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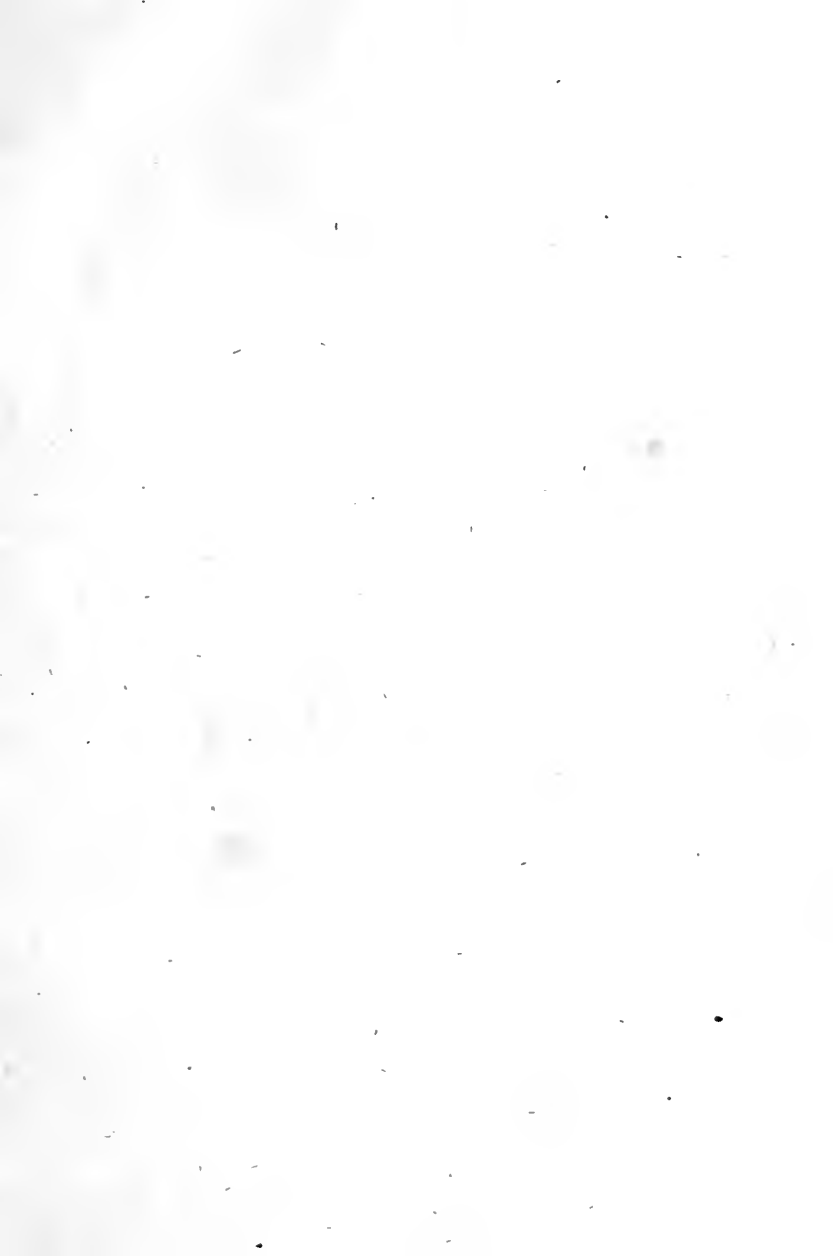
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THE

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS,

OR

PROTESTANT NONCONFORMISTS;

FROM

THE REFORMATION IN 1517, TO THE REVOLUTION IN 1688;

COMPRISING

An Account of their Principles;

THEIR ATTEMPTS FOR A FARTHER REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH; THEIR SUFFERINGS;
AND THE LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF THEIR MOST CONSIDERABLE DIVINES.

BY DANIEL NEAL, M.A.

REPRINTED

FROM THE TEXT OF DR. TOULMIN'S EDITION: WITH HIS LIFE OF THE AUTHOR
AND ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS.

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES

BY JOHN O. CHOULES, M.A.

With nine Portraits on Steel.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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P R E F A C E.

A THOUGHTFUL man is not only convinced that God has created this world, he is as deeply persuaded that God has a Church in it; that he planted it here, and waters and nourishes it, and exerts in its favour a heavenly influence.

In Revelation we are furnished with a lively emblem of the Church, "*a bush burning with fire, and not consumed.*"—*Exodus*, iii., 2. The Church has not, however, sustained the conflict in her own strength, but because the Lord Jesus Christ, the angel of the covenant, has been in the bush, "either to slack the fire, or to strengthen the bush, and make it incombustible." The history of the Church is a record of suffering and affliction; she has ever had the cross in her experience; and all who have *followed Christ and his apostles have received the Word in much affliction.*—*1 Thessalonians*, i., 4.

The persecutions of God's people were great under the pagan emperors; but still the Church has suffered more from Rome papal than Rome pagan. That idolatrous and apostate communion may truly be said to be drunk with the blood of the saints. We talk, and write, and preach about the reformation from popery, and seem almost to imagine that the beast is destroyed; we forget too commonly the partial character of the Reformation, the imperfect views of the early champions for truth, and the grasp which popery retained in England through the unsanctified alliance of the Church and State.

Very few are thoroughly informed as to the events connected with the struggles for truth in the reigns of the *Tudor family*. The reformation of Henry the Eighth and the Sixth Edward was certainly a glorious achievement, but can never be regarded as a complete triumph, a perfect work. It was effected by those who only saw men as trees walking, and who just felt that all around them were men still blinder than themselves. Satan, when he cannot destroy a good thing, is content to mar it. Elizabeth was a Protestant but in name; her religion was papistical; all her sympathies were with external pomp and showy ceremony; she regarded religion as a mere matter of state policy, and the Church as an affair to be governed by her will, expressed by parliamentary statutes. To Christ's sceptre she never bowed—the supremacy of his laws she never recognised—of Christ's headship in the government of the Church she never dreamed. A haughty princess and a proud and persecuting prelacy fashioned the Church as it suited their taste and purpose, and they have handed it down to us with so many alterations and additions, that the fishermen of Galilee and the early disciples of Jesus would be unable to recognise it as the "*kingdom not of this world.*"

The power and excellence of the Gospel are never seen to greater advantage than in the days of persecution. It is true that God's children are like stars

that shine brightest in the darkest skies ; like the chamomile, which, the more it is trodden down, the faster it spreads and grows. The glories of Christianity in England are to be traced in the sufferings of confessors and martyrs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; and it was under the influence of Christian principles, imbibed at this very period, that the Mayflower brought over the band of Pilgrims to Plymouth.

Afflictions and religious persecutions have for a long period been unknown to the happy citizens of these United States, and we have strangely forgotten the times that tried the souls of our fathers.

There is a resurrection in the land at the present time of feelings and principles which were once generally prevalent, and which so eminently distinguished our English ancestry. Now, after a long period of carelessness and inattention to the history of Protestant Nonconformity, the descendants of the Pilgrims have been compelled to fall back upon the history and faith of their fathers, in consequence of the pressing impertinence with which the claims of popery, prelacy, and priestcraft have been urged upon them and their children. God has been building up Zion in all our borders for two hundred years, making our land the praise of the nations ; he has granted the quickening influence of his Spirit to the ministrations of thousands of all religious names, who have published the deathless love of his adorable Son ; and yet a comparative *handful* of our fellow-Christians gravely deny that our solemn gatherings make Christian churches ; that our pastors and teachers have any authority to speak in His name who has so unequivocally blessed them in their labour ; and as for Zion's chief and holiest feast, that they stigmatize as "the blasphemous mockery of a lay sacrament." We have again to fight the battle for all that we hold dear ; but we enter the contest cheered by the undying renown of the names which illustrate the early history of the struggles for religious freedom. It is as fitting and proper for an American to forget or scorn the names of Lexington and Bunker Hill, Trenton and Princeton, Hancock and Adams, Washington and Jefferson, as for a New-Englander to be unaffected by the utterance of Smithfield, Lambeth Palace, and the ever-honoured names of Rogers and Ridley, Hooper, Lawrence, Latimer, and their fellow-martyrs. We should never forget that the prison, the scaffold, and the stake were stages in the march of civil and religious liberty which our forefathers had to travel, in order that we might attain our present-liberty.

It is quite clear, that in the United States there is a general attention directed to the subject of Church History, partly arising from the almost total apathy which has so long existed, and in a considerable degree owing to the extraordinary movement in the Church of England by that party who regard their amputation from Rome as original sin and actual transgression. I have long wished to see Neal's admirable History of the Puritans in the hands not only of the ministry and students, but all private reading Christians, a growing class in this country ; but its very expensive price has been an insuperable barrier to general circulation. Consultation with many of our most influential clergy of all denominations interested has induced me to prepare an edition which shall not only be so cheap as to admit of general use, but shall embody the valuable information which has been garnered up by the writers of the last century. Since Neal finished his work we have had the writings of Towgood

and Toulmin, Wilson and Palmer, Brooks and Conder, Fletcher and Orme, and especially the admirable contributions of Drs. Vaughan and Price. The works alluded to, and very many others, have been faithfully and laboriously consulted in order to enrich this edition. It *may* have some errors in typography which have escaped my notice, but I can assure the reader that it is the most perfect edition extant, and that I have made scores of corrections from the latest London edition. Not an *iota* has been altered in the original text of Neal, and *every edition* of the immortal work has been carefully collated and compared. To the Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist ministry of the land, I believe these volumes will be welcome, and if our pastors are faithful to their high trust, they will see that they are placed in the hands and houses of their people: should this be the case, we may defy the *machinations of Rome*, and laugh at the absurdity of *apostolical succession*.

I anticipate the happiest results from the wide circulation of this History. It will create an interest in favour of the venerable sufferers in behalf of truth. We shall see that the persecuting party, who had also enjoyed a partial escape from anti-Christian despotism, secured their political ascendancy only by accidental causes; and we shall see "that in these circumstances, the same convictions and feelings which had led all the friends of the Reformation to resist the papal tyranny of Rome, determined the *consistent* advocates of that reformation to oppose the Protestant tyranny of the Tudors and the Stuarts. They were anxious to attain a greater degree of simplicity and purity in the administration and ritual of the Reformed Church. When, *at a subsequent period*, an *Act of Uniformity* was passed, it was not for the sake of vestments and forms that the successors of the Puritans withheld their acquiescence, but because in the principles which led to their adoption by legislative arrangements there was no recognition of personal and social rights; no accordance with the liberty of the Christian dispensation; no allowance for weak and tender consciences; no desire for a liberal and enlarged comprehension; but a system of arbitrary and capricious enactments, independent both of personal and representative consent, and supported by a usurpation of authority which directly impugned the great principles of the Reformation, and invaded the prerogative of Him who is our 'only Master and Lord!' Not finding a sufficient code for the regulation of their ecclesiastical system in the New Testament, they added an apocryphal book of *Leviticus* to its canon, and claimed for *this appendage of human origin* implicit faith and unresisting obedience." Thus originated Non-conformity. Before our children remove their religious connexions, and, enamoured with a show of pomp and circumstance, embrace a religion which may cause its professor to be greeted in the high places—before they leave the old paths of God's Word, alone sufficient for man's faith, guidance, and salvation—before they barter their birthright for a mess of pottage—let us place in their hands this chronicle of the glorious days of the suffering Churches, and let them know that they are the sons of the men "*of whom the world was not worthy*," and whose sufferings for conscience' sake are here monumentally recorded.

JOHN OVERTON CHOULES.

P R E F A C E

TO VOLUME I. OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.

THE design of the following work is to preserve the memory of those great and good men among the Reformers who lost their preferments in the Church for attempting a farther reformation of its discipline and ceremonies, and to account for the rise and progress of that separation from the national establishment which subsists to this day.

To set this in a proper light, it was necessary to look back upon the sad state of religion before the Reformation, and to consider the motives that induced King Henry VIII. to break with the pope, and to declare the Church of England an independent body, of which himself, under Christ, was the supreme head upon earth. This was a bold attempt, at a time when all the powers of the earth were against him, and could not have succeeded without an overruling direction of Divine Providence. But as for any real amendment of the doctrines or superstitions of popery, any farther than was necessary to secure his own supremacy, and those vast revenues of the Church which he had grasped into his hands, whatever his majesty might design, he had not the honour to accomplish.

The Reformation made a quick progress in the short reign of King Edward VI., who had been educated under Protestant tutors, and was himself a prodigious genius for his age; he settled the doctrines of the Church, and intended a reformation of its government and laws; but his noble designs were obstructed by some temporizing bishops, who, having complied with the impositions of King Henry VIII., were willing to bring others under the same yoke; and to keep up an alliance under the Church of Rome, lest they should lose the uninterrupted succession of their characters from the apostles. The controversy that gave rise to the separation began in this reign, on occasion of Bishop Hooper's refusing to be consecrated in the popish habits. This may seem an unreasonable scruple in the opinion of some people, but was certainly an affair of great consequence to the Reformation, when the habits were the known badges of popery; and when the administrations of the priests were thought to receive their validity from the consecrated vestments, as I am afraid many, both of the clergy and common people, are too inclinable to apprehend at this day. Had the Reformers fixed upon other decent garments, as badges of the episcopal or priestly office, which had no relation to the superstitions of popery, this controversy had been prevented. But the same regard to the old religion was had in revising the liturgy, and translating it into the English language; the Reformers, instead of framing a new one in the language of Holy Scripture, had recourse to the offices of the Church of Rome, leaving out such prayers and passages as were offensive, and adding certain responses to engage the attention of the common people, who, till this time, had no concern in the public devotions of the Church, as being uttered in an unknown tongue. This was thought a very considerable advance, and as much as the times would bear, but was not designed for the last standard of the English reformation; however, the immature death of young King Edward put an end to all farther progress.

Upon the accession of Queen Mary, popery revived by the supremacy's being lodged in a single hand, and, within the compass of little more than a year, became a second time the established religion of the Church of England; the statutes of King Edward were repealed, and the penal laws against heretics were put in execution against the Reformers; many of whom, after a long imprisonment, and cruel trials of mockings and scourgings, made a noble confession of their faith before many

witnesses, and sealed it with their blood. Great numbers fled into banishment, and were entertained by the reformed States of Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, with great humanity; the magistrates enfranchising them, and appointing churches for their public worship. But here began the fatal division:* some of the exiles were for keeping to the liturgy of King Edward as the religion of their country, while others, considering that those laws were repealed, apprehended themselves at full liberty; and having no prospect of returning home, they resolved to shake off the remains of antichrist, and to copy after the purer forms of those churches among whom they lived. Accordingly, the congregation at Frankfort, by the desire of the magistrates, began upon the Geneva model, with an additional prayer for the afflicted state of the Church of England at that time; but when Dr. Cox, afterward Bishop of Ely, came with a new detachment from England, he interrupted the public service by answering aloud after the minister, which occasioned such a disturbance and division as could never be healed. Mr. Knox and Mr. Whittingham, with one half of the congregation, being obliged to remove to Geneva, Dr. Cox and his friends kept possession of the church at Frankfort, till there arose such quarrels and contentions among themselves as made them a reproach to the strangers among whom they lived. Thus the separation began.

When the exiles, upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, returned to England, each party were for advancing the Reformation according to their own standard. The queen, with those that had weathered the storm at home, were only for restoring King Edward's liturgy; but the majority of the exiles were for the worship and discipline of the foreign churches, and refused to comply with the old establishment, declaiming loudly against the popish habits and ceremonies. The new bishops, most of whom had been their companions abroad, endeavoured to soften them for the present, declaring they would use all their interests at court to make them easy in a little time. The queen also connived at their nonconformity till her government was settled, but then declared roundly that she had fixed her standard, and would have all her subjects conform to it; upon which the bishops stiffened in their behaviour, explained away their promises, and became too severe against their dissenting brethren.

In the year 1564, their lordships began to show their authority, by urging the clergy of their several dioceses to subscribe the liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the Church; when those that refused were first called Puritans, a name of reproach derived from the Cathari, or Puritani, of the third century after Christ, but proper enough to express their desires of a more pure form of worship and discipline in the Church. When the doctrines of Arminius took place in the latter end of the reign of James I., those that adhered to Calvin's explication of the five disputed points were called Doctrinal Puritans; and at length, says Mr. Fuller,† the name was improved to stigmatize all those who endeavoured in their devotions to accompany the minister with a pure heart, and who were remarkably holy in their conversations. A Puritan, therefore, was a man of severe morals, a Calvinist in doctrine, and a Nonconformist to the ceremonies and discipline of the Church, though they did not totally separate from it.

