Officers of the Church, with their respective
 “ Functions ; the Order and Power of Church-As-
 “ semblies ; the Directions for publick Repentance
 “ or Penance ; the Rules for Excommunication and
 “ Absolution ;” all these they desire may be fixed and
 settled, pursuant to the *Covenant*, and with the joint Ad-
 vice of the Divines of both Kingdoms [*i. e.* the Assem-
 bly at *Westminster*] long since offered to both Houses.

After the Delivery of these Papers by the *Scots* Com-
 missioners, 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 Com-
 mons published their Answer to the Commissioners
 Papers, in which they declare to the World, “ That ^{Parlia-}
 “ their real Intentions are to settle Religion accord-^{men's}
 “ ing to the Covenant, and to maintain the ancient ^{Reply.}
 “ and fundamental 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 Presbyterian ; 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 Execu-
 “ tion, only because they cannot consent to the granting an
 “ arbitrary 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

“ con-

King Charles I. " 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 Jurisdiction. 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 Experience of all Ages will manifest, that the Reformation and Purity of Religion, and the Preservation and Protection 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 [Ministers] 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 Assembly, 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

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 Committee 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, alarm'd 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 ^{They are} Assembly of Divines in their late Petition had bro-^{threaten'd} ken the Privileges of Parliament, and were guilty of ^{with a} *PRAEMUNIRE*; and whereas they insisted so per-^{Praemunire.} remptorily on the *Jus Divinum* of the Presbyterian Government, the Committee had 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 Evelyn, 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 Assembly*. Then they read the Votes abovementioned, and delivered in the following Questions, with the Orders of the House thereupon.

Questions propounded to the Assembly of Divines by the House of Commons, touching the Point of Jus Divinum in the Matters of Church Government.

1. " Whether the Congregational and Presbyterian
" al Elderships appointed by Ordinance of Parlia-
" ment, or any other Congregational or Presbyte-
" rial Elderships are *Jure Divino*, and by the Will
" and

King " and Appointment of Jesus Christ ? and, Whether
Charles I. " any particular Church Government be *Jure Divino* ?
1645. " and, What that Government is ?

2. " Whether all the Members of the said Elder-
ships, as Members thereof, or which of them,
" are *Jure Divino*, and by the Will and Appoint-
" ment of Jesus Christ ?

3. " Whether the Classical, Provincial, and Na-
" tional Assemblies, 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 Elder-
ships to Classical, Provincial, and National Assem-
" blies, or any of them, and to which of them, are
" *Jure Divino*, and by the Will and Appointment
" of Jesus Christ ? and, Whether their POWERS up-
" on such Appeals are *Jure Divino*, and by the Will
" and Appointmeut of Jesus Christ ?

5. " Whether Oecumenical Assemblies are *Jure*
" *Divino* ? and, Whether there be Appeals from
" any of the former Assemblies to the said Oecume-
" nical *Jure Divino*, and by the Will and Appoint-
" ment of Jesus Christ ?

6. " Whether by the Word of God, the Power
" of judging and declaring what are such notorious
" and scandalous Offences, for which Persons guilty
" thereof are to be kept from the Sacrament of the
" Lord's Supper, and of convening before them,
" trying, and actually suspending from the Sacra-
" ment of the Lord's Supper such Offenders, is
" either in the Congregational Eldership, Presbyte-
" ry, or in any other Eldership, Congregation, or
" Persons ? and, Whether such Powers are in them
" only, or any of them, and in which of them *Jure*
" *Divino*, and by the Will and Appointment of Je-
" sus Christ ?

7. " Whether there be any certain and particular
" Rules expressed in the Word of God to direct the
" Elderships, or Presbyteries, Congregations, or
" Per-

“ Persons, or any of them, in the Exercise and Execution of the Powers aforesaid, 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 Premises is the said supreme Magistracy 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 Scripture 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.

’Tis easy to discover the Hand of Mr. Selden and *Remarks*. *Whitelock* 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.

King Charles I. 1645. As soon as the Assembly had heard the Resolutions of the House of Commons abovementioned, and the Questions read, first by Sir J. Evelyn, 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 Attendance. 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.

Committee of Accommodation. 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, 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 Com-

They are terrified, and appoint a Fast.

Committee certain Propositions [Octob. 15. 1644.] King Charles I.
which were read by Mr. Vines, their Chairman: The Independants would have stated the Difference ^{1645.} 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 consider'd; 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 enter'd their Remonstrance against the Presbyterian Government should be a Committee to bring in the whole Frame of their Government 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, complaining 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 Vic. Say and Seale,

Lord Wharton, and
Lord Howard.

These were to be met by the following Members of the Assembly, viz.

King

Charles I.	Dr. Burges,	Mr. Vines,	Mr. Arrowsmith,
1645.	Mr. Marshal,	Mr. Hill,	Dr. Smith,
	Mr. Herle,	Dr. Temple,	Mr. Seaman,
	Mr. Reynolds,	Mr. Palmer,	Mr. Newcomen,
	Dr. Hoyle,	Mr. Tuckney,	Mr. Young.
	Mr. White,		

with the dissenting Brethren of the Assembly.

Mr. Tho. Goodwin,	Mr. Nye,	Mr. Bridge,
Mr. Simpson,	Mr. Burroughs,	Mr. Dury.

The Committee
mittees
revived.
Papers for
Accommo-
dation.

p. 14, 24.

The Committee met in the *Jerusalem Chamber* Nov. 17. and would have enter'd 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 might have been indulg'd 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 offer'd the following Proposals.

Taking for granted that both Sides shall agree in one Confession of Faith, they humbly crave,

Proposals
of the In-
depen-
dants.

1. That their Congregations may have the Power of Ordination within themselves.
2. That they may not be brought under the Power of Classes, nor forced to communicate in those Parish Churches

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.

King
Charles I.
1645.

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.

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.

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 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 compell'd to communicate in the Lord's Supper, nor be liable to Censures 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.

King Charles I. *1645.* 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 pendants. 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.

The

The Presbyterians in their next Reply, Dec. 23. after having blamed the Independants for not going upon a Comprehension, argue against the Lawfulness of a Separation after this Manner : " That if a Pre-tence of Conscience be a sufficient Ground of Separation, Men may gather impure and corrupt Churches out of purer, because upon the Dictate 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 Communion, 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 communicate 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 desire, 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."

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 communis*

King Charles I. 1645. *onis disrupta Societas.* And we conceive, it is the Cause of the Separation that makes Schism, and not 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.**

Answer of the Independants. Papers for Accommodation. p. 86. When the Committee met the next Time, *Feb. 2. 1645.* 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 mere 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.

Conclusion of the Presbyterians. Ib. p. 123. 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 further than is "agreeable to all Mens Consciences, and to their Education; 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 Uniformity than is consistent "with the Liberty of all Mens Consciences; which "whe-

" whether it be the Sense of the Covenant, we leave King
 " with the honourable Committee." Charles I.

Upon which the Reverend Mr. Jer. Burroughs, a ^{1645.}
 Divine of great Candor and Moderation, declared in
 the Name of the *Independants*, " That if their Con-
 "gregations might not be exempted from that coer-
 "cive Power of the Classes ; if they might not have
 " Liberty to govern themselves in their own Way,
 "as long as they behaved peaceably towards the Ci-
 "vil 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 Ordinance of God to determine
 "all Controversies of Divinity, and that it must
 "needs be attended with Fines and Imprisonment
 "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 Consciences to Slavery, a Suppression of
 "much Truth, and great Disturbances in the Chri-
 "stian World."

Thus ended the last Committee of Lords and *Remarks.*
 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

King Charles I. 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 then 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 little sensible of their own InfirmitieS, that they would not agree to tolerate those who were not only tolerable, but worthy Instruments and Members in the Churches. Prudent Men were for *Union in Things necessary*, for *Liberty in Things unnecessary*, and for *Charity in all*; but they could not be heard."

Debates about Toleration and Liberty of Conscience. Great was the Refort of the City Divines to *Sion College* at this Time, where there was a kind of nod 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. 164 $\frac{1}{2}$. 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 suffer their new Establishment to be strangled in the Birth by a lawless Toleration.

Rushw. p. 234. 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 " 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

" Houses will never admit Toleration of any Sects King
 " or Schisms contrary to our solemn League and Co-Charles I.
 " venant." At the same Time they appeal'd to the 1645.
 People, and publish'd a Declaration against Toleration Scots De-
 of Sectaries and Liberty of Conscience; in which, after declaration
 having taken Notice of their great Services, they ob-against
 serve, that there is a Party in England who are endea-
 vouring to supplant the true Religion by pleading for
 Liberty of Conscience, which (say they) is the Nou-
 risher of all Heresies and Schisms. They then de-
 clare against all such Notions as are inconsistent with
 the Truth of Religion, and opening a Door to Licenti-
 ousness, which, to the utmost of their Power, they
 will endeavour to oppose; and as they have all en-
 ter'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 deter-
 mine 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 Pre-
 servation of the Truth.

Most of the Sermons before the House of Com-
 mons, 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 Obsti-
 nacy. 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.

But the Cause of Liberty was not destitute of Ad-
 vocates 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

King Charles I. 1645. 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 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 Preference his Prince can bestow.

Answer to the Reasons of the London Vol. Pamph. N° 52. 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 approve; they were continually soliciting 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 moving the Assembly of Divines, of whom themselves are a considerable Part, to become the Patrons of Oppression." Our Author maintains, that "Liberty of Conscience 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 States and Countries, will find it owing to the Tyranny of Princes, and the Persecution of Priests. All Governments therefore which under-

“ understand their true Interests, will endeavour to
“ suppress in every Sect, or Division of Men, whe-
“ ther Papist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independen-
“ tant, or Anabaptist, the Spirit of Dominion and
“ Persecution, which is the Disturber of Mankind,
“ and the Off-spring of the Devil. But the Ministers
“ 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 Con-
“ sciences as to their Clothes or Estates ; *no Opinions*
“ *or Sentiments of Religion being cognizable by the Magis-
“ trate, 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 *Bedlam, or the Fleet,*
“ open Mens Understandings, and reduce them
“ from Error? No certainly, nothing but found
“ Reason and Argument can do it, which, 'tis to be
“ feared, they are not furnished with, who have Re-
“ course to any other Weapons. *Schism and Heresy* are
“ to be rooted out, not by Oppression, but by Reason
“ and Debate ; 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 Heresy* are Words of Terror
“ thrown upon the Adversary by all Parties of Men ;
“ and perhaps, there may need an infallible 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 Con-*
“ *science, 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*
“ *bis*

King " his own Mind. 3. That whatsoever is not of Faith is
 Charles I. " Sin. 4. From our Saviour's golden Rule, *What-*
 1645 " *soever 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 Di-
visions.
Vol. II.
p. 746.

p. 176.

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 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. Goolwin, 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

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.

The Assembly perfected nothing further this Year; ^{New Ver-} 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 ^{MS.} of Commons, by an Order bearing Date Nov. 20. ^{sess. 535.} 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 profitable to the Church, if they be permitted to be publickly sung;" accordingly they were authorized by the two Houses. Parl. Chr. The like Care was taken to prevent the Importation of ^{P. 319.} incorrect Bibles printed in Holland.

To return to the Proceedings of Parliament; the *Censures of Committee* for plunder'd Ministers having reported ^{Paul Best.} to the House of Commons, Jan. 28. 1645. certain ^{Paul Best.} *Whitlock,* 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.

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

King Charles I. " 1645. " ingly 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, to seize the Revenues of *Cathedral*. " 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 dispose 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." They ordained further, " That the Dean, Prebendaries, and all other Officers belonging either to the College or Church, who had absented themselves, and were become 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. *Osbaldston* only excepted.

When the Cathedral of *Hereford* fell into the Parliament's Hands the Dignitaries of that Church were dispossessed, 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 Divines The Parliament, at the Request of the *Assembly of Cambridge pre-served*. 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 contained in any Ordinance of Parliament concerning levying 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

King

Charles I.

1645.

“ 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, in respect of their Places and Employments in the said University.” They likewise confirm’d all their ancient 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.

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 domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, and was presented by him to the Rectory of Lambeth, and in the Year 1627. to Aton. 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 published the following Challenge;

“ WHERE-

King

Charles I. " 1645.

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 Vindication against false Aspersions.
2. " That the Discipline of the Church of *England*, established by many Laws, and Acts of Parliament, that is, the Government by Bishops (removing all Innovations and Abuses in the Execution thereof) is agreeable to God's Word, and a truly ancient and apostolical Institution.
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 Apocryphal Saints and Chapters, some Rubricks explained, and some Expressions 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

few Hours before his Death, which happened at *Che-^{King Charles I.}sea*, where he was removed for the Benefit of the Air, in the Sixty fifth Year of his Age. His Prayer had ^{1645.} these Words in it, — “ Lord, strike through the ^{Featly's} Reins of them that rise against the Church and Life, King, and let them be as Chaff before the Wind,” p. 78. “ 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 Sovereign 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 Trial. “ Whether he sat in the ^{the Hist. Pres.} Assembly (says *Heylin*) to shew his Parts, or to p. 464. 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 Body now, though possibly he might be excused from taking the Covenant as others did.”

Soon after died famous old Mr. *John Dod*, whose *Death of* pious and remarkable Sayings are remember'd to this *Mr. Dod*. Day ; he was born at *Shotridge* in *Cheshire* in the ^{Clark's} 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 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.

King him. After the Death of King James Mr. Dod was allowed to preach publickly again, and settled at Faufly 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 Faufly.

Fuller's
Ch. Hist.
p. 220.



C H A P. VII.

The Conclusion of the first Civil War, by the King's surrendring 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. King Charles I. 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 inclined to an Accommodation, if the King would consent to abolish Episcopacy, and propose proper Assurances of governing for the Future 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 to recede, 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

King Charles I. therefore insisted peremptorily upon his signing the Bills they were preparing to send him as a Preliminary to a well grounded Settlement.

Rushw. 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. *Locke* 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 wouldest 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:

Vol. IV. "It is not possible to discourse of Particulars with the Clearness that is necessary to subject them to common Understandings, 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 prevent 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 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 *Henrietia*, 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 Rushw. 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 surrendered 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 two Houses, or any other private or publick Agreement whatsoever, between the King on one part, and the Kingdom of Scotland, their Army, or any in their Names,

King Charles I. “ 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 negotiate between the two Parties, and drew the credulous and distressed King into the Snare out of which he could never escape.

Conclusion of the first Civil War. 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*, retired 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*.

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 surrendring 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. 1. “ That the *Roman Catholicks* of that Kingdom shall be discharged from taking the Oath of *Su-
premacy*.

Ruine. 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 Majesty’s Graces or Favours.

Part IV. 3. “ That Vol. I. “ Freedom of their Religion, and not be debarred P. 402. “ from any of his Majesty’s Graces or Favours.

3. “ That

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-Law-
 " ries, &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 Burgeesses,
 " or Knights of the Shire, be removed.
6. " That all Incapacities imposed upon the Na-
 " tion be taken away, and that they have Power to
 " erect one or more Inns of Court in or near the City
 " of Dublin; and that all Catholicks educated there,
 " be capable of taking their Degrees without the
 " Oath of Supremacy.
7. " That the *Roman Catholicks* shall be em-
 " powered to erect one or more Universities, and
 " keep Free-Schools for the Education of their
 " Youth, any Law or Statute to the contrary not-
 "withstanding.
8. " That Places of Command, Honour, Profit
 " and Trust, shall be conferr'd on the *Roman Ca-*
tholicks, without making any Difference between
 " them and Protestants, both in the Army and in
 " the Civil Government.
9. " That an Act of Oblivion shall be past in the
 " next Parliament, to extend to all the *Roman Ca-*
tholicks and their Heirs, absolving them of all
 " Treasons and Offences whatsoever, and particula-
 " rly of the Massacre of 1641. so that no Persons shall
 " be impeached, troubled, or molested, for any
 " Thing done on one Side or the other.
10. " That the *Roman Catholicks* shall continue
 " in Possession 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

King Charles I. 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 Vigor.

Presbyterians petitioned against Sectaries. The King being now in the Hands of the Scots, the English Presbyterians at London resumed their 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 Discipline 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 whatsoever else was found contrary to sound Doctrine; and at the same Time to preserve and defend the Person and Authority of the King; they therefore desired, since the whole Kingdom was now in a manner reduced to the Obedience 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 Presby-

" Presbyterial Government set forth by Parliament, may King
 " be employed in any Place of publick Trust ; that the Charles I.
 " House will endeavour to remove all Jealousies be- 1646.
 " tween them and the Scots, and hasten their Propo-
 " sitions to the King, for a safe and well-grounded
 " Peace."

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. *And are seconded by the Scots.* Rushw. p. 356. within a Month after the Delivery of the Remonstrance: The Letter commends their courageous Appearance against Sects and Sectaries; their firm Adherence to the Covenant, and their maintaining the Presbyterial Government to be the *Governement 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.

The wise Parliament received the Lord Mayor and *Parlia-*
 his Brethren with Marks of great Respect and *Civi-* *ment's An-*
 lity; for neither the *Scots* nor *English Presbyterians* *suer.*
 were to be disgusted, while the *Prize* for which they
 had been fighting was in their Hands, but the Major-
 rity 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 sove-

King Charles I. reign, 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 with a Promise to take the Particulars into Consideration.

Independants oppose it.

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 Wsidsoms, and not suffer the Free-born People of *England* to be enslaved upon any Pretence whatsoever ; nor to suffer any Set of People to prescribe to them in Matters of Government or Conscience, and the Petitioners will stand by them with their Lives and Fortunes."

Hist.
Stuarts,
p. 308.

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.

*Assembly's
Sentiments
of the Jus
Divinum.*

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.

The first Committee was appointed to determine, Whether any particular Church Government was *JURE DIVINO*, and to bring their Proofs from Scripture.

But

But here they stumbled at the very Threshold, for the *Erasians* 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 the Assembly, and left the *high Presbyterians* to themselves, who agreed, with but one dissenting Voice, That *Jesus Christ, as King of the Church, bath himself appointed a Church Government distinct from the Civil Magistrate.* The Names of those that subscribed this Proposition were,

The Rev. Mr. White,
Mr. Palmer,
Dr. Wincop,
Mr. Ley,
Dr. Gouge,
Mr. Walker,
Mr. Sedgwick,
Mr. Marshall,
Mr. Whitaker,
Mr. Newcomen,
Mr. Spurstow,
Mr. Delmy,
Mr. Calamy,
Mr. Proffet,
Mr. Perne,
Mr. Scuddir,
Mr. Carter, *sen.*
Mr. Caryl,
Mr. Woodcocke,
Mr. Carter, *jun.*
Mr. Goodwin,
Mr. Nye,
Mr. Greenhill,
Mr. Valentine,
Mr. Price,
Dr. Smith,

The Rev. Dr. Staunton,
Dr. Hoyle,
Mr. Bayly,
Mr. Taylor,
Mr. Young,
Mr. Cawdrey,
Mr. Ash,
Mr. Gibson,
Mr. Good,
Mr. Vines,
Mr. Seaman,
Mr. Chambers,
Mr. Corbet,
Mr. Dury,
Mr. Salway,
Mr. Hardwicke,
Mr. Langley,
Mr. Simpson,
Mr. Conant,
Mr. De la March,
Mr. Byfield,
Mr. Herle,
Mr. De la Place,
Mr. Wilson,
Mr. Reyner,
Mr. Gower.

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1646.

MS.
Sess. 672.

King Charles I. 1646. The Divine that enter'd his Dissent was Mr. Lightfoot, with whom Mr. Colman would have join'd if he had not fallen sick at this juncture and died.

Sentiments of the London Ministers. 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 PRAEMUNIRE; upon which the City Divines at Sion College took up the Controversy, in a Treatise entitled, *The Divine Right of Church Government*, by the LONDON MINISTERS. Wherein they give a distinct Answer to the several Querries 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 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

Their Paper of Considerations and Cautions. put in Execution. Upon this the Ministers of London and Westminster 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

" ment

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“ment of Jesus Christ, but then they are pleased to
 “admit, that the *Magistracy* ought to be satisfied in
 “the Truth of the Government they authorize ; and
 “though it be not right in every *Particular*, yet
 “Church Officers may act under that Rule, provi-
 “ded they do not acknowledge the Rule to be right
 “in all Points. Therefore though they conceive
 “the Ordinances of Parliament already published,
 “are not a *compleat Rule*, nor in all Points satisfactory
 “to their *Consciences*, yet because in many 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 enumerated, therefore they
 “conceive it their Duty to put in Practice the pre-
 “sent Settlement, as far as they conceive it corre-
 “spondent with the Word of God ; hoping that the
 “Parliament will in due Time, supply what is
 “lacking, to make the Government entire, and re-
 “ctify what shall appear to be amis.” Thus hardly
 did these Gentlemen stoop to their Superiors !

The Kingdom of *England*, instead of so many *Classical*
 Dioceses, was now divided into a certain Number of *Division of Provinces*, made up of Representatives from the seve-
 ral *Classe*s within their Boundaries ; Every Parish had *the Province of London.*
 a Congregational, or Parochial Presbytery for the Affairs of the Parish ; the Parochial Presbyteries were combined into *Classe*s ; 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 *Classe*s, according to the following Division, each *Classe* 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*.

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The DIVISION of the Province of London.

The first Classis to contain the following Parishes.

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Allhallows Bread-street, | 10 St. Austin's Parish, |
| 2 Andrews Wardrobe, | 11 St. Mary Aldermary, |
| 3 Bennet Paul's Wharf, | 12 St. Mary le Bow, |
| 4 Faith's, | 13 St. Mathew Friday-street, |
| 5 St. Gregory, | 14 Mildred Breadstreet, |
| 6 St. John Evangelist, | St. Paul's, |
| 7 Margaret Moses, | 15 St. Peter's Paul's |
| 8 St. Martin Ludgate, | Wharf. |
| 9 St. Anne Black Friars, | |

The second Classis.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 St. Antholine, | 9 St. Michael Queenhithe, |
| 2 Bennet Sheerhog, | 10 St. Michael Royal, |
| 3 St. James Garlickhithe, | 11 St. Nicholas Old Abby, |
| 4 St. John Baptist, | 12 St. Nicholas Olives, |
| 5 Martin the Vintry, | 13 Pancras Sopers Lane, |
| 6 St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fishstreet, | 14 St. Thomas Apostles, |
| 7 St. Mary Somerset, | 15 Trinity Parish. |
| 8 St. Mary Mounthaw, | |

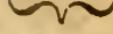
The third Classis.

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Allhallows the Greater, | 7 St. Mary Bothaw, |
| 2 Allhallows the Less, | 8 St. Mary Woolchurch, |
| 3 Allhallows Lombard-street, | 9 St. Mary Woolnoth, |
| 4 St. Edmund Lombard-street, | 10 St. Nicholas Aaron, |
| 5 Lawrence Pountney, | 11 St. Stephen's Wallbrooke, |
| 6 St. Mary Abchurch, | 12 St. Swithin's. |

The

The fourth Classis.