The queen, having conceived a strong aversion to these people, pointed all her artillery against them; for, besides the ordinary courts of the bishops, her majesty erected a new tribunal, called the Court of High Commission, which suspended and deprived men of their livings, not by the verdict of twelve men upon oath, but by the sovereign determination of three commissioners of her majesty's own nomination, founded, not upon the statute laws of the realm, but upon the bottomless deep of the canon law; and instead of producing witnesses in open court to prove the charge, they assumed a power of administering an oath *ex officio*, whereby the prisoner was obliged to answer all questions the court should put to him, though never so prejudicial to his own defence; if he refused to swear, he was imprisoned for contempt; and if he took the oath, he was convicted upon his own confession.

* Fatal division; *i. e.*, on account of the animosities it created, and the miseries in which it involved very many persons and families; but in another view, it was a happy division, for it hath been essentially serviceable to civil as well as religious liberty, and, like other evils, been productive of many important good effects; as the author himself points out, p. xi.—Ed. † Church History, b. ix., p. 76, and b. x., p. 100.

The reader will meet with many examples of the high proceedings of this court in the course of this history ; of their sending their pursuivants to bring ministers out of the country, and keeping them in town at excessive charges ; of their interrogatories upon oath, which were almost equal to the Spanish Inquisition ; of their examinations and long imprisonments of ministers without bail, or bringing them to a trial ; and all this not for insufficiency, or immorality, or neglect of their cures, but for not wearing a white surplice, for not baptizing with the sign of the cross, or not subscribing to certain articles that had no foundation in law. A fourth part of all the preachers in England were under suspension from one or other of these courts, at a time when not one beneficed clergyman in six was capable of composing a sermon. The edge of all those laws that were made against popish recusants, who were continually plotting against the queen, was turned against Protestant Nonconformists ; nay, in many cases, they had not the benefit of the law, for, as Lord Clarendon* rightly observes, Queen Elizabeth carried her prerogative as high as in the worst times of King Charles I. " They who look back upon the council-books of those times," says his lordship, " and upon the acts of the Star Chamber then, shall find as high instances of power and sovereignty upon the liberty and property of the subject as can be since given. But the art, order, and gravity of those proceedings (where short, severe, constant rules, were set, and smartly pursued, and the party felt only the weight of the judgment, not the passion of his judges) made them less taken notice of, and so less grievous to the public, though as intolerable to the person."

These severities, instead of reconciling the Puritans to the Church, drove them farther from it ; for men do not care to be beat from their principles by the artillery of canons, injunctions, and penal laws ; nor can they be in love with a church that uses such methods of conversion. A great deal of ill blood was bred in the nation by these proceedings ; the bishops lost their esteem with the people, and the number of Puritans was not really lessened, though they lay concealed, till in the next age they got the power into their hands and shook off the yoke.

The reputation of the Church of England has been very much advanced of late years by the suspension of the penal laws, and the legal indulgence granted to Protestant dissenters. Long experience has taught us that uniformity in doctrine and worship enforced by penal laws is not the way to the Church's peace ; that there may be a separation from a true church without schism, and schism within a church without separation ; that the indulgence granted by law to Protestant Nonconformists, which has now subsisted above forty years, has not been prejudicial to Church or State, but rather advantageous to both ; for the revenues of the Established Church have not been lessened ; a number of poor have been maintained by the Dissenters, which must otherwise have come to the parish ; the separation has kept up an emulation among the clergy, quickened them to their pastoral duty, and been a check upon their moral behaviour ; and I will venture to say, whenever the separate assemblies of Protestant Nonconformists shall cease, and all men be obliged to worship at their parish churches, that ignorance and laziness will prevail among the clergy ; and that the laity in many parts of the country will degenerate into superstition, profaneness, and downright atheism. With regard to the state, it ought to be remembered that the Protestant Dissenters have always stood by the laws and Constitution of their country ; that they joined heartily in the glorious revolution of King William and Queen Mary, and suffered for their steady adherence to the Protestant succession in the illustrious house of his present majesty, when great numbers that called themselves churchmen were looking another way ; for this, the Schism Bill and other hardships were put upon them, and not for their religious differences with the Church ; for if they would have joined the administration at that time, it is well known they might have made much better terms for themselves ; but as long as there is a Protestant Dissenter in England, there will be a friend of liberty and our present happy Constitution. Instead, therefore, of crushing them, or comprehending them within the Church, it must be the interest of all true lovers of their country, even upon political views, to ease their complaints, and to support and countenance their Christian liberty.

For, though the Church of England is as free from persecuting principles as any establishment in Europe, yet still there are some grievances remaining, which wise and good men of all parties wish might be reviewed; not to mention the subscriptions which affect the clergy, there is the act of the twenty-fifth of King Charles II. for preventing dangers arising from popish recusants, commonly called the Test Act, "which obliges, under very severe penalties, all persons [of the laity] bearing any office or place of trust or profit (besides taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribing a declaration against transubstantiation) to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England, in some parish church, on a Lord's Day, immediately after Divine service and sermon, and to deliver a certificate of having so received it, under the hands of the respective ministers and church-wardens, proved by two credible witnesses upon oath, to be recorded in court." It appears by the title of this act, and by the disposition of the Parliament at that time, that it was not designed against Protestant Nonconformists; but the Dissenters in the house generously came into it, to save the nation from popery; for when the court, in order to throw out the bill, put them upon moving for a clause to except their friends, Mr. Love, who had already declared against the dispensing power, stood up, and desired that the nation might first be secured against popery, by passing the bill without any amendment, and that then, if the house pleased, some regard might be had to Protestant Dissenters; in which, says Mr. Echard, he was seconded by most of his party.* The bill was voted accordingly, and another brought in for the ease of his majesty's Protestant dissenting subjects, which passed the Commons, but before it could get through the Lords, the king came to the house and prorogued the Parliament. Thus the Protestant Nonconformists, out of their abundant zeal for the Protestant religion, shackled themselves, and were left upon a level with popish recusants.

It was necessary to secure the nation against popery at that time, when the presumptive heir of the crown was of that religion; but whether it ought not to have been done by a civil rather than by a religious test, I leave with the reader. The obliging all persons in places of civil trust to receive the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, seems to be a hardship upon those gentlemen whose manner of life loudly declares their unfitness for so sacred a solemnity, and who would not run the hazard of eating and drinking unworthily, but that they satisfy themselves with throwing off the guilt upon the imposers. Great Britain must not expect an army of saints, nor is the time yet come when all her officers shall be peace, and her exactors righteousness. It is no less a hardship upon a great body of his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, who are qualified to serve their king and country in all offices of civil trust, and would perform their duty with all cheerfulness, did they not scruple to receive the sacrament after the usage of the Church of England, or to prostitute a sacred and religious institution as a qualification for a civil employment. I can see no inconvenience either to Church or State, if his majesty, as the common father of his people, should have the service of all his subjects who are willing to swear allegiance to his royal person and government; to renounce all foreign jurisdiction, and to give all reasonable security not to disturb the Church of England, or any of their fellow-subjects, in the peaceable enjoyment of their religious or civil rights and properties. Besides, the removing this grievance would do honour to the Church of England itself, by obviating the charge of imposition, and by relieving the clergy from a part of their work, which has given some of them very great uneasiness; but I am chiefly concerned for the honour of religion and public virtue, which are wounded hereby in the house of their friends. If, therefore, as some conceive, the sacramental test be a national blemish, I humbly conceive, with all due submission, the removal of it would be a public blessing.

The Protestant Nonconformists observe with pleasure the right reverend fathers of the Church owning the cause of religious liberty, "that private judgment ought to be formed upon examination, and that religion is a free and unforced thing." And we sincerely join with the Lord-bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in the preface to his excellent Vindication of the Miracles of our Blessed Saviour,† "in congratulating

* Echard's Church History, ad ann. 1672-3.

† Pref., p. viii.

our country on the enjoyment of their civil and ecclesiastical liberties within their just and reasonable bounds, as the most valuable blessings," though we are not fully satisfied with the reasonableness of those bounds his lordship has fixed. God forbid that any among us should be patrons of open profaneness, irreligion, scurrility, or ill-manners to the established religion of the nation; much less that we should countenance any who blasphemously revile the founder of it, or who deride whatsoever is sacred! No; we have a fervent zeal for the honour of our Lord and Master, and are desirous to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints" with all sorts of spiritual weapons; but we do not yet see a necessity of stopping the mouths of the adversaries of our holy religion with fines and imprisonments, even though, to their own infamy and shame, they treat it with indecency: let scandal and ill-manners be punished as they deserve, but let not men be terrified from speaking out their doubts, or proposing their objections against the Gospel revelation, which we are sure will bear a thorough examination; and though the late ungenerous attacks upon the miracles of our blessed Saviour may have had an ill influence upon the giddy and unthinking youth of the age, they have given occasion to the publishing such a number of incomparable defences of Christianity as have confirmed the faith of many, and must satisfy the minds of all reasonable inquirers after truth.

Nor do we think it right to fix the boundaries of religious liberty upon the degree of people's differing from the national establishment, because enthusiasts or Jews have an equal right with Christians to worship God in their own way; to defend their own peculiar doctrines, and to enjoy the public protection as long as they keep the peace, and maintain no principles manifestly inconsistent with the safety of the government they live under.

But his lordship apprehends he has a chain of demonstrable propositions to maintain his boundaries: he observes,† "1. That the true ends of government cannot subsist without religion, no reasonable man will dispute it. 2. That open impiety, or a public opposition made to, and an avowed contempt of the established religion, which is a considerable part of the Constitution, do greatly promote the disturbance of the public peace, and naturally tend to the subversion of the whole Constitution." It is here supposed that one particular religion must be incorporated into the Constitution, which is not necessary to the ends of government; for religion and civil government are distinct things, and stand upon a separate basis. Religion in general is the support of civil government, and it is the office of the civil magistrate to protect all his dutiful and loyal subjects in the free exercise of their religion; but to incorporate one particular religion into the Constitution, so as to make it part of the common law, and to conclude from thence that the Constitution, having a right to preserve itself, may make laws for the punishment of those that publicly oppose any one branch of it, is to put an effectual stop to the progress of the Reformation throughout the whole Christian world: for by this reasoning our first reformers must be condemned; and if a subject of France, or the ecclesiastical states, should at this time write against the usurped power of the pope, or expose the absurdities of transubstantiation, adoration of the host, worshipping of images, &c., it would be laudable for the legislative powers of those countries to send the writer to the galleys, or shut him up in a dungeon, as a disturber of the public peace, because popery is supported by law, and is a very considerable part of their constitution.

But to support the government's right to enact penal laws against those that opposed the established religion, his lordship is pleased to refer us to the edicts of the first Christian emperors out of the Codex Theodosianus, composed in the fifth century, which acquaints us with the sentiments of that and the preceding age, but says nothing of the doctrine of Scripture, or of the practice of the Church for three hundred years before the empire became Christian. His lordship then subjoins sundry passages out of a sermon of Archbishop Tillotson, whom he justly ranks among the greatest of the moderns. But it ought to be remembered, that this sermon was preached at court in the year 1680, when the nation was in imminent danger from the Popish Plot. His lordship should also have acquainted his readers with the archbishop's cautious introduction, which is this: "I cannot think (till I be better in-

* Pref. p. ix., x.

formed, which I am always ready to be) that any pretence of conscience warrants any man that cannot work miracles to draw men off from the established religion of a nation, nor openly to make proselytes to his own religion, in contempt of the magistrate and the law, though he is never so sure he is in the right.* This proposition, though pointed at the popish missionaries in England at that time, is not only inconsistent with the Protestant Reformation (as I observed before), but must effectually prevent the propagating of Christianity among the idolatrous nations of the Eastern and Western Indies, without a new power of working miracles, which we have no ground to expect; and I may venture to assure his lordship and the world that the good archbishop lived to see his mistake, and could name the learned person to whom he frankly confessed it after some hours' conversation upon the subject.† But human authorities are of little weight in points of reason and speculation.

It was from this mistaken principle that the government pressed so hard upon those Puritans whose history is now before the reader, in which he will observe how the transferring the supremacy from the pope to the king united the Church and State into one body under one head, insomuch that writing against the Church was construed by the judges in Westminster Hall a seditious libelling the queen's government, and was punished with exorbitant fines, imprisonment, and death. He will observe, farther, the rise and progress of the penal laws; the extent of the regal supremacy in those times; the deplorable ignorance of the clergy; with the opposite principles of our church-reformers, and of the Puritans, which I have set in a true light, and have pursued the controversy as an historian in its several branches, to the end of the long reign of Queen Elizabeth; to all which I have added some short remarks of my own, which the reader will receive according to their evidence. And because the principles of the Scotch Reformers were much the same with those of the English Puritans, and the imposing a liturgy and bishops upon them gave rise to a confusion of the next age, I have inserted a short account of their religious establishment, and have enlivened the whole with the lives and characters of the principal Puritans of those times.

A History of this kind was long expected from the late reverend and learned Dr. John Evans, who had for some years been collecting materials for this purpose, and had he lived to perfect his design, would have done it to much greater advantage; but I have seen none of his papers, and am informed that there is but a very small matter capable of being put in order for the press. Upon his decease, I found it necessary to undertake this province, to bring the history forward to those times when the Puritans had the power in their own hands; in examining into which, I have spent my leisure hours for some years; but the publishing those collections will depend, under God, upon the continuance of my health, and the acceptance this meets with in the world.

I am not so vain as to expect to escape the censures of critics, nor the reproaches of angry men, who, while they do nothing themselves, take pleasure in exposing the labours of others in pamphlets and newspapers; but as I shall be always thankful to any that will convince me of my mistakes in a friendly manner, the others may be secure of enjoying the satisfaction of their satirical remarks without any disturbance from me.

I have endeavoured to acquaint myself thoroughly with the times of which I write; and as I have no expectations from any party of Christians, I am under no temptation to disguise their conduct. I have cited my authorities in the margin, and flatter

* Abp. Tillotson's Works, vol. i., fol., p. 320, 321.

† The learned person to whom Mr. Neal refers, I conceive, was Mr. Howe: the purport of the conversation he had with the bishop, on the proposition contained in his sermon, was given to the public by Dr. Calamy, in his *Memoirs of Mr. Howe*, p. 75, 76. The fact was, that the bishop was sent for, out of his turn, to preach before the king, on account of the sickness of another gentleman, and had prepared his discourse in great haste, and impressed with the general fears of popery: the sentiment above quoted from it was the occasion of its being published from the press. For the king having slept most part of the time while the sermon was delivered, a certain nobleman, when it was over, said to him, "Tis pity your majesty slept, for we have had the rarest piece of Hobbism that ever you heard in your life." "Odsfish, he shall print it, then," replied the king. When it came from the press, the author sent a copy, as a present, to Mr. Howe, who freely expostulated with Dr. Tillotson on this passage, first in a long letter, and then in a conversation which the doctor desired on the subject, at the end of which he fell to weeping freely, and said "that this was the most unhappy thing that had of a long time befallen him."

myself that I have had the opportunity of bringing many things to light relating to the sufferings of the Puritans, and the state of the Reformation in those times, which have hitherto been unknown to the world, chiefly by the assistance of a large manuscript collection of papers, faithfully transcribed from their originals in the University of Cambridge, by a person of character employed for that purpose, and generously communicated to me by my ingenious and learned friend, Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor; for which I take this opportunity of returning him my own and the thanks of the public. Among the ecclesiastical historians of these times, Mr. Fuller, Bishop Burnet, and Mr. Strype, are the chief; the last of whom has searched into the records of the English Reformation more than any man of the age; Dr. Heylin and Collyer are of more suspected authority, not so much for their party principles, as because the former never gives us his vouchers, and yet the latter follows him blindly in all things.

Upon the whole, I have endeavoured to keep in view the honesty and gravity of an historian, and have said nothing with a design to exasperate or widen the differences among Christians; for, as I am a sincere admirer of the doctrines of the New Testament, I would have an equal regard to its most excellent precepts, of which these are some of the capital, that "we love one another; that we forgive offences; that we bear one another's infirmities, and even bless them that curse us, and pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us." If this spirit and temper were more prevalent, the lives of Christians would throw a bright lustre upon the truth and excellence of their Divine faith, and convince the atheists and infidels of the age, more than all their arguments can do without it.

I would earnestly recommend this temper to the Protestant Nonconformists of the present age, together with a holy emulation of each other in undissembled piety and sanctity of life, that while they are reading the heavy and grievous sufferings of their ancestors from ecclesiastical commissions, spiritual courts, and penal laws, for conscience' sake, they may be excited to an humble adoration of Divine Providence, which has delivered them so far from the yoke of oppression; to a detestation of all persecuting principles; and to a loyal and dutiful behaviour to the best of kings, under whose mild and just government they are secure of their civil and religious liberties. And may Protestants of all persuasions improve in the knowledge and love of the truth, and in sentiments of Christian charity and forbearance towards each other, that, being at peace among themselves, they may with greater success bend their united forces against the common enemy of Christianity!