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|--|---|
| 1 St. Andrews Hubbert,
2 St. Bennet Grace-
church,
3 St. Buttolph Billings-
gate,
4 St. Clement East-
cheap,
5 St. Dionis Back-
church,
6 St. George Buttolph-
lane, | 7 St. Leonard East-
cheap,
8 St. Magnus,
9 St. Margaret New
Fishstreet,
10 St. Martin Orgars,
11 St. Mary Hill,
12 St. Michael Crooked-
lane,
13 St. Michael Cornhill,
14 St. Peter Cornhill. |
|--|---|

The fifth Classis.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 St. Anne Aldersgate,
2 St. Buttolph Alders-
gate,
3 St. Brides,
4 Bridewell,
5 Christ Church,
6 St. John Zachary,
7 St. Leonard Foster-
lane, | 8 St. Mary Staynings,
9 St. Michael <i>in the</i>
<i>Corn, vulgè in the</i>
<i>Querne,</i>
10 St. Olave Silverstreet,
11 St. Peter Cheap,
12 St. Foster <i>alias Ve-</i>
<i>dast.</i> |
|---|--|

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 Ironmon-
ger-lane, | 8 St. Mary Alderman-
bury,
9 St. Mary Magdelen
Milkstreet,
10 St. Mary Colechurch,
11 St. Michael Wood-
street,
12 St. Mildred Poultry,
13 St. Olave Jewry. |
|--|---|

The seventh Classis.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Allhallows <i>in the Wall,</i>
2 St. Bartholomew <i>Ex-</i>
<i>change,</i>
3 St. Bennet Finck,
4 St. Buttolph Bishop's-
<i>gate,</i>
5 St. Christopher's, | 6 St. Margaret Loth-
<i>bury,</i>
7 St. Michael Bassishaw,
8 St. Peter Poor,
9 St. Stephen Colman-
<i>street.</i> |
|---|--|

The eighth Classis.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 St. Andrew Under-
<i>shaft,</i>
2 St. Buttolph Aldgate,
3 St. Ethelburga,
4 St. John Hackney,
5 St. Hellens,
6 St. James Duke Place, | 7 St. Katherine Cree-
<i>church,</i>
8 St. Leonard Shore-
<i>ditch,</i>
9 St. Martin Outwich,
10 St. Mary Stoke New-
<i>ington,</i> |
|--|---|

The ninth Classis.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 Allhallows Barkin,
2 Allhallows Steyning,
3 St. Dunstan <i>in the East,</i>
4 St. Gabriel Fenchurch,
5 St. Katherine Cole-
<i>man,</i>
6 St. Katherine Tower, | 7 St. Margaret Pattoons,
8 St. Olave Hartstreet,
9 St. Peter <i>in the Tower,</i>
10 Stepney,
11 Trinity Minories,
12 Wapping,
13 Whitechapel. |
|---|--|

The tenth Classis.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 St. George Southwark,
2 Lambeth,
3 St. Mary Magdalen
<i>Bermondsey,</i>
4 St. Mary Overyes,
5 Newington Buts, | 6 St. Olave Southwark,
7 Rotherhithe,
8 St. Thomas's Hospital,
9 St. Thomas's South-
<i>wark.</i> |
|--|---|

The

The eleventh Classis.

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1 St. Clement Danes,	5 St. Martin in the Fields,
2 St. Giles's in the Fields,	6 New Church,
3 Knightsbridge,	7 St. Peter Westminster,
4 St. Margaret Westminster,	8 St. Paul Covent Garden.

The twelfth Classis.

1 St. Andrew Holborn,	5 St. Dunstan in the West,
2 St. Bartholomew the Greater,	6 St. James's Clerkenwell,
3 St. Bartholomew the Less,	7 St. Mary Islington,
4 Charter-house,	8 St. Sepulchres.

Thus the Presbyterian Church Government began Remarks: to rise and appear in its proper Form ; but new Ob-
structions being raised by the Ministers to the Choice
of Representatives, the Provincial 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. *Earhard* says, the p. 654. 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 un-
executed in almost all other Parts. However, the
Presbyterian Ministers had their voluntary Associa-
tions for Church Affairs in most Counties, though
without any authoritative Jurisdiction.

To return to the King, who marched with the Scots Be-
tinued 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 be-
fore Behaviour to
the King
at New-
castle.

King fore him gave hopes, that they would be Mediators
 Charles I. between him and the Parliament ; it was from 2 Sam.
 1646. 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 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 than 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 Conscience, 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 should 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.
Hender-
son.

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 Pru-

Prudence. Mr. Rushworth says, That he had more ^{King} Moderation than most of his Way. And Collier adds, Charles I. That he was a Person of Learning, Elocution and ^{1646.} Judgment, and seems to have been the Top of his ^{Collier,} Party. The Debate was carried on in Writing : p. 848. The King drew up his own Papers, and gave them Hamil. M. Sir Robert Murray to transcribe, and deliver to ^{p. 227.} 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.

The KING, in his first Paper of May 29. declares ^{King's first} his Esteem for the English Reformation, because it ^{Paper.} was effected without Tumult ; and was directed by ^{Bibl. Reg.} those who ought to have the Conduct of such an Af- ^{p. 296.} fair. He apprehends they kept close to apostolical Appointment, and the universal 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, in his first Paper of June 3. af- ^{Mr. Hen-} ter an Introduction of Modesty and Respect, wishes, ^{derson's} when Occasion requires, that Religion might always ^{first Reply.} be reformed by the Civil Magistrate, and not left ^{Bib. Reg.} ^{p. 312, &c.} either to the Prelates or the People ; but when Prin-
ces 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, Wor-ship, and Government, that it proceeded with a Laodicean Lukewarmness ; that the Supremacy was transferr'd from one wrong Head to another, and

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I. 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, 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 Apostle's 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

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.

The KING, in his second Paper of June 6. avers, *King's se-*
no Reformation is lawful, unless under the Conduct ^{cond pa-}
of the Royal Authority; that King Henry the ^{pers.} *Eighth's Reformation being imperfect is no Proof of* ^{Bib Reg.}
Defects in that of King Edward VI. and Queen Eli- ^{p. 320,}
zabeth; that Mr. Henderson can never prove, *God has* ^{322, &c.}
given the Multitude leave to reform the Negligence of
Princes; that his comparing our Reformation to the
Laudicean 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 al-
lowing 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 Pro-
*vince to shew the Lawfulness, and uninterrupted Suc-
cession; and by Consequence, the Necessity of *Epi-**

King Charles I. 1646. copacy, 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 her self 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

he shall then, and not till then, reckon himself at liberty.

King
Charles I.

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, 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

King Charles I. last, when one of the Presbytery presided over the rest with the Stile of *Bishop*, even then, as St. *Jerom* says, *1646.* 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 *Dovenant* 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 their Commission from the Apostles, but from Christ himself.

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 supremal 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* it self; '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

which Mr. Henderson replies, That he could never hear a King good Reason to prove a necessary defensive War, a War Charles I. against unjust Violence, unlawful; and that Bishop Jewel ^{1646.} 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. Hen-^{King's}derson's second Paper, still insists, that inferior Magi-^{third Pa-}strates and People have no Authority to reform Religion.^{per.} Bib. Reg. If this Point can be proved by Scripture his Majesty p. 337,&c. 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 Memo-^{ries}, he never thought them infallible; as for Epis-^{copal Government, he is ready to prove it an APO-}STOLICAL INSTITUTION, and that it has 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 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 Sa-^{viour} 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

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Charles I.
1646.

Moderator of Assemblies in *Scotland*. His Majesty denies that Bishops and Presbyters always import the same Thing in Scriprure, 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* has 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 solvit Argumentum*. His Majesty then declares,

declares, that as it is a great Sin for a Prince to oppress the Church ; so on the other hand, *He holds it absolutely unlawful for Subjects to make War (though defensively) against their lawful Sovereign, upon any Pretence whatsoever.*

*King Charles I.
1646.*

Mr. HENDERSON, in his third Paper of July 2. *Mr. Henderson's third Reply.* 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,

1. That some Criticks join *the Word of God and Antiquity 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 authentically interpreted by Scripture it self. Thus the *Levites* had Recourse only to one part of Scripture for the interpreting another, *Neb. 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

King Charles I. 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 Episcopacy, and that therefore they are an uncertain Rule.

King's last Papers. 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.

*King
Charles I.
1646.*

One may learn from this Controversy, some of the *Remarks.* 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.) 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 *Coronation 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,

King Charles I. cantation, which they would have the World believe
this Divine dictated, or signed upon his Death-bed.
1646.

Mr. Henderson's Recantation. Compl. Hist. p. 190. Bennet's Def. of Mem. p. 130.

" I Do declare before God and the World, that since I had the Honour and Happiness to con-
" preted verse and confer with his Majesty with all sorts of
" Freedom, especially in Matters of Religion, whe-
" ther 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 Expecta-
" tion. 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 Con-
" science, and knew not how to give him any rea-
" sonable Satisfaction; yet the Sweetness of his Dis-
" position is such, that whatsoever I said was well
" taken. I must say, I never met with any Dispu-
" tant of that mild and calm Temper, which con-
" vinc'd me the more, and made me think, that
" such Wisdom and Moderation could not be, with-
" out 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 parti-
" cularly those of Devotion, which I must truly say
" are more than ordinary — If I should speak of
" his Justice, Magnanimity, Charity, Sobriety,
" Chastity, Patience, Humility, and of all his other
" Christian and Moral Virtues, I should run my self
" into a Panegyrick; no Man can say there is con-
" spicuously any predominant Vice in him; never
" Man saw him passionately Angry; never Man
" heard

" heard him Curse, or given to Swearing ; or
 " heard him complain in the greatest Durance of
 " War, or Confinement — But I should seem to
 " flatter him, to such as do not know him, if the pre-
 " sent Condition that I lie in, did not exempt me from
 " any Suspicion of worldly Ends, when I expect eve-
 " ry Hour to be called from all transitory Vanities to
 " eternal Felicity, and the Discharging of my Con-
 " science before God and Man, did not oblige me to
 " declare the Truth simply and nakedly, in satisfa-
 " ction 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, least an indelible
 Character of Ingratitude lie upon them.

Mr. Eachard confesses he had been informed, that *The Falseness of it.*
 this Declaration was spurious, but could find no Au-
 thority sufficient to support such an Assertion. It will
 be proper therefore to trace the History of this Impos-
 ture, 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 Pa-
 per 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. *Lamp-
 lugh*, Son to the late Archbishop of *York* of that
 Name, from whom the Historians above-mentioned,

King Charles I. 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 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

Vide *Bennet's Def. of his Mem.* 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 Liar and Calumniator, " and led by the Spirit of the Accuser of the Brethren."

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,

Parlia-
ment's Pro-
positions to
the King
at New-
castle.

Rushw.

Vol. VI.

P. 309,

311.

Rapin,

p. 343, &c.

Erle, Sir John Hipifly, Robert Goodwin, and Luke Robinson, Esq; of the House of Commons; the Earls of ^{King} Charles I. Argyle and Loudon were Commissioners for Scotland, ^{1646.} and the Reverend Mr. Marshall was ordered 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.

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.

(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 other under Officers, out of

" the

- King Charles I. 1646.*
- “ 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 Sitt-
“ ing 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 Je-
“ suits, Priests, Papists, and Popish Recusants, from
“ disturbing the State, and eluding the Laws, an
“ Oath be established by Act of Parliament, where-
“ in they shall abjure and renounce the Pope’s Su-
“ premacy, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation,
“ Purgatory, Worshipping of the consecrated Host,
“ Crucifixes and Images, and all other Popish Su-
“ perstitions and Errors; and the Refusal of the said
“ Oath, legally tender’d, shall be a sufficient Con-
“ viction of Recusancy.
 - “ 7. “ That an Act of Parliament be passed, for
“ educating of the Children of Papists by Prote-
“ stants, in the Protestant Religion.
 - “ 8. “ That an Act be passed for the better levy-
“ ing 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 Hearing of Mass in the Court,
“ or any other Part of the Kingdom: The like for
“ *Scot-*

"Scotland, if the Parliament of that Kingdom shall
"think fit.

King Charles I:

1646.

9. "That his Majesty give his Royal Assent to
"an Act for the due Observation of the Lord's Day ;
"to the Bill for the Suppression of Innovations in
"Churches and Chapels 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 Pluralities of
"Benefices and Non-Residency ; and, to an Act to
"be framed for the Reforming and Regulating both
"Universities, and the Colleges of *Westminster*, *Win-*
"chester, and *Eaton.*"

About Sixty Persons were by Name excepted from Rushw:
the general Pardon ; besides,

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 adher'd to the Enemies thereof, were declared incapable of any Preferment or Employment in Church or Commonwealth, all their Places, Preferments 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.

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*

King Charles I. 1646. of the Busines, 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 Proposals, 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* press'd 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 submit 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 Government ; they will charge us to deliver your Majesty to them, and remove our Armies out of *England*, and upon your Refusal we shall

“ shall be constrained to settle Religion and Peace King
 “ without you, which will ruin your Majesty and Charles I.
 “ your Posterity. We own the Propositions are 1646.
 “ 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 was Plain-Dealing : The King’s best Friends But he
 prayed his Majesty to consider his present Circum. refuses.
 stances, and not hazard his Crown for a Form of Ham.
 Church Government ; or, if he had no Regard to Mem:
 himself, to consider his Royal Posterity ; but the p. 218.
 King replied, His Conscience was dearer to him than his
 Crown ; that till he had received better Satisfaction
 about the Divine Right of Episcopacy, and the Obliga-
 tion 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
 bad heard from the Queen. Which was only an Excuse Clarend:
 to gain Time to divide his Enemies, for the King Vol. III.
 had heard from his Queen by Monsieur Bellievre, the p. 29, 31.
 French Ambassador, who waited upon him with posi- Rapin,
 tive Instructions, to press his Majesty, as the Advice p. 344.
 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 ven-
 tur’d 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 trans-
 ported with Indignation, that he forbid him his Pre-
 sence. When therefore the ten Days for consider-

King Charles I. 1646. ing 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 conjures 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 Nation may be peaceably settled."

His Conference with the Scots. 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 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 Episcopilians, and admit of the Establishment of both Religions.

" I do by no means perswade you (says the King) to do any Thing contrary to your Covenant, 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 my self may be preserved, which, I confess, does not as yet totally take away Episcopal 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 Episcopacy. And this that I demand is likely to be but Temporary; for if it be so clear

" as

Hans.
Mem.
p. 286.

“ as you believe, that Episcopacy is unlawful, I King
 “ doubt not but God will so enlighten my Eyes that Charles I.
 “ I shall soon perceive it, and then I promise to con- 1646.
 “ cur 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 without 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 Point of Religion, Rushw.
 “ not considering, that besides the other Mischiefs^{• 328,}
 “ that may happen, it will infallibly set up the innumer-
 “ able Sects of the Independants, nothing being more
 “ against your Covenant than the suffering those Schisms
 “ to increase.” His Majesty then added, “ That he Ham.
 “ should be content to restrain Episcopal Govern- Mem.
 “ ment to the Dioceses of Oxford, Winchester, Bath and p. 348.
 “ 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 Papists and Independants.” But the Scots
 would abate nothing in the Article of Religion; even
 for the Overthrow of the Sectaries. Duke Hamilton
 left no Methods unattempted to perswade his Majesty
 to comply, but without Effect.

When the King could not gain the Commissioners, Scots Kirk
 he applied by his Friends to the Kirk, who laid his *will not*
trust the Proposals before the General Assembly, with his Of- King.
 fer to make any Declaration they should desire against Ham.
 the Independants, AND THAT REALLY, WITHOUT Mem.
 ANY RESERVE OR EQUIVOCATION; but the Kirk p. 298.
 were as peremptory as the Commissioners; they said Rushw.
 A a 3 the p. 380.

King Charles I. 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.

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.

Their solemn Warning and Declaration. 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 apprehend, that according to his former Principles he will walk contrary to it, and study to draw us into the Violation 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 before 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 Authority in the Defence and Preservation of the true Religion, and the Liberties of the Kingdom, and so far as his Majesty 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 intrusted with the publick Affairs of this Kingdom would still insist upon his

“ his Majesty's settling Religion according to the King
 “ Covenant, as the only Means of preserving him- Charles I.
 “ self, his Crown, and Posterity.” Upon reading this 1646.
 Admonition of the Kirk the Scots Parliament resolved, proceed-
 that his Majesty be desired to grant the whole Propo-*ings of the*
 sitions; that in case of Refusal, the Kingdom should *Scots Parl.*
 be secured without him. They declared further, that *relating to*
 the Kingdom of *Scotland* could not lawfully engage *Rushw.*
 for the King as long as he refused to take the *Covenant*, p. 392.
 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.

The Resolutions abovementioned were not com-*They deli-*
 municated in form to the King till the beginning of *ver him up*
January, when the *Scots Commissioners* pres'd him *and pub-*
 again in the most humble and importunate Manner *lisp their*
 to *Reasons*. give them Satisfaction, at least, in the Point of Reli-
 gion, but his Majesty was immovable; 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 *Rushw.*
 “ came to their Army before *Newark* he professed p. 396.
 “ that he was absolutely resolved to comply with his
 “ Parliaments in every Thing for settling of Truth
 “ and Peace; in confidence whereof the Committees
 “ of the Kingdom of *Scotland* declared to himself, 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 Parliament of *Scotland*
 “ therefore being now to recal their Army out of *Eng-*
 “ *land*, *considering that his Majesty in several Messages*
 “ *has desired to be near his two Houses of Parliament,*

King Charles I. 1646. " 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 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."

English Commissioners receive the King, and convey him to Holmby. While the Parliament and Kirk of Scotland were debating the King's Proposals, 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. 1647. 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 their due before the King delivered himself into their Hands; for that in settling the Account's 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

Vide
Rapin,
p. 347.

that the Officers of the Army durst not carry the King to Edinburgh, because both Parliament and Kirk had declared against receiving him.

*King Charles I.
1646.*

But how surprizing was his Majesty's Conduct! *Remarks,* How many cross and inconsistent Proposals 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 listning 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 *Harm.* Destruction of Monarchy, and the Ruin of the *Mem.* King and his Posterity; but that if he would con-*P. 288.*" sent to the Propositions 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*.

While the King was at *Holmby House* he was at *Holmby* attended with great Respect, and suffered to divert himself at Bowls with Gentlemen in the neighbouring House. 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.

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

King Charles I. Octob. 9. and Nov. 16. 1646. entitled, Ordinances for abolishing Archbishops and Bishops, 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, Archbishop of York, Bishop of Winchester, Bishop of Durham*, and all other Bishops of any Bishopricks within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, be, from and after September 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 erected, 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 notwithstanding.”

And for Sale of their Lands.
Ruthw. p. 377.

By the Ordinance of Nov. 16. it is further ordained, “ That all Counties Palatine, Honours, Mansors, Lordships, Stiles, Circuits, Precincts, Castles, Granges, Messuages, Mills, Lands, Tenements, Meadows, Pastures, Parsonages, appropriate Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Pensions, Portions of Tithes, Vicarages, Churches, Chapels, Advowsons, Donations, Nominations, Rights of Patronage and Presentations, Parks, Woods, Rents, Reversions, Services, Annuities, Franchises, Liberties, Privileges, Immunities, Rights of Action, and of Entry, Interests, Titles of Entry, Conditions, Commons, Court-Leets, and Court-

“ Court-Barons, and all other Possessions and Here-
“ ditaments whatsoever, which now are, or within King
“ ten Years before the beginning of the present Par- Charles I.
“ liament, 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
“ Evidences 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-
“ liament shall order and appoint, i. e. for Pay-
“ ment of the publick Debts, and other necessary
“ Charges occasioned by the War, promoted chief-
“ ly by, and in favour of the said Hierarchy, saving
“ and excepting all Tithes appropriate, Oblations,
“ Obventions, and Portions of Tithes, &c. belong-
“ ing 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 Trustees are not to
“ avoid any Lease made for three Lives, or Twen-
“ ty one Years, provided the said Lease or Leases
“ were not obtained since the Month of December,
“ 1641. They are empowered to appoint proper Scobel,
“ Officers to survey, and take a particular Estimate p. 40.
“ of all Bishops Lands, to receive the Rents and
“ Profits of them, and to make a sufficient Title to
“ such as shall purchase them, by Order of Parlia-
“ ment.” 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 of Parliament, with all their
Arrears, out of the Rents, Revenues, and Profits
belong-

King Charles I. 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ 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 petitioning 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 teased 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 Covenant, some refusing to take it, and others claiming 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 be disqualified from all Places of Profit and Trust.

2. " The Growth of Heresy and Schism; the Pulpits being often usurped by preaching Soldiers, who infected all Places where they came with dangerous Errors; they therefore pray, that all such

" Per-

" Persons may be forbid to preach as have not taken King
 " the Covenant, and been regularly ordained, and Charles I.
 " that all separate Congregations, the very Nurse- 1646.
 " ries of damnable Hereticks, may be suppressed ;
 " that an Ordinance be made for the exemplary Pu-
 " nishment of Hereticks and Schismaticks, and that
 " all godly and orthodox Ministers may have a com-
 " petent Maintenance, many Pulpits being vacant
 " of a settled Minister for want of it ; and here (say
 " they) we would lay the Stress of our Desires, and
 " the Urgency of our Affections." They complain
 further, of the " undue Practices 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 Majesty's Royal
 " Person and Authority may be preserved and de-
 " fended, together with the Liberties of the King-
 " dom, according to the Covenant."

To satisfy the Petitioners the House of Commons Proceeded
 published a Declaration Dec. 31. " wherein they ex-^{ings of}
 " press their Dislike of Lay-Preachers, and their Re-^{Parlia-}
 " solutions to proceed against all such as shall take ^{ment upon} it.
 " upon them to preach, or expound the Scriptures
 " in any Church or Chapel, or any other publick
 " Place, except they be ordained 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 Deroga-
 " tion of the Church Government which is now esta-
 " blished by Authority of Parliament ; and also,
 " against all and every Person or Persons who shall
 " willingly or purposely interrupt or disturb a
 " Preacher in the publick Exercise 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 Of-
 " fences of this kind, and to apprehend Offenders,
 " that a Course may be speedily taken for a due Pu-
 " nishment

King Charles I. "nishment to be inflicted upon them." The House of Lords published an Order, bearing Date Dec. 22. 1646. 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 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 17. 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.

Further Ac- We have already accounted for the unhappy Rise of *count of the* these *Settarians* in the Army when it was new Modell'd, *Settaries*, who 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* it self; it was first pleaded in excuse for this Practice, that a gifted *Brother* had better preach and pray to the People than nobody; 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. 1646. and many Books were published against the

the *Antinomians, Anabaptists, Seekers, &c.* not forgetting the *Independants*, whose insisting upon a *Tole-* King Charles I.
1646.
ration was reckon'd the Inlet to all the rest.