DANIEL NEAL.

London, Feb. 1st, 1731-2.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO VOLUME I. OF DR. TOULMIN'S EDITION.

MORE than half a century has elapsed since the work now again offered to the public made its first appearance. The author gave it a second edition in 4to. In 1755 it was printed at Dublin, on the plan of the first impression, in four volumes octavo. The English editions have for a number of years been scarce, and copies of the work, as it has been justly held in estimation by dissenters, have borne a high price. Foreigners also have referred to it as a book of authority, affording the most ample information on that part of the English history which it comprehends.*

A republication of it will, on these accounts, it is supposed, be acceptable to the friends of religious liberty. Several circumstances concur to render it, at this time, peculiarly seasonable. The Protestant Dissenters, by their repeated applications to Parliament, have attracted notice and excited an inquiry into their principles and history. The odium and obloquy of which they have recently become the objects are a call upon them to appeal to both, in their own justification. Their history, while it brings up to painful review scenes of spiritual tyranny and oppression, connects itself with the rise and progress of religious liberty, and necessarily brings forward many important and interesting transactions which are not to be met with in the general histories of our country, because not falling within the province of the authors to detail.

The editor has been induced, by these considerations, to comply with a proposal to revise Mr. Neal's work. In doing this, he has taken no other liberty with the original text than to cast into notes some papers and lists of names, which appeared to him too much to interrupt the narrative. This alteration in the form of it promises to render it more pleasing to the eye, and more agreeable to the perusal. He has, where he could procure the works quoted, which he has been able to do in most instances, examined and corrected the references, and so ascertained the fairness and accuracy of the authorities. He has reviewed the animadversions of Bishops Maddox and Warburton, and Dr. Grey, and given the result of his scrutiny in notes; by which the credit of the author is eventually established. He has not suppressed strictures of his own, where he conceived there was occasion for them. It has been his aim, in conducting this work through the press, to support the character of the diligent, accurate, and impartial editor. How far he has done this he must leave to the candid to determine.

Whatever inaccuracies or mistakes the eye of criticism may discover, he is confident that they cannot essentially affect the execution of the design, any more than the veracity of the author. The remark, which Mr. Neal advanced as a plea in his own defence, against the censure of Bishop Maddox, will apply with force, the editor conceives, to his own case, as in the first instance it had great weight. "The commission of errors in writing any history of times past," says the ingenious Mr. Wharton, in his letter to Mr. Strype, "being altogether unavoidable, ought not to detract from the credit of the history or the merits of the historian, unless it be accompanied with immoderate ostentation or unhandsome reflections on the errors of others."†

The editor has only farther to solicit any communications which may tend to improve this impression of Neal's History, or to furnish materials for the continuation of the History of the Protestant Dissenters from the Revolution, with which period Mr. Neal's design closes, to the present times, as he has it in contemplation, if Providence favour him with life and health, to prepare such a work for the press.

Taunton, 13th June, 1793.

* Mosheim, *Dictionnaire de Hérésies*, and Wendeborn.

† Mr. Wharton discovered as many errors in Mr. Strype's single volume of *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer* as filled three sheets; yet Mr. Strype's collections were justly entitled to the commendations of posterity, as a work of great utility and authority.—See *Neal's Review*, p. 6, 8vo.

MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE OF MR. DANIEL NEAL, A.M.*

MR. DANIEL NEAL was born in the city of London, on the 14th of December, 1678. When he was very young, his parents were removed by death, and left him, their only surviving child, in the hands of a maternal uncle, whose care of his health and education was faithful and affectionate, and was often mentioned by his nephew with gratitude.

He received his classical education at Merchant Tailors' School, to which he was sent when he was seven or eight years of age, and where he stayed till he was head scholar. In this youthful period he gave a proof of the serious and conscientious principles by which he was governed; for, an exhibition to St. John's College in Oxford being offered to him, out of a foundation belonging to that school, he declined it, and chose an education for the ministry among the Protestant Dissenters.

About the year 1696 or 1697 he removed from this seminary to a dissenting academy, under the direction of the Reverend Thomas Rowe, under whose tuition several eminent characters were, in part, formed.† To this gentleman Dr. Watts addressed his animated ode, called "Free Philosophy," which may, in this view, be considered as an honourable testimonial to the candid and liberal spirit with which Mr. Rowe conducted the studies of his pupils.

Mr. Neal's thirst after knowledge was not to be satisfied by the limited advantages of one seminary, but prompted him to seek farther improvement in foreign universities. Having spent three years with Mr. Rowe, he removed to Holland, where he prosecuted his studies for two years, under the celebrated Professors D'Uries, Grævius, and Burman, at Utrecht; and then one year at Leyden.

About the middle or latter end of 1703 he returned to England, in company with Mr. Martin Tomkins‡ and Mr. (afterward the eminent Dr.) Lardner, and soon after appeared in the pulpit.

* This narrative is drawn up chiefly from the memoir of Mr. Neal's life in the funeral sermon by Dr. Jennings, and a MS. account of him and his works by his son, Nathaniel Neal, Esq., communicated by his grandson, Daniel Lister, Esq., of Hackney.

† Among others, Dr. Watts, Dr. Hort, afterward Archbishop of Tuam, Mr. Hughes the poet, Dr. John Evans, Mr. Grove, and Dr. Jeremiah Hunt.

‡ This gentleman was settled with a dissenting congregation at Stoke Newington. In the year 1718, Mr. Asty, the pastor of a congregation in Ropemaker's Alley, Moorfields, on making an exchange with Mr. Tomkins for one Lord's day, thought fit to alarm his people with the danger of pernicious errors and damnable heresies creeping in among the Dissenters; and particularly referred to errors concerning the doctrine of Christ's deity. Mr. Tomkins, to counteract the ill tendency of this discourse, and of the censures it conveyed, preached the succeeding Lord's day from John, xx., 21-23, on the power of Christ to settle the terms of salvation. The inference which he deduced from the discussion of his subject was, "that no man on earth, nor body of men, no, nor all the angels in heaven, have power to make anything necessary to salvation but what Christ hath made so." In the conclusion of his discourse, he applied this general principle as a test by which to decide on the importance of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, and of the deity of Christ. Here he entered into a particular survey of the various passages in the historical and epistolary books of the New Testament connected with this point, and gave at large his reasons why he did not apprehend the orthodox notion concerning the deity of Christ to be a fundamental doctrine of Christianity. This sermon, though the preacher neither denied nor intimated any doubt of the truth of the orthodox doctrine, gave much disgust, and made a great noise. The minds of his people were irritated, and every attempt which Mr. Tomkins used to calm them and restore harmony proving unsuccessful, he resigned his pastoral connexion, after ten years' services among them. Prejudice rose so high against him, that he was afterward denied the communion of the church, in which he had been many years before; when, on being disengaged from stated ministerial functions, he desired to return to it.

Mr. Tomkins did not again settle as the pastor of a congregation, but did not wholly lay aside the character, or drop the studies, of the Christian minister; for he occasionally preached, and published several valuable theological tracts. The first, about the year 1723, was "A Sober Appeal to a Turk or an Indian concerning the plain sense of Scripture, relating to the Trinity: being an answer to Dr. I. Watts's late book, entitled 'The Christian Doctrine of the Trinity; or, Father, Son, and Spirit, three Persons and one God, asserted and proved by plain evidence of Scripture, without the aid and encumbrance of human schemes.'" This piece was drawn up in terms of decency and respect, and in the language of friendship towards that excellent and eminent person, to whose tract it was a reply; and the whole was written in an exemplary strain of moderation and candour. In the year 1748 it came to a second edition: to which were added, 1. Remarks on Dr. Watts's three citations relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, published in 1724. 2. A sober

It was not long before his furniture and abilities attracted notice; and, in the next year, he was chosen assistant to Dr. John Singleton,* in the service of an Independent congregation in Aldersgate-street; and, on the doctor's death, in 1706, he was elected their pastor. In this relation he continued for thirty-six years, till about five months before his decease. When he accepted the pastoral office, the church, though some persons of considerable fortune and character belonged to it, was very small as to numbers; but such acceptance did his ministry meet with, that the place of worship became, in a few years, too strait to accommodate the numbers that desired to attend on Mr. Neal's preaching, which obliged them to remove to a larger house, in Jewin-street.

He fulfilled the duties of his character with attention and diligence: steadily preaching twice every Lord's day, till the three or four last years of his life, and usually devoting two or three afternoons in a week to visiting his people. He pursued his studies with so close an application as to reserve little or no time for exercise; though he was assiduous in his preparations for the pulpit, he gave himself some scope in his literary pursuits, and particularly indulged in the study of history, to which his natural genius strongly led him. "He still," observes Dr. Jennings, "kept his character and profession in view as a Christian divine and minister."†

The first fruits of his literary labours appeared in 1720, under the title of "The History of New-England: being an impartial account of the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the country, with a new accurate map thereof: to which is added an appendix, containing their present charter, their ecclesiastical discipline, and their municipal laws," in two volumes 8vo. This work contains an entertaining and instructive narrative of the first planting of the Gospel in a foreign heathen land; and, besides exhibiting the rise of a new commonwealth, struggling in its infant state with a thousand difficulties, and triumphing over them all, it includes biographical memoirs of the principal persons in Church and State. It was well received in New-England; and the next year their university honoured the author with the degree of master of arts, the highest academical title they had power to confer.

In the same year there came from Mr. Neal's pen, "A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Francis Hare, Dean of Worcester, occasioned by his reflections on the Dissenters, in his late visitation-sermon and postscript," 8vo.‡

In 1721, he published "The Christian's Duty and Interest in a time of public danger, from Ezekiel, ix., 4. A sermon preached at the Rev. Mr. Jennings's meeting-place in Wapping, on Friday, October 27, being a time of solemn prayer on account of the plague."§ This discourse is preserved in the library of Queen's College, Cambridge.||

Appeal to all that have read the New Testament, whether the reputed orthodox are not more chargeable with preaching a new Gospel than reputed Arians? 3. A Reply to Dr. Waterland's Animadversions upon some passages in the "Sober Appeal." To neither of the editions of this treatise was the author's name affixed. In 1732, Mr. Tomkins published, also without his name, a piece which gained him great reputation, entitled "Jesus Christ the Mediator between God and Man; an Advocate for us with the Father, and a Propitiation for the Sins of the World." A new edition of this work appeared in 1761. He published, in 1738, "A Calm Inquiry whether we have any warrant from Scripture for addressing ourselves, in a way of prayer or praise, directly to the Holy Spirit: humbly offered to the consideration of all Christians, particularly of Protestant Dissenters." This piece has seriously impressed the minds of many, and has, undoubtedly, contributed very much to the disuse of the Trinitarian doxology among the Dissenters. Mr. Tomkins himself, so far back as the time when he was minister to the congregation at Stoke Newington, had forborne it, because he could find no instance of it in Scripture. All Mr. Tomkins's pieces are proofs of the candour of his spirit, and of the clearness and strength of his judgment. Long since his death, there has appeared, in the Theological Repository, vol. iii., p. 257, "A Letter from him to Dr. Lardner, in reply to his letter on the Logos, in defence of the Arian hypothesis." In this enumeration of his publications, it had almost escaped me to mention another, and that the first in order of time, viz., "The Case of Mr. Martin Tomkins, being an Account of the Proceedings of the Dissenting Congregation at Stoke Newington, upon occasion of a sermon preached by him July 13, 1718." This piece bears on it all the marks of being a fair and impartial, as it is an instructive, narrative. The character of candour and piety which he supported, and with which his writings are impressed; the simplicity and integrity with which he bore his testimony to Scriptural worship, Christian moderation, and the Divine unity; and the weight and influence of his publications in the Trinitarian controversy, have justly entitled Mr. Tomkins to this particular mention.

* Dr. John Singleton was a student in the University of Oxford; from whence, after he had been there eight years, he was turned out by the commissioners in 1660. He then went to Holland, and studied physic, but never practised it any farther than to give his advice to particular friends. His settlements were various. Residing some time with Lady Scott in Hertfordshire, he preached then to some Dissenters at Hertford. He was afterward pastor to a congregation in London. When the meetings were generally suppressed, he went into Warwickshire, and lived with his wife's brother, Dr. Timothy Gibbons, a physician. Upon King James giving liberty, he preached first at Stretton, a small hamlet, eight miles from Coventry, and then became pastor to the Independent congregation in that city. From whence he was again called to London, to succeed Mr. T. Cole.—*Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. i., p. 170. There is a sermon of Dr. Singleton's in the Morning Exercises.

† Funeral Sermon for Mr. Neal, p. 33.

‡ The title of this sermon was "Church Authority Vindicated." This discourse also attracted the notice of Bishop Hoadley, who published an answer to it.

§ It then raged at Marseilles, in France, being brought thither from the Levant; and eighteen thousand died of it.

|| Cooke's Index to Sermons, vol. ii., page 241, article Neal.

Mr. Neal gave to the public, in 1722, "A Narrative of the method and success of inoculating the smallpox in New-England, by Mr. Benjamin Colman; with a reply to the objections made against it from principles of conscience, in a letter from a minister at Boston. To which is now prefixed an historical introduction." On the appearance of this piece, her royal highness Caroline, princess of Wales, sent for him to wait on her, that she might receive from him farther satisfaction concerning the practice of inoculation. He was introduced by a physician of the royal family, and received by the princess in her closet, whom he found reading "Fox's Martyrology." Her highness did him the honour of entering into a free conversation with him for near an hour on the subject of inoculation; and afterward on other subjects, particularly the state of the dissenting interest in England, and of religion in New-England. After some time the Prince of Wales, afterward George II., came into the room, and condescended to take a part in the conversation for above a quarter of an hour. Mr. Neal had the honour of kissing the hands of both the royal personages.*

In 1722 he published, at request, a sermon preached to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, at Salters' Hall, on Monday, June 25th. This discourse, grounded on Psalm xciv., 16, is to be met with in the library mentioned before.

In the beginning of the next year the request of the managers of the charity-school in Gravel Lane, Southwark, procured from him the publication of a sermon, preached January 1st, for the benefit of that institution, on Job, xxix., 12, 13, entitled, "The Method of Education in the Charity-schools of Protestant Dissenters; with the Advantages that arise to the Public from them."

After this nothing of Mr. Neal's appeared from the press for several years, till, in 1726, the death of the Rev. Matthew Clarke, a minister of considerable eminence among the Dissenters of that period, gave occasion for his publishing a funeral sermon for him, from Matt., xxv., 21. This discourse was next year reprinted, and annexed to a volume of sermons upon several occasions, by Mr. Clarke; of which Mr. Neal was the editor, and to which he prefixed some memoirs of the author.†

At the beginning of this year he printed a sermon, entitled, "Of sorrowing for them who sleep in Jesus," occasioned by the death of Mrs. Anne Phillibrowne, who departed this life February 1st, 1726-7, in the forty-third year of her age. This discourse is also to be found in Queen's College library, Cambridge.

In 1730, the united request of the ministers and the church prevailed with him to publish a sermon, entitled, "The Duty of Praying for Ministers and the Success of their Ministry," from 2 Thess., iii., 1; preached at the separation of the Rev. Mr. Richard Rawlin,‡ to the pastoral office in the church at Fetter Lane, June 24th. A passage in this discourse deserves to be quoted, to show the catholic and generous sentiments of Mr. Neal. Having referred to the persecutions of the Christians under the Roman emperors, and then to the prevalence of darkness and superstition for a thousand years after Rome became papal, he proceeds, "The light of the Gospel broke out again at the Reformation; but, alas! what obstructions has it met with ever since! how much blood has been spilled, and how many families ruined, and sent into banishment, for the profession of it! There is at this time a bloody inquisition in Spain; and the sword of the magistrate is drawn against the preaching of the Gospel in Italy, France, Poland, in several parts of Germany, and in other popish countries. I wish I could say

* The MS. account of Mr. Neal.

† Mr. Matthew Clarke, a gentleman of eminence among the dissenting ministers of that period, and the father to Dr. Clarke, a physician of extensive practice, who died not long since at Tottenham, in Middlesex, was descended from a genteel family in the county of Salop. He was the son of the Rev. Matthew Clarke, who was ejected from Harborough, in Leicestershire, and was born February 2d, 1663-4. His father, who had been an indefatigable student in Trinity College, Cambridge, led him through the learned languages. His academical studies were pursued under the learned Mr. Woodhouse, at Sherifhales, in Shropshire, a tutor of eminence in those times. Mr. Clarke, when he had finished his academical course, spent two years in London, for the benefit of conversing with learned men, and forming himself on the model of the most celebrated preachers. He began his ministry in 1684, with great acceptance: so that great additions were made to the church, which his father had formed, at Market Harborough; and he laid the foundation of several societies of Protestant Dissenters in those parts. Being engaged, when he was on a visit to London, in 1687, to supply the congregation at Sandwich, in Kent, for a few Lord's days, he was prevailed with to spend two years there, which he did with eminent success. In 1689, he was unanimously invited to become assistant to the aged Mr. Ford, the pastor of a congregation in Miles's Lane, which was then reduced to a very low state; but the auditory in a few years became crowded, and seven or eight in a month were added to the communion. In 1697, Mr. Clarke was chosen one of the lecturers at Pinners' Hall. He married, in 1696, Mrs. Anne Frith, daughter of Mr. Robert Frith, of Windsor, who was repeatedly mayor of that corporation. His pulpit abilities were greatly admired, and his services much sought; so that he usually preached twice or three times on a Lord's day, and several times in the week. He died March 27, 1726, aged sixty-two years, much beloved and much lamented, and leaving behind him the character of having been among the best and most useful divines of his age.—*Mr. Neal's Memoirs of his Life.*

‡ Mr. Rawlin was a minister of reputation among the Independents, one of the six preachers of the Merchants' lecture at Pinners' Hall, and the author of a volume of sermons on Justification, which met with great acceptance, and passed through more than one edition.

that all Protestant governments were willing the Gospel should have its free course ; but our fathers in this nation have drunk of the bitter cup of persecution ; our teachers have been driven into corners, and the mouths of thousands stopped in one day : blessed be God that there is now a more open door ! Let us pray that all penal laws for religion may be taken away, and that no civil discouragements may lie upon Christians of any denomination for the peaceable profession of their faith, but that the Gospel may have free course."

In the year 1732 came out the first volume of Mr. Neal's great work, "The History of the Puritans." The following circumstances gave birth to this publication. Dr. Edmund Calamy, many years before, had, in his "Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Richard Baxter, and the continuation of it," laid before the public a view of the state of non-conformity, and of the characters and sufferings of the principal adherents to it, during the period that immediately succeeded to the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Dr. John Evans,* on this, formed a design of writing "A History of Nonconformity," from the beginning of the Reformation to 1640, when the civil wars began. Mr. Neal was requested, by several ministers and other persons of considerable figure among the Dissenters, to take up the history from the year 1640, and to carry it on to the Act of Uniformity. Dr. Evans proceeded a great way in the execution of his design, by collecting, for several years, with great industry and expense, proper materials from all quarters, and by filling several quires of paper with references, under each year, to the books he had read on the subject. He had gone so far as to have written out fairly about a third part of the two folios he intended to fill. But his constant employment as a minister, the multiplicity of public affairs which passed through his hands, ill health, and various disappointments and troubles in his own concerns, greatly interrupted his close application to the work ; and his death, in the year 1730, put a final period to the design, which was left in an unfinished state. In the mean time, Mr. Neal had prosecuted his work with so much application and spirit, that he had completed his collections, and put them in order for the press, some length of time before the doctor's decease. This event obstructed his immediate progress, and opened to him a new field of study and investigation : for he now found it necessary to take up himself the long period of history from the Reformation to the commencement of the civil wars, that his own collections might be published with more acceptance, and appear with greater advantage, than he apprehended they could have done if the doctor's province had been entirely neglected.†

The approbation which followed the publication of the first volume of "The History of the Puritans" encouraged him to prosecute his design, and the next year, 1733, produced a second volume of that work.

Between the appearance of this and the subsequent parts of his history, we find Mr. Neal engaged with some of his respectable brethren in carrying on two courses of lectures : one at Berry-street, the other at Salters' Hall.

The former was preached at the request and by the encouragement of William Cow-

* Dr. John Evans, the author of two volumes of judicious and admired sermons on the Christian temper, and of many single sermons, was the son of Mr. John Evans, of Balliol College, Oxford, and ejected by the Act of Uniformity from Oswestry. He was born at Wrexham, in the year 1679. His mother was the daughter of the eminent Colonel Gerard, governor of Chester Castle. He received his education first under Mr. Thomas Rowe, of London ; and afterward under Mr. Richard Frankland, at Rathmill, in Yorkshire. He enjoyed great advantages under both, and made a singular proficiency in all the parts of rational and polite literature. His first settlement was in the family of Mrs. Hunt, of Boreatton in Shropshire, relict of Roland Hunt, Esq., and sister of Lord Paget, ambassador to the Ottoman court. In this retirement he read over entire Mr. Pole's Latin Synopsis, in five volumes folio, which laid the foundation of his great skill in Scripture criticism, and all the Christian writers of the first three centuries, under the direction of the learned Mr. James Owen. His first settlement as a minister was in the place of his nativity ; from whence he removed to London, to be assistant to Dr. Daniel Williams, pastor of a congregation in Hand Alley, Bishopsgate-street ; which afterward removed to New Bond-street, Petty-France. Dr. Evans, after several years, was by Dr. Williams's desire made copastor with him, and succeeded him at his death. On taking the whole charge of the congregation, he spent a week in solemn retirement and in extraordinary exercises of devotion. He was one of the six preachers of the Merchants' lecture at Salters' Hall, and for several years concerned in the Lord's day evening lecture in that place. Besides the sermons mentioned above, he published a small volume addressed to young persons, which has been reprinted within these few years, and a tract or two on the "Importance of Scripture Consequences," drawn up in a masterly way, with great clearness and judgment, sobriety and decency. Both the universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, without his knowledge and in a most honourable manner, conferred on him their highest academical honour. A complication of distempers broke down his constitution, and deprived the world of his abilities and labours, at so early a period as the fifty-first year of his age, May 23, 1730. He excelled in the several virtues of integrity, greatness and generosity of mind ; in compassion and tenderness, in a catholic temper and a public spirit, and in a steady, regular piety. His solidity of judgment united with vivacity, his industry and prudence, were distinguishing and superior to most others. Among the pertinent, devout, and excellent sentiments he dropped in the course of his illness, when he looked upon his body swollen with distemper, he would often say with pleasure, "This corruptible shall put on incorruption—Oh, glorious hope !"—*Dr. Harris's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Evans, in his Funeral Discourses*, p. 285-296.

† *Dr. Harris's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Evans, in his volume of Funeral Discourses*, p. 289, 290 ; and the M.S. Account of Mr. Neal.

ard, Esq., of Walthamstow. It consisted of fifty-four sermons on the principal heads of the Christian religion, entitled "Faith and Practice." Mr. Neal's associates in this service were Dr. Watts, Dr. J. Guise, Mr. Samuel Price, Mr. John Hubbard, and Dr. David Jennings.* The terms on which Mr. Neal complied with Mr. Coward's request, made through a common friend, to take part in this service, are proofs of the independence and integrity of mind which he possessed, and was determined to maintain. His requisitions were, that he would draw up the dedication, write the preface, and choose his own subjects, in which Mr. Coward, though they were not very pleasing to a gentleman of his known humour and fondness for adulation and control, acquiesced, rather than the lecture should lose the advantage and reputation that it would derive from Mr. Neal's abilities and name.† The subjects handled by him were "The Divine authority and perfection of the Holy Scriptures," from 2 Tim., iii., 16. "Of God, as the Governor and Judge of the moral world, angels, and men," on Daniel, iv., 35. "The incarnation of Christ as the promised Messiah," the text Gal., iv., 4, 5. "Effectual calling, with its fruits, viz., regeneration and sanctification by the Holy Spirit," from 2 Tim., i., 9. "Confession of sin, repentance, and conversion to holiness," on Acts, iii., 19. "Of fearing God and trusting in him," Psalm xxxi., 19. "The sacrament of the Lord's Supper," on 1 Cor., xi., 23, 36. "The love of our neighbour," the text John, iii., 34, 35; and "The pleasure and advantage of vital religion," from Rom., vii., 22. These, with the discourses of the other preachers, were, after the course was finished, published in two vols. 8vo, in 1735, and have passed through several editions. Dr. Doddridge, when speaking of them, says, "I cannot recollect where I have seen a set of important thoughts on such various and weighty subjects more judiciously selected, more naturally digested, more closely compacted, more accurately expressed, or, in a few words, more powerfully enforced, than I have generally found in those sermons."‡ Without determining whether this encomium be exaggerated or not, it may certainly be pronounced, that the practical strain in which the discourses are drawn up, and the good temper with which the subjects of greatest controversy are here handled, without any censure or even illiberal insinuation against others mingling with the representation of their own views on the points discussed, do great honour to the heart and spirit of the authors.

The other course of lectures, in which Mr. Neal was engaged, arose from an alarm concerning the increase of popery, which prevailed about the end of the year 1734. Some eminent dissenting ministers of the day, of the Presbyterian denomination, in conjunction with one of each of the other persuasions, agreed to preach a set of sermons on the main principles and errors, doctrines and practices, of the Church of Rome, to guard Protestants against the efforts of its emissaries. The gentlemen who engaged in this design were Mr. John Barker, Dr. Samuel Chandler, Mr. George Smith, Dr. Samuel Wright, Dr. William Harris, Dr. Obadiah Hughes, Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, Mr. Joshua Bayes, Mr. John Newman, Dr. Jabez Earle, Mr. Moses Lowman, Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor, Mr. Thomas Leavesly, Mr. Joseph Burroughs, a minister of the Antipædobaptist persuasion,§ and Mr. Neal, who was an Independent. The subject which fell

* It is needless to say anything here of the first name on this list, Dr. Watts, whose fame by his various writings has been so universally diffused.

Mr. Samuel Price, the uncle of the late Dr. Richard Price, served forty-five years in the ministry of the Gospel, with Dr. Watts, as assistant or copastor. He was a man of exemplary probity and virtue, of sound and solid sense, a judicious and useful preacher, eminent for his gift in prayer, and for wisdom and prudence in the management of affairs. He was a native of Wales, received his academical learning under Mr. Timothy Jolhe, at Attercliffe, and died in 1756.

Dr. John Guise was well known as a popular preacher, and as the author of a paraphrase on the New Testament, in three vols. quarto.

Mr. Hubbard was minister of a congregation at Stepney, and about three years before his death was chosen tutor of a seminary for educating young men for the ministry. He filled both capacities with considerable reputation, and is said to have had so extensive and familiar an acquaintance with the Scriptures as to supersede the use of a concordance, which had no place in his library.

Dr. David Jennings has left behind him "An Introduction to the Use of the Globes and Orrery," "An Introduction to the Knowledge of Medals," and "Jewish Antiquities," as monuments of his genius and learning. For many years he was at the head of the seminary endowed by Mr. Coward's munificence, and for forty-four years pastor of a congregation in Old Gravel Lane, Wapping. He was a pleasing and pathetic preacher, an early riser, very methodical and punctual in the arrangements of his studies and business, and, notwithstanding that he lived much in his study, his conversation was lively and instructive, and his address easy and affable. He published several sermons, and was the author of several other pieces besides the above. He died September 26, 1762, in his seventy-first year.

† From private information.

‡ Doddridge's Ten Sermons, 12mo. Preface, p. ix.

§ Mr. John Barker was for a number of years a preacher of popular talents and great eminence, first at Hackney, and then at Salters' Hall. Many single sermons came from his pen, and he published a volume of discourses in his lifetime, which was succeeded by a second volume after his death in 1763.

Dr. Samuel Chandler is well known as rising superior to most, either within the pale of the establishment or out of it, in learning and abilities.

Mr. George Smith officiated to the society of the Gravel-pit meeting, Hackney, for thirty years, as a preacher excelled by none and equalled by few. He died May 1, 1746, aged fifty-seven, looked upon by his

to his lot to discuss was, "The supremacy of St. Peter, and the bishops of Rome, his successors." These discourses were separately printed immediately after each was preached, and when the lecture was closed, were collected together, and formed two volumes 8vo.*

own brethren as holding the first rank in merit among them; and not less honoured and valued by those of the establishment who knew him.

Dr. Samuel Wright, the author of many single sermons and several valuable practical works, was distinguished by pulpit talents. He was thirty-eight years pastor of the congregation which originally met for religious worship in Blackfriars, and then, greatly increasing under his preaching, which was serious and judicious, solemn and striking, removed to Carter Lane. He died in his sixty-fourth year, 1746.

Dr. William Harris, who was upward of forty years pastor of a congregation in Crutched Friars, was a very acceptable preacher, and the author, besides many single sermons, of a volume of discourses on "The principal Representations of the Messiah throughout the Old Testament," and of another called "Funeral Discourses, in two Parts: containing, 1. Consolation on the Death of our Friends; and, 2. Preparation for our own Death." His compositions were laboured and finished. It was among the excellences of his character, that he was scarce ever seen to be angry, was a very great patron and friend of young ministers, and had a concern in many great and useful designs of a public nature. He died, high in reputation and usefulness, May 25, 1740, aged sixty-five.

Dr. Obadiah Hughes "was many years minister of a congregation in Southwark, from which he removed to Westminster. He was an acceptable preacher, and printed some occasional sermons."—*Dr. Kippis's Life of Dr. Lardner.*

Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, of Pinner's Hall, was a most respectable character, a man of extensive learning and profound knowledge of the Scriptures; he published many occasional sermons, and "An Essay towards explaining the History of the Revelations of Scripture." He died 5th of September, 1744, aged sixty-seven.

Mr. Joshua Bayes was pastor of the congregation in Hatton Garden.

Mr. John Newman was for many years one of the most celebrated preachers in the city of London, who delivered, to crowded audiences, long and laboured sermons without any assistance of notes. He was first assistant to Mr. Nathaniel Taylor, and then copastor with Mr. William Tong, at Salters' Hall; appearing in the same place for five-and-forty years, with great credit and comfort, and died while he was esteemed and beloved, in full reputation and usefulness, much missed and lamented, in his sixty-fifth year, July 25, 1741.

Dr. Jabez Earle, a classical scholar, remarkable for a vivacity and cheerfulness of temper, which never forsook him to the last, was for near seventy years a noted minister in London. He preached to the last Sunday in his life, and died in his chair without a groan or sigh, aged ninety-two. He was pastor of a congregation at Long-acre, and one of the Tuesday lecturers at Salters' Hall. He printed, besides several sermons, a little tract called *Sacramental Exercises*; and in the second edition of the "Biographia Britannica," under the article Amory, there is a small copy of verses which he sent to his friend Dr. Harris, on their both receiving diplomas from a Scotch university.

Mr. Moses Lowman, more than forty years minister of a congregation at Clapham, Surrey, to a great character for general literature added a thorough acquaintance with Jewish learning and antiquities. His treatise on the civil government of the Hebrews, another on the ritual of that people, and a commentary on the Revelations, have been held in high estimation. A small piece drawn up by him, in the mathematical form, to prove the unity and perfections of God *à priori*, was called by Dr. Chandler a truly golden treatise, and asserted to be a strict demonstration. After his decease there appeared from the press three tracts on the Shechinah and Logos, published from his MSS. by Dr. Chandler, Dr. Lardner, and Mr. Sandercock. He reached the age of seventy-two, and died May 3, 1752.

Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor was a minister in London, of distinguished reputation, upward of fifty years. A singular acumen, lively imagination, and warm devotion of heart, characterized his discourses, which were delivered with a graceful utterance. He was born in London, 1st January, 1675; was chosen minister to the congregation in Crosby Square in 1704, which he soon raised into a flourishing church and crowded auditory; and in 1716 he was elected one of the six preachers at the Merchants' lecture at Salters' Hall. In 1749 he retired from all public services, and died August 27th, 1758, in the eighty-third year of his age. He published many single sermons; the most distinguished of which was one on "The Temper of Jesus towards his Enemies," which was reprinted at Cambridge so lately as the year 1758; it was a transcript of his own heart and life; "An Essay on Health," and an excellent treatise entitled "The Mourner," both of which have passed through several editions, and will continue to be memorials of his genius, learning, and spirit. Of the latter the following passage in his diary is an amiable specimen: "I thank God," says he, "for that temper of mind and genius which has made it natural for me to have an aversion to bigotry. This has improved constantly with my knowledge; and the enlarging my mind towards those who differ from me has kept pace with my illumination and intellectual improvements. 'Agree to differ' is a good motto. The reason and loveliness of such a friendly disposition would recommend it, and I am persuaded people would almost take it of themselves, if it were not for the several arts used to prevent it."

Mr. Thomas Leavelly was for some years minister of the Old Jewry in London.

Mr. Joseph Burroughs was a learned and judicious divine; of which, not only the sermon in the above collection, but a volume of sermons published in 1741, and "A View of Popery," taken from the creed of Pope Pius IV., afford ample proof. He was also the author of several single sermons, and of "Two Discourses relating to Positive Institutions," which brought on a controversy between him and the worthy Dr. Caleb Fleming on the mode and subject of baptism. He was fifty-two years connected with the general Baptist congregation in Barbican, London, first as an assistant to the Rev. Richard Allen, and from the year 1717, as pastor, to November 23, 1761, when he died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age; having supported, through so long a life, the character of the steady friend to liberty and free inquiry, of a zealous advocate for the importance of the Christian revelation, and of the strenuous promoter of every scheme that tended to advance the common interests of religion, as well as those which were particularly calculated for the benefit of Baptist societies; while through the greatest part of this period he had as a minister served the church with which he was united with the greatest fidelity, affection, and zeal.