The most furious Writer against the Sectaries was Edwards's
Gangræna. 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 in the Sacraments, as the *Cross, Kneeling at the Lord's Supper*, and many cast out the Sacraments themselves. You have put down *Saints Days*, and many make nothing of the *Lord's Day*. You have taken away the superfluous Maintenance of Bishops and Deans, and we have many that cry down the necessary Maintenance of Ministers. In the Bishops Days we had singing of Psalms taken away in some Places, conceived Prayer, Preaching,

King " ing, and in their room Anthems, stinted Forms,
Charles I. " and Reading brought in, and now singing of Psalms is
1646. " spoken against, publick Prayer question'd, and all mi-
nisterial Preaching denied. In the Bishops Time
" Popish Innovations were introduced; as Bowing at
" Altars, &c. and now we have Anointing the Sick
" with Oil; then we had bishoping of Children,
" now we have bishoping of Men and Women, by
" laying on of Hands. In the Bishops Days we had
" the Fourth Commandment taken away; and now
" all Ten are taken away by the Antinomians. The
" worst of the Prelates held many sound Doctrines,
" and had many commendable Practices, but many
" of our Sectaries deny all Principles of Religion,
" are Enemies to all holy Duties, Order, Learning,
" overthrowing all, being whirligig Spirits, and the
" great Opinion of an universal Toleration tends to the
" Laying all waste, and Dissolution of all Religion, and
" good Manners. Now (says our Author) a Connivance,
" and suffering without Punishment, such
" false Doctrines and Disorders, provokes God to
" send Judgments. A Toleration doth eclipse the
" Glory of the most excellent Reformation, and
" makes these Sins to be the Sins of the Legislature
" that countenances them. A Magistrate should use
" coercive Power to punish and suppress Evils, as appears from the Example of Ely. Now, right Honourable, though you don't own these Heresies,
" but have put out several Orders against them, yet
" there is a strange unheard of suffering of them,
" such an one as there hardly ever was the like, under any orthodox Christian Magistrate and State.
" Many Sectaries are countenanced, and employed
" in Places of Trust; there has not been any Exemplary Restraint of the Sectaries, by virtue of any
" of your Ordinances, but they are slighted and
" scorned; Preaching of Lay-Men was never more
" in request than since your Ordinance against it;
" Presbyterial Government never more preached and
" printed

" printed against than since it was established. Our
 " dear Brethren of Scotland stand amazed, and are
 " astonished at these Things; the orthodox Ministers
 " and People both in City and Country are grieved
 " and discouraged, and the common Enemy scorns
 " and blasphemers; it is high Time therefore for
 " your Honours to suffer no longer these Sects and
 " Schisms, but to do something worthy of a Parlia-
 " ment against them, and God will be with you."

King
Charles I.
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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. <i>Independants,</i>
2. <i>Brownists,</i>
3. <i>Millenaries,</i>
4. <i>Antinomians,</i>
5. <i>Anabaptists,</i>
6. <i>Arminians,</i>
7. <i>Libertines,</i>
8. <i>Familists,</i> | 9. <i>Enthusiasts,</i>
10. <i>Seekers,</i>
11. <i>Perfectists,</i>
12. <i>Socinians,</i>
13. <i>Arians,</i>
14. <i>Antitrinitarians,</i>
15. <i>Antiscripturists,</i>
16. <i>Scepticks.</i> |
|--|--|

The industrious Writer might have enlarged his Catalogue with *Papists* and *Prelates*, *Deists*, *Ranters*, *Bebeminists*, &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 In-

King Charles I. 1646. dependants are put at the Head of the Sectaries, because they were for Toleration 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 Prayers; one Independent 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 Consciences; another thanked God for the Liberty of Conscience granted in America; and said, Why, Lord, not in England? Another prayed, since God had delivered 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. Edwards very well (says Fuller) my Cotem-porary in Queen's College, who often was transported beyond due Bounds with the Keeness and Eagerness of his Spirit, and therefore 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-Independent to the Height) being convinced that Mr. Edwards had printed some Falshoods in one Sheet of his *Gangræna*, proffer'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.

Mr. Baxter's Account of them.

The Reverend Mr. Baxter, who attended the Conquering Army, mentions the Independants, Anabaptists and Antinomians, as the chief Separatists, to whom he

he adds some other Names, as *Seekers*, *Ranters*, *Begomists*, *Vanists*, all which died in their Infancy, or King Charles I. 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 religious Baxter's Party among them Orthodox, or but very lightly Life, touch'd with the above-mentioned Mistakes, and p. 53. 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 Instruments for the Seducers in their great Work, which was to cry down the *Covenant*, to vilify Parish Ministers, and especially the Scots and the *Presbyterians*."

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 Independency, would discourse of the Points of Sanctification and Christian Experience very favourably; the Seducers above-mentioned 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 protect the Churches Liberties." The same Writer adds, "To speak impartially, some of the Presbyterian Ministers frighten'd the Sectaries into this Fury, by the Unpeaceableness and Impatience of their Minds; they ran from Liberalism into the other Extream, and were so little sensible of their own Infirmitiy, that they would

King Charles I. "not have them tolerated, who were not only tolerable, but worthy Instruments and Members in the Churches." 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. Bramhall of the Papists. Par's Life of Usher, p. 611.

Life, p. 78.

Bishop Bramhall, 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 Presbytery, 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 most diligent Enquiry declares, that he could not find them out ; which renders the Bishop's Account suspect. ed. The most that I could suspect for Papists among Cromwell's Soldiers (says he) were but a few that began as Strangers among the common Soldiers, and by degrees rose up to some inferior Officers,

“ Officers, but none of the superior Officers seemed King
 “ such.” The Body of the Army had a vast Aver- Charles I.
 sion to the Papists, and the Parliament took all Oc- 1646.
 casion of treating them with Rigor; 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 ^{Death of}
 that died about this Time, was *Robert D’Evereux*, ^{E. of Essex}
 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 House-
 hold; but the Earl being unwilling to go into the ar-
 bitrary Measures of the Court in favour of Popery
 and Slavery took part with the Parliament, and ac-
 cepted of the Commission of Captain General of their
 Forces, for which the King proclaimed him a Traitor.
 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 *Ludlow*,
 cautious General was dismissed with an honourable p. 186.
 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 bu-
 ried with great Funeral Solemnity in *Westminster*
Abbey, Octob. 22. at the publick Expence, both
 Houses of Parliament attending the Procession. His
 Effigies was afterwards erected in *Westminster Hall*,

King Charles I. but some of the King's Party found Means in the Night to cut off the Head, and break the Sword, 1646. 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 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. Col-
man.*

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 enter'd 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 prefer'd 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 Di-
stempfer

temper 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.*

^{King}
Charles I.
1646.

About the Middle of *July* died the Learned Doctor ^{Death of} *William Twisse*, Vicar of *Newbury*, and Prolocutor of ^{Dr. Twisse} the Assembly of Divines; he was born at *Speenham Athen. Land*, near *Newbury* in *Berkshire*; his Father was a ^{Oxon.} 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 enter'd 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 travell'd into *Germany*, and became Chaplain to the Princess *Palatine*, Daughter of King *James I.* After his Return to *England* he was made Vicar of *Newbury*, where he gained a vast Reputation by his useful Preaching and exemplary 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 Par-

^{King Charles I. 1646.} liament their Prolocutor, in which Place he continued to his Death, which happen'd 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 Sicknes, 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 Church-Yard of St. Margaret's, before the Back-Door of the Lodgings of one of the Prebendaries.

^{Death of Mr. Jer. Burroughs.}

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 separate Congregation, nor accepted of a Parochial Living; but wore out his Strength in continual Preaching, and other Services of the Church. He was an excellent Scholar, a good Expositor, and most popular Preacher ; he writ se-

veral

veral 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.

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C H A P. 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.

King Charles I. 1647. 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 Thir-ty 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 was debated Paragraph by Paragraph. The Dis-putes about Discipline occasioned so many Interruptions that it was a Year and Half before this Work was finished, for Nov. 26. 1646. the Prolocutor re-turned Thanks to the several Committees, in the Name of the Assembly, for their great Pains in per-fecting 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, They presenting at Westminster, concerning a CONFESSION OF FAITH.* The House of Commons having voted the ^{the Parliament.} Assembly Thanks, desired them to insert the *Proofs* of the several Articles in their proper Places, and ^{MS. penes} then to print six Hundred Copies, and no more, for ^{me.} 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

CHARLES HERLE, *Prolocutor,*
 CORN. BURGES,
 HERBERT PALMER, *Assessors,*
 HENRY ROBOROUGH, *Scribes.*
 ADONIRAM BYFIELD, *S*

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 *Debates of* of this *Confession* May 19. when they passed through the whole first Chapter Article by Article, but the ^{the Com-} Disturbances that arose between the Parliament and Army interrupted their Progress for the whole Summer; but when these were quieted they returned to ^{mons upon} ^{it.} ^{their}

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 1647.

Rushw:
 Part IV.
 Vol. I.
 p. 482.

King Charles I. their Work, and October 2. ordered a Chapter of the Confession of Faith at least to be debated every Wednesday till the whole was finished, by which Means they got through the whole before the End of March following ; for at a Conference with the House of Lords March 22. 1648. 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.*

Discipline 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 re-committed, 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 referr'd 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 ought to be proceeded against by the Censures of the Church, and punish'd by the Civil Magistrate.* 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 approv'd by the General Assembly and Parliament of that

But the whole received by the Scots Assembly and Parliament.

Savoy Conf. Pref. p. 20.

King.

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Kingdom, as the established Doctrine and Discipline of their Kirk ; and thus it has been published to the World ever since, though the Chapters above-mentioned, 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*.

Appendix;
No II.

Nor is it to be supposed, that the *Confession of Faith* it self, which determines so many abstruse Points of Divinity, should have the unanimous Assent of the whole Assembly 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 MS. the Dissent of several Members against some Expressions relating to *Reprobation*, to the *Imputation of the active as well as passive Obedience 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.

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 Ringers of *absolute Predestination, irresistible Grace*, and p. 842. 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,

King Charles I. Divinity, that have been published upon the *Calvinistic or Anti-Arminian Principles* in the last Age.

1647. While the *Confession* was carrying through the Assembly'ssembly, Committees were appointed to reduce it in Larger and to 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 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.

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 Catechism; Some of their Number having been present during the whole of these Transactions; which being done, about

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, " thank'd the Honourable and Reverend Commissioners, 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 embarrassed, 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 what Distresses the Parliament were in, while the common Enemy was high and strong; and adds, that their extraordinary Successes hitherto 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 Restraints the Assembly lay under, but that this was not a proper Time for Redress."

The Commissioners went home under a very great ^{they ap-} Concern for the Storm that was gathering in England, ^{point a} and for the Hardships the Presbyterians lay under ^{Fast for the} with respect to their Discipline; and having obtained ^{Distracti-} the Establishment of the Directory, the Confession of ^{ons of Eng-}land. *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 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.

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

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King Charles I. 1647. 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**.

Rapin,
p. 311.

* 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 settled 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 Proportion 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 Understanding. A Consistory of Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, is called a Kirk Session, the lowest Ecclesiastical Judicatory, which meets one a Week, to consider the Affairs of the Parish. The Minister is always Moderator, but without a Negative; Appeals 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 contiguous Parishes. The Ministers of these Parishes, with One Ruling Elder, chosen Half Yearly out of every Kirk Session, compose a Prestery. 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 Presbyteries, 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 Presbyteries, Royal Burghs, and Universities. A Prestery of Twelve Ministers sends two Ministers and One Ruling Elder; a Prestery 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 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."

Though

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 Vol Pamp. which the Houses published their Resolutions of^{N° 4.} April 22. 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 distin&t 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 unless 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.

According to this Appointment the first Provincial Assembly met at the Convocation Houte 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-

King Charles I. friars, the Reverend Mr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Ralph Robinson, and Mr. Cardel, being appointed Scribes.
1647. After their Return to the Convocation-House a Committee of Seven Ministers and Fourteen Ruling Elders, were chosen to consider of the Business of the Province.

The MINISTERS were,

<i>The Rev. Mr. Whitaker,</i>	<i>The Rev. Mr. Tuckney,</i>
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. Bastwickie,	Mr. Vaughan,
Dr. Brinley,	Mr. Webbe,
Mr. Bence,	Mr. English,
Mr. Russel,	Col. Sowtonstall.
Mr. Bains,	Mr. ——————

Any Six to be a 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. Paul's, they came to the following Resolutions ; *resolved,*

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1. That the Provincial Assembly shall meet Twice every Week, Mondays and Thursdays. *Gen. Rules for the Provincial Assembly.*
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 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 Clasps 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.

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,

1. " That the Number of Delegates to the Provincial Assembly may be enlarged, because they

Their Petition to Parliament.
MS.

King Charles I. " found it difficult sometimes to make up the Number of Thirty six.

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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 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

London Ministers Testimony to Truth, and against Error. a Treatise, entitled, *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant*; as also, *against the Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these Times, and the Toleration 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.

The London Ministers, in their first Article, touching Matters of Doctrine, declare their Assent to the Westminster Assembly's Confession of Faith, " and

" and heartily desire it may receive the Sanction of King
 " Authority, as the joint Confession of Faith of the Charles I.
 " three Kingdoms, in pursuance of the Covenant." 1647.

Touching Heresies and Errors, they declare their Detestation and Abhorrence of these following, among others,

1. " That the holy Scriptures are not of Divine L. Clark-
 " Authority, and the only Rule of Faith. son.

2. " That God hath a bodily Shape ; that God is Biddle.
 " the Name of a Person ; and, that God is the Au- p. 6.
 " thor of Sin, having a greater Hand in it than Men Crisp,
 " themselves. Eaton,
 Sakemarsh.

3. " That there is not a Trinity of Persons in the Paul B. st.
 " Godhead ; that the Son is not Co-equal with the Biddle.
 " Father ; and, that the Holy Ghost is only a mini- p. 8.
 " string Spirit.

4. " That God has not elected some to Salvation Fulness of
 " from Eternity, and rejected or reprobated others ; God's Love
 " and, that no Man shall perish in Hell for Adam's to Man-
 " Sin. kind by L. S.

5. " That Christ died for the Sins of all Mankind ; Ham-
 " that the Benefits of his Death were intended for mond's
 " all ; and, that natural Men may do such Things Pract. Cat.
 " as whereunto God has by way of Promise annexed J. Good-
 " Grace and Acceptation. win. p. 149.

6. " That Man hath a Free-Will and Power in J. Good-
 " himself to repent, to believe, to obey the Gospel, win.
 " and do every Thing that God requires to Salvation.

7. " That Faith is not a supernatural Grace, Ham.
 " and that faithful Actions are the only Things by
 " which a Man is justified.

8. " That the Moral Law is not the Rule of Life ; Randal,
 " that Believers are as clean from Sin as Christ him- John
 " self ; that such have no occasion to pray for Par- Simpson.
 " don of Sin ; that God sees no Sin in his People,
 " nor does he ever chastise them for it.

9. " That there is no Church nor Sacraments, nor p. 17.
 " Sabbath ; the Opinions of the Seekers, now called Saltmarsh.
 " QUAKERS. Smoak in
 the Tem-
 ple.

- King Charles I. 1647.* 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 thy self.*
- Saltmash. Ham. 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 Testament. Five Holi- land Ministers. p. 22.* 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 Blasphemies whatsoever, under the grossly abused Nation of LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE;" and here they complain, as a very great Grievance, "That Men should have liberty 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 Authority for the same; and, that an enforced Uniformity of Religion throughout a Nation or State confounds the Civil and Religious, and denies the very Principles of Christianity and Civility."
- p. 33.* 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; "Upon all these Considerations, we the Ministers of Jesus Christ do hereby testify to our Flocks, to all the Kingdom, and to the Reformed World, our great Dislike of Prelacy, Erastianism, Brownism, and Independence; and our utter Abhorrency of Anti-Scripsurism, Popery, Arianism, Socinianism, Arminianism, Antinomianism, Anabaptism, Libertinism, and Familism; and that we detest the fore-mentioned Toleration, so much pursued and endeavoured in this

" 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 !

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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 p. 4. *Errors, damnable Heresies, horrid Blasphemies, many of which are destructive of the Fundamentals of Christianity, and all of them repugnant to the holy Scriptures, the Scandal and Offence of the Reformed Churches abroad, and the unparalleled Reproach of this Church and Nation ; 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 Preses, 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. 164²/₃. but no body thought fit to accept the Challenge.

Mr. John Goodwin was a learned Divine, and a quick Disputant, but of a peculiar Mould, being a John Republican, an Independant, and a thorough Arminian ; he had been Vicar of Coleman Street, but was

King Charles I. 1647. ejected in the Year 1645. by the Committee for plunder'd Ministers, because he refused to baptize 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 Exposition 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 entitled, *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

King
Charles I.
1647.

“ Eagles Wings : Over whom the Parliament it
 “ self 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 baptized into the
 “ Spirit of high Presbytery, for the *Cross* he speaks
 “ of is no other than this, that *bis orthodox Brethren*
 “ *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, least they*
 “ *should take their Kingdom from them.* How can
 “ this Writer say, that the Independant Preachers
 “ meet with Encouragement, and are under worldly
 “ Glory? Does he account it Matter of worldly
 “ Glory, to be discountenanced by the State, to be
 “ declared uncapable of those Favours and Privile-
 “ ges which other Ministers in the Land enjoy ; 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, Schisma-
 “ ticks, Erroneous, Heretical, Factious, Trouble-
 “ some, 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 *Views of*
 Army had acted in perfect Subordination to the *the differ-*
 Parliament, but the War being over, and the King *rent Par-*
 a Prisoner, the great Difficulty was to settle the Na- *ties con-*
 tion upon such a Foot as might content the several *cerned in*
 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

King Charles I. Light to this Affair it will be proper to consider the separate Views of the King, the Parliament, and the Army.

*1647.
Of the
King.*

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 *essential 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 immovable, 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 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

their Demands, nor hearken to any other Terms of Accommodation with the King, than those of the Co-^{venant}, 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 Declarations 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 Weyes 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 it self.

Though there were some few Presbyterians in the Army, the greatest Part consisted of Independants, ^{my and In-}
^{dependants.} Anabaptists, and Men of unsettled Principles in Religion, who for want of 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

King Charles I. 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 uppermost*; whereas the grand Controversy was, *Presbytery 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 obtain'd 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 *Scettaries*, 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 Proposals 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 Outrageous; 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.

We left the King the Beginning of the Spring at ^{King} his House at Holmby, where he continued under an ^{Charles I.} easy Restraint from the 16th of Feb. to the 4th of ^{1647.} June following. The War being over the Houses ^{Controversy} attempted to get rid of the Army, by offering Six ^{between} Months Pay, and Six Weeks Advance, to as many as ^{the Parl.} would go over to Ireland; and by voting, that the ^{and Army.} 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 ^{Council of} a *Committee of Agitators*, consisting of two inferior ^{Officers} Officers out of each Regiment, to manage their Af- ^{and Agi-} tators. affairs; these met in distinct Bodies, like the two ^{Rushw.} Houses of Parliament, and came to the following Resolu- ^{Vol. VI.} tions, which they sent to Westminster by Three of their ^{p. 485,} Number, who delivered them in at the Bar of the House, ^{498.} " That they would not disband without their Arrears, ^{Rapin,} " nor without full Provision for *Liberty of Conscience*. ^{p. 366.} " 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}

King Charles I. an Engagement May 29. not to disband till the Grievances above-mentioned 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.

King's Answer to the Propositions at Newcastle 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 Di-
 " vines at *Westminster*, proposing a few of his own
 " Clergy to consider what Government to settle af-
 " terwards — 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 Satisfaction 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.

The King seized and carried to the Army.
Rushw.
p. 545,
549.
Rapin,
p. 371.

Things being come to this Crisis, the Agitators considered, that the KING being the Prize contend-ed 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 ; Cor-net *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

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 two Houses received the News of the King's ^{which} being carried off to the Army with the utmost Surprise and Astonishment; the whole City was in Confusion, and all Persons 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 Rushw. the General, not to advance within Forty Miles of p. 546, London, but being already at St. Albans, 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

King

Charles I.

1647.

^{two Houses with sur-}

prise.

&c.

561,

589,

p. 375,

379.

King and peaceably and faithfully towards the State.
 Charles I. 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 Conscien-
 ces, but that when the State had made a Settle-
 ment they would submit or suffer. They wished
 that every peaceable Subject might have Liber-
 ty 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 —"

Declarati-
on of the
Army.
 Rushw.
 P. 582,
 590;

The Commons took no Notice of these Remon-
 strances, but declared in Print, *That his Majesty was a*
Prisoner, and barbarously used, because their Commis-
 sioners 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 de-
 clare 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, Quiet, and Immunity
 of his Majesty, his Royal Family, and his late Parta-
 kers ; and herein we think, that tender and equita-
 ble Dealing (as supposing their Cases had been
 ours) and a Spirit of common Love and Justice
 diffusing it self to the Good and Preservation of
 All, will make the most glorious Conquest over
 " their

" 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. 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 Members 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

King
Charles I.
1647.

Whitl.
p. 264.
Rapin,
p. 385,
388.

Commoti-
ons in the
City.

Ibid.
p. 386.

Rushw.
p. 637.
Rapin,
p. 392.

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 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.

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 *Skinner's 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 Majesty'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

story 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.

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 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 a 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,

King
Charles I.
1647.

Tumults in
the Parl.
House.
Rushw.
p. 642.
Rapin,
p. 404.

Which oc-
casions se-
veral of the
Members
to retire to
the Army.

King Charles I. 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.

Proceedings of the Remainder. 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 that Forces should be immediately raised under the Command of *Waller*, *Massey*, and *Poynz*; 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 *Poynz*, 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; 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 Schismatics, 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

Rapin,
p. 399,
400.
Rushw.
p. 737.

stand by the Covenant whatever the English Parliament might submit to.

King
Charles I.

According to the Order of the Two Houses, the General had removed his Head Quarters above 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 Artillery, 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. City sub-mits. being appointed for this Service the Mayor and Aldermen met the General at *Hide Park* with a Present of a Gold Cup, beseeching him to excuse what had been amis; 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 levell'd, and sundry Peers who had been at the Head of the late Tumults, were impeached of High-Treason, as the Earl of *Suffolk*,

King Charles I. 1647. Middlesex, Lincoln, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Hunsdon, &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 quarter'd 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.

Presbyterian Ministers Vindication of themselves. The Odium of this grand Revolution, by which the Army became Masters of the City of London, and of the Parliament it self, 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 return 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 enter'd the City; it was dated from Sion College, August 2. 1647. and is to this Purpose;

" **W**E 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 pur-
" posely 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

“ against any Desires of a new War, and thereupon King
 “ have called upon us to stir up the People to pre-Charles I.
 “ pare 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 by about Twenty of the *London* Ministers,
 and presented to a Committee of both Houses, sit-
 ing at *Guild-hall*.

Let the Reader now pause a little, and judge of *Remarks.*
 the Authors of this grand Revolution, which brought
 the Parliament under the Power of the Army, and how
 far the Presbyterian Ministers were concern'd in it.
 Mr. Baxter in a very angry Stile lays all the Blame
 at the Door of the *Independants*. “ A few dissenting Mr. Baxter's Opin-
 “ Members of the *Westminster* Synod (says he) be-
 “ gan all this, and carried it far on. Afterwards *nion.*
 “ they encreased, and others joined them, who part-
 “ ly 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 hinder'd all Remedy, till they
 “ had dash'd 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 re-
 “ garded by the Dividers in *England*, as that the Safe-
 “ ty of all these should have been preferr'd, and not
 “ all ruined, rather than their Way should want its
 “ carnal Arm and *Liberty*; and that they should not
 “ tear the Government of Christ all to Pieces rather
 “ than it should want their *Lace*.” I am far from

King Charles I. 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 som'e 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 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.

The King's Notions with the Army. 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 *Cavestham*, 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 *Latinum'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 *Hamp-ton-Court*, where he continued in State and Lustre for about

about Three Months, being attended by the proper Officers of the Court, and a vast Resort of People both from City and Country.

King Charles I.

1647.

While the King was with the Army, Lieutenant General Cromwell and Ireton took sundry Opportunities well and 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. Aſburnham, 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 be 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 Hist. Stuarts, P. 330. 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

fer

King Charles I. “ fer for my sake ; the Church must be established according to Law —” The Officers were founded 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.

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 befall him, which was owing to a Discovery he had made of the King’s Insincerity in treating with him.