The length of this note might appear to require an apology, were not the names to whose memory it is devoted too eminent in their day to be passed over without some respectful notice. Several of the preceding gentlemen, viz., the Drs. Grosvenor, Wright, and Evans, and Mr. Lowman, were engaged in the years 1716, 1717, 1718, with Dr. Avery and Mr. Simon Brown, in a valuable publication, entitled, "The Occasional Paper," a work sacred to the cause of religious liberty, free inquiry, and charity.

* It is proper to add, that this defence of Protestantism did not terminate with the delivery of the ser-

In the year 1736 came out the third volume of the History of the Puritans; and Mr. Neal's design was completed by the publication of the fourth, in the year 1738, which brought down the history of Nonconformity to the Act of Toleration by King William and Queen Mary, in the year 1689. This and Mr. Neal's other historical works spread his name through the learned world, and justly secured to him great and permanent reputation. Dr. Jennings, speaking of them, says, "I am satisfied that there is no judicious and unprejudiced person that has conversed with the volumes he wrote, but will acknowledge he had an excellent talent at writing history. His style is most easy and perspicuous; and the judicious remarks which he leads his readers to make upon facts as they go along, make his histories to be not only more entertaining, but to be more instructive and useful, than most books of that kind.*"

While this work was preparing for and going through the press, part of his time was occupied in drawing up and publishing an answer to Dr. Maddox, bishop of St. Asaph, who wrote a pretty long "Vindication of the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the Church of England, established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the Injurious Reflections (as he was pleased to style them) of Mr. Neal's first volume of the History of the Puritans." This answer was entitled, "A Review of the Principal Facts objected to the first volume of the History of the Puritans." It was reckoned to be written with great judgment, and to establish our historian's character for an impartial regard to truth. And it was reasonably concluded, from this specimen of his powers of defence, that, if his declining state of health had permitted him, he would have as thoroughly vindicated the other volumes from the animadversions afterward published against them by Dr. Zachary Grey.

The pleasure Mr. Neal had in serving the cause of religious liberty had carried him through his undertaking with amazing alacrity. But he engaged in it at an advanced age, and when his health had begun to decline: this, joined with the close application he gave to the prosecution of it, brought on a lingering illness, from which he never recovered. He had been all his life subject, in some degree, to a lowness of spirits, and to complaints of an indisposition in his head. His love of study, and an unremitting attention to the duties of his office, rendered him averse to the frequent use of any exercise that took him off from his books. In the end, repeated strokes of the palsy, first gentle and then more severe, which greatly enfeebled all his powers both of body and mind, baffled the best advice, the aids of medicine, and repeated use of the Bath

mons from the pulpit at Salters' Hall. Dr. Chandler pursued his subject in "A second treatise on the notes of the Church," as a supplement to his sermon at that place on the same subject. And Dr. Harris followed up his sermon on transubstantiation with "A second discourse, in which the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel is particularly considered: preached at the Merchants' lecture at Salters' Hall, April 22, 1735," which was reckoned to possess peculiar merit. Mr. Burroughs farther showed himself an able writer, in the cause for which the sermons were preached, by his "Review of Popery." The course of lectures had not gone on a month, when a gentleman or two being in company with a Romish priest at the Pope's-head tavern in Cornhill, they became the subject of conversation; and the latter objected, in particular, against some passages in Mr. Barker's sermon, as what could not be supported by proper vouchers. This brought on, by appointment, "Two conferences on the 7th and 13th of February, 1734-5, at the Bell tavern in Nicholas Lane, on the blasphemy of many popish writers in giving, and of popes in receiving, the title of Our Lord God the Pope; on the doctrines of transubstantiation; praying to saints and angels; and of denying the use of the Scriptures to the laity." At the first of these conferences twenty were present, and the dispute was supported by the Romish priest, Dr. Hunt, and a divine of the Church of England; at the second the debate lay between the former Catholic gentleman, Mr. Morgan, accompanied by Mr. Vaughan, supposed to be a priest, and Dr. Hunt, Dr. Chandler, and Mr. John Eames, well known to the world for his integrity and learning: Dr. Talbot Smith was chosen chairman, and the whole company consisted of thirty. A statement of these disputations was soon published by an anonymous author, entitled, "Two Conferences held," &c. The Catholic party also gave a representation of them to the public in a pamphlet entitled, "The two Conferences, &c., truly stated." This brought out from the pen of Dr. Chandler, "An account of the Conference held in Nicholas Lane, February 13th, 1734-5, between two Romish priests and some Protestant divines, with some remarks on the pamphlet," &c. The doctor's account is confined to the second conference, because he was not present at the first.

Soon after these Salters' Hall sermons were published, there appeared a pamphlet in 1735, which in 1736 ran to a third edition, entitled, "A Supplement to the Sermons lately preached at Salters' Hall against Popery: containing just and useful remarks on another great corruption therein omitted." The author of this tract was Mr. G. Killingworth, a respectable lay-gentleman of Norwich. The design of it was to show that the reasoning of the gentlemen who preached those sermons affected, not only the papists, but themselves, in rejecting the baptism of adult persons, and substituting in the room thereof the sprinkling of infants. The author, with this view, besides stating from the New Testament the evidence in favour of his own sentiments, shrewdly applied a great number of passages from the sermons, somewhat in the way of a parody, to establish his own conclusion; and to prove that, if those gentlemen practised or believed anything as a part of the religion of the Holy Jesus which could not be plainly and clearly proved from the New Testament (as he conceived that they did in the matter of sprinkling of infants), they must look upon themselves as self-condemned, their own arguments being a full confutation of them. Mr. Killingworth showed himself an able writer by other pieces in favour of the sentiments for which he was a strenuous advocate; and published also "An Answer" to the late very respectable Mr. Micajah Towgood's tract, entitled, "Infant Baptism a Reasonable Service," by way of appendix to an examination of Dr. Forster's "Sermon on Catholic Communion." In one of his pieces, he likewise replied to the arguments of Mr. Emlyn's previous question.

* Funeral Sermon, p. 32.

waters, brought him to his grave, perfectly worn out, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He died April 4th, 1743.

During the declining state of his health, Mr. Neal applied to the excellent Dr. Doddridge to recommend some young minister as an assistant to him. A gentleman was pointed out, and appeared in his pulpit with this view; and a letter, which on this occasion he wrote to Dr. Doddridge, and which the doctor endorsed with this memorandum, "Some wise Hints," affords such an agreeable specimen of Mr. Neal's good sense, candour, and prudence, as cannot fail, we think, to render it acceptable to our readers.

"DEAR SIR,

"Your letter, which I received yesterday, gave me a great deal of agreeable entertainment, and made me almost in love with a person that I never saw. His character is the very picture of what I should wish and pray for. There is no manner of exception that I can hear of, but that of his delivery, which many, with you, hope may be conquered, or very much amended. All express a very great respect and value for Mr. — and his ministry, and are highly pleased with his serious and affectionate manner. And I am apt to think, when we have heard him again, even the thickness of the pronunciation of some of his words will in a great measure vanish; it being owing, in a great measure (according to my son), to not making his under and upper lip meet together; but, be that as it will, this is all, and the very worst that I know of, to use your own expression.

"I wish, as much as you, that the affair might be speedily issued; but you know that things of this nature, in which many, and those of a different temper, are concerned, must proceed with all tenderness and voluntary freedom, without the least shadow of violence or imaginary hurry. Men love to act for themselves, and with spontaneity; and, as I have sometimes observed, have come at length cheerfully and voluntarily into measures which they would have opposed if they had imagined they were to be driven into them.

"I don't mention this as if it was the present case, for I can assure you it is not; but to put you in mind that it may possibly not always be for the best to do things too hastily; and therefore I hope you will excuse the digression. I am exceedingly tender of Mr. —'s character and usefulness, and therefore shall leave it to your prudence to fix the day of his coming up; and you may depend upon my taking all the prudential steps in favour of this affair that I am master of. I hope the satisfaction will be general, but who can answer for it beforehand? It has a promising appearance; but, if it comes out otherwise, you shall have a faithful account.

"I am pleased to hear that Mr. — is under so good an adviser as yourself, who cannot but be apprized of the great importance of this affair, both to your academy, to myself, and to the public interest of the Dissenters in this city; and I frankly declare I don't know any one place among us in London where he can sit more easy, and enjoy the universal love and affection of a good-natured people, which will give him all fitting encouragement. We are very thankful to you, sir, for the concern you express for us, and the care you have taken for our supply. I hope you will have a return from above of far greater blessings than this world can bestow, and you may expect from me all suitable acknowledgments.

"Pray advise Mr. —, when you see him, to lay aside all undue concern from his mind, and to speak with freedom and ease. Let him endeavour, by an articulate pronunciation, to make the elder persons hear, and those that sit at a greater distance, and all will be well. He has already got a place in the affections of many of the people, and I believe will quickly captivate them all. Assure him that he has a candid audience, who will not make a man an offender for a word. Let him speak to the heart and touch the conscience, and show himself in earnest in his work, and he will certainly approve himself a workman that needs not be ashamed. I beg pardon for these hints. Let not Mr. — impress his mind too much with them. My best respects attend your lady and whole family, not forgetting good Mr. —, etc.

I am, sir, in haste, your affectionate brother and very humble servant,

"DANIEL NEAL.*

"London, Saturday evening, May 12, 1739.

"Brethren, pray for us!"

Disease had, for many months before his death, rendered him almost entirely incapable of public service. This induced him to resign the pastoral office in the November preceding. The considerate, as well as generous manner in which he did it, will appear from the following letter he sent to the church on that occasion:

* The above letter was very obligingly communicated by the Rev. Thomas Stedman, vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury.

“ To the Church of Christ meeting in Jewin-street, London.

“ MY DEAR BRETHREN, AND BELOVED IN THE LORD,

“ God, in his all-wise providence, having seen meet for some time to disable me in a great measure from serving you in the Gospel of his Son, and therein to deprive me of one of the greatest satisfactions of my life, I have been waiting upon him in the use of means for a considerable time, as I thought it my duty to do. But, not having found such a restoration as might enable me to do stated service, it is my duty to acquiesce in his will ; and, having looked up to him for direction, I think it best, for your sakes, to surrender my office of a pastor among you.

“ Upon this occasion it becomes me to make my humblest acknowledgments to the blessed God for that measure of usefulness he has honoured me with in the course of my labours among you ; and I render you all my unfeigned thanks for the many affectionate instances of your regard towards me.

“ May the Spirit of God direct you in the choice of a wise and able pastor, who may have your spiritual and everlasting welfare at heart. And, for that end, beware of a spirit of division ; be ready to condescend to each other's infirmities ; keep together in the way of your duty, and in waiting upon God for his direction and blessing ; remember, this is the distinguishing mark of the disciples of Christ, ‘ that they love one another.’ Finally, my brethren, farewell ! Be of good comfort, and of one mind ; live in peace ; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

“ I am your affectionate well-wisher and obedient, humble servant,

“ DANIEL NEAL.”*

From the first attack of his long illness, it appears he had serious apprehensions how it would terminate ; and a letter written from Bath, in April, 1739, to a worthy friend, † shows the excellent state of his mind under those views.

“ My greatest concern,” he says, “ is to have rational and solid expectations of a future happiness. I would not be mistaken, nor build on the sand, but would impress my mind with a firm belief of the certainty of the future world, and live in a practical preparation for it. I rely very much on the rational notions we have of the moral perfections of God, not only as a just, but a benevolent and merciful Being, who knows our frame, and will make all reasonable allowances for our imperfections and follies in life ; and not only so, but, upon repentance and faith in Christ, will pardon our past sins, though never so many or great.

“ In aid of the imperfection of our rational notions, I am very thankful for the glorious truths of Gospel revelation, which are an additional superstructure on the other : for, though we can believe nothing contrary to our reason, we have a great many excellent and comfortable discoveries built upon and superadded to it. Upon this double foundation would I build all my expectations, with an humble and awful reverence of the majesty of the great Judge of all the earth, and a fiducial reliance on the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ to eternal life. In this frame of mind, I desire to fear God, and keep his commandments.”

In all his sensible intervals, during his last illness, he enjoyed an uncommon serenity of mind, and behaved becoming a Christian and a minister. ‡

This peaceful state of mind and comfortable hope he possessed to the last. § About a month before his death, he appeared to his fellow-worshippers, at the Lord's Supper, with an air so extraordinarily serious and heavenly as made some present say, “ He looked as if he were not long for this world.”

The preceding particulars and his writings will, in part, enable the reader to form for

* From the MS. account.

† This friend was Dr. Henry Miles, an eminent Dissenting minister at Tooting, in Surrey, and a respectable member of the Royal Society, who died February 10, 1763, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was a native of Stroud, in Gloucestershire. His knowledge in natural history, botany, and experimental philosophy, for which he had a remarkable taste, occasioned his being elected a member of the Royal Society in 1743, in the transactions of which appear several papers from his pen ; and Dr. Birch, in the preface to his fine edition of Mr. Boyle's works, handsomely says, that the conduct and improvement of that edition were chiefly to be ascribed to the great labour, judgment, and sagacity of the learned Mr. Miles, and that to him the public owed considerable additions never before published. Besides this, he could never be prevailed upon to publish more than a single sermon, preached at the Old Jewry, on occasion of a public charity, in 1738. He was a hard student. His preparations for the pulpit cost him incessant labour ; and, for a course of thirty years, he constantly rose, two days in the week, at two or three o'clock in the morning, to compose his sermons. He lived like an excellent Christian and minister : his behaviour was on all occasions that of a gentleman ; the simplicity of his spirit and manners was very remarkable ; his conversation instructive and entertaining ; his countenance was always open, mild, and amiable ; and his carriage so condescending and courteous, even to his inferiors, as plainly discovered a most humane and benevolent heart. He was the friend of Dr. Lardner and Dr. Doddridge ; and, in the correspondence of the latter, published by the Rev. Mr. Stedman, there are several of his letters. See also Dr. Furneaux's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Miles.

‡ Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge, 1790, p. 358.

§ Dr. Jennings's Funeral Sermon, and the MS. account.

himself a just opinion of Mr. Neal's character, and will certainly give credibility to what is reported concerning it.

He filled the relations of domestic life with integrity and honour, and left a deep and fond regret in the hearts of his family.* In his public connexions, he was the prudent counsellor, and a faithful, steady friend. His labours in the pulpit, and his visits in families, while his health continued firm, were edifying and entertaining. He had an easy and agreeable manner, both in the style and in the delivery of his sermons, free from affectation. In conversation, he knew how to mix grave and prudent instruction or advice with a becoming cheerfulness, which made his company to be pleasing and profitable.

He was honoured with the friendship of some in very high stations; and, in early life, contracted an acquaintance with several who afterward made a considerable figure in the learned world, both in the established Church and among the Dissenters.

The repeated and frequent invitations he received to appear in the pulpit, on singular and public occasions, especially the share he had in the lectures at Salters' Hall, against popery, are honourable proofs of the respect and estimation in which his abilities and character were in general held, even by those who differed from him in their sentiments on many questions of doctrine and church government.

His own doctrinal sentiments were supposed to come nearest to those of Calvin, which he looked upon as most agreeable to the sacred Scriptures, and most adapted to the great ends of religion. But neither were his charity nor his friendships confined to men of his own opinion. The Bible alone was his standard for religious truth, and he was willing and desirous that all others should be at perfect liberty to take and follow it as their own rule. The unchristian heats and unhappy differences which had arisen among Christians by the restraints that had been laid, more or less by all parties, when in power, on the faith or worship of their fellow-Christians, had fixed in him an utter aversion to imposition upon conscience in any shape, and to all such party distinctions as would naturally lead to it.