Detect. p. 323. Mr. Coke says, 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 those *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 reported, that Cromwell was to have ten Thousand Pounds and a Garter ; and that the Bargain had

Compl. Hist. p. 270. “ cer-

“ certainly taken Effect, if the King had not made King
 “ an Apology to the Queen, and sufficiently implied, Charles I.
 “ that he did it by Constraint, and that when he was 1647.
 “ 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 Informa-
 “ tion of it went to an Inn in Holborn and seized the
 “ Letter.—” Dr. Lane, of the Commons, frequent-
 ly 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 Wri- Hist.
 ter says, that the Letter mentioned his Majesty’s being Stuarts,
 courted by the Scots Presbyterians as well as the Ar- p. 390.
 my, and that they that bid fairest for him should
 have him. Upon the Discovery of this Letter Crom-
 well went to Mr. Ashburnham, who attended the
 King’s Person, and told him, that he was now satis-
 fied the King could not be trusted; that he had no Con-
 fidence in the Army, but was jealous of them and their Of-
 ficers — 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 answer-
 able 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.

Under these Circumstances the unhappy King King
 left Hampton Court, Nov. 11. at Night, and having escaped
 crossed the Thames, took Horse in Company with Sir J. Berkeley, 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 Rushw. p. 920, 960.

King Charles I. 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*; *1647.* *And is con-* as indeed he was in all his Affairs. *Hammond carried fined in the Isle of Wight.* him over to the *Isle Nov. 13.* and after some Time shut him up in *Carisbrook 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.

*Proposals
of the Ar-
my.*

Rushw.
p. 736.
Rapin,
p. 416,
418.

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 A&t be passed " to take away all coercive Power and Jurisdiction of " Bishops extending to any Civil Penalties upon any. " — That there be a Repeal of all A&ts, or Clau- " ses of A&ts, 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 Purpose be " repealed." With regard to the State, " — That " the Militia and great Offices be disposed of by Par- " liament 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 Declarations 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 Witnesses. — That Consideration be " had

“ had of all Statutes, Laws, or Customs of Corporations, imposing any Oaths tending to molest or ensnare religious and peaceable People merely for Non-Conformity in Religion. — That the arbitrary Power given to Committees, and Deputy-Lieutenants, be recalled.”

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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 Presbyterial Government for Three Years, with a Provision, that no Person shall be liable to any Penalty for Non-Conformity to the said Government, or Form of Divine Service; 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 construed 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 Principles of the Christian Religion, contained in the *Apostles Creed*, as it is expounded in the Fifteen first Articles 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 Ordinance 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 reasonable Cause for his Absence, or that he was present to hear the Word of God preached or expounded elsewhere.”

Lords.
Rushw.
p. 840.

King Charles I. The Commons likewise agreed, “ That Presbytery be established till the End of the next Sessions of Parliament, or till the second Sessions; that the Tenth, and all other Maintenance belonging to any Church or Chapel shall be only for the Use of them who can submit to the Presbyterian Government, and none other. That Liberty of Conscience shall extend 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 further, “ 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 Worship 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 November 1. in which they say, that “ Matters of Religion, and the Ways of God’s Worship are not at all intrusted 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; nevertheless, the publick Way of instructing the Nation, so it be not compulsive, is left to their Discretion.” Here 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. King
2. " Against Innovations in Religion. Charles I.
3. " A new Oath for the Conviction of Papists. 1647.
4. " For the Education of the Children of Papists
- " in the Protestant Religion.
5. " Against Pluralities."

The Proposals of the *Presbyterians* were the same *Proposals of the Presbyterians* 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.

It had not been possible to unriddle the Mystery of *Motive of the King's 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 from H. Court.

King Charles I. liament (now under the Influence of the Army) for not acting in Concert with them in the present Treaty, according to their *Covenant*, determined 1647. to manage privately by themselves ; and accordingly, by the Mediation of some of their own Nation, they 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*) p. 104, " was most scandalous and derogatory to the Honour 105. " 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.

Private Treaty with the Scots.
Rapin,
p. 442.

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

“ Course should be taken to suppress the Opinions of the King
 “ Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Arminians, Charles I.
 “ Independants, Brownists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, 1647.
 “ 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 Godli-
 “ ness, or which may be destructive to Order and Govern-
 “ ment, or to the Peace of the Church and Kingdom.”

In return for these Concessions “ the Scots engaged
 “ to raile 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 to his Throne
 “ with Honour and Freedom ;” which occasioned a
 second Civil War the next Year.

As soon as his Majesty arrived in the Isle of Wight King's
 from Hampton Court he sent a Letter to the Speaker Concessions
 of the House of Lords, to be communicated to the from the Isle of
 Commons, with the following Concessions on his Wight. Part, very inconsistent with the Treaty last mention-Rushw.
 ed. — “ For the Abolishing Archbishops, Bishops, p. 880.
 “ &c. his Majesty clearly professeth, that he cannot Rapin,
 “ consent to it either as a Christian or a King ; for p. 430:
 “ 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 Re-
 “ formation, 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 Pre-
 “ decessors, in their Confirmations of the great Char-
 “ ter have inseparably woven the Rights of the
 “ Church into the Liberty of the Subject ; and yet
 “ he is willing that it be provided, that particular
 “ Bishops

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" Bishops perform the several Duties of their Callings, both by their personal Residence, and frequent Preaching ; that in their personal Exercise " no Act of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, be without " consent 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 Majesty sees no Reason why he " alone, and those of his Judgment, should be preferred 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 believes 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 Discouragement 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 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, provided 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 Government, 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

“ differ upon conscientious Grounds from that Settlement; always provided, that nothing aforesaid 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 Blasphemy, contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Nicene 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.

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 till they had secured to themselves the Liberties they had been fighting for: This they had in vain attempted with the King, and were

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King next determined to try what they could do with the Charles I. Parliament.

1647. The Houses being informed of the King's Design *The Army* to make his Escape out of the *Isle of Wight*, ordered *unite with* the Governor to put away his Servants, and shut *the Parliament* him up a close Prisoner in the Castle, so that no Person might be admitted to speak to him without leave. Rushw. His Majesty having also declared, when he rejected ^{P. 951,} the Parliament's Four Bills, that nothing that could ^{P. 953, 962.} befall him should ever prevail with him to consent to ^{P. 453,} any one Act, till the Conditions of the whole Peace ^{467.} 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.

Notes 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 open'd 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 Re- " treat." 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 harden'd. " — The Army will defend you against all Op- " position. Teach them not, by neglecting your's " and the Kingdom's Safety, in which their own " is

“ is involved, to think themselves betray'd, and left
 “ hereafter to the Rage and Malice of an irrecon- King
 “ cilable Enemy, whom they have subdued for your Charles I.
 “ 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 destru-
 “ ctive 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 one Hundred forty one, No's Ninety
 one. Jan. 17. the Lords concurr'd with the Com-
 mons in their Votes of *Non-Addresses*. To this very Vol. III.
 Time, says Lord Clarendon, no Man mentioned the P. 93.
 King's Person without Duty and Respect. But now
 a new Scene was open'd, and some of the Officers, at
 their Meetings at *Windsor*, began to talk of Depositing
 the King, or prosecuting him as a Criminal, of
 which his Majesty was advertised by *Watson* the Quar-
 ter Master, but it made no Impression upon him.

The two Houses having concurr'd in their Votes *Parlia-*
 for Non-Addresses, the Army agreed to stand by the *ment's Re-*
 Parliament in settling the Nation without the King ; *monstrance*.
 and that the People might be satisfied with the Rea-
 sons of their Proceedings, a Remonstrance was pub-
 lished by Order of Parliament, Feb. 15. in which
 they recapitulate all the Errors of his Majesty's Go-
 vernment ; his Insincerity in the several Treaties
 of Peace he had enter'd into with them ; and that
 though they had applied to him seven Times with
 Propositions, in all which the Scots had concur-
 red 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 Post-
 humous Works of Lord Clarendon there is a large
 Reply to this *Remonstrance*, in which his Lordship en-
 deavours 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

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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.

*Ordinance
for Abolish-
ing the Ob-
servation
of Christ-
mas, and
other
Saints
Days.*
Scobel,
p. 128.

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 other Festi- " vals, commonly called *Holy Days*, be no longer " observed as Festivals; any Law, Statute, Custom, " Constitution, or Canon to the contrary, in any " wise notwithstanding.

*Time al-
lotted for
Servants
Recreation.*

" And that there may be a convenient Time allot- " ted 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 con- " venient reasonable Recreation, and Relaxation " from Labour, every second *Tuesday* in the Month " throughout the Year, as formerly they used to " have upon the Festivals; and Masters 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 Dif- " ference arise between Masters and Servants con- " cerning

"cerning the Liberty hereby granted, the next Justice of the Peace shall reconcile it."

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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 of it. to be resolved of this Question, *Why the new Reformers discharge the Keeping of Easter?* My Reason for P. 370. this Query is, "I conceive 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 Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turn'd 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 ashamed 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 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.

The changing the Festival of *Christmas* into a *Fast* it occasions 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

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Rushw.
P. 948.

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 open'd 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, stopp'd 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.

King's
Clergy pe-
tition to be
restored to
their Li-
vings.

The War being thought to be at an end many of the Clergy, who had followed the Camp, returned home, and endeavoured to reposess themselves of their sequester'd 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

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and in a State of Honour and Dignity, to take their poor distressed Condition into his gracious 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 Suff. Cler. had been outed of their Livings, contrary to the P. 145. 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 called to answer, and scarce one had Articles proved by Oath, or other legal Proceses, by which means your Petitioners 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 Practices, 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 consists 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 upon 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."

By

King Charles I. By this bold Petition, 'tis evident, these Gentlemen were encouraged to hope, that the Army would carry their Resentments 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 Proposals 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 sequester'd Persons, including the Clergy, should remain in the Hands of the Tenants till a general Peace. Upon which the old Incumbents grew very troublesome, forbidding the Parishioners to pay their Tithes, and threatening the present Possessors of their Pulpits with Prosecutions by Law.

Counter Petition of the Presbyterians. 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 Par-

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 enter'd upon the Churches, and gained Possession of the Tithes, &c. the Lords and Commons did therefore ordain, That all Sheriffs, Mayors, Committeees, &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."

However, some little Favour was shewn, about this Time, to those Bish^{ps}, 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 p. 831, 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

King Charles I.
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*Ordinance
in their
Favour.*

King Charles I. wife provided for ; and was soon after allowed to be Preacher at *Lincoln's Inn*, only upon taking the ^{1647.} 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.



C H A P. IX.

*The Visitation of the University of OXFORD,
State of Religion at the End of the Year.*

SA D and deplorable was the Condition of the Uni- ^{King} versity of Oxford when it fell into the Hands of ^{Charles I.} the Parliament ; the Colleges and Halls were gone to ^{1647.} Ruin ; Five of them perfectly deserted, and the rest ^{Condition} in a very shatter'd Condition. The publick A^{cts} of the Uni- had been discontinued for some Years, the Schools ^{versity of} were turned into Magazines for the King's Army, ^{Oxford.} 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 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 ^{Parlia-} reserved for that Purpose in the Articles of Surrender. ^{ment send}

But before they proceeded to Extreams the two ^{Mixifiers} Houses about the beginning of September 1646. ap- ^{to reform} pointed Seven of their most popular Divines to re- ^{it.} Suff. Cler. pair p. 125.

^{King Charles I.} pair to Oxford, with Authority to preach in any of the Pulpits of 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, of 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 ve-
 " ry coldly for the King, but were very earnest for
 " a Blessing upon the Counsels and Arms of the Par-
 " liament, 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 Colleges, or senior Scholars, attended
 " them."

Their Conduct and Success. 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 several of the Scholars ridiculed their Proceedings,

Suff. Cler. p. 125.

Minst. Account, p. 5.

Vol. Pamp. N° 82.

ings, 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 prevail'd 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 Minst. London they declared, that the Citizens showed them Account, 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 clave to them, and believed.

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, Rushw. " That the Chancellor, 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 ancient Form of Government, SUBORDINATE TO THE IMMEDIATE AUTHORITY AND POWER OF PARLIAMENT, and that all the Rights, Privileges, Franchises, Lands, Tenements, Houses, Rents, Revenues, Libraries, Debts, Goods and Chattles, &c. belonging to the said University, shall be enjoyed by them respectively as aforesaid, free from Sequestrations, Fines, Taxes, and all other Molestationes whatsoever, under colour of any Thing relating to the present War. And if any Removal shall be made by the Parliament

King

Charles I:

1647.

King Charles I. 1647. " of any Head, or other Members of the University, that they shall enjoy their Profits for Six Months after the Surrendring of Oxon, and shall have convenient Time allowed them for the Removal of themselves and their Goods; provided that this shall not extend 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 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.

Ordinance for that Purpose. Scobel's Collect. Part I. p. 116.

May 1. 1647. an Ordinance past both Houses for Visiting the University, and named the following Gentlemen, Lawyers, and Divines, for that Service, *viz.*

Suff. Cler. p. 126.

Sir Nath. Brent,	The Rev. Dr. John Wil-
Sir William Cobb,	kinson,
William Prince of Lin-	Mr. Henry Wil-
coln's Inn, Esq;	kinson,
John Pulliston of Lin-	Mr. Edw. Rey-
coln's Inn, Esq;	nolds,
Barth. Hall of the Middle	Mr. Rob. Har-
Temple, Esq;	riss,
Tho. Knight of Lincoln's	Mr. Edw. Cor-
Inn, Esq;	bet,
William Draper of Lin-	Mr. Fran. Chey-
coln's Inn, Esq;	nell,
Gabriel Beck of Lincoln's	Mr. John Wil-
Inn, Esq;	kinson,
John Cartwright, Esq;	Mr. John Mills,
Samuel Dunch, Esq;	Mr. Christopher
Mr. William Tipping,	Rogers.
Mr. George Greenwood,	
Mr. John Packer,	
Mr. William Cope.	

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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 Statutes 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 lawfully 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 tender'd to them by such as are authorized by Parliament; and concerning those who oppose the Execution of the Ordinance of Parliament, concerning the Discipline and Directory; and those who shall teach or write against any Point of Doctrine, 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 Condition 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 empowered, to examine and consider of all such Oaths as are enjoin'd 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-mentioned; provided always, that if any of the Masters, Scholars, Fellows, &c. shall find themselves

King Charles I. " selves grieved by any Sentence given by the Visitors, it shall be lawful for them to appeal to the Committee of Lords and Commons, who are authorized finally to hear and determine every such Case brought before them."

Abstract of the University's Reasons against the Covenant, &c. 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 Negative Oath, and the Ordinances concerning Discipline and Worship, approved by general Consent in a full Convocation, 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 increased. Nor that we have consented to any Supplication or Remonstrance to the Purposes therein 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."

TO THE COVENANT IN GENERAL.

Against the Covenant in general. " We are of Opinion, That a Covenant ought to be a voluntary Contract, and not imposed. Now we can't voluntarily consent to this Covenant with-

" our

“ out betraying our Liberties, one of which is, *Not to King*
 “ *be obliged to take any Oath but what is established by Act Charles I.*
 “ *of Parliament*; and without acknowledging in the *1647.*
 “ Imposers a greater Power than has been chal-
 “ lenged in former Time, or can subsist with our for-
 “ mer *Protestation*. But if the *Covenant* were not
 “ imposed, but only recommended, we apprehend
 “ the taking it to be inconsistent with our Loyalty,
 “ to the King, especially since he has by Proclama-
 “ tion forbid it.”

OBJECTIONS TO THE SEVERAL ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT.

To the first Article.

“ We cannot swear to preserve the Religion of *Against*
 “ *another Kingdom* (Scotland) whereof we have very *the first*
 “ little Understanding, which as far as we are ac- *Article,*
 “ quainted with it, is much worse than our own in
 “ Worship, Discipline, and Government, and in
 “ Doctrine not at all 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.

“ Neither are we satisfied in the present Reforma-
 “ *tion of Religion in our own Kingdom, in Doctrine,*
 “ *Worship, and Discipline*, because, (1.) It gives a
 “ manifest Scandal 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 Recusancy, who
 “ reproach us, by saying, we know not what Reli-
 “ gion we are of; nor where to stop, since we have
 “ left them; and, that ours is a *Parliamentary Reli* *1648.*
 “ *gion*. Besides, this would be a tacit Acknowledgment, p. 179.
 “ that there has been something in the Church of England
 “ not agreeable to the Word of God, and so justify the
 “ Separation, and condemn all the penal Laws that have

King Charles I. " been made to oblige People to conform. (2.) By the intended Reformation we should wrong our selves, 1647. " by swearing to reform that which we have formerly by our Subscriptions approved, and which we do still believe 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 Perjury, because 'tis contrary to our former Protestantation, which obliges us to maintain the Doctrine of the Church of England, which may take in the whole Establishment; and it is contrary to the Oath of Supremacy, which gives the sole Power to the King in Matters Ecclesiastical."

OBJECTIONS to the second Article.

Against the second Ar- " We are very much grieved to see the Prelacy of the Church of England rank'd with Popery, Suttle. " perstition, Heresy, Schism, and Profaneness, with Ib. p. 184. " 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 Institution. Or, (2.) At least that Episcopal Aristocracy hath a fairer Claim to a Divine Institution than any other Form of Church Government. (3.) That Episcopal Government has continued in the Church without Interruption for fifteen Hundred Years, therefore to extirpate 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 Catholick Church. (4.) Besides, we can't swear to the Extirpating 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

" it contrary to the Word of God. We have been King
 " ordained by Bishops ; we have petitioned the Par- Charles I.
 " liament for the Continuance of them ; and some of 1647.
 " us hold our Livelihoods by the Titles of Deans,
 " Deans and Chapters, &c. (5.) We are not satis-
 " fied that the Inconveniencies of the *New Government*
 " will be less than the *Old*, the House of Commons
 " having remonstrated [Dec. 15. 1641.] that it was
 " far from their Purpose to abolish this Government,
 " 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 supreme Governor in all Causes Eccle-
 " siastical, we cannot endeavour to extirpate this
 " Government without the Royal Assent, which we
 " are so far from desiring, that we are continually Ib. p. 197.
 " praying, That the King may not be prevailed 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 Privile-
 " ges and Emoluments arising to the Crown from
 " the Ecclesiastical Estate, which are a consider-
 " able Part of the Revenue, which by the Extirpa-
 " tion of Prelacy 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 *Against the*
 " Loyalty in these Words, *In the Preservation and third Ar-*
 " *Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the King-* ticle.
 " *dom* ; because no such Limitation is to be found in Ib. p. 201.
 " 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

King Charles I. " 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." 1647.

To the fourth Article.

Against the fourth Article. They reply, " That the imposing the Covenant in this 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 Malignancy; besides the subjecting our selves to an arbitrary Punishment, at the sole Pleasure of such uncertain Judges as may be deputed for that Effect, is betraying the Liberty of the Subject."

Objections to the fifth Article.

Against the fifth Article. " We can't acknowledge 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, Power, 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 Beginning of these Distractions."

Objections to the sixth Article.

Against the sixth Article. 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 supported 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

“ other Christian Churches may be encouraged by our King
 “ Example to join in the like Covenant to free themselves Charles I.
 “ from the Antichristian Yoke, for we do not know any 1647.
 “ 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; ‘tis 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
 “ reformed Religion odious to the World; that Chris-
 “ tian Princes might be provoked to use more Seve-
 “ rity towards those of the reformed Religion, if not
 “ to root it out of their Dominions; for the Yoke of
 “ Antichrist, if laid upon Subjects by their lawful
 “ Sovereigns, is to be thrown off by Christian Bold-
 “ ness in confessing the Truth, and suffering for it,
 “ not by taking up Arms, or violent resisting of the
 “ Higher Powers.”

After these Remarks upon the several Articles they take Notice,

(1.) Of the following seeming Contradictions in the *Covenant*, as, “ the preserving, and yet reforming ^{Contradi-}
 “ one and the same reformed Religion. The Re- ^{tions in}
 “ forming Church Government according to the ^{the Cova-}
 “ Word of God, and yet extirpating that Gov- ^{nant.}
 “ ernment which we apprehend agreeable to it. The ^{Ib. p. 211.}
 “ 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.

(2.) They observe some dark and doubtful Expressions which they don’t well understand; as, *Ex-Doubtful Expressions*
 “ Who are the Common Enemies? Which are the ^{in the Co-}
 “ best reformed Churches? Who are Malignants? ^{venant.} Ib. p. 213.

King Charles I. " How far the bindring Reformation may be extend-
ed, &c.

1647. (3.) By the Use that has been made of the Covenant
Absurdities. 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 to-
wards 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 Pre-
servation of the King's Honour and Estate in defence of
the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom, tho'
we apprehend all other Things should be subordi-
nate to it, yet by some bold Speeches that have
been made we are afraid nothing less is intended."

Of the SALVOES FOR TAKING THE COVENANT.

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 Salvo I. the Conclusion of it (viz.) That we shall take it with a true Intention to perform the same, as we shall answer it 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.

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 for-
merly

“ merly taken, &c. which is no better than vile Hy-
 “ poctify ; for by the same Rule one might subscribe King
 “ to the Council of Trent, or the Turkish Alcoran. Charles I.
 1647.

(3.) “ It is said, that we may take the Covenant in *Salvo III.*
 “ our present Circumstances, notwithstanding our Alle-
 “ giance to the King, because Protection and Subjection
 “ are Relatives, and the King being unable to proteet 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.

(4.) “ It is said, that the Parliament being the *su-Salvo IV.*
 “ pream 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 personally
 “ present. But we deny the King to be always pre-
 “ sent with his Parliament in Power, for then his actual
 “ 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 sup-
 “ posed to have a negative Voice. Besides, the Sta-
 “ tute which provides, that the King’s Assent to any
 “ Bill signified under his Great Seal shall be as valid
 “ as if he were personally present, 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
 “ haye their several proper Rights and Interests di-
 “ stinct from the King’s, by virtue of which they
 “ are

King " are distinct Orders and Conservators of their several Interests. Besides, the Judges of other Courts
 Charles I. " ral Interests. Besides, the Judges of other Courts
 1647. " are bounded by the Laws in being, and therefore
 " the King's personal Presence is not necessary ; but
 " the Case is quite different in making new Laws,
 " for the making of 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 Persons as the
 " Sovereignty of that Community resideth in. Up-
 " on 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 ap-
 " pear 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 King-
 " dom."

Concerning the NEGATIVE OATH.

Objections to 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."

Ibid. p. 243.

Concerning the DISCIPLINE AND DIRECTORY.

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

“ Iament made by the joint Consent of King, Lords
“ and Commons, especially one, which annexes the
“ whole Power of ordering all Ecclesiastical Matters
“ for ever to the Imperial Crown of this Realm;
“ now we are not satisfied that a less Power can
“ have a just Right to abrogate a greater.

“ If under the Title of *Discipline* be comprehended
“ the *Government* of the Church also, we declare,
“ we cannot consent to the Eradication of a Govern-
“ ment of such reverend 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. 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 Quality)
“ for the keeping back Thousands of well meaning
“ Christians from the blessed Sacrament, when Saint
“ Paul, in a Church abounding with sundry Errors,
“ and Corruptions in Faith and Manners, satisfies
“ himself with a general Declaration of the Danger
“ of unworthy communicating, and enjoins every
“ particular Person a *Self-Examination*, without em-
“ powering either Ministers or Lay-Elders to ex-
“ clude any from the Communion upon their Exa-
“ mination.

“ As to the *Directory* it self, we cannot, without
“ regret of Conscience, and during the Continuance
“ of the present Laws, consent to the taking away
“ the *Book of Common Prayer*, which we have subscri-
“ bed, and solemnly promised to use no other, which
“ we believe contains in it nothing but what is just-
“ ly defensible; and which we think our selves able
“ to justify against all Papists and Sectaries. Besides,
“ we look upon the Statute enjoining the Use of the
“ *Common Prayer* to be still in force, and will always
“ remain so, 'till it shall be repealed by the same
“ good and full Authority by which it was made;

“ that

King " that is, by the free Consent of King, Lords and Charles I. " Commons."

1647. 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 one's 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 Consciences. But the University Reasons 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 our 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 Performance they printed, entitled, *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 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.

To return to the Visitation, May 15. a Citation^{Visitation} was issued in the Names of Ten of the Visitors then in open’d. London, to the Proctors, and Heads of Houses, or Suff. Cler. 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

King
Charles I:
1647.

^{King} Charles I. ^{1647.} 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. open'd 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 of the 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 Proscbolium, 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, Gentlemen, '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 return 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, Academiac & Collegii, &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.

1641.

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 Academicks, "who (according to Dr. Walker) poured i.p-p. 122, on the Visitors all manner of Contempt and Scorn; 123, 128, though they knew their very Lives and Fortunes were at their Disposal. The University (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 *Parlia-* Visitors, and enable them to go through their Work; *ment re-* past an Ordinance, Aug. 26. empowering them "to ad-*solve to* minister the *Covenant*, and the *Negative Oath*; to de-*support* their vi-*Visitors*. mand the Perusal of the Statutes, Registers, Accompts, &c. and of all other Papers of the University, and lb. p. 128; of the respective Colleges and Halls; and to seize and detain in Custody any Person, who after a personal Citation refused to appear, and produce their Books and Papers after a second 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 University of Oxford, &c. which was

very

King Charles I. 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.

*The Visita-
tion revis-
ed.*

*Wood's
Antiq.
Oxon.*

p. 382.

Furnish'd 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 fix'd 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,

*The Uni-
versity
will not
submit.*

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 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 adjourn'd from the 10th to the 15th Instant, proceeded on the 11th to hold a Congregation, and open the Term as 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, order'd 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 Suff. Cler. Universitatis*; or the *Reasons of the University above-mentioned?* Whether they own'd the Power of the Visitors? Or whether 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 University 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 tender'd 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,

King Charles I. "that in an Affair of so much Consequence they might be allowed Time to advise with Council."

1647. 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

Eccles. Hist. 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 Opinion, 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 expressly 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*.

Let. to Mr. Siden. The Oxford Divines not satisfied with this Determination appealed soon after to the Publick, in a Letter Suff. Cler. p. 130. to

to the learned Mr. Selden, Burgess for the University, ^{King} entitled, *The Case of the University of Oxford*; or, the ^{Charles I.} sad Dilemma that all the Members thereof are put ^{1647.} to, to be perjured or destroyed. The Letter says, ^{Vol Pamp.} " that the only Question proposed by the Visitors to N^o 34. - " 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 can- " not submit to any Visitation without danger of Per- " jury, as appears by the Words of the Oath, which " are, *You shall swear to observe all the Statutes, Liber-* " *ties, Privileges, and Customs of the University;* to " which the Scholar answers, *I swear.* Now it be- " ing 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 Li- " berties, 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 the Choice of several " Officers in Case of a Vacancy, all which, instead " of being referr'd to the Members of the Univer- " sity, is now done by the arbitrary Power of the " Visitors. Nothing (say they) can be alledg'd in " Answer to this, but the pretended sovereign Pow- " er 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 Freeholds on this " Account?" But this Reasoning was thought too weak to deserve any furtiier Answer.

King Charles I. 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 p. 131. pass'd the same Sentence upon

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.

Their stubborn Behaviour. 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 p. 290. this Usage passed an Ordinance Jan. 22. 1648. 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.

E. of Pembroke Chancellor visits in Person. 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 it self; 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 Colleges came near him; the Insignia of the University were not to be found, and the Scholars treated the Chancellor and his Retinue with all that Rudeness

ness they had been taught to express towards all that adhered to the Parliament. King Charles I.

Next Morning the Earl, attended with a Guard of ^{1647.} ~~Soldiers~~, went to *Christ Church*, and having in vain ^{His Pro-} desired Mrs. Fell, the Dean's Wife, to quit the ^{ceedings.} Lodgings peaceably, he commanded the Soldiers to ^{Suff. Cler.} break open the Doors, and carry her out in a ^{p. 133.} 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, 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.

In the Afternoon they held a Convocation, which ^{Rushw.} was opened with an elegant Latin Oration, pro-^{p. 1064.} nounced 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. Cross were ^{Suff. Cler.} declared Proctors, and all Three returned their ^{p. 133,} Thanks to the Chancellor in Latin Speeches. At ^{p. 134.} this Convocation Degrees were conferr'd upon divers learned Men. Mr. Chambers, Mr. Callicott, and Mr. Harris, were made Doctors of Divinity; Mr. Palmer Doctor of Physick; Mr. 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.

King
Charles I
1647.

Next Morning, April 13. the Chancellor and Visitors, with a Guard of Musqueters, went to *Magdalén 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 lock'd 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 broke 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 Dr. Radcliffe, allowing each of them a Month's Time to remove their Effects. But some of the Students of *Christ's Church* having got

Suff. Cler. p. 134. 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.

Reports
the Behaviour of the University to the Parliament.
It. 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 appear, 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

" such Sentence from the Committee) in Conjuncti-
 " on with the Visitors, were empowered to put King
 " others in their Places. They resolved further, Charles I.
 " that the *Bursars* should make no Dividend of Mo-
 " ney 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.

By virtue of these Orders the Visitors cited the ^{Numbers} Fellows, Scholars of Houses, Gentlemen Common-^{ejected.} Servitors, 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 Life of University, and did not appear ; Others disowned the ^{Mr. Phil.} Power of the Parliament at first, and afterwards sub- ^{Henry.} mitted, but the main Body stood it out to the last : Dr. Walker says, that one Hundred and Eighty with- ^{Suff.} Cle drew ; that of about six Hundred seventy six that ap- ^{Part I.} peared, five Hundred forty eight refused at first to ^{p. 135.} own the Authority of the Visitation, but that after- ^{Ibid.} wards many submitted, and made their Peace. In p. 138, another Place he supposes one Fourth submitted ; and makes the whole Number of Fellows and Scholars deprived to amount to three Hundred 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 expell'd ; for though the Visitors were obliged to return their Names to the Committee, and were empowered to expel them, yet they defer'd the Execution of their Powers, in hopes that Time

King Charles I. 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 Railery and ill Language, to *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and the rest of the Brownistical Pamphlets in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, were scattered in the most publick Places of the City every Week ;

Ib. p. 135. 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 Gentlemanly and Moderation.

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 University, 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 under 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 Musquetiers, to publish by Beat of Drum before the Gates of the several

King Charles I.
1648.

Garrison
search the
Colleges for
Arms.

Suff. Cler.
p. 137.

Scholars
expell'd.

King Charles I. 1647. several Colleges, that "if any of those who had been expell'd by the Visitors shou'd presume to continue 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 deemed as a Spy, and punished with Death." And to fortify this Order General Fairfax, who was then in the Field, gave publick 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 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, <i>Provost of Queen's</i> — Dr. Hood, <i>Rector of Lincoln</i> — Dr. Saunders, <i>Provost of Oriel</i> — Dr. Hakewell, <i>Rector of Exeter</i> — Sir Nath. Brent, <i>Warden of Merton</i> Dr. Zouch, <i>Principal of Alban Hall</i> Dr. Lawrence, <i>Master of Balliol</i> —	} College, } Dr.
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King
Charles I.
1647.

Dr. Pocock, *Arabick Professor*,
Dr. Clayton, *Anatomy Professor*,
Mr. Philips, *Musick Professor*.

The following Characters of these Gentlemen, with *Their Characters*: 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. Gerard Langbain, Provost of Queen's College, Dr. Langbain was a great Ornament to his College; he was elected ^{bain.} Keeper of the Archives, or Records of the University, being in general Esteem for his great Learning ^{Wood's} ^{Athen.} and Honesty. He was an excellent Linguist, ^{Vol. II.} an p. 220. 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 Goliabs of Literature. He was also an excellent Antiquary, indefatigable in his Studies, and of immense Undertakings. He died Feb. 10. 1658. and was buried in the inner Chapel of Queen's College.

Dr. Paul Hood, Rector of Lincoln College, had Dr. Hood. been many Years Governor of this House, and con- ^{Wood's} tinued in it, through all Changes, till his Death; he ^{Faſti.} was Vice-Chancellor of the University in the Year ^{p. 127.} 1660. when he conformed to the Established Church, and died in the Year 1668.

Dr. John Saunders, Provost of Oriel College, dis- Dr. Saun- owned the Authority of the Visitors at first, but ^{ders.} afterwards complied; for as Dr. Walker observes, ^{Walker,} there was no other Provost till after his Death, which ^{p. 131.} was in the Year 1652.

Dr. George Hakewell, Rector of Exeter College, had Dr. Hake- been Chaplain to Prince Charles, and Archdeacon of well. Surry; upon the Promotion of Dr. Prideaux to the See ^{Walker,} of Worcester he was chosen Rector of this College, but ^{p. 114.} 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. Sir

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.

Dr. Zouch. 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 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. 166^o.

Dr. Lawrence. Dr. *Tho. 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. ^{King Charles I.} ^{1647.} 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 Preacherships in the University in the Year 1650. ^{Suff. Cler. P. 100.} 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.

The Professors of Sciences that submitted to the ^{Characters of the Pro-} Visitors, and were continued, were,

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} ^{Dr. Pocock.} for his great Skill in the Oriental Languages, and ^{Athen. Oz.} for many learned Works that he published. ^{Hep. 868.} 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.

Thomas Clayton, M. D. King's Professor of Anatomy; he kept his Place till the Year 1651. and ^{Dr. Clayton.} 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. Arthur Philips, Professor of Musick, of whom ^{Mr. Phillips.} 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

King Charles I. 1647.	Heads of Colleges turned out. Heads of Colleges ejected.	Colleges.	Succeeded by.
	Dr. Fell, Vice- Chancellor, from	Deanry of Christ Church,	Dr. Reynolds, afterwards Bp. of Norwich,
	Dr. Pit, Warden of	Wadham College	Dr. J. Wilkins, afterwards Bp. of Chester,
	Dr. Walker, Dr. Radcliffe, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Newlin, Dr. Bayly,	University Coll. Brazen Nose Coll. All Souls Coll. Corp. Christi Coll. St. John's Coll.	Dr. Joshua Hoyle, Dr. D. Greenwood, Dr. Palmer, M.D. Dr. Ed. Staunton, Dr. Cheynel,
	Dr. Oliver,	Magdalen Coll.	Dr. John Wil- kinson,
	Dr. Han. Potter, Dr. Mansell, Mr. Wightwick, B. D.	Trinity Coll. Jesus Coll. Pembroke Coll.	Dr. H. Wilkin- son, jun. Princ. of Magd. Hall, Dr. Rob. Harris, Dr. Mic. Roberts,
	Dr. Stringer, Prof. Gr. Lang.	New Coll.	Dr. H. Langley, Mr. Ch. Rogers, Mr. Harmar, Prof. Gr. Lang.

Professors of Scien- ces turned out.	Professorships.	Succeeded by.
Dr. Rb. Sanderson, Mr. Birkenhead, A. M.	Reg. Pr. of Div. M. Philos. Prof.	Dr. Crosse, Dr. Henry Wil- kinson, jun.
Mr. Rob. Warin, Dr. Jn. Edwards, Dr. Turner, M. D.	Camb. Hist. Prof. Nat. Phil. Prof. Savil Prof. Geo.	Dr. L. du Moulin, Dr. Joshua Crosse, Dr. John Wallis,
Mr. Jn. Greaves, A. M.	Profess. Astron.	Dr. Ward, astw. Bp. Salisbury,
Dr. Hen. Ham- mond,	University Ora- tor.	Mr. Button, AM. Mr. Corbet, who quitted.

Dr.

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 Restoration he was successively Bishop of *London*, ^{King Charles I.} ^{1647.} Chancellor of *Oxford*, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*; he built the noble Theatre at *Oxford*, and did a great many other Works of Charity, but never gave any great Specimens of his Piety or Learning to p. 98. the World.

Dr. Samuel Fell, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and Dean of *Christ Church*, dispossessed of his Deanship 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. 1649. 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 Specimens of his Learning behind him.

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. 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. 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

King Charles I. 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, Dr. *John Oliver*, President of *Magdalen College*, *Walker*, had been domestick Chaplain to Archbishop *Laud*, p. 122. 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 Octob. 27. 1661.

Dr. Potter. Dr. *Hannibal Potter*, President of *Trinity College*, *Walker*, elected 1643. and turned out with the rest that disowned the Authority of the Visitors, April 13. 1648. He afterwards accepted 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.

Dr. Pitt. Dr. *John Pitt*, Warden of *Wadham College*; elected *Walker*, April 16. 1644. after that City was garrisoned for p. 136. the King ; he behaved very refractorily towards the Visitors, and died soon after his Ejection.

Dr. Mansel. Dr. *Francis Mansel*, Principal of *Jesus College*, elected to this Principalsip 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. Walker. Dr. *Thomas Walker*, Master of *University College*, *Walker*, elected 1632. and dispossessed by the Visitors July 10. p. 114. 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.

Mr. Wightwick. Mr. *Henry Wightwick*, B. D. elected to the Mastership of *Pembroke College* in direct Opposition to the *Walker*, Order of Parliament, July 13. 1647. for which Reason p. 132.

son he was soon after dispossessed. In the Year 1660 King he was restored, but turned out again in 1664. for Charles I. what Reasons Dr. Walker says he does not know. He ^{1647.} died in Lincolnshire 1671.

Dr. Henry Stringer, elected to the Wardenship of Dr. Stringer 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.

The Professors that were turned out by the Visitors were,

Dr. Robert Sanderson, Regius Professor of Divinity; Professors a very learned Man, and an excellent Casuist; he ^{ejected} was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, but ^{Dr. S.-n.} did not sit among them. He had a very considerable Hand in drawing up the Reasons of the University Sanderson against the Covenant, and the Negative Oath. After ^{Life of} by Walton, his Ejection 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 166 $\frac{2}{3}$.

Mr. John Birkenhead, A. M. Moral Philosophy Mr. Birkenhead Reader; he was employed by the Court to write the Mercurius Aulicus, a Paper filled with most bitter Invectives against the Parliament, for which he was rewarded with this Lectureship. After his Ejection he lived privately till the Restoration, when he was knighted, and chose Burges 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. Robert Waring, Cambden History Professor; he ^{aw.} Warboe Arms for the King in the Garrison at Oxford, ^{ring.} and was not elected to this Professorship till after the Visitation began: He was reckon'd (says Wood) ^{Walker, p. 100.} among ^{Athen. Ox.}

King Charles I.: among the Wits of the University, and was a good Poet and Orator: He died 1658.

1647. *John Edwards*, M. D. Natural Philosophy Lecturer; Dr. Edwards. 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.
Walker,
p. 118.

Dr. Turner. *Peter Turner*, M. D. Savilian Professor of Geometry; he served his Majesty as a Voluntier 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*.
Wood,
p. 125.

Mr. Greaves. *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.
Walker,
p. 125.

Dr. Hammond. *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 Ejection he retired to the House of Sir *J. Packington* of *Worcestershire*, where he employed 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.
Vide
his Life.

The Heads of Colleges who succeeded those that were ejected by Authority of Parliament, were

Dr.

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 common Skill in the Greek Tongue; he was a good Disputant and Orator, & popular Divine, and in great Esteem in the City of London, being 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 conform'd at the Restoration and was made Bishop of Norwich, and died 1676.

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, conferr'd 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 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.

^{King Charles I.} He was created Bishop of *Chester* in the Year 1668. and died of the Stone in the House of Dr. Tillotson 1672.

^{1647.} Dr. Hoyle. Dr. *Joshua Hoyle* preferr'd to the Headship of *University College* in the Room of Dr. *Walker*; he was p. 185. 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 *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.

<sup>Dr Green-
wood.
Wood's
Fasti.
p. 91.</sup> 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.

<sup>Dr. John
Wilkin-
son.</sup> Dr. *John Wilkinson* had been President of *Magdalen 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 Dr. *Wilkinson* was restored. He was a learned and pious Man, but did not continue long in his Station.

Dr. Henry Wilkinson, jun. commonly called *Dean King Harry*, President of *Magdalen Hall*; he was a noted Charles I. Tutor, and Moderator in his College before the Beginning of the Civil Wars, upon the Breaking out of Dr. Henry which he left *Oxford* and came to *London*, but when Wilkin-^{1647.}
that City was surrendere'd to the Parliament he return-^{son.}
ed to the University, and was created *D. D.* made ^{Athen. Ox.}
Principal of his College, and *Moral Philosophy Profes-*^{p. 543.}
for 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-Confor-
mity, by Imprisonments, Mulcts, and the Loss of
his Goods and Books; though according to the same
Author, he was very courteous in Speech and Carri-
age, 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. He published several learned
Works, and died 1690. *Ætat. Seventy four.*

Dr. Robert Harris, President of *Trinity College* in ^{Dr Harris.}
the Room of Dr. Potter, was educated in *Magda-* ^{Clark's}
len Hall, and had been a famous Preacher in *Oxford-* ^{Lives,}
shire for about Forty Years; upon the Breaking out ^{p. 314.}
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 Chronolo-
gy, Church History, the Councils and Fathers. He
governed his College with great Prudence, and gain-
ed the Affections of all the Students, who reveren-
ced him as a Father, though he has been stigma-
tized by the Royalists as a notorious Pluralist. To

King Charles I. 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 *Præses æternum celebrandus; Perspicacissimus indolum scrutator, Potestatis Arbiter mitissimus, merentium Fau-tor integerrimus, &c.* He died 1658.

Dr. Langley. 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. Cheynel. 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. Roberts. 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 Preference, 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. 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.

John Palmer, M. D. Warden of *All Souls* in the Room of Dr. Sheldon, had been Bachelor of Physickmer. Fasti, of Queen's College, and was now created M. D. in p. 66. 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.

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.

The Professors of Sciences who succeeded those that were ejected were, *New Professors.*

Dr. Seth Ward, Professor of Astronomy in the Place of Dr. Greaves, and according to Mr. Wood, the most noted Mathematician 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 to

King Charles I. the Bishoprick of *Exeter*, and then to that of *Salisbury*, where he died, 1668.

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. 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 Pre-ferment 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. Crofts. Joshua Crofts, L. L. D. Natural Philosopher 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.

Mr. 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 Bachelor 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

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. John Harmar, A. M. Professor of the Greek Language in the Room of Dr. Stringer, was educated ^{mar.} in *Magdalen College*, and took his Degrees 1617. he ^{Athen. Ox.} 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 *Steven-ton* 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.

The very Enemies of the new Heads of Colleges ^{Behaviour} have confessed, that they were severe in the Govern- ^{of the new} ment of their several Houses; that they kept a more ^{Professors:} than common Watch over the Morals of the Students, and oblig'd them to an exact Compliance with their Statutes. The Professors were indefatigable in instructing

King Charles I. 1647. structing their Pupils both in publick and private ; Religion flourisht 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 Spirit and Way were at first the better Scholars, these were the better Men.*

Remarks. Let the Reader now judge of the Spirit and Candor Walker's of those Writers, who insinuate, " that the new Pro-Suff. Cler. p. 140. fessors 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 neighbouring 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, 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 populous 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 extin-

“ extinguish all good Literature and Allegiance, it
“ yielded an Harvest of extraordinary good Know- King
“ ledge in all Parts of Learning ; and many who Charles I.
“ were wickedly introduced applied themselves to 1647.
“ 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 ex-
“ cellent Learning, and devoted to Duty and Obe-
“ dience little inferior to what it was before its Deso-
“ lation.” 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 Uni-
versity 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 *Eng-*
land, and others that flourished in the Reigns of King
Charles II. and King *William III.* owed their Educa-
tion to these Professors, as the *Tillotsons*, *Stillingfleets*,
Patricks, *Souths*, *Caves*, *Sprats*, *Kidders*, *Whibys*,
Bulls, *Boyles*, *Newtones*, *Lockes*, and others. The Uni-
versity 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 Pro-
fessors were not introduced into their Places in a le-
gal Way, according to the Statutes, because of the
Necessity of the Times, 'tis certain, they proved wise
and careful Governors, strict Observers of their Sta-
tutes, and industrious Promoters of Learning and
Piety ; so far were they from deserving the infamous
Characters of *ignorant*, *illiterate*, *hypocritical Block-*
heads, *Enemies to the legal Constitution of their Country*,
or of being any ways unworthy the Preferments they
enjoyed in the University.

King Charles I. 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 expell'd 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 been kept at home because of the Wars were now sent to Oxford by their Parents, to perfect their Education; and if it be consider'd 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 wonder'd 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.

Rifshw.
p. 854.

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

Times prevented their prosecuting the Design. The ^{King} Independants, who were less zealous about Clerical Orders, encouraged, or at least connived at the Lay-Preachers, apprehending, that in Cases 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 begin to usurp 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 London, and others.*

“ YOUR Petitioners are deeply sensible of the ^{petition} extream Want of Preaching the Gospel ^{for unordained Preachers,} throughout this Kingdom, there being many Hundreds of Towns and Villages altogether destitute ^{Rushw.} of any Preaching Ministers, and many others are ^{p. 834.} not well supplied; by reason whereof Ignorance, Drunkennes, Profanenes, 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 employ 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 Ordination, discouraged from engaging in this Work of publishing 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 formal Act of Ministerial Ordination past upon them, “ whose

King Charles I. " 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 Gospel 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 ;

" 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 Encouragement and Protection in Preaching the Gospel 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 Authority, may be abandoned ; and both the temporal and spiritual 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 Warrant of two Justices of Peace ; all Actors in Plays for Time to come being convicted shall be publicly 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."

The Controversies about Church-Government, and Liberty of Conscience, ran still as high as ever ; the ^{King Charles I.} ^{1647.} *Presbyterians*, who had the Government of the City of ^{State of Religion.} London in their Hands, were for pressing *Covenant Uni-* formity 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 ^{P. 115.} ^{116.} “ Skirmishes (says his Lordship) were now higher than ever ; the *Presbyterians* in those Fields losing nothing of their Courage ; having a notorious 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 Condition. 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 Charter, and Men who were inspir’d preach’d and pray’d 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 any 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 it self 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

King Charles I. in the Fields, or frequent the Publick Houses. In a Word, notwithstanding the Difference of Men's Opinions, and politick 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.

Death of
Mr. Herbert Palmer.
Clark's Lives.

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 learn'd 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 Degrees 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 *Assessors*, 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

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, he 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.

Mr. Henry Wilkinson, B. D. was born in Yorkshire, Death of 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. and lies buried in his own Church.

Mr. John Salimarsib, 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, p. 287.

King Charles I.
1647.

King Charles I. 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 ; Decemb. 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.

C H A P. 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 *King Charles I.* *Carisbrooke 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 discover'd oftner 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 was apprehended and executed. However, in pursuance of the secret Treaty with the Scots, already mentioned, an Army was raising in that Kingdom, to be commanded 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. The *Rushw. Welch* appeared first, under Major General *Langhorn*, *P. 1007.* Colonel *Poyer* and *Powel*, 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* it self. The Insurrection in the City began on *Sunday, April 9.* in *Moorfields*, by a Company of young Fellows with Clubs and

King Charles I 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 plunder'd 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. 28. 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 Huntingdonshire 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 Wales, then in Holland, who went on Board, and with Prince Rupert, Lord Hopton, and others, sailed 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 sailed 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 ^{Rai}_p in, consent to the Raising an Army against England, for p. 475. 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 entred 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, p. 339. that none should be received in o their Army, or join with them, at their Entrance into England, but such as should take the Covenant; but Hamilton, who betray'd their Cause, found Means to evade the Order, by which Means he ruined himself, and the Party he intended to serve.