Mr. Neal married Elizabeth, the only daughter of the Reverend Richard Lardner, many years pastor of a congregation at Deal,† and sister of the great and excellent Dr. Lardner. She survived Mr. Neal about five years, dying in 1748. They left a son and two daughters: one of these ladies married Mr. Joseph Jennings, of Fenchurch-street, the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. David Jennings; the other the Rev. Mr. Lister, minister of the Dissenting congregation at Ware. His son, Mr. Nathaniel Neal, was an eminent attorney, and secretary to the Million Bank. He wrote a pamphlet entitled "A Free and Serious Remonstrance to Protestant Dissenting Ministers, on occasion of the Decay of Religion," which was republished by the late Rev. Job Orton, in 1775. Many admirable letters of this gentleman to Dr. Doddridge are given to the public in that instructive and entertaining collection of letters to and from the doctor, which we owe to the Rev. Thomas Stedman, vicar of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury; and who, to the mention of Mr. Nathaniel Neal, adds from a correspondent, "whose character I never think of without the highest veneration and esteem, as few ever possessed more eminently the virtues of the heart, united with a very superior understanding and judgment."‡

* Of this we have a proof in the expressive and affecting manner in which his son wrote concerning his death to Dr. Doddridge. "The report which you had heard of my honoured father's death was too well founded, if it is becoming the filial gratitude I owe to his memory to seem to repine at my own loss, which I am satisfied is greatly his gain; especially when his nobler powers were so much obscured, even to the sight of his friends, as they have been for some time past, by the bodily decays he laboured under. But, notwithstanding all the admirable reliefs which reason and faith afford under the uneasiness which nature feels on the loss of so near and (who had been) so desirable a relation, and the many circumstances of weakness which seemed to make dissolution less formidable, yet the parting season will be gloomy, the breathless corpse of a once dear and valuable friend will affect us, and the carrying out of our house, and leaving behind us, in a solitary tomb, all that was visible (when, at the same time, it was so venerable) of a father, strikes a damp on the spirits which is not easily overcome or forgotten."—*Letters to and from Dr. Doddridge*, p. 355, etc.

† The character of Mr. Lardner, drawn by his son-in-law Mr. Neal, forms the sixth number of the Appendix to Dr. Lardner's Life, prefixed to the new edition of his works, in 8vo.

‡ Letters, and p. 353, note.

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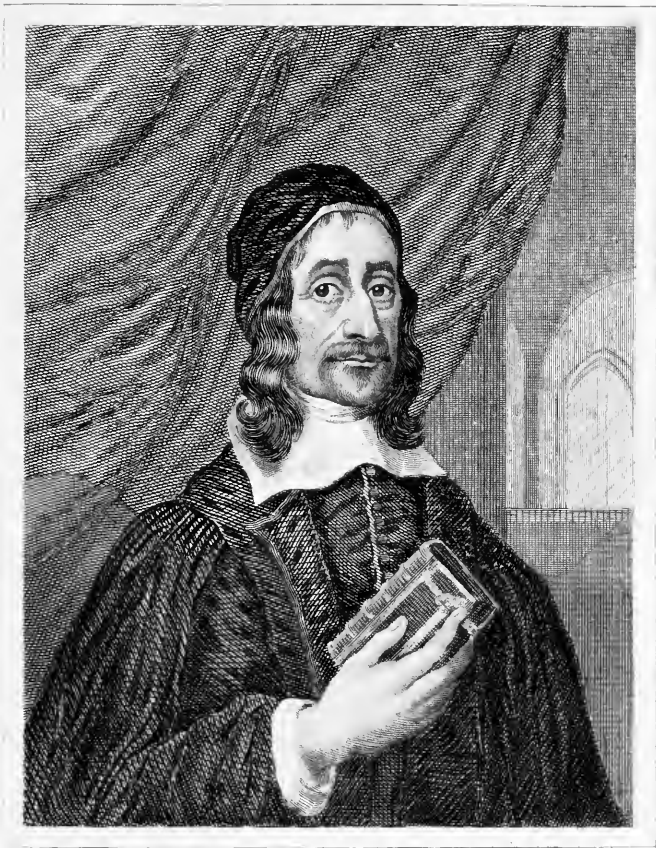
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Richard Baxter, A.M.

RICHARD BAXTER, A.M.



HISTORY OF THE PURITANS.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

KING William the Conqueror, having got possession of the crown of England by the assistance of the See of Rome, and King John having afterward sold it in his wars with the barons, the rights and privileges of the English clergy were delivered up into the hands of the pope, who taxed them at his pleasure, and in process of time drained the kingdom of immense treasures; for, besides all his other dues, arising from annates, first-fruits, Peter-pence, &c., he extorted large sums of money from the clergy for their preferments in the Church. He advanced foreigners to the richest bishoprics, who never resided in their diocesses, nor so much as set foot upon English ground, but sent for all their profits to a foreign country; nay, so covetous was his holiness, that, before livings became void, he sold them provisionally among his Italians, insomuch that neither the king nor the clergy had anything to dispose of, but everything was bargained for beforehand at Rome. This awakened the resentments of the Legislature, who, in the twenty-fifth year of Edward III., passed an act, called the statute of provisors, to establish "that the king and other lords shall present unto benefices of their own, or their ancestors' foundation, and not the Bishop of Rome." This act enacted "that all forestalling of benefices to foreigners shall cease; and that the free elections, presentments, and collations of benefices, shall stand in right of the crown, or of any of his majesty's subjects, as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithstanding any provisions from Rome."

But still the power of the court of Rome ran very high, for they brought all the trials of titles to advowsons into their own courts beyond sea; and though by the seventh of Richard II, the power of nomination to benefices, without the king's license, was taken from them, they still claimed the benefit of confirmations, of translations of bishops, and of excommunications; the Archbishops of Canterbury and York might still, by virtue of bulls from Rome, assemble the clergy of their several provinces, at what time and place they thought fit, without leave obtained from the crown; and all the canons and constitutions concluded upon in those synods were binding, without any farther ratification from the king; so that the power of the Church was independent of the civil government. This being represented to the Parliament of the sixteenth of Richard II., they passed the statute commonly called *præmunire*, by which it was enacted, "that if any did purchase translations to benefices, processes, sentences of excommunication, bulls, or any other instruments from the court of Rome, against the king or his crown; or whoever brought them into

England, or did receive or execute them, they were declared to be out of the king's protection, and should forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and should be attached by their bodies, if they may be found, and brought before the king and council to answer to the cases aforesaid; or that process should be made against them, by *præmunire facias*, in manner as it is ordained in other statutes of provisors; and other which do sue in any other court in derogation of the regality of the king."* From this time the archbishops called no more convocations by their sole authority, but by license from the king; their synods being formed by writ or precept from the crown, directed to the archbishops, to assemble their clergy, in order to consult upon such affairs as his majesty should lay before them. But still their canons were binding, though confirmed by no authority but their own, till the act of submission of the clergy took place.

About this time flourished the famous John Wickliffe, the morning-star of the Reformation. He was born at Wickliffe, near Richmond, in Yorkshire,† about the year 1324, and was edu-

* Fuller's Church History, book iv., p. 145-148.

† See the very valuable Life of Wickliffe, published by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Margate, which begins thus: "John de Wickliffe was born, very probably, about the year 1324, in the parish of Wickliffe, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, and was first admitted commoner of Queen's College, Oxford, then newly founded by Robert Eggesfield, S.T.B., but was soon after removed to Merton College, where he was first probationer and afterward fellow. He was advanced to the professor's chair, 1372. It appears by this ingenious writer, as well as by the Catalogus Testium, that Wickliffe was for 'rejecting all human rites, and new shadows or traditions in religion; and with regard to the identity of the order of bishops and priests in the apostolic age,' he is very positive. *Unum audacter assero*, one thing I boldly assert, that in the primitive Church, or in the time of the Apostle Paul, two orders of clergy were thought sufficient, viz., priest and deacon; and I do also say, that in the time of Paul, *fuit idem presbyter atque episcopus*, a priest and a bishop were one and the same: for in those times the distinct orders of pope, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, and deans were not invented."

Mr. Neal's review of the first volume of the History of the Puritans, subjoined to the quarto edition of this history, vol. 1, p. 890.—E.

To Mr. Neal's account of Wickliffe's sentiments, it may be added, that he advanced some tenets which not only symbolize with, but directly led to, the peculiar opinions of those who, called Baptists, have in subsequent ages formed a large body of dissenters, viz., "that wise men leave that as impertinent which is not plainly expressed in Scripture; that those are fools and presumptuous which affirm such infants not to be saved which die without baptism; that baptism doth not confer, but only signify grace, which was given before. He also denied that all sins are abolished in baptism; and asserted that children may be saved without baptism; and that the baptism of water profiteth not, without the baptism of the Spir-

cated in Queen's College, Oxford, where he was divinity professor, and afterward pastor of Lutterworth in Leicestershire. He flourished in the latter end of the reign of King Edward III. and the beginning of Richard II., about one hundred and thirty years before the Reformation of Luther. The University gave this testimonial of him after his death: "That, from his youth to the time of his death, his conversation was so praiseworthy, that there was never any spot or suspicion noised of him; that in his reading and preaching he behaved like a stout and valiant champion of the faith; and that he had written in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative arts, without an equal." While he was divinity professor at Oxford, he published certain conclusions — against transubstantiation and against the infallibility of the pope; that the Church of Rome was not the head of all other churches; nor had St. Peter the power of the keys any more than the rest of the apostles; that the New Testament, or Gospel, is a perfect rule of life and manners, and ought to be read by the people.* He maintained, farther, most of those points by which the Puritans were afterward distinguished; as, that in the sacrament of orders there ought to be but two degrees, presbyters or bishops and deacons; that all human traditions are superfluous and sinful; that we must practise and teach only the laws of Christ; that mystical and significant ceremonies in religious worship are unlawful; and that to restrain men to a prescribed form of prayer is contrary to the liberty granted them by God. These, with some other of Wickliffe's doctrines against the temporal grandeur of the prelates and their usurped authority, were sent to Rome and condemned by Pope Gregory XI., in a consistory of twenty-three cardinals, in the year 1378. But the pope dying soon after, put a stop to the process. Urban, his successor, wrote to young King Richard II. and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the University of Oxford, to put a stop to the progress of Wickliffism; accordingly, Wickliffe was cited before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his brethren, the prelates, several times, but was always dismissed, either by the interest of the citizens of London, or the powerful interposition of some great lords at court, or some other uncommon providence, which terrified the bishops from passing a peremptory sentence against him for a considerable time; but at length his new doctrines, as they were called, were condemned, in a convocation of bishops, doctors, and bachelors, held at London by the commandment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1382, and he was deprived of his professorship, his books and writings were ordered to be burned and himself to be imprisoned; but he kept out of the way, and in the time of his retirement wrote a confession of his faith to the pope, in which he declares himself willing to maintain his opinions at Rome, if God had not otherwise visited him with sickness and other infirmities: but it was well for this good man that there were two antipopes at this time at war with each other, one at Rome, and the other at Avignon. In England, also, there was a minority, which was fa-

vourable to Wickliffe, insomuch that he ventured out of his retirement, and returned to his parish at Lutterworth, where he quietly departed this life, in the year 1384. This Wickliffe was a wonderful man for the times in which he lived, which were overspread with the thickest darkness of anti-Christian idolatry; he was the first that translated the New Testament into English; but the art of printing not being then found out, it hardly escaped the inquisition of the prelates; at least, it was very scarce when Tyndal translated it a second time in 1526. He preached and published the very same doctrines for substance that afterward obtained at the Reformation; he wrote near two hundred volumes, all which were called in, condemned, and ordered to be burned, together with his bones, by the Council of Constance, in the year 1425, forty-one years after his death; but his doctrine remained, and the number of his disciples, who were distinguished by the name of Lollards, increased after his decease,* which gave occasion to the making sundry other severe laws against heretics.

The clergy made their advantage of the contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster; both parties courting their assistance, which they did not fail to make use of for the support of the Catholic faith, as they called it, and the advancement of their spiritual tyranny over the consciences of men. In the primitive times there were no capital proceedings against heretics, the weapons of the Church being only spiritual; but when it was found that ecclesiastical censures were not sufficient to keep men in a blind subjection to the pope, a decree was obtained in the fourth Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, "that all heretics should be delivered over to the civil magistrate to be burned." Here was the spring of that anti-Christian tyranny and oppression of the consciences of men which has since been attended with a sea of Christian blood: the papists learned it from the heathen emperors, and the most zealous Protestants of all nations have taken it up from them. Conscience cannot be convinced by fines and imprisonments, or by fire and fagot; all attempts of this kind serve only to make men hypocrites, and are deservedly branded with the name of persecution. There was no occasion for putting these sanguinary laws in execution among us till the latter end of the fourteenth century; but when the Lollards, or followers of Wickliffe, threatened the papal power, the clergy brought this Italian drug from Rome, and planted it in the Church of England.

In the fifth year of Richard II., it was enacted "that all that preached without license against the Catholic faith, or against the laws of the land, should be arrested, and kept in prison till they justified themselves according to the law and reason of Holy Church. Their commitment was to be by writ from the chancellor, who was to issue forth commissions to the sheriffs and other the king's ministers, after the bishops had

* Knighton, a canon of Leicester and a contemporary of Wickliffe, tells us that in the year 1382 "their number very much increased, and that, starting like saplings from the root of a tree, they were multiplied, and filled every place within the compass of the land."—*Dr. Vaughan's Life of Wickliffe*, vol. ii., p. 154. 2d edition.—C.

it.—*Fuller's Church History*, b. iv., p. 130. *Trialogus*, lib. iv., cap. i.—Ed.

* Fox's Martyrol. Pierce's Vindicat., p. 4, 5.

returned the names of the delinquents into the Court of Chancery.

When Richard II. was deposed, and the crown usurped by Henry IV., in order to gain the good-will of the clergy, it was farther enacted, in the second year of his reign, "that if any person were suspected of heresy, the ordinary might detain them in prison till they were canonically purged, or did abjure their errors; provided, always, that the proceedings against them were publicly and judicially ended within three months. If they were convicted, the diocesan, or his commissary, might imprison and fine them at discretion. Those that refused to abjure their error, or, after abjuration, relapsed, were to be delivered over to the secular power, and the mayors, sheriffs, or bailiffs, were to be present, if required, when the bishop, or his commissary, passed sentence, and after sentence they were to receive them, and in some high place burn them to death before the people." By this law the king's subjects were put from under his protection, and left to the mercy of the bishops in their spiritual courts, and might, upon suspicion of heresy, be imprisoned and put to death, without presentment or trial by jury, as is the practice in all other criminal cases.

In the beginning of the reign of Henry V., who was a martial prince, a new law passed against the Lollards or Wickliffites,* "that they should forfeit all the lands they had in fee-simple, and all their goods and chattels to the king. All state officers, at their entrance into office, were sworn to use their best endeavours to discover them, and to assist the ordinaries in prosecuting and convicting them." I find no mention, in any of these acts, of a writ or warrant from the king, *de hæretico comburendo*; the sheriff might proceed to the burning of heretics without it; but it seems the king's learned counsel advised him to issue out a writ of this kind to the sheriff, by which his majesty took them, in some sort, under his protection again; but it was not as yet necessary by law, nor are there any of them to be found in the rolls before the reign of King Henry VIII.

By virtue of these statutes, the clergy, accord-

* It marks the profaneness, as well as cruelty of the act here quoted by Mr. Neal, that it was not directed merely against the avowed followers of Wickliffe, as such, but against the perusal of the Scriptures in English: for it enacted, "that whatsoever they were that should read the Scriptures in the mother tongue (which was then called *Wicleue's* learning), they should forfeit land, catel, lif, and goods, for they heyes forever, and so be condemned for heretykes to God, enemies to the crowne, and most arrant traitors to the land."—*Emlyn's Complete Collection of State Trials*, p. 48, as quoted in *Dr. Flemming's Palladium*, p. 30, note.

So great an alarm did the doctrine of Wickliffe raise, and so high did the fear of its spread rise, that by the statute of 5 Rich. II. and 2 Hen. IV., c. 15, it was enacted, as part of the sheriff's oath, "that he should seek to redress all errors and heresies, commonly called Lollards." And it is a striking instance of the permanent footing which error and absurdity, and even iniquity gain, when once established by law, that this clause was preserved in the oath long after the Reformation, even to the first of Charles I., when Sir Edward Coke, on being appointed sheriff of the county of Buckingham, objected to it, and ever since it has been left out.—*The Complete Sheriff*, p. 17.—Ed.

ing to the genius of the popish religion, exercised numberless cruelties upon the people. If any man denied them any degree of respect, or any of those profits they pretended was their due, he was immediately suspected of heresy, imprisoned, and, it may be, put to death; of which some hundreds of examples are upon record.*

Thus stood the laws with respect to religion, when King Henry VIII., second son of King Henry VII., came to the crown; he was born in the year 1491, and bred a scholar: he understood the purity of the Latin tongue, and was well acquainted with school divinity. No sort of flattery pleased him better than to have his wisdom and learning commended. In the beginning he was a most obedient son of the papacy, and employed his talents in writing against Luther in defence of the seven sacraments of the Church. This book was magnified by the clergy as the most learned performance of the age; and upon presenting it to the pope, his holiness conferred upon the King of England, and his successors, the glorious title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH;† it was voted in full consistory, and signed by twenty-seven cardinals, in the year 1521.‡

At the same time, Cardinal Wolsey, the king's favourite, exercised a sovereign power over the whole clergy and people of England in spiritual matters: he was made legate in the year 1519, and accepted of a bull from the pope, contrary to the statute of *præmunire*, empowering him to superintend and correct what he thought amiss in both the provinces of Canterbury and York, and to appoint all officers in the spiritual

* Thus, in the reign of Edward IV., John Keyser was committed to jail, by Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, on the suspicion of heresy, because, having been excommunicated, he said "that, notwithstanding the archbishop or his commissary had excommunicated him, yet before God he was not excommunicated, for his corn yielded as well as his neighbours." Thus, also, in the reign of Henry VII., Hillary Warner was arrested on the charge of heresy, because he said "that he was not bound to pay tithes to the curate of the parish where he lived."

Coke's Institutes, 3 inst., p. 42, quoted in a treatise on heresy as cognizable in the spiritual courts, p. 22, 23.—Ed.

† Mr. Fox observes, that though "this book carried the king's name in the title, it was another who ministered the notion and framed the style. But, whoever had the labour of the book, the king had the thanks and the reward."—*Acts and Monuments of Martyrs*, vol. ii., p. 57. It has been said that the jester at the court, seeing Henry overcome with joy, asked the reason; and when told that it was because his holiness had conferred upon him this new title, he replied, "My good Harry, let me and thee defend each other, and let the faith alone to defend itself." "If this was uttered as a serious joke," says a writer, "the fool was, undoubtedly, the wisest man of the two."—C.

‡ "The extravagant praises which he received for this performance," observes Dr. Warner, "meeting with so much pride and conceit in his nature, made him from this time impatient of all contradictions on religious subjects, and to set up himself for the standard of truth, by which his people were to regulate their belief."—*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 223. We are surprised, in the event, to see this prince, who was now "the pride of popery, become its scourge." Such are the fluctuations in human characters and affairs, and so unsearchable are the ways of Providence!—Ed.

courts.* The king also granted him a full power of disposing of all ecclesiastical benefices in the gift of the crown; with a visitatorial power over monasteries, colleges, and all his clergy, exempt or not exempt. By virtue of these vast powers a new court of justice was erected, called the legate's court, the jurisdiction whereof extended to all actions relating to conscience, and numberless rapines and extortions were committed by it under colour of reforming men's manners; all which his majesty connived at, out of zeal to the Church.

But at length, the king, being weary of his Queen Katharine, after he had lived with her almost twenty years, or being troubled in conscience because he had married his brother's wife, and the legitimacy of his daughter had been called in question by some foreign princes, he first separated from her bed, and then moved the pope for a divorce; but the court of Rome having held his majesty in suspense for two or three years for fear of offending the emperor the queen's nephew, the impatient king, by the advice of Dr. Cranmer, appealed to the principal universities of Europe, and desired their opinions upon these two questions:

1. "Whether it was agreeable to the law of God for a man to marry his brother's wife?"

2. "Whether the pope could dispense with the law of God?"

All the universities, and most of the learned men of Europe, both Lutherans and papists, except those at Rome, declared for the negative of the two questions. The king laid their determinations before the Parliament and convocation, who agreed with the foreign universities. In the convocation of English clergy, two hundred and fifty-three were for the divorce, and but nineteen against it. Sundry learned books were written for and against the lawfulness of the marriage; one party being encouraged by the king, and the other by the pope and emperor. The pope cited the king to Rome, but his majesty ordered the Earl of Wiltshire to protest against the citation, as contrary to the prerogative of his crown; and sent a letter signed by the cardinal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, four bishops, two dukes, two marquises, thirteen earls, two viscounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners, exhorting his holiness to confirm the judgment of the learned men, and of the universities of Europe, by annulling his marriage, or else he should be obliged to take other measures. The pope in his answer, after having acknowledged his majesty's favours, told him that the queen's appeal and avocation of the cause to Rome must be granted. The king seeing himself abused, and that the affair of his marriage, which had been already determined by the most learned men in Europe, and had been argued before the legates Campegio and Wolsey, must commence again, began to suspect Wolsey's sincerity; upon which his majesty sent for the seals from him, and soon after commanded his attorney-general to put in an information against him in the King's Bench, because that, notwithstanding the statute of Richard II. against procuring bulls from Rome under the pains of a *præmunire*, he had received

bulls for his legatine power, which for many years he had executed. The cardinal pleaded ignorance of the statute, and submitted to the king's mercy; upon which he was declared to be out of the king's protection, to have forfeited his goods and chattels, and that his person might be seized. The haughty cardinal, not knowing how to bear his disgrace, soon after fell sick and died, declaring that if he had served God as well as he had done his prince, he would not have given him over in his gray hairs.

But the king, not satisfied with his resentments against the cardinal, resolved to be revenged on the pope himself, and accordingly, September 19th, a week before the cardinal's death, he published a proclamation forbidding all persons to purchase anything from Rome under the severest penalties, and resolved to annex the ecclesiastical supremacy to his own crown for the future. It was easy to foresee that the clergy would startle at the king's assuming to himself the pope's supremacy; but his majesty had them at his mercy, for they having acknowledged Cardinal Wolsey's legatine power, and submitted to his jurisdiction, his majesty caused an indictment to be preferred against them in Westminster Hall, and obtained judgment upon the statute of *præmunire*, whereby the whole body of the clergy were declared to be out of the king's protection, and to have forfeited all their goods and chattels.

In this condition they were glad to submit upon the best terms they could get, but the king would not pardon them but upon these two conditions: (1.) That the two provinces of Canterbury and York should pay into the exchequer £118,840, a vast sum of money in those times. (2.) That they should yield his majesty the title of sole and supreme head of the Church of England, next and immediately under Christ. The former they readily complied with, and promised for the future never to assemble in convocation but by the king's writ; nor to make or execute any canons or constitutions without his majesty's license; but to acknowledge a layman to be supreme head of an ecclesiastical body, was such an absurdity, in their opinion, and so inconsistent with their allegiance to the pope, that they could not yield to it without an additional clause, *as far as is agreeable to the laws of Christ*. The king accepted it with the clause for the present, but a year or two after obtained the confirmation of it in Parliament and convocation without the clause.

The substance of the act of supremacy* is as follows: "Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightfully is, and ought to be, supreme head of the Church of England, and is so recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocations; yet, nevertheless, for confirmation and corroboration thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, &c., be it enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England; and shall have and enjoy, annexed

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. i., p. 8.

* 26 Henry VIII., cap. i.

and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well as the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, immunities, profits, and commodities, to the said dignity of supreme head of the said Church belonging and appertaining; and that our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which, by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may be lawfully reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, and increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conversation of peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm; any usage, custom, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or anything or things to the contrary notwithstanding.'

Here was the rise of the Reformation. The whole power of reforming heresies and errors in doctrine and worship was transferred from the pope to the king, without any regard to the rights of synods or councils of the clergy, and without a reserve of liberty to such consciences as could not comply with the public standard. This was undoubtedly a change for the better, but is far from being consonant to Scripture or reason.

The Parliament had already forbid all appeals to the court of Rome, in causes testamentary, matrimonial, and in all disputes concerning divorces, tithes, oblations, &c., under penalty of a *præmunire*,* and were now voting away annates and first-fruits; and providing "that, in case the pope denied his bulls for electing or consecrating bishops, it should be done without them by the archbishop of the province; that an archbishop might be consecrated by any two bishops whom the king should appoint; and being so consecrated, should enjoy all the rights of his see, any law or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." All which acts passed both houses without any considerable opposition. Thus, while the pope stood trifling about a contested marriage, the king and Parliament took away all his profits, revenues, and authority in the Church of England.

His majesty having now waited six years for a determination of his marriage from the court of Rome, and being now himself head of the Church of England, commanded Dr. Cranmer, lately consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury,† to call a court of canonists and divines, and proceed to judgment. Accordingly, his grace summoned Queen Katharine to appear at Dunstable, near the place where she resided, in person or

by proxy, on the 20th of May, 1533, but her majesty refused to appear, adhering to her appeal to the court of Rome; upon which the archbishop, by advice of the court, declared her *contumax*, and on the 23d of the same month pronounced the king's marriage with her null and void, as being contrary to the laws of God. Soon after which his majesty married Anne Bullen, and procured an act of Parliament for settling the crown upon the heirs of her body, which all his subjects were obliged to swear to.

There was a remarkable appearance of Divine Providence in this affair; for the French king had prevailed with the King of England to refer his cause once more to the court of Rome, upon assurances given that the pope should decide it in his majesty's favour within a limited time; the pope consented, and fixed a time for the return of the king's answer, but the courier not arriving upon the very day, the Imperialists, who dreaded an alliance between the pope and the King of England, persuaded his holiness to give sentence against him; and accordingly, March 23d, the marriage was declared good, and the king was required to take his wife again, otherwise the censures of the Church were to be denounced against him.* Two days after this the courier arrived from England with the king's submission under his hand in due form, but it was then too late, it being hardly decent for the infallible chair to revoke its decrees in so short a time. Such was the crisis of the Reformation!

The pope having decided against the king, his majesty determined to take away all his profits and authority over the Church of England at once: accordingly, a bill was brought into the Parliament then sitting, and passed without any protestation, by which it is enacted "that all payments made to the apostolic chamber, and all provisions, bulls, or dispensations, should from thenceforth cease; and that all dispensations or licenses, for things not contrary to the law of God, should be granted within the kingdom, under the seals of the two archbishops in their several provinces. The pope was to have no farther concern in the nomination or confirmation of bishops, which were appointed to be chosen by *congé d'elire* from the crown, as at present. Peter's-pence and all procurations from Rome were abolished. Moreover, all religious houses, exempt or not exempt, were to be subject to the archbishops' visitation, except some monasteries and abbeys which were to be subject to the king."† Most of the bishops voted against this bill, but all but one set their hands to it after it was passed, according to the custom of those times. Thus the Church of England became independent of the pope, and all foreign jurisdiction.

Complaints being daily made of the severe proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts against heretics, the Parliament took this matter into consideration, and repealed the act of the second of Henry IV., above mentioned, but left the statutes of Richard II. and Henry V. in full force, with this qualification, that heretics should be proceeded against upon presentments by two witnesses at least; that they should be brought to answer in open court; and if they were found

* 24 Henry VIII., cap. xii.

† Cranmer's elevation took place in 1533. "He appears to have accepted the distinction with reluctance, and the best friends of his reputation must regard his compliance with some degree of regret. He was destitute of that fortitude and determination of mind which so high a station required. He was timid and vacillating; honest in his purposes, but irresolute in his conduct. In a private station, or in a calmer age, he would have maintained an irreproachable character; but at present he needs all the sympathy which his martyrdom inspires to retain for him a high place in the respect of impartial men."—*Dr. Price's History of Nonconformity*, vol. i., p. 8.—C.

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. i., p. 135.

† 25 Henry VIII., cap. xx., xxi.

guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapsed, they should be adjudged to death, the king's writ *de hæretico comburendo* being first obtained.* By this act the ecclesiastical courts were limited, heretics being now to be tried according to the forms of law, as in other cases.

Towards the latter end of this session, the clergy, assembled in convocation, sent up their submission to the king to be passed in Parliament, which was done accordingly: the contents were, "that the clergy acknowledged all convocations ought to be assembled by the king's writ; and promised *in verbo sacerdotii*, that they would never make nor execute any new canons or constitutions without the royal assent; and since many canons had been received that were found prejudicial to the king's prerogative, contrary to the laws of the land, and heavy to the subjects, that, therefore, there should be a committee of thirty two persons, sixteen of the two houses of Parliament and as many of the clergy, to be named by the king, who should have full power to revise the old canons, and to abrogate, confirm, or alter them, as they found expedient, the king's assent being obtained."

This submission was confirmed by Parliament; and by the same act all appeals to Rome were again condemned. If any parties found themselves aggrieved in the archbishops' courts, an appeal might be made to the king in the Court of Chancery, and the lord-chancellor was to grant a commission under the great seal for a hearing before delegates, whose determination should be final. All exempted abbots were also to appeal to the king; and the act concluded with a proviso "that, till such correction of the canons was made, all those which were then received should remain in force, except such as were contrary to the laws and customs of the realm, or were to the damage or hurt of the king's prerogative." Upon the proviso of this act all the proceedings of the commons and other spiritual courts are founded; for the canons not being corrected to this day, the old ones are in force, with the exceptions above mentioned; and this proviso is probably the reason why the canons were not corrected in the following reigns, for now it lies in the breast of the judges to declare what canons are contrary to the laws or rights of the crown, which is more for the king's prerogative than to make a collection of ecclesiastical laws which should be fixed and immovable.

Before the Parliament broke up they gave the annates or first-fruits of benefices, and the yearly revenue of the tenth part of all livings, which had been taken from the pope last year, to the king. This displeased the clergy, who were in hopes of being freed from that burden; but they were mistaken, for by the thirty-second of Henry VIII., cap. xlv, a court of record is ordered to be erected, called the court of the first-fruits and tenths, for the levying and government of the said first-fruits forever.

The session being ended, commissioners were sent over the kingdom to administer the oath of succession to all his majesty's subjects, according to a late act of Parliament, by which it appears that, besides renewing their allegi-

ance to the king, and acknowledging him to be the head of the Church, they declared, upon oath, "the lawfulness of his marriage with Queen Anne, and that they would be true to the issue begotten in it. That the Bishop of Rome had no more power than any other bishop in his own diocess; that they would submit to all the king's laws, notwithstanding the pope's censures; that in their prayers they would pray first for the king as supreme head of the Church of England; then for the queen [Anne], then for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other ranks of the clergy." Only Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, lord-chancellor, refused to take the oath, for which they afterward lost their lives.

The separation of the Church of England from Rome contributed something towards the reformation of its doctrines, though the body of the inferior clergy were as stiff for their old opinions as ever, being countenanced and supported by the Duke of Norfolk, by the Lord-chancellor More, by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Fisher of Rochester; but some of the nobility and bishops were for a farther reformation: among these were the new queen, Lord Cromwell, afterward Earl of Essex, Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester. As these were more or less in favour with the king, the reformation of religion went forward or backward throughout the whole course of his reign.

The progress of the Reformation in Germany, by the preaching of Luther, Melancthon, and others, with the number of books that were published in those parts, some of which were translated into English, revived learning, and raised people's curiosity to look into the state of religion here at home. One of the first books that was published was the translation of the New Testament by Tyndal, printed at Antwerp, 1526.* The next was the Supplication of the

* Of this edition, which consisted of fifteen hundred copies, only one is supposed to exist; that copy is preserved in the library of the Baptist College, Bristol, England. The scarceness of this edition is easily accounted for: "The book that had the greatest authority and influence was Tyndal's translation of the New Testament, of which the bishops made great complaints, and said it was full of errors. But Tonstal, then Bishop of London, seeing a man of invincible moderation, would do nobody any hurt, yet endeavoured, as he could, to get their books into his hands; so, being at Antwerp in the year 1529, he sent for one Packington, an English merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of Tyndal's translation he might have for money. Packington, who was a secret favourer of Tyndal, told him what the bishop proposed. Tyndal was very glad of it; for, being convinced of some faults in his work, he was designing a new and more correct edition; but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it; so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the bishop paid the price, and brought them over, and burned them publicly in Cheapside. This had such a hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people from thence concluded there must be a visible contrariety between that book and the doctrines of those who so handled it; by which both their prejudice against the clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament, were increased. So that next year, when the second edition

Beggars, by Simon Frith of Gray's Inn, 1529. It was levelled against the begging friars, and complains that the common poor were ready to starve, because the alms of the people were intercepted by great companies of lusty, idle friars, who were able to work, and were a burden to the commonwealth. More and Fisher answered the book, endeavouring to move the people's passions by representing the supplications of the souls in purgatory which were relieved by the masses of these friars. But the strength of their arguments lay in the sword of the magistrate, which was now in their hands; for while these gentlemen were in power the clergy made sad havoc among those people who were seeking after Christian knowledge; some were cited into the bishops' courts for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer in English; some for reading forbidden books; some for speaking against the vices of the clergy; some for not coming to confession and the sacrament; and some for not observing the Church fasts; most of whom, through fear of death, did penance and were dismissed; but several of the clergy refusing to abjure, or after abjuration falling into a relapse, suffered death. Among these were the Rev. Mr. Hitton, curate of Maidstone, burned in Smithfield, 1530; the Rev. Mr. Bilney, burned at Norwich, 1531; Mr. Byfield, a monk of St. Edmundsbury; James Bainham, Knt. of the Temple; besides two men and a woman, at York. In the year 1533, Mr. John Frith,* an excellent scholar of the University of Cambridge, was burned in Smithfield, with one Hewet, a poor apprentice, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament; but upon the rupture between the king and the pope, and the repeal of the act of King Henry IV. against heretics, the wings of the clergy were clipped, and a stop put to their cruelties for a time.