The Scots Army enter'd 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 English Men 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

King Charles I. 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.

Rushw.
p. 1194.

It may seem surprising, 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 could say, was not sufficient to divert them from their Enterprize, which is not to be wonder'd 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 Constraint 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

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 *English Presbyterians* wished them well ; but by joining the common ^{Ham. M.} Enemy, who were in Arms all over the Kingdom, p. 337, they were stagger'd ; and Duke *Hamilton*, who be-^{345, 353,} &c. tray'd 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.

The *Scots* invading *England* after this Manner, and in the Midst of so many Insurrections, awaken'd Men's Fears, and made them apprehend the Cause was to be fought over again. The Parliament was alarm'd 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*,

King Charles I. *1648.* valiers, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who were almost a Day's March before the Duke, routed the whole Scots Army, and took Eight or Nine Thousand Prisoners, with all their Artillery and Baggage; Hamilton fled with Three Thousand Horse, but was so closely pursued by Lambert, that he surrender'd without striking another Stroke, and all his Men were dispersed or taken Prisoners. Cromwell, after this, pursued his Victory with rapid Swiftness, marching 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.

Proceedings of Parliament.
Rushw. p. 1074.

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-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 fornied, 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 the Duke of Gloucester, or one of his younger Children, placed on the Throne.

which is entirely Presbyterian.
Rapin, p. 504, 508, 511, 512.

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 resolvoed 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,

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.* ^{King Charles I:} ^{1648.} ^{Rushw.} ^{p. 1127.} 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* it self, 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.

Let the Reader now pause a little, and reflect with *Remarks* 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, 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

King Charles I. 1648. 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 adher'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

were driven to Despair, and unhappily run upon those extravagant Measures which ended in the Subversion of the Constitution, and Destruction of the King the following Winter.

King Charles I.
1648.

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum !

In the mean Time, let us attend the Affairs of the *Conclusion of the Assembly of Divines*: The Assembly of Divines having finished their main Business, was now reduced to a small Number, most of the Country 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. 1649. about Three Weeks after the King's Death, having sat Five Years, Six Months, and Twenty two 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.

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;

King Charles I. Books; nor were they all Members of the Assembly, as appears by the following List.
1648.

Those with *Asterisks* were not of the Assembly.

The Commentary on the Five Books of Moses,	Was Written by	The Rev. Mr. Ley, Sub-dean of Chester.
The Two Books of Kings,		
The Two Books of Chronicles,		
Ezra,		Dr. Gouge.
Nehemiah,		
Esther,		
The Psalms,		* Mr. Meric Causabon.
Proverbs,		Mr. Francis Taylor.
Ecclesiastes,		Dr. Reynolds.
Solomon Song,		* Mr. Smalwood, recommended by Archbishop Usher.
Isaiah,		Mr. Gataker.
Jeremiah,		* Mr. Pemberton in the First Edition.
Lamentations,		* Bp. Richardson in the Second.
Ezekiel,		
Daniel, and the smaller Prophets,		Mr. Ley.
Matthew,		
Mark,		
Luke,		Dr. D. Featley, but his Notes are broken and imperfect, the Author dying before he had revised them.
John,		
St. Paul's Epistles,		

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.

When

King

Charles I.

1648.

TheirCharacter;

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 ^{Their} Character; and contracted, yet with all their 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 *Lighthfoot, 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 Memories would have been unspotted. Mr. *Baxter*, who knew most ^{Baxter's} of them, says, " They were Men of eminent ^{Life,} _{P. 73.} 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 excellent 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 *Eraslians* ; 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 *Eraslians* 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

King Charles I. they sunk by Degrees, as has been related; the Business of the Church being now translated to the Provincial Assemblies.

Proceedings of the 3d Provincial Assembly. We have already remember'd 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 Petition. 2. That they would establish the Two Catechisms of the Assembly of Divines, and appoint them to be publickly taught throughout the Kingdom. 3. That they would add their civil Sanction to the new Confession of Faith. 4. That the Directory for publick Worship may be better observ'd; and that better Care may be taken for the Observation of the Lord's-Day." — In 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 that there may be a fixed Maintenance in every Parish recoverable by the Incumbent."

The 4th Provincial Assembly. 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

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. they resolv'd, 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 threaten'd the Life of the King, and the Dissolution of the whole Government.

The County of Lancashire being formed into another *Provincial Presbyterian Province* this Year, assembled at ^{Assembly of} Preston Feb. 7. 1648. and published a Kind of Pasto-^{Lancashire.} ral Letter, or solemn Exhortation to the several ^{Vol. Pamp;} Churches within their Province, to the Practice of N° 73. those Duties that were requisite to the supporting and carrying on the *Presbyterian Discipline*, subscribed by the Reverend

Mr. James Hyett, Moderator,
Mr. Tho. Johnson, Assessor,
Mr. Edw. Gee, Scribe.

They likewise appointed a Committee to examine *Agreement of the People*, the Paper called THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE, ^{of the} [hereafter to be mentioned] and tender'd to the *Confederation of the Nation by the Officers of the Army*, with ^{People.} Rushw. a Desire that they would by Subscription declare their ^{p. 1358.} Currence 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

King Charles I. 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. Nevertheless, the Instruction or Direction of the Nation in a publick Way, for Matters of Faith, Worship or Discipline, 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 Nation, 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, provided 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 allow'd 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 publicly held forth, shall be protected in the Profession of their Faith, and Exercise of their Religion according 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

ported 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 conferr'd upon the State of Religion, and gave their Advice upon such Cases as were brought before them in a neighbourly and friendly Manner.

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 parallel'd among Protestants. It had been laid aside by the Influence 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

King Charles 1. 1648. Sword of the Civil Magistrate. The Ordinance is dated May 2. 1648. and ordains, " That all Persons who shall willingly maintain, publish, or defend, by preaching or writing, the following Heresies with Obstinacy, shall, upon Complaint, or Proof, by the Oaths of Two Witnesses, before Two Justices of the Peace, or Confession of the Party, be committed to Prison, without Bail or Mainprize, till the next Gaol Delivery ; and in case the Indictment shall then be found, and the Party upon his 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 Heresies 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, Almighty, 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

8. "The Denying of the Resurrection of the King
"Dead, and a future Judgment." Charles I:
1648.

The Ordinance goes on to mention some other Errors of less Demerit, and says, "That whosoever shall maintain 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 Error or Errors in the publick Congregation of the Parish from whence the Complaint comes, or where the Offence 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 the Soul dies with the Body, or after Death goes neither to Heaven, or Hell, but to Purgatory.
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 Commandments is no Rule of the Christian Life.
9. "That a Believer need not repent, or pray for pardon of Sin.
10. "That the Two Sacraments, of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are not Ordinances commanded by the Word of God.

- King Charles I.* 11. "That the Baptism of Infants is unlawful and void; and that such Persons ought to be baptized again.
 1648. 12. "That the Observation of the Lord's Day, as enjoined 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 Ministers and Ordinances; or, that the Church Government by Presbyters is Antichristian or Unlawful.
 15. "That Magistracy, or the Power of the Civil Magistrate, by Law established in *England*, is unlawful.
 16. "That all Use of Arms, though for the publick Defence (and be the Cause never so just) is unlawful."

Remarks. 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 Execution, 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.

Ordinance for settling the Presbyterian Discipline. 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 Seobel, cap. 118. and committed, and on the 29th of August it was p. 165. perfect-

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 Elders 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 Constituting of Provincial and " National Synods, with the Extent of their several " Powers; it determines the Method of Ordination " of Ministers, of dispensing Church Censures, and " Suspension from the Sacrament; and last of all, " it gives Direction 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.

The Parliament having agreed to treat with the King without any preliminary Conditions, sent the Earl of Middlesex, Sir John Hippsly, 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. 10. 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

^{King Charles I. 1648.} ted 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 ; 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.

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. *Juxon* Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Dupper*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Oldsworthy*, 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 Commoners, and Four Divines to assist them in their Debates about Religion (*viz.*) Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caryl*, Dr. *Seaman*, and Mr. *Marshall*. The Treaty was to continue Forty Days, and to proceed upon the Propositions of *Hampton Court*. Sept. 12. the Parliament kept a Day of publick Fasting and Prayer, for a Blessing ; and some Days after the King and his Household did the like, when after the publick Service the following Prayer was read, drawn up by his Majesty's Direction.

King

1648.

" O MOST merciful Father, Lord God of
 " Peace and Truth, we a People sorely affli-
 " ted by the Scourge of an unnatural War, do ear-
 " nestly 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 Christian Desire
 " of saving those Mens Blood for whom Christ him-
 " self 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 pur-
 " sue their own private Ends ; that this People may
 " be no longer so blindly miserable, 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 it self, even Jesus Christ
 " our Lord. Amen."

The Treaty began on Monday September 18. about ^{Parlia-}
 Nine in the Morning, at the House of Sir William ^{men's Pro-}
 Hodges. The first Day the Commissioners presented ^{posals and}
 the King with a Draught of Three Bills ; the First to ^{the King's}
 establish the Presbyterian Government for ever in the ^{Reply.}
 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 Pream-
 ble, 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 ^{Rushw.}
 King proposed an Act of Indemnity ; but the Com- p. 1263.
 missioners insisting peremptorily upon it, as that with-
 out 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

King Charles I. 1648. 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 conferr'd 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.

King's Concessions October 2. that "the Assembly of Divines at West-on the Article of Religion. minister be confirm'd for Three Years; that the Directory and Presbyterian Government be confirm'd Rushw. p. 1281. 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 of Years not exceeding Ninety nine, should be made out of the Bishops Lands and Revenues, for the Satisfaction 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 suppressing Innovations in Churches and Chapels; for the better

“ better advancing of Preaching God’s holy Word ;
 “ and against Pluralities and Non-Residence. To King
 “ an Act for regulating and reforming the Univers- Charles I.
 “ ities, and the Colleges of *Westminster*, *Winchester*,
 “ and *Eaton*; for the better Discovery of Papists,
 “ and for the Educating their Children in the Prote-
 “ stant 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 *Cove-*
 “ *nant*, his Majesty is not as yet satisfied to sign or
 “ swear to it, or consent to impose it on the Consci-
 “ ences of others.”

These Concessions about Church Government being declared 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 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 Smeectymnuan 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 :

The King’s First Paper.

Newport, Oct. 2. 1648. *Paper to the Parl. Divines.* King’s first

CHARLES REX,

“ I Conceive that *Episcopal Government* is most con- Rel. Carol.
 “ sonant to the Word of God, and of an Apo- Vol. II.
 “ stolical p. 245.

King " stolical Institution, as it appears by the Scripture
 Charles I. " to have been practised by the Apostles themselves,
 1648. " and by them committed and derived to particular
 " Persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein,
 Acts xiv. " (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving
 23. " Rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exerci-
 Acts vi. 6. " sing Censures over Presbyters and others) and has
 1 Cor. xvi. " ever since, till these last Times, been exercised by
 1. " Bishops in all the Churches of Christ; and there-
 1 Cor. xiv. " fore I cannot in Conscience consent to abolish the
 1 Cor. v. 3. " 3 John " said Government.
 ix. 10. " Notwithstanding this my Perswasion I will be glad
 1 Tim. v. " to be informed, if our Saviour and his Apostles did
 22. " Titus i. 5. " so leave the Church at liberty, as they might to-
 Rev. ii. 3. " tally alter or change the Church Government at
 1 Tim. v. " their Pleasure, which, if you can make appear to
 19. " Titus iii. " me, then I will confess that one of my great Scrub-
 10. " ples is clean taken away, and then there only re-
 " mains,
 " That being by my Coronation Oath obliged to
 " maintain Episcopal Government, as I found it
 " settled to my Hands, whether I may consent to the
 " Abolishing thereof until the same shall be eviden-
 " ced to me to be contrary to the Word of God."

Abstract of The Parliament Divines, in answer to the first Part
 'e Parl. of his Majesty's Paper admit, that the Apostles did
 nesses exercise the extraordinary Powers his Majesty mentions;
 & reply. but deny, that they conferr'd them upon any particular
 P. 246. Persons as their Substitutes or Successors, and insist, that
 in Scripture there are only Two Orders of Officers
 (viz.) Bish�ps and Deacons, Phil. i. 1. To the Saints at Phi-
 lippi that are in Christ Jesus, with the Bish�ps and Dea-
 cons; 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 shouldest or-
 dain Presbyters in every City; for a Bishop must be blame-
 less. Acts xx. 27, 28. Paul called the Presbyters to-
 gether, and charged them to take heed to the Flock over

which the Holy Ghost had made them BISHOPS*. I Pet. v. 1, 2. The PRESBYTERS among you I exhort, who also am a PRESBYTER, feed the Flock of God among you, performing the Office of BISHOPS †. As the Apostles were* *Ἐπίσκοποι* Extraordinary Officers, so were *Τιμόθεος* and *Τίτος* (viz.) Evangelists, but neither of them are called *Βιβλιοφόροι* BISHOPS in Scripture, much less were they fixed to *Εφέσος* or *Κρήτης*, 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, nor one Deacon above another. They add, that the *Ἄγγελοι* 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 expressly, 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.

After Three Days his Majesty, with the Assistance Octob. 6. of his learned Divines, replied to the foregoing Paper, and acknowledges, "that the Words *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are sometimes confounded in Scripture; p. 260. *King's second Paper.* Rel. Catol. " he

King Charles I. 1648. " 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.

" 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 an *Evangelist* and a *Bishop* is without Foundation, the Work of an Evangelist being no more than *Diligence in Preaching the Word*, notwithstanding all Impediments, according 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 of *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Persons to whom he writ being themselves Bishops, there was no need to write about the

" Qua-

" Qualifications of any other Officers than those they
" wanted, which were Presbyters and Deacons only.

King

Charles I.

1648.

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."

Eleven Days after the Parliament's Divines replied Octob. 17. to the King's second Paper, in which they say, that ^{Parl. Di-} they can find no such Partition of the Apostolical Of-^{vines Re-} fice in Scripture, as his Majesty mentions, (*viz.*) that ^{ply.} Rel. Carol. the Governing part should be committed to Bishops, *the p. 277.* Teaching and Administering 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 Ἐπιστολεῖν, 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 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

King Charles I. 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 (say they) 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.

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

they admit, that they could no more part with it than with their 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.

King
Charles I.
1648.

King Charles I. Some Days after his Majesty offer'd his last Paper,
1648. wherein "he acknowledges the great Pains of these
Nov. 1. " Divines to inform his Judgment, and takes parti-
1648. " cular Notice of the Decency of their Manner, and
King's last " of their respectful Address to him upon this Occa-
Paper. " sion, but says they mistook him, when they spoke
Ib. p. 324. " of a Writ of Partition of the Episcopal Office ;
" whereas his Meaning was, that the Office of Teach-
" ing 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 offer'd ; he affirms, that *Timothy* and *Titus* 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 Exercise 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 ancient ; has been so 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

which must have brought on a Debate upon the whole Ecclesiastical Polity of the Church.

*King
Charles I.
1648.*

Remarks.

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 *Prefbytery 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 p. 216. that Rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a King any more than to a Bishop; that they inveigh'd bitterly against the Pride and Lustre of Lord Bishops; that 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. according 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 Candor towards any Thing that looks like a Presbyterian!

King Charles I. 1648. 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 Convocation assembled, was necessary before they could be deprived 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 Coronation Oath buriful 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 Confessions. But neither Party would acceed 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 free declaring of theirs. But what was all this to the Point ? The only Question before them was, *Whether*

ther Diocesan Episcopacy was of Divine Institution? If King Charles I. they had satisfied his Majesty in that they had done their Duty; to launch out farther was to lose Time ~~1648.~~^{1648.} and protract the Treaty beyond its Limits. If Diocesan Episcopacy was not scriptural it might be abolished, p. 1301, which was all the Parliament contended for at pre-^{1302.} sent. 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, because 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 Number 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 confirm 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 Household; 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,

King Charles I. " Day, and to prevent saying of Mass — But as to
 1648. " the Covenant, his Majesty was not satisfied to take
 " it, nor to impose it upon others."

These Concessions being voted unsatisfactory by the Two Houses at *Westminster*, his Majesty consented further, Octob. 21. 1. " That Archbishops, Chan-
 " cellors, Deans, and the whole Hierarchy, be abo-
 " lished, except BISHOPS. 2. That none but the
 " Presbyterian Government be exercised for *Three*
 " Years. 3. That in case no Settlement should be
 " agreed upon within that Time, that then for the
 " future the Power of Ordination should not be exer-
 " cised by *Bishops* without the Counsel and Assistance
 " of Presbyters; that no other Episcopal Juris-
 " diction should be exercised but such as should be
 " agreed upon in Parliament; and if within that
 " Time his Majesty should be convinced that *Episco-*
 " *pacy* 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, Nov. 4. " That he would make no
 " new Bishops for Three Years; and for the further
 " Satisfaction 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.

and Motives of the Parl. Commissioners to gain the King's Consent. 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 Parliament desire

“ 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 Hin-
 “ drance to Piety, a Grievance to the Subject, an
 “ Encroachment upon the Power of the Civil Magi-
 “ strate, and so a Burden to the Persons, Purses, and
 “ Consciences of Men. They do not meddle with
 “ the *Apostolical Bishop*, nor determine what that Bi-
 “ shop was whom the Apostles mention in Scripture ;
 “ 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 Commonwealth.

“ But admitting *Apostolical Bishops* were within the
 “ Purport of this Bill, we humbly conceive it does
 “ not follow, that therefore in Conscience it must
 “ not be passed, for we may not grant, that no Oc-
 “ casion can make that alterable which has Founda-
 “ tion only in the *Practice* of the Apostles, and not
 “ in a *Precept*. Some Things have certainly been
 “ altered which the Apostles practised ; Circumstan-
 “ ces many Times change the Nature of moral Acti-
 “ ons ; For the attaining a great Good, or the avoid-
 “ ing a great Evil, that which, singly consider'd, 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 law-
 fully altered, changed, or reversed — But the Episcopacy
 which is established in the Church of England is not that*

King Charles I. Episcopacy mentioned in Scripture — therefore the Laws which established it may take it away.

1648.

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 here-tofore held it no Sacrilege to dispose 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 Nation. 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 communicate 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 according 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 to the Church, for they are apprehensive, that after the Expiration of the Three Years in which Episcopal Government 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 Plea-

" sure,

“ sure, 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 hum-
 “ bly conceive, is no where declared in Scripture to
 “ be the Prerogative of an *Apostolical Bishop*.

“ We humbly say further, that the Charging Bi-
 “ shops Lands with Leafes for Ninety nine Years
 “ is not sufficient, because there is a Rent reserved to
 “ the Bishop, and the Property will continue as be-
 “ fore ; so that it can't be expected that the *Presbyte-*
 “ *rian 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 su-
 “ perior Power upon the first Opportunity.

“ We hope your Majesty will pardon our pressing
 “ in this manner ; our Intention is not to offer Vio-
 “ lence to your Majesty's Conscience, but to endea-
 “ vour to inform it in a Matter that appears to the
 “ Two Houses of so great Consequence. We again
 “ humbly beseech your Majesty to review our for-
 “ mer Papers ; call to mind those Reasons and Ar-
 “ guments 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 Consent to the Particulars above specified,
 “ that both your self and your People may have
 “ Cause to rejoice.”

The Committee of States in Scotland joined with *States of* the Parliament Commissioners in beseeching his *Scotland* Majesty to consent to the *Proposition about Religion*, *press the King's* which they understood to be the Point his Majesty *Consent*. most stuck at, and which they in Honour and Inte- *Rushw.* rest were obliged most to insist upon, and without p. 1304. which (they add) his Throne cannot be established in Righteousness. They also writ to the Prince of

King Charles I. 1648. Wales to mediate with his Father. The General Assembly, and the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland, 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 befall him, rather than upon politick 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's Speech to the Commissioners.

Vol. Pam. N° 83.

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 Opinions 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.

The

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, 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 Clar. Treaty, as if he waited for some advantagious Turn p. 222: 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 remember'd 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 recover-

King
Charles I.
1648.
Remarks.

King Charles I. recovering the Management of publick Affairs. And *1648.* 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.

Book XI. But under all these Prepossessions Lord Clarendon *p. 217.* observes some of the Commissioners found means to advertise the King in private, "that they were of his Majesty's Judgment 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 Satisfaction with Reference to the Church. This might probably unite the Parliament and the City of London, and enable them to bring his Majesty to London with Honour, 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 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 begg'd of his Majesty by some of the Commissioners (great Persons) with Tears, and upon their Knees, particularly, as to the Proposition concerning Religion, wherein Church Government,

Whitl.
Mem.
p. 335,
336.

" pub-

“ publick Worship, and chiefly the Revenues of the
 “ Church, swayed more with the King’s Chaplains ^{King Charles I:}
 “ then about him ; and they more with his Maje-
 “ sty (continually whispering Matter of Conscience
 “ to him) than the Parliament, and all his Commis-
 “ sioners, 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 tho’ they abhorred the Thoughts
 of deposing the King, or putting him to Death, it
 ought to be considered, Whether their stiff and im-
 prudent Behaviour did not manifestly lead the Way
 to it ?

His Majesty being intangled in this manner was ^{Archibishop Usher’s Sentiments} 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 *Presbyters alone had successively ordained Bishops*, and instanced in St. *Jerom’s* Words, ^{Baxter’s Life, p. 206.} 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 *Heraclius* 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.

Though the Commissioners had no Power to re-^{Conclusion} cede from their Instructions, the Treaty was pro-^{of the Treaty.} longed 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

King Charles I. 1648. 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

Book XI. Particular of the Church, " then (says Lord Claren-

p. 227. " don) 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 preserved 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 only prevail for a Suspension of the Episcopal Power in Point of Ordination and Jurisdiction, till he and the Two Houses should agree what Government 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 Superiors not being able to relieve him he had leave to surrender 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 Building my Tomb-Stone ; and so will I do by the Church of England,"

Lord

Lord Clarendon is of Opinion, "That the major Part of both Houses, as well as the Commissioners, were 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.

The noble Historian observes, that the King sent *King's Letter to 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 search of Peace, do Book XI.

" not you be dishearten'd to tread in the same Steps. p. 229.

" — Prefer the Way of Peace — Conquer your

" Enemies by pardoning 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 Satisfaction of Fa-

" vourites. You may perceive that all Men en-

" trust their Treasure where it returns them Inter-

" est. If Princes, like the Sea, receive, and repay

" all the fresh Streams the Rivers intrust them with,

" they

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Charles I.

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King Charles I. " they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an Ocean — If God restore you to your Right whatever 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 constituted, that it would have been glad to have seen him, and they who wished him well, did not wish his Escape, because they imagined Imprisonment was the worst that could befall him."

Remarks. I am unwilling to suspect the Genuineness 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 'tis 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 suffer'd 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."

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

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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 neither 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 ?

While the Resentments of the Army ran thus high, *Their Proceedings.* their Officers, who were *high Enthusiasts*, but otherwise Men of sober and virtuous Morals, kept several Days of Fasting and Prayer at their Head Quarters at St. *Alban's*, till at length being in deep Dispair, and having worked themselves up to a kind of spiritual Phrensy, they enter'd 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 it self, the Officers agreed upon a Remonstrance, which was presented to the Parliament by Six of their Council, Nov. 20. Eight Days before the Expiration of the Treaty with the King, together with

King Charles I. a Letter from General Fairfax to the House, desiring it might have a present Reading.

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.”

They seize the King's Person a 2d Time. The Commons, upon reading this Remonstrance, were struck with Surprize, and being all in Confusion, deferr'd 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.] convey'd by a Party of Horse to *Hurst Castle*, where he continued till he was conducted by Colonel *Harrison* to *Windsor*, 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 from them.

Rushw. p. 1341. This occasioned such high Language among the Members, that some moved that the principal Officers who had a Share in the Remonstrance might be impeach'd of High Treason. Upon which the Army marched directly to *London*, with General *Fair-*

Rapin, p. 549.

Claren. p. 237.

They march to London and purge the Parl.

Fairfax at their Head, who writ to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, that he was marching to West-^{King Charles I.}minster in pursuance of the late Remonstrance, and desired 40000*l.* of the City in part of their Arrears. ^{1648.}
 Dec: 2. he quarter'd his Troops about Whitehall, the Mews, Covent Garden, and St. James's, assuring the Citizens, that they should disturb no Man in his Property.

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's 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 ^{Dugdale, p. 363.} come to London from his Northern Expedition, but *writ from Knottingly, 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

King Charles I. General and Council of Officers, as a Rule for future Government. 'Twas supposed to be drawn up by *Trenton*, 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.

Votes of the Remainder of the H. of Commons. 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, Rushw. p. 1360. " 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 Magistrate, 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 capable 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.

Who resolved to try the King. 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 *Leviedale, pack'd Assembly* ; *Oliver Cromwell* was in doubt, and said,

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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 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 enter'd ^{P. 361:} their House, and past several Ordinances, but that the Commons would not own them any longer. Thus the Constitution was dissolved, and the whole Legislature brought under the Power of the Sword.

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.

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 ^{Dr. Gauden and Dr. Ham-} a *Protestation against the declared Purposes and Proceed-
tions of the Army, and others, about trying and destroying our Sovereign Lord the King*, dated January 5. and sent <sup>mond's
Protestation.</sup> 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 Me-

King Charles I. mento to the present unparliamentary Junto, touching their present 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 the Officers 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 declared 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 Matters 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 Representation of the Judgment of the Ministers of the Gospel within the Province of London, whose Names are subscribed, contained in a Letter to the General, and his Council of War, delivered to his Excellency by some of the Subscribers, Jan. 18. 1648.*

In this Address, after giving Reasons why they would not consult with the Officers upon Matters of Religion, they complain of their imprisoning the Members of Parliament; " We remember (say Vol. Pamp. N° 52.) that when the King with a Multitude of armed Men demanded but a small Number of the Members of Parliament it was deemed an unparalleled Breach of the Privilege of Parliament, and was one Reason that an Army was raised by their Authority, 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!"

" And

“ And though both Houses of Parliament saw Rea-
“ son to take up Arms in their own Defence, and in
“ Defence of the Protestant Religion, and the Fun-
“ damental Laws of their Country, yet this cannot
“ be pleaded in Justification of your usurping an Au-
“ thority over King and Parliament, who are but
“ so many private Persons, and no part of the Le-
“ gislature.

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“ 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 Constitution.

“ We therefore think our selves bound by our Pro-
“ testation, and by our *Solemn League and Covenant*,
“ to appear for our excellent Constitution against ar-
“bitrary and tyrannical Power in the King, on the
“ one hand, and against the illegal Proceedings of
“ private Persons, tending to subvert the Constitu-
“tion, and introduce *Anarchy and Confusion* on the
“ other.

“ Instead therefore of consulting with you, we ear-
“ nestly 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 Ma-
“ gistrates, and consonant to Scripture this hath been
“ the Judgment of Protestant Divines at home and
“ abroad, with whom we concur; disclaiming, de-
“ testing, and abhorring the Practices of Jesuits,
“ concerning the Opposing of lawful Magistrates by
“ any private Persons, and the Murthering of Kings
“ by any, though under the most specious and co-
“ lourable Pretences. Examine your Consciences, if
“ any Number of Persons of different Principles from
“ your selves, had invaded the Rights of Parlia-
“ ment, imprison'd the King, and carried him about
“ from Place to Place, and attempted the Dis-
“ solution of the whole Government: whether you

King Charles I. " would not have charged them with the highest Crimes ?

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" We desire you not to infer the Justice of your Proceedings from the Success, but to distinguish between God's Permission and Approbation, and that God's suffering 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 Actions, 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 your selves confess to be irregular, we answer, no Necessity can oblige Men to sin ; besides, 'tis apparent, you were under 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 dispense 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 falsely, and be content with your Wages.* But if you persist in this Way, be sure 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 our selves your Servants in the Lord."

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,*
 Will. Taylor *Coleman-street,*
 Christ. Love *Aldersgate,*
 Rob. Mercer *St. Brdes,*
 Tho. Gataker *Rotherhithe,*
 Geo. Walker *St. J. 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 *Alhall on the Wall,*
 Sam. Clark *St. Bennet Fink,*
 Tho. Clendon *Alh. Barkin,*
 John Wale *St. M. Cornhill,*
 James Crawford *St. Christ.*

Ralph Robinson *Pastor St. King*
 Mary Wooln th, *Charles I.*
 Will. Blackmore *St. Peter 1648.*
 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.*

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

^{King Charles I.} last Extremity, resolved to fix it upon the *Presbyterians*; as their Successors have done ever since.
^{1648.}

^{Their further vindication.} 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 Clergy* published another Paper, entitled, *A Vindication of the London Ministers from the unjust Aspersions cast upon their former Actions for the Parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing the King to capital Punishment.* It was addressed to the People, and after they had 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 subscribe the AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE, which is subversive 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 Miscarriages of the King himself in his Government, which have cast him down from his Excellency into an horrid Pit of Misery almost beyon 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,	Laz. Seaman Bread-street, Simeon Ash Bassishaw,	^{King} ^{Charles I.}
Will. Gouge, D. D. Black-friars,	Tho. Thoroughgood of Crayford,	^{1648.}
Edm. Stanton, D. D. Kingston,	Ed. Corbet Croydon, John Viner Aldgate,	
Tho. Temple, D. D. Battersea,	John Crose Friday-street, Peter Witham St. Alban	
Edm. Calamy, B. D. Aldermanbury,	Wood-street, John Stileman Rotherhithe,	
Jer. Whitaker St. Mary Magd. Bermondsey,	Josias Ball North Grey,	
Dan. Cawdry St. Martin in the Fields,	Jonathan Devereux, late of St. Andrew Holborn,	
William Spurstow, D. D. Hackney,	Paul Russel Hackney.	

It was not possible for the few *Independant Ministers Behaviour* in London to join the *Presbyterians* in these Addresses, of the *Independants.* (1.) Because they were not possessed of Parochial Livings, nor Members of the Provincial Assembly of Vol. Pamp. London, nor admitted to their weekly Consultations at p. 108.

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 con-

King Charles I. 1648. 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 willingly 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 incapable 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 Depositing and taking away his Majesty’s Life will involve them, their Posterity, and all Men professing Godliness in the Three Kingdoms.

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

Each Hist. p. 654. Elench. Not. Narr. 1^{ma}. p. 112. excluded the new Establishment, but debarred of a Toleration; and yet, as Mr. Eachard and Dr. Bates the Physician observe, several of them join’d 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, Protests, and publick Remonstrances.

And of the Scots. The Scots Kirk, by their Commissioners, declared and protested against putting the King to Death, as above

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. with a Letter, exhorting them to Courage and Constancy in their Opposition to the Proceeding of the House of Commons, and an universal Toleration.

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 Rapin, Army, who having brought the King from Hurst^{p. 568.} 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 suprem Power of the Nation. Thirdly, That whatever is declared for Law by the Commons in Parliament is valid through 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 Solicitor General; and Mr. Steel, Mr. Dorstaus, and Mr. Aske, were to manage the Cause. The Form of Process being settled by the Commissioners, the King, who had been conducted to St. James's, Jan. 15. appeared before his Judges in Westminster-Hall, the first Time, on Saturday

King Charles I. day Jan. 20. when being seated at the Bar in a Chair of Crimson Velvet, and covered, as were all his Judges, Mr. Cook the Solicitor 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 over-ruled, 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, and 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. Callamy, 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 Banqueting House at White-ball, 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

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 Reader will collect the Character of this Prince *His Character.* rather from the foregoing History, than from the satirical Reflections of his determined Enemies, or the flattering Encomiums of his Friends and Admirers, who, in their Anniversary Sermons, have almost equall'd 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 *He Claread.* had high Notions of the absolute Power of Kings, *Hist.* and the unlimitted Obedience of Subjects; and tho' p. 430. 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; nor therefore that he had a perfect Aversion to *Catholicism*, and abominated so much to the Pomp and *Popery* of the *Church of Rome*, that though he was for meeting the Papists *he* established one motley Reli-

King Charles I. 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 of 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 render'd 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 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,

P. 47.

" That he affected in his Behaviour the solemn Gravity of the Court of Spain, which was full even to Moseness; this led him to a grave reserved Deportment, in which he forgot the Civilities and Affabilities which the Nation naturally lov'd; nor did he, in his outward Deportment, take any Pains to oblige any Persons whatsoever. He had such an ungracious Way of shewing Favour, that the Manner of bestowing it was almost 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 Counsels,

" and

Life of Sanderson.

Detect.
P. 336.

His Life,
P. 47.

“ and even when it was necessary to follow such Ad-
“ vices he hated those that gave them. His whole King
“ Reign, both in Peace and War, was a continued Charles I.
“ Series of Errors, so that it does not appear that he
“ had a true Judgment of Things. He was out of
“ Measure set upon following his Humour, but un-
“ reasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chief-
“ ly to the Queen, and (it may be added also) to the
“ Clergy. He had a high Notion of the Regal Pow-
“ er, 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 Protestants and Papists, by which he lost
“ one without gaining the other. At his Death he
“ shewed a calm and composed Firmness which
“ amazed all People, and so much the more, be-
“ cause it was not natural to him, and was there-
“ fore by his Friends imputed to an extraordinary
“ Measure of supernatural Assistance.”

After his Majesty's Death the Episcopal Clergy *his Works.* 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 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 *Eikón Basiliké*, i. e. *Eikoon Basilike, 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

King Charles I. tise under the Title of "Εικῶν Κλαστῆς [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.

*Eikōn
Basilikē
a Spurious
Perform-
ance.
Vide
Bayle's
Dift. 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

Crit. Hist. 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 24th. by Dr. *Dupper*. Dr. *Gauden* (says he) acquainted 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

Crit. Hist. p. 189. " " 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

Hist. Stuarts,
p. 283.

“ asked him, Whether his Majesty had ever seen the Book ? He replied, I know it certainly no more than you ; but I used my best Endeavours 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.

King Charles I.

1648.

Notwithstanding all this Evidence Mr. Archdeacon Eachard says, the Book is incontestably the King’s ; and Bishop Kennet adds, that those who pretend Eikoon Basilike 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 Books published or 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 Anglicano*, 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, entitld, *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cælum* ; 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 publish’d a small Treatise, which he

King called *A Defence of the Sentence passed upon the late King Charles I. by the High Court of Justice* — wherein the Justice and Equity of the said Sentence is demonstratively asserted, as well from clear Texts of Scripture as Principles of Reason, Grounds of Law, Authorities and Presidents, 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 erecting an High Court of Justice BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ALONE be contrary to the LETTER, yet it being for the People'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 difusive or collective Capacity. His Majesty's own Reasons against this High Court of Justice, which he would

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.

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“ — 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 the People of *England*, of whatsoever Quality or Condition, which I am sure you never went about to 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 occasion the greatest Breach of the publick Faith that I believe ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging 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 Judicature*, which was never one it self, as is well known to all Lawyers, I leave to God and the World to judge — ”

King Charles therefore died by the Hands of Violence, or by the Military Sword, assumed and managed 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

Authors of the King's Death.

King Charles I. 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.

Of the King and his Divines.
Wh Mem. p. 335.
Coke's Detect. p. 331,
332.

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 as the Cavaliers had been 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

versary Sermons, have with great Ingratitude charged the *Presbyterians* 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.

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 distinguishing Character. There were no doubt among the *Independants*, as well as among other Parties, Men of *Republican Principles*, who had a large Share

King Charles I. 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 *Episcopalian*s, 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 *Whitelock* 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 Independent Members, 'tis certain to a Demonstration, that there were then left in the House Men of all Parties, *Episcopalian*s, *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.

Sentiments of Dr. Du Moulin. 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 Con-Relig. trivance of an Army, which, like that of King David's in the Wilderness, was a Medly or Collection of all Parties that were discontented ; some Courtiers, some *Presbyterians*, some *Episcopalian*s ; few

Mem.
p. 99.

p. 563.

p. 53,
59.

" few of any Sect, but most of none, or else of the Religion of Tho. Hobbes 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 the Times were such that the Author was advised not to publish it.

King
Charles I.
1648.

Mr. Baxter says, " Many that minded no side inof Mr. Religion thought it was no Policy to trust a con- Baxter. quer'd King, and therefore were wholly for a Par- Baxter's liamentary Government without a King ; of these Life, p. 63. (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."

Bishop Burnet says, that " Ireton was the Person Bp Bur- that drove it on, for Cromwell was all the while in net. suspense about it ; Ireton had the Principles and Hist. Life Temper of a Cassius, he stuck at nothing that and might turn England into a Commonwealth ; Fairfax Vol. I. was much distracted in his Mind, and changed Pur- p. 46, 47. poses every Day ; the Presbyterians, and the Body of the City were much against it, and were every Day fast- ing and praying for the King's Preservation. There were not above eight Thousand of the Army about the Town, but those 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."

Mr. Eachard, . and some others, are of Opinion, of the Pa- that great Numbers of Papists, under hopes of Li- pists.

King Charles I. joined with foreign Priests and Jesuits against the King. The celebrated Author of *Foxes and Fire-brands* has this remarkable Passage ; " 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 Je- suits in France, at a general Meeting, resolved to bring him to Justice, and to take off his Head by

ib. p. 168, " the Power of their Friends in the Army." 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 I my self 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 Parliament Army writ to their several Convents, and especially 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 Advancement, 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 himself, and when the fatal Blow was given he flourished

Necess.
Vind.
p. 45.

“ rished 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 is it easy to believe that the Papists should triumph in the Death of a King who was their Friend and Protector in Prospe-
rity, and whose Sufferings are in a great Measure chargeable upon his too great Attachment to their Interests.

King Charles I.

1648.

Fox and

brand,

Part II.

p. 86.

But the strongest, and most authentick Testimony, *Sentiments* is the *Act of Attainder of the King's Judges at the Restora-* *nation of King Charles II.* the Preamble to which sets *of the Con-vention of Parliament.*
 “ That the execrable Murder of his Royal Fa-
 “ ther was committed by a Party of wretched Men *12 Car. II.*
 “ desperately wicked, and harden'd in their Impiety, *chap. 30.*
 “ who having first plotted and contrived the Ruin of
 “ this excellent Monarchy, and with it of the true
 “ Protestant Religion, which had long flourished un-
 “ der it, found it necessary, in order to carry on
 “ their pernicious and traiterous Designs, to throw
 “ down all the Bulwarks and Fences of Law, and
 “ to subvert the very Being and Constitution of Par-
 “ liament — And for the more easy effecting their
 “ Attempts on the Person of the King himself, they
 “ first seduced some part of the then Army into a Compli-
 “ ance, and then kept the rest in subjection partly for hopes
 “ of Preferment, and chiefly for fear of loosing their Em-
 “ plements and Arrears, till by these, and other more
 “ odious Arts and Devices, they had fully strength-
 “ ned themselves in Power and Faction ; which being
 “ 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 up-
 “ on 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

King " of the Whole) they shelter'd themselves under the Name
Charles I. " and Authority of a Parliament, and in that Name
1648. " 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 Prote-
" stants nor good Subjects, stands imputed by our
" Adversaries to the whole Nation; we therefore re-
" nounce, 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 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 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 remember'd as a National Sin.

The End of the Third VOLUME.



APPENDIX.

NUMB. I.

THE ARTICLES
ARTICLES
Of the
Church of England.

Of the
Assembly of Divines, at
Westminster in the Year
1643. with Scripture Re-
ferences.

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

HERE is but One li-
ving and true God,
everlasting, without
Body, Parts, or Pas-
sions; of infinite Power, Wis-
dom, and Goodnes, the Maker
and Preserver of all Things both
visible and invisible. And in Uni-
ty of this Godhead there be
Three Persons, of one Substance,
Power, and Eternity, the Fa-
ther, the Son, and the Holy
Ghost.

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

HERE is but ^a One ^a Isa.46.9.
living and true God ^b, 1 Cor. 8.
everlasting ^c, without ^d 4. 6. ^b Jer.
Body, Parts ^d, or Pas- ^e 10. 10.
sions ^e, of infinite Power ^f, Wis- ^g 1 Thes. 1.
dom ^g, and Goodnes ^h; the Ma- ⁱ 9. ^c Psal.
ker and Preserver of all Things ^j 90. 2.
both visible and invisible ⁱ. And Rom. 16.
in Unity of this Godhead there ^k 26. ^h Deu.
be Three Persons of one Sub- ^l 4. 15, 16.
stance, Power, and Eternity; Joh. 4.24.
the Father, the Son, and the with Luke
Holy Ghost ^k.

^{24. 39.}
^c 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.

ARTICLE

*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 ^{1 Prov. 8.} everlasting of the Father¹, the ^{22-31.} very ^m and eternal God ⁿ, of one ^{Joh. 1.12,} Substance with the Father ^o, took ^{14.} Man's Nature in the Womb of ^m ¹ John the blessed Virgin, of her Sub- ^{5. 20.} stance^p; so that two whole and ^{Rom. 9.5.} perfect Natures, that is to say, ⁿ ^{John 17.} the Godhead and the Manhood, ^{5.} Heb. were joined together in one Per- ^{1. 8.} with son, never to be divided, where- ^{Psal. 45.6.} of is one Christ, very God and ^o ^{John 10.} very Man^q, who for our sakes ^{30.} Heb. truly suffered most grievous Tor- ^{1. 3.} ments in his Soul from God^r, ^p ^{John 1.} was crucified, dead, and buried^s, ^{14.} Isa. 7. to reconcile his Father to us^t, ^{14.} Luke and to be a Sacrifice, not only ^{1. 35.} for original Guilt, but also for ^{Gai. 4. 4.} actual Sins of Men^u.

^q Isa. 7. 14. ^r Isa. 53. 10, 11. ^s Mark 14. 33, ^{34.} ^t 1 Pet. 2. 24. ^u Phil. 2. 8. ^v 1 Cor. 15. 3, 4. ^w Ezek. 16. 63. ^x Rom. 3. 25. ^y 2 Cor. 5. 12. ^z Isa. 53. 10. ^{aa} Eph. 5. 2. ^{bb} 1 John 1. 7. ^{cc} Heb. 9. 26.

ARTICLE III.

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so it is to be believed ^w Psal. 16. ved that he continued in the ^z 10. with State of the Dead, and under the Acts 2.24, Power and Dominion of Death ^w, ^{25, 26, 27,} from the Time of his Death and ^{31.} Burial until his Resurrection^x; ^y Rom. 6, which hath been otherwise expressed ^{g.} Mat. sed thus, *He went down into Hell.* ^{12. 40.}

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from ^y 1 Cor. ^{1.} Death^y; and took again his Body, with Flesh, Bones, and all ^{15. 4.} ¹ Rom. 8. 34. Psal. 16. 10. with Acts 2. 31. Luke 24. 34.

*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 joyned 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.

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.

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 apper-

Articles of the Ch. of England.

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.

Psal. 110. 1. with Acts 2. 34, 35. Mar. 19. 10. Rom. 8. 34. ^bActs 3. 21.
Psal. 110. 1. with 1 Cor. 15. 25, 26. Acts 1. 11. ^c2 Cor. 5. 20. Acts 17. 31.
^dExod. 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.

^{25.} Acts 5. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 3. 16. 1 Cor. 6. 19. ^fJob 26. 13. Job 33. 4.
1 Cor. 12th Chap. Mat. 28. 19. 2 Cor. 13. 14. ^g1 Cor. 12. 11. Eph. 1. 17.
and 1 Cor. 2. 8. with 1 Pet. 4. 14. ^hJohn 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 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.

^{22.} with ver. 20, 27. Gal. 1. 8, 9. John 5. 39.

Articles revised.

Things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature^a, where^{-z} Luke with he ascended into Heaven, 24, 39. and there sitteth^a, until he re- with John turn to judge^b all Men^c at the 20. 25, 27. general Resurrection of the Body^a Psal. 68. at the last Day^d.

^{18.} with
Eph. 4. 8.

^bActs 3. 21.
^c2 Cor. 5. 20. Acts 17. 31.
^dExod. 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 is very and eternal God, of one Substance^e, ^e2 Sam. Majesty^f, and Glory with the 23. 2. Father and the Son^g, proceeding with verse ing from the Father and the 3. Isa. 6, Son^h.

^{5,} 8. with
Acts 28.

^fJob 26. 13. Job 33. 4.

^g1 Cor. 12. 11. Eph. 1. 17.

^hJohn 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 Scriptureⁱ containeth all^j Rom. 1. Things necessary to Salvation^k, 2. 2 Tim. so that whatsoever is not read 3. 15. therein, nor may be proved 2 Pet. 1. thereby, is not to be believed as 20, 21. an Article of Faith, or necessary^k Psal. 19. to Salvation^l.

^{7.} 2 Tim.

By the Name of holy Script- 3. 15, 16, ure we understand all the Cano- 17. Jam- nical Books of the Old and New 1. 21, 25. Testament, which follow,

Acts 20.

32. Prov.

30. 5, 6.

1sa. 8. 20.

Acts 26.

Of

Articles revised.

*Of the Old Te-
flament,* *Of the New Te-
flament,*

Genefis, *The Gospel of St.
Exodus, &c.* *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.

Articles of the Ch. of England.

*Of the Names and Number of the
Canonical Books.*

Genefis, *Leviticus,
Exodus,* *Numbers, &c.*

And the other Books (as *Hie-*
rome faith) 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, in the Do-
m^m Acts 26. & trine contained in them^m; for
21, 23. both in the Old and New Te-
2 Pet. 3. 2. flament everlasting Life is offer-
Luke 24. ed to Mankind by Christ^r, who
44. Rom. is the only Mediator between
3. 31. Gal. God and Man^o, being both God
3. 21, 23, and Man^o. Wherefore they are
24. ⁿ Gen. not to be heard, which feign,
3. 15. that the old Fathers did look on-
Gen. 22. ly for temporary Promises^a.

18. with Although the Law given from Gal. 3. 8. God by Moses, as touching Ce-
14. 1 Cor. remonies and Rites, do not bind
10. 2, 3, 4. Christians^r; nor the civil Pre-
Luke 1. cepts given by Moses, such as
69, 70. were peculiarly fitted to the Com-
Acts 3. 24. monwealth of the Jews, are of
Iса. 53. necessity to be received in any
Chap.

^o Dan. 9. 17. Rom. 8. 34. ¹ John 2. 1. Heb. 7. 25. ¹ Tim. 2. 5. John
14. 6. ^o Gal. 4. 4, 5. Acts 20. 28. Phil. 2. 7, 8. ⁴ 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.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not con-
trary to the New; for both in the
Old and New Testament ever-
lasting Life is offered to Mankind
by Christ, who is the only Medi-
ator between God and Man, being
both God and Man. Wherefore
they are not to be heard
which fain that the old Fathers
did look only for transitory Pro-
mises. Although the Law gi-
ven from GOD by Moses, as
touching Ceremonies and Rites,
do not bind Christian Men,
nor the Civil Precepts thereof
ought of Necessity to be receiv-
ed in any Commonwealth;
yet notwithstanding no Chris-
tian Man whatsoever is free
from the Obedience of the

Articles of the Ch. of England.
Commandments, which are called moral.

Articles revised.

Commonwealth¹; yet notwithstanding no Christian Man what- 9, 10, 25- foever is free from the Obedience with Deut. of the Commandments which 17. 8 — are called Moral¹. By the Mo- 13. Rom. ral Law we understand all the 13. 1, 5. Ten Commandments taken in Tit. 3. 1. their full extent.

1 Pet. 2.

13, 14.

² 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 throughly 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 Corruption of the Nature of every Man, that naturally is engendred of the Offspring of *Adam*, whereby Man is very far gone from original Righteousness, and is of his own Nature inclined 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 σαρκασία, which some do ex-

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original Sin^v standeth not in ^v Psal. 51. the following of *Adam*, as the 5. Joh. 3. *Pelagians* do vainly talk^w; but, 5, 6. together with his first Sin imputed^w Job 14. x, it is the Fault and Corruption^x of the Nature of every 14. Rom. Man, that naturally is propagated^{6. 6.} Joh. 6. Joh. from *Adam*; whereby Man 3. 3, 5, 7. is wholly deprived of original^x Rom. 5. Righteousness^y, and is of his 12 — 19. own Nature inclined only to Gen. 2. Evil^z. So that the Lust of the 17. with Flesh, called in Greek σαρκασία Cor. 15. σαρκάς, which some do expound 22. y Col. the Wisdom, some Sensuality, 2. 13. some the Affection, some the Rom. 7. Desire of the Flesh, is not subject^{18.} Eccl. to the Law of God^a, and 7. 29. therefore in every Person born in^z Gen. 6. to this World it deserveth God's 5. Gen. 8. 21. Wrath

Articles revised.

^b Eph. 2. Wrath and Damnation ^b. And
^{3.} Rom. this Infection of Nature doth re-
^{8. 6, 7.} main, yea in them that are re-
^c Prov. generate ^c, whereby the Flesh
^{20. 9.} lusteth always contrary to the
^{Rom. 7.} Spirit ^d. And although there is
^{17, 20,} no Condemnation for them that
^{23, 25.} are regenerate, and do believe ^e,
^d Gal. yet the Apostle doth confess,
^{5. 17.} that Concupiscence and Lust is
^e Rom. 8. truly and properly Sin ^f.

1, 13.

John 3. 13. ^f Rom. 8. 17, 20.

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 to do good Works ^{i, 5.} pleasing and acceptable to God ^h, ^{14.} Eph. without the Grace of God by ^{2. 8, 9.} Christ, both preventing us, that ^{15.} John we may have a good Will, and ^{6. 44, 65.} working so effectually in us, as ^h Rom. 8. that it determineth our Will to ^{8.} Heb. that which is good ⁱ, and also ^{11. 6.} working with us when we have ⁱ Ezek. that Will unto good ^k.

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 Jusification 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 ^{5, 6, 7.} freely by his Grace ⁿ, only for 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.

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 pound 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 it self the Nature of Sin.

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 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.

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Jusification 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

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justified by Faith only is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of Comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

Articles revised.

our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, his whose Obedience and Satisfaction being by 24, 25. God imputed unto us, and Rom. 5.1. Christ with his Righteousness, 2 Cor. 5. being apprehended and rested on 18, 19. by Faith only. The Lecture Rom. 5. of Justification by Faith only is 9, 17, 18, an wholesome Doctrine, and ver. 19. Rom. 4. full of Comfort, notwithstanding 3. 25, 26. standing God doth not forgive Rom. 4. them that are Impenitent, and 6, 24. go on still in their sins passes. 2 Cor. 5. 21.

[¶] Rom. 3. 22; 25, 26, 28. Gal. 2. 16. Isa. 28. 16. with Rom. 9. 33. and 1 Pet. 2. 6. Phil. 3. 9. 2 Tim. 1. 13. Rom. 5. 1, 2, 8, 11. Rom. 15. 13. 1 Pet. 1. 8. Psal. 68. 20, 21. Exod. 34. 6, 7. Luke 13. 3, 5.

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 XII.

Of Good Works.

Good Works, which are the Fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away 2. 17, 18, our Sins ^a, and endure the Severity of God's Judgment; yet are 2. 14. Tit. 3. 7, 8. they, notwithstanding their Imperfections, in the Sight of Eph. 2. 8, God pleasing and acceptable unto him in and for Christ, and Rom. 3. do spring out necessarily of a true 20, 21. and lively Faith ^b, in so much Rom. 4. 4 that by them a lively Faith may — 9. Daniel be evidently known, as a Tree 9. 18, 19. discerned by the Fruits ^c. Neh. 13. 22. Psal.

^a 143. 2. Job 9. 14, 15, 19, 20. Exod. 28. 38. Rev. 8. 3, 4. ^b 1 Pet. 2. 5. Heb. 13. 16; 20, 21. Col. 1. 10. Phil. 4. 18. ^c James 2. 16. 1 John 1. 4. ^d James 2. 18; 19. John 15. 4, 5. 1 John 2. 3, 5. Mat. 12. 33.

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

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before Justification by Christ, and Regeneration by his Spirit, are not pleasing unto God, for as much as ^b Tit. 1. they spring not of Faith in Jesus 15, 16. Mat. 7. Prov. 21. 27. Rom. 3. 12. Christ,

^a 8. Rom. 8. 8. Prov. 15. 8, 26.

Articles revised.

^c Heb. 11. Christ^c; neither do they make
^{5, 6.} Gal. Men meet to receive Grace, or
^{5. 6.} (as the School Authors say) de-
["] 2 Tim. serve Grace of Congruity^c; yea
^{1. 9.} Joh. rather, for that they are not
^{1. 13.} done as God hath willed and
^e Rein. 8. commanded them to be done,
^{7, 8.} they are sinful .

Hag. 2.

14. Isa. 58. 1—5. Isa. 66. 2, 3.

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary Works, besides
 over and above God's Command-
 ments, which they call *Works of*

^f Mat. 5. *Supererogation*, cannot be taughtⁱ
^{48.} without Arrogancy and Impie-
 Mar. 12. ty^j; for by them Men do declare
^{30, 31.} that they do not only render un-
 Phil. 4. to God as much as they are
^{8, 9.} bound to do; but that they do
^g Job 9. more for his sake than of bounden
^{2, 3, 20,} Duty is required; whereas Christ
^{21. Psal.} faith plainly, *When you have*
^{143. 2.} *done all those Things that are*
^{Prov. 20.} *commanded you, say, We are un-*
^{g. Phil. 3.} *profitable Servants, we have*
^{8—15.} *done that which was our Duty*
^h Luke *to do.*

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
ⁱ Isa. 53. all Things, Sin only excepted^j,
^{3, 4, 5.} from which he was clearly void
 Heb. 2. both in his Flesh and in his Spi-
^{17. with} rit^k: He came to be the Lamb
 Heb. 5. without spot, who by Sacrifice
^{15.} of himself^m once madeⁿ, shoudl
^k Luke take away the Sins of the World^o;

1. 35,

with Acts 3. 14. John 14. 30. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Heb. 7. 26. ¹ Pet. 1. 19.

^m Eph. 5. 2. ⁿ Heb. 9. 26, 28. Heb. 10. 10, 12. ^o John 1. 29.

and

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Christ, neither do they make
 Men meet to receive Grace, or
 (as the School Authors say) de-
 serve Grace of Congruity; yea
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 For by them Men do declare
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 his sake than of bounden Duty is
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 Servants.

ARTICLE XV.

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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 Spi-
 rit. He came to be a Lamb
 without spot, who by Sacrifice
 of himself once made, should
 take away the Sins of the World;

Articles of the Ch. of England.
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 we deceive our selves, and the Truth is not in us.

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and Sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. But all we the rest, although baptized and regenerate, yet offend in many Things; and if we say we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, 1 John 3, 2. James 1, 8, 10.

Charles Herle, *Prolocutor.*

Henry Robrough, *Scriba.*

Adoniram Byfield, *Scriba.*

N.B. *The Assembly proceeded no farther in the Revisal.*





APPENDIX.

N U M B . II.

THE
DIRECTORY
FOR THE
PUBLICK WORSHIP of GOD,
Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at West-
minster ; examined and approved, Anno 1645. by
the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the CHURCH
of SCOTLAND ; and ratified by Act of Par-
liament 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.

Hovbeit,

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 provid 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 burdensome 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 unedifying; 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 Carelessness 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 an unedifying Ministry, which contented it self with set Forms made 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 Studies; especially in these later Times, wherein God wouksafeth 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 acknowledg^e as excellent Instruments, raised by God, to begin the Purging and Building of his House, and desire they may be had of us and Posterity in everlasting Remembrance; 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 Reformation, and may satisfy our own Consciences, and answer the Expectation of other Reformed Churches, and the Desires of many of the Godly among our selves, and withal give some publick Testimony of our Endeavours for Uniformity 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, at ordinary 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 World of God: Our Meaning therein being only, that the general Heads, the Sense and Scope of the Prayers, and other Parts of Publick Worship, being 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 become not hereby slothful and negligent in stirring up the Gifts of Christ in them; but, that each one, by Meditation, by taking Heed to himself and the Flock of God committed 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 incomprehensible 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 Portion of his Word than 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, or doing Reverence to any Persons present, or coming in; as also from all Gazing, Sleeping, and other undecent Behaviour, which may disturb the Minister or People, or hinder themselves or others in the Service of God.

If any, through Necessity, be hinder'd 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 publicly

lickly 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 other Ordinance, be skirted, 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 Sinfulnes, *First*, By Reason of " original Sin, which (beside the Guilt that makes us liable to " everlasting Damnation) is the Seed of all other Sins, hath de- " praved 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 innu- " merable Transgressions, 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 broken all the " Commandments of the holy, just, and good Law of God, do- " ing that which is forbidden, and leaving undone what is enjoin- " ed; and that not only out of Ignorance and Infirmity, but also " more

“ more presumptuously, against the Light of our Minds, Checks
“ of our Consciences, and Motions of his own holy Spirit to the
“ contrary, so that we have no Cloke for our Sins; yea, not on-
“ ly despising the Riches of God’s Goodness, Forbearance, and
“ Long-suffering, but standing out against many Invitations and
“ Offers of Grace in the Gospel; not endeavouring, 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, Unbe-
“ lief, Impenitency, Security, Lukewarmness, Barrenness; our
“ not endeavouring after Mortification and Newnes of life; nor
“ after the Exercise of Godliness in the Power thereof: And that
“ the best of us have not so steadfastly waiked 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, not-
“withstanding 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 Cova-
“ nant, 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 our selves
“ unworthy of the smallest Benefits, most worthy of God’s fiercest
“ Wrath, and of all the Curses of the Law, and heaviest Judg-
“ ments 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 our selves 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 sieve and full Re-
“ mission of all our Sins, and that only for the bitter Sufferings
“ and precious Merits of that our only Saviour Jesus Christ.

“ That the Lord wou’d vouchsafe to shed abroad his Love in
“ our Hearts by the Holy Ghost; seal unto us, by the same Spi-
“ rit of Adoption, the full Assurance of our Pardon and Reconci-
“ liation; 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 presumptuous Sinners, that he would

“ open

APPENDIX.

" open their Eyes, convince their Consciences, and turn them from Darknes unto Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God, that they also may receive Forgiveneis 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 Mortification 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 Creoles, and Perseverance in Faith and Obedience unto the End.

" To pray for the Propagation of the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ to all Nations, for the Conversion of the *Jews*, the Fulleſs 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 there in God would establish Peace and Truth, the Purity of all his Ordinances, and the Power of Godlienes ; prevent and remove Heresy, Schism, Profanenes, Superflition, Security, and Unfruitfulness under the Means of Grace ; heal all our Rents and Diviſions, and preserve us from Breach of our *Solemn Covenant*.

" To pray for all in Authority, eſpecially for the King's Maieſty, that God would make him rich in Blessings, both in his Person and Government ; establish his Throne in Religion and Righteouſnes, ſave him from evil Counſel, and make him a bleiſed and glorious Instrument, for the Conservation 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 Comforting the afflicted Queen of *Bohemia*, Sister to our Sovereign ; and for the Reſtitution and Establishment of the Illuſtrious Prince *Charles*, Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, to all his Dominions and Dignities ; for a Blessing 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

" fill them with his Spirit, make them exemplarily Holy, Sober,
" Just, Peaceable, and Gracious in their Lives; Sound, Faithful,
" and Powerful in their Ministry; and follow all their Labours
" with Abundance of Success and Blessing; and give unto all his
" People Pastors according to his own Heart; for the Universities,
" and all Schools and Religious Seminaries of Church and Com-
monwealth, that they may flourish more and more in Learning
" and Piety; for the particular City or Congregation, that God
" would pour out a Blessing upon the Ministry of the Word, Sa-
craments and Discipline, upon the Civil Government, and all
" the several Families and Persons therein; for Mercy to the Af-
flicted, 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 Me-
diation of our High Priest the Lord Jesus, to profess that it is
" the Desire of our Souls to have Fellowship with God, in the re-
verend and conscientiable Use of his holy Ordinances; and, to
" that Purpose, to pray earnestly for his Grace, and effectual Af-
fistance 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, accord-
ing to the Riches and Excellency of the Gospel, this Day cele-
brated and enjoyed.

" And, because we have been unprofitable Hearers in Times
" past, and now cannot of our selves receive, as we should, the
" deep Things of God, the Mysterics of Jesus Christ, which re-
quire a spiritual Discerning; to pray, that the Lord, who teach-
eth to profit, would graciously please to pour out the Spirit of
" Grace, together with the outward Means thereof, causing us to
" attain such a Measure of the Excellency of the Knowledge of
" Christ Jesus our Lord, and, in him, of the Things which be-
long 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 al-
so, 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
" Household) with Wisdom, Fidelity, Zeal, and Utterance, that
" he may divide the Word of God aright, to every one his Por-
tion, in Evidence and Demonstration 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!

“ 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 hin-
 “ der their profitable and saving 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 Goipel, 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 gited 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 it self, 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

mory of the Hearers in the Beginning with too many Members of Division, nor 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 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 Consequence 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 feeth 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 Causē, not only discover the Nature and Greatnes of the Sin, with the Misery attending it, but also shew the Danger 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 is he 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 their Souls to Christ, the Fountain of Light, Holines 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. 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.

spect 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 Bitternes.

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 perswaded 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 hea-
 " venly Blessings revealed therein; as namely, Election, Voca-
 " tion, Adoption, Justification, Sanctification, and Hope of Glo-
 " ry; for the admirable Goodness of God, in freeing the Land
 " from Antichristian Darkness and Tyranny, and for all other
 " National Deliverances; for the Reformation of Religion; for
 " the Covenant; and for many temporal Blessings.

" To pray for the Continuance of the Gospel, and all Ordinan-
 " ces thereof, in their Purity, Power and Liberty: To turn the
 " chief and most useful Heads of the Sermon into some few Peti-
 " tions; 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 Iniquities 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

And because the Prayer which Christ taught his Disciples, is not only a Pattern of Prayer, but it self 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 exprest 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 thole 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 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

“ fying Virtue 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 Rising from Sin to Newness of Life, by virtue 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 Covenant 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 federally holy before Baptism, and therefore are they baptized: That the inward Grace and Virtue of Baptism, is not tied to that very Moment of Time wherein it is administer'd, and that the Fruit and Power thereof reacheth to the whole Course of our Life; and that outward Baptism is not so necessary, that through the Want thereof the Infant is in danger of Damnation, or the Parents guilty, if they do not condemn or 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 Baptism, 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 him know the Danger of God's Wrath to himself and Child, if he be negligent; 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 vouchsafe 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, Remission of Sin, Regeneration, and eternal Life, and all other Promises of the Covenant of Grace: That the Child may be planted into the Likeness of the Death and Resurrection of Christ; and that the Body of Sin being 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 numbreth 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 enter'd into the Household 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

" 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 the Celebration of the Communion, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

TH E Communion, or Supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated: But how often, may be considered, and determined by the Ministers, and other Church-Governors of each Congregation, as they shall find most convenient for the Comfort and Edification of the People committed to their Charge. And when it shall be administer'd, we judge it convenient to be done after the Morning Sermon.

The Ignorant and the Scandalous are not fit to receive this Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Where this Sacrament 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 that 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 Sacrament;
 " together with the Ends and Use thereof: Setting 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 unworthily.

" 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 Knowledge or Consci-
 " ence, that they presume not to come to that holy Table; shew-
 " ing them, That he that Eateth and Drinketh Unworthily, Eat-
 " eth and Drinketh Judgment unto himself: And on the other
 " part, he is in especial Manner to invite and encourage all that
 " labour under the Scuse of the Burden of their Sins, and Fear of
 " Wrath, and Desire to reach out unto a greater Progress 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 wearied 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 amongst 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 Evangelists, 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 Verie, which the Minister may, when he feeth requisite, explain and apply.

Let the Prayer, Thanksgiving, or Blessing of the Bread and Wine, be to this Effect;

“ **W**ITH 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 Heaven 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

and say, in these Expressions (or other the like, used by Christ, or his Apostle upon this Occasion :)

" According to the holy Initiation, Command, and Example
 " of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this Bread, and ha-
 " ving 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 Re-*
 " *membrance 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 Example 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 Testa-*
 " *ment 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 Sa-
 " crament; and exhort them to walk worthy of it."

The Minister is to give solemn Thanks to God,

" For his rich Mercy, and invaluable Goodness vouchsafed to
 " them in that Sacrament; and to entreat for Pardon for the De-
 " feats of the whole Service, and for the gracious Assistance of his
 " great Spirit, whereby they may be enabled to walk in the
 " Strength of that Grace, as becometh those who have received so
 " great Pledges of Salvation."

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 remember'd before-hand, 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 hinder'd 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 entring 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 Convenience 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, 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 our selves 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 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 Presence 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 Congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving, faſt'ful, and obedient Wife unto thee, until God shall separate 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, Strength, 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 Times of Sicknes, to desire his Advice and Help, timely and seasonably, before their Strength and Understanding fail them.

Times of Sicknes and Affliction are special Opportunities put into his Hand by God, to minister a Word in Season to weary Souls: Because then the Consciences of Men are, or shculd 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 the Impulses 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 Chastning, 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 feeth 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 truely affected with, and humbled for them: And withal to make known the Danger of deferring Repentance, and of neglecting Salvation at any Time offer'd; 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 Infirmitie; 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 Fullness of God's Grace, the Sufficiency of Righteousnes 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 Righteousnes, 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 hinder'd, 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 Children of Wrath, and under the Curse; acknowledging that all Diseases, Sickneses, Death, and Hell it self, 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 unto him his Holy Spirit to create and strengthen Faith, to lay hold upon Christ, to work in him comfortable Evidences of his Love, to arm him against Temptations, to take off his Heart from the World, to sanctify 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 bleis 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 Holiness and Obedience, as Men are apt to make in Times of Sicknes, 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 eternal Life by Christ, as may cause his inward Man to be renewed, 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 Intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, our alone Saviour, and All-sufficient Redeemer.”

The Minister shal admonish him also (as there shall be Cause) to set his House in Order, thereby to prevent Inconveniences; to take Care

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 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 grossly 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 Demeanours 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 that 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, Ornament,

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 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 our selves, 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 Importance 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 our selves 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 the Close of the Publick Duties, the Minister is, in his own and the Peoples Names, to ingage 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

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.

The 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 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 Busines.

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

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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 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 thofe who make the Joy of the Lord their Strength.

Of Singing of Psalms.

THIS is the Duty of Christians to praife 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.

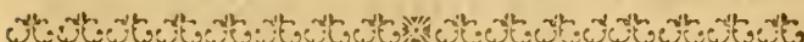
An APPENDIX, touching Days and Places for Publick Worship.

TH E R E 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.



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TH E Preface.

Of the Assembling of the Congregation.

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Of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

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Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

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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 Father, the Prince of Peace^a, of the Increase of whose 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 Fulness of him that filleth all in all; he being ascended up far above all Heavens, that

^a Isa. 9, 6, 7.

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^c.

Of the Church.

TH E R E 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.*

Of the Officers of the Church.

TH E 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.

Others ordinary and perpetual, as Pastors, Teachers, and other Church Governors, and Deacons:

Pastors.

TH E 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 pub-

^b *Mat. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. Eph. i. 20, 21, 22.* compared with *Eph. iv. 8, 11. and Psal. lxviii. 18.*

lick 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. xxxi. 9, 10, 11. Neb. 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, *Mattb. 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.

TH E 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 the 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 diſtinct Gifts may meet in, and accordingly be exercized 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 Employments, according to the iſferent 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 found Doctrine, and in convincing Gainsayers, than he doth in Application, and is accordingly employed 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 ab
ledged; *1 Tim. vi. 2.*

A Teacher or Doctor is of most excellent Use in Schools and Uni,
versities; 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 join-
ed 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.

TH E 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 ordi-
narily 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 shou'd be divided into distinct and
fixed Congregations, for the better Administration of such Ordina-
nces 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 Congrega-
tions, 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 Edifying. 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 each to 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 of 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 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 Busines 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 God, 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 it self 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 one from 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. verse 14. And in *Act*s 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.

1. *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, 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 *Act*s 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 *Act*s, Verses 1, 7. And also after the Dispersion, *Act*s 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. *verse* 2. of the same Book of the *Act*s of the Apostles.

Thirdly, The Diversity of Languages amongst the Believers, mentioned both in the Second and Sixth Chapters of the *Act*s, 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, *Act*s 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, *Act*s xi. 30. *Chap.* xv. 4, 6, 22. and *Chap.* xxi. 17, 18. of the same Book.

Thirdly,

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 Distinction of *Jews* and *Greeks*; and *1 Cor. xvi. 8, and 9.* where is a Reason of Paul's Stay at *Ephesus* until Pentecost; and *Verse 19.* where is mention of a particular Church in the House 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 thereto.

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.

UN D E R the Head of Ordination of Ministers is to be considered, either the Doctrine of Ordination, or the Power of it.

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.

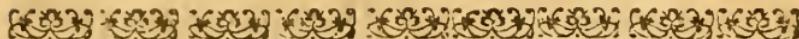
It is very requisite that no single Congregation, that can conveniently associate, do assume to it self all and sole Power in Ordination.

i. Because

1. Because there is no Example in Scripture, that any single Congregation, which might conveniently associate, did assume to it self all and sole Power in Ordination; neither is there any Rule which may warrant such a Practice.

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. **N**O 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.

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, 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 shall be made more strictly after his other Learning, and whether he hath Skill in Logick and Philosophy.*

3. *What Authors in Divinity he hath read, and is best acquainted with. And Trial shall be made in his Knowledge 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 Presbytery 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 Controversy in Divinity, as shall be assigned him, and exhibite to the Presbytery such Theories 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 necessary.

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 Thrice 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 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

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 Periwansion 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, Ministering 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, 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

* Here let them impose Hands on his Head.

Lord, according to their solemn Promise made before ; and so by Prayer commanding 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 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 Ordination in the ordinary Way ; that which concerns the extraordinary Way, requisite to be now practised, followeth.

1. In these present Exigencies, 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 tend 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

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 Association 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.

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