None were more adverse to the Reformation than the monks and friars: these spoke openly against the king's proceedings, exciting the people to rebellion, and endeavouring to embroil his affairs with foreign princes; the king, therefore, resolved to humble them, and for this purpose appointed a general visitation of the monasteries, the management of which was committed to the Lord Cromwell, with the title of visiter-general, who appointed other commissioners under him, and gave them injunctions and articles of inquiry. Upon this, several abbots and priors, to prevent a scrutiny into their conduct, voluntarily surrendered their houses

was finished, many were brought over, and Constantine (a coadjutor of Tindal) being taken in England, the lord-chancellor, in a private examination, promised him that no hurt should be done him if he would reveal who encouraged and supported him at Antwerp; which he accepted of, and told that the greatest encouragement they had was from the Bishop of London, who had bought up half the impression. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious persons discerned the great temper of that learned bishop in it."—*Burnet's Reform.*, 1, 260.—C.

* Mr. Frith wrote a tract, published with his other works, London, 1573, entitled "A Declaration of Baptism."

Sir James Bainham seems, from his examination before the Bishop of London, Dec. 15, 1531, to have been an opposer of infant baptism.—*Crosby's Hist. of the English Baptists*, vol. i., p. 31.

Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii., p. 227, 241, 256, 445.—C.

into the king's hands; others, upon examination appeared guilty of the greatest frauds and positions on the simplicity of the people: many of their pretended relics were exposed and destroyed, as the Virgin Mary's milk, showed in eight places; the coals that roasted St. Lawrence; and an angel with one wing that brought over the head of the spear that pierced our Saviour's side; the rood of grace, which was so contrived, that the eyes and lips might move upon occasion; with many others. The images of a great many pretended saints were taken down and burned, and all the rich offerings made at their shrines were seized for the crown, which brought an immense treasure into the exchequer.

Upon the report of the visiters, the Parliament consented to the suppression of the lesser monasteries under £200 a year value, and gave them to the king to the number of three hundred and seventy-six. Their rents amounted to about £32,000 per annum: their plate, jewels, and furniture, to about £100,000.* The churches and cloisters were for the most part pulled down, and the lead, and bells, and other materials, sold. A new court, called the Court of Augmentations of the King's Revenue,† was erected, to receive the rents and to dispose of the lands, and bring the profits into the exchequer. Every religious person that was turned out of his cell had 45s. given him in money, of which number there were about ten thousand; and every governor had a pension. But to ease the government of this charge, the monks and friars were put into benefices as fast as they became vacant; by which means it came to pass that the body of the inferior clergy were disguised papists and enemies to the Reformation.

The lesser religious houses being dissolved, the rest followed in a few years: for in the years 1537 and 1539, the greater abbeys and monasteries were broken up, or surrendered to the crown, to prevent an inquiry into their lives and manners. This raised a great clamour among the people, the monks and friars going up and down the country like beggars, clamouring at the injustice of the suppression. The king, to quiet them, gave back fifteen abbeys and sixteen nunneries for perpetual alms; but several of the abbots being convicted of plots and conspiracies against his government, his majesty resumed his grants after two years, and obtained an act of Parliament, whereby he was empowered to erect sundry new cathedral churches and bishoprics, and to endow them out of the profits of the religious houses. The king intended, says Bishop Burnet, to convert £18,000 a year into a revenue for eighteen bishoprics and cathedrals; but of them he only erected six, viz., the bishoprics of Westminster, Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, Gloucester, and Bristol. This was the chief of what his majesty did for religion, which was but a small return of the immense sums that fell into his hands: for the clear rents of all the suppressed houses were cast up at £131,607 6s. 4d. per annum, as they were then rated, but were at least ten times as much in value. Most of the abbey lands were given away among the courtiers, or sold at easy rates to the gentry, to engage them by interest against the resumption of them to the Church.

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. i., p. 223.

† 27 Henry VIII., cap. xxvii., xxviii.

In the year 1545, the Parliament gave the king the chantries, colleges, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, and guilds, with their manors and estates. Seventy manors and parks were alienated from the archbishopric of York, and twelve from Canterbury, and confirmed to the crown. How easily might this king, with his immense revenues, have put an end to the being of Parliaments!

The translation of the New Testament by Tyndal, already mentioned, had a wonderful spread among the people; though the bishops condemned it, and proceeded with the utmost severity against those that read it. They complained of it to the king; upon which his majesty called it in by proclamation in the month of June, 1530, and promised that a more correct translation should be published: but it was impossible to stop the curiosity of the people so long; for, though the bishops bought up and burned all they could meet with, the Testament was reprinted abroad, and sent over to merchants at London, who dispersed the copies privately among their acquaintance and friends.

At length, it was moved in convocation that the whole Bible should be translated into English, and set up in churches; but most of the old clergy were against it. They said this would lay the foundation of innumerable heresies, as it had done in Germany; and that the people were not proper judges of the sense of Scripture: to which it was replied, that the Scriptures were written at first in the vulgar tongue; that our Saviour commanded his hearers to search the Scriptures; and that it was necessary people should do so now, that they might be satisfied that the alterations the king had made in religion were not contrary to the Word of God. These arguments prevailed with the majority to consent that a petition should be presented to the king, that his majesty would please to give order about it.

But the old bishops were too much disinclined to move in it. The Reformers, therefore, were forced to have recourse to Mr. Tyndal's Bible, which had been printed at Hamburg, 1532, and reprinted three or four years after by Grafton and Whitechurch. The translators were Tyndal, assisted by Miles Coverdale, and Mr. John Rogers, the protomartyr: the Apocrypha was done by Rogers, and some marginal notes were inserted to the whole, which gave offence, and occasioned that Bible to be prohibited. But Archbishop Cranmer, having now reviewed and corrected it, left out the prologue and notes, and added a preface of his own; and because Tyndal was now put to death for a heretic, his name was laid aside, and it was called Thomas Matthew's Bible, and by some Cranmer's Bible; though it was no more than Tyndal's translation corrected.* This Bible was allowed by authority, and eagerly read by all sorts of people.

* Cranmer began with the New Testament, an English copy of which he divided into eight or ten parts, and sent to the most learned men of his day for their correction. These were returned to Lambeth at the appointed time, with the exception of the Acts of the Apostles, which had been intrusted to Stokesley, bishop of London, who wrote to Cranmer, 'I marvel what my Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures, which doth nothing else but

The fall of Queen Anne Bullen, mother of Queen Elizabeth, was a great prejudice to the Reformation. She was a virtuous and pious lady, but airy and indiscreet in her behaviour: the popish party hated her for her religion; and having awakened the king's jealousy, put him upon a nice observance of her carriage, by which she quickly fell under his majesty's displeasure, who ordered her to be sent to the Tower, May 1. On the 15th of the same month she was tried by her peers for incontinence, for a pre-contract of marriage, and for conspiring the king's death; and though there was little or no evidence, the lords found her guilty, for fear of offending the king; and four days after she was beheaded within the Tower, protesting her innocence to the last. Soon after her execution the king called a Parliament to set aside the succession of the Lady Elizabeth, her daughter, which was done, and the king was empowered to nominate his successor by his last will and testament; so that both his majesty's daughters were now declared illegitimate; but the king having power to settle the succession as he pleased, in case of failure of male heirs, they were still in hopes, and quietly submitted to their father's pleasure.

Complaint being sent to court of the diversity of doctrines delivered in pulpits, the king sent a circular letter to all the bishops, July 12 [1536], forbidding all preaching till Michaelmas; by which time certain articles of religion, most catholic, should be set forth. The king himself framed the articles, and sent them into convocation, where they were agreed to by both houses. An abstract of them will show the state of the Reformation at this time.

1. "All preachers were to instruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the three creeds, viz., the Apostles', the Nicene, and Athanasian, and to interpret all things according to them.

2. "That baptism was a sacrament instituted by Christ; that it was necessary to salvation; that infants were to be baptized for the pardon of original sin; and that the opinions of the Anabaptists and Pelagians were detestable heresies. [And that those of ripe age, who desired baptism, must join with it repentance and contrition for their sins, with a firm belief of the articles of the faith.]

3. "That penance, that is, contrition, confession, and amendment of life, with works of char-

infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour upon my portion, nor ever will. And therefore my lord shall have this book again, for I will never be guilty of bringing the simple people into error.* So perverted were the views of the dignitaries of the Church, and so determined the opposition which Cranmer encountered in his labours for its reformation. His personal sense of the value of the Scriptures, and deep conviction of their importance, led him to persevere in his design, and secured his ultimate success."—*Dr. Price's Hist. of Nonconformity*, vol. i., p. 49.—C.

* When Cranmer expressed his surprise at the conduct of Stokesley, we are told that Mr. Thomas Lawney, who stood by, remarked, "I can tell your grace why my Lord of London will not bestow any labour or pains this way. Your grace knoweth well that his portion is a piece of the New Testament; but he, being persuaded that Christ had bequeathed him nothing in his Testament, thought it mere madness to bestow any labour or pains where no gain was to be gotten. And, besides this, it is the Acts of the Apostles, which were simple, poor fellows, and therefore my Lord of London disinclined to have to do with any of them."—*Styrie's Cranmer*, vol. i., p. 48, 49, 59, 82.—C.

ity, was necessary to salvation ; to which must be added, faith in the mercy of God, that he will justify and pardon us, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by us, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of Jesus Christ ; nevertheless, that a confession to a priest was necessary, if it might be had ; and that the absolution of a priest was the same as if it were spoken by God himself, according to our Saviour's words. That auricular confession was of use for the comfort of men's consciences. And though we are justified only by the satisfaction of Christ, yet the people were to be instructed in the necessity of good works.

4. "That in the sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there was, truly and substantially, the same body of Christ that was born of the Virgin.

5. "That justification signified the remission of sins, and a perfect renovation of nature in Christ.

6. "Concerning images : that the use of them was warranted in Scripture ; that they served to stir up devotion ; and that it was meet they should stand in churches ; but the people were to be taught that, in kneeling or worshipping before them, they were not to do it to the image, but to God.

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

8. "—For praying to saints : that it was good to pray to them to pray for us and with us.

9. "Of ceremonies. The people were to be taught that they were good and lawful, having mystical significations in them ; such were the vestments in the worship of God, sprinkling holy water to put us in mind of our baptism and the blood of Christ ; giving holy bread, in sign of our union to Christ ; bearing candles on Candlemas day, in remembrance of Christ, the spiritual light ; giving ashes on Ash Wednesday, to put us in mind of penance and our mortality ; bearing palms on Palm Sunday, to show our desire to receive Christ into our hearts as he entered into Jerusalem ; creeping to the cross on Good Friday, and kissing it, in memory of his death ; with the setting up of the sepulchre on that day, the hallowing the font, and other exorcisms and benedictions.

Lastly. "As to purgatory, they were to declare it good and charitable to pray for souls departed ; but since the place they were in, and the pains they suffered, were uncertain by Scripture, they ought to remit them to God's mercy. Therefore, all abuses of this doctrine were to be put away, and the people disengaged from believing that the pope's pardons, or masses said in certain places, or before certain images, could deliver souls out of purgatory."

These articles were signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, seventeen bishops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower house of convocation : they were published by the king's authority, with a preface in his name requiring all his subjects to accept them, which would encourage him to take farther pains for the honour of God and the welfare of his people. One sees here the dawn of the Reformation ; the Scriptures and the an-

cient creeds are made the standards of faith without the tradition of the Church or decrees of the pope ; the doctrine of justification by faith is well stated ; four of the seven sacraments are passed over, and purgatory is left doubtful. But transubstantiation, auricular confession, the worshipping of images and saints, still remained.

The court of Rome were not idle spectators of these proceedings ; they threatened the king, and spirited up the clergy to rebellion ; and when all hopes of accommodation were at an end, the pope pronounced sentence of excommunication against the whole kingdom, depriving his majesty of his crown and dignity, forbidding his subjects to obey him, and all foreign princes to correspond with him ; all his leagues with them were dissolved, and his own clergy were commanded to depart the kingdom, and his nobility to rise in arms against him. The king, laying hold of this opportunity, called a Parliament, and obtained an act requiring all his subjects, under the pains of treason, to swear that the king was supreme head of the Church of England ; and to strike terror into the popish party, three priors and a monk of the Carthusian order were executed as traitors for refusing the oath, and for saying that the king was not supreme head under Christ of the Church of England ; but the two greatest sacrifices were John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, late lord-chancellor of England, who were both beheaded last year, within a fortnight of each other. This quieted the people for a time, but soon after there was an insurrection in Lincolnshire of twenty thousand men, headed by a churchman and directed by a monk ; but upon a proclamation of pardon, they dispersed themselves : the same year there was another more formidable in the North, but after some time the rebels were defeated by the Duke of Norfolk, and the heads of them executed, among whom were divers abbots and priests. These commotions incensed the king against the religious houses, as nurseries of sedition, and made him resolve to suppress them all.

In the mean time, his majesty went on boldly against the Church of Rome, and published certain injunctions by his own authority, to regulate the behaviour of the clergy. This was the first act of pure supremacy done by the king, for in all that went before he had the concurrence of the convocation. The injunctions were to this purpose.

1. "That the clergy should twice every quarter publish to the people that the Bishop of Rome's usurped power had no foundation in Scripture, but that the king's supremacy was according to the laws of God.

2, 3. "They were to publish the late articles of faith set forth by the king, and likewise the king's proclamation for the abrogation of certain holydays in harvest-time.

4. "They were to dissuade the people from making pilgrimages to saints, and to exhort them to stay at home and mind their families, and keep God's commandments.

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

* "And every incumbent was to explain these, one article a day, until the people were instructed in them."—*Maddox's Vindict.*, p. 299.—Ed.

6. "They were to take care that the sacraments were reverently administered in their parishes.

7. "That the clergy do not frequent taverns and alehouses, nor sit long at games, but give themselves to the study of the Scriptures and a good life.

8. "Every beneficed person of £20 a year that did not reside, was to pay the fortieth part of his benefice to the poor.

9. "Every incumbent of £100 a year to maintain one scholar at the university; and so many hundreds a year so many scholars.

10. "The fifth part of the profits of livings to be given to the repair of the vicarage house, if it be in decay."

Thus the very same opinions, for which the followers of Wickliffe and Luther had been burned a few years before, were enjoined by the king's authority.

This year a very remarkable book was printed by Batchelor, the king's printer, *cum privilegio*, called "The Institution of a Christian Man." It was called the "Bishop's Book," because it was composed by sundry bishops, as Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Stokeley of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Sampson of Chichester, Reps of Norwich, Goodrick of Ely, Latimer of Worcester, Shaxton of Salisbury, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's, and some other divines. It is divided into several chapters, and contains an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory. "The book maintains the local descent of Christ into hell, and that all articles of faith are to be interpreted according to Scripture and the first four general councils. It defends the seven sacraments, and under the sacrament of the altar, affirms that the body of Christ that suffered on the cross is substantially present under the form of bread and wine. It maintains but two orders of the clergy, and avers that no one bishop has authority over another according to the Word of God. The invocation of saints is restrained to intercession, forasmuch as they have it not in their own power to bestow any blessings upon us. It maintains that no church should be consecrated to any being but God. It gives liberty to work on saints' days, especially in harvest-time. It maintains the doctrine of passive obedience. In the article of justification, it says we are justified only by the merits and satisfaction of Christ, and that no good works on our part can procure the Divine favour or prevail for our justification."*

This book was recommended and subscribed by the two archbishops, nineteen bishops, and the lower house of convocation, among whom were Gardiner, Bonner, and others, who put their brethren to death for these doctrines in the reign of Queen Mary; but the reason of their present compliance might be, because all their hopes from the succession of the Princess Mary were now defeated, Queen Jane being brought to bed of a son October the 12th, 1538, who was baptized Edward, and succeeded his father.

The translation of the Bible, already mention-

ed, was this year printed and published. Cromwell procured the king's warrant for all his majesty's subjects to read it without control; and, by his injunctions, commanded one to be set up publicly in all the churches in England, that the people might read it. His majesty farther enjoined the clergy to preach the necessity of faith and repentance, and against trusting in pilgrimages and other men's works; to order such images as had been abused to superstition to be taken down, and to tell the people that praying to them was no less than idolatry; but still, transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, the communion in one kind only, purgatory, auricular confession, praying for the dead, the celibacy of the clergy, sprinkling of holy water, invocation of saints, some images in churches, with most of the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the popish church, were retained.

Here his majesty made a stand; for after this the Reformation fluctuated, and, upon the whole, went rather backward than forward; which was owing to several causes, as (1.) To the unhappy death of the queen in childbed, who had possession of the king's heart, and was a promoter of the Reformation. (2.) To the king's disagreement with the Protestant princes of Germany, who would not put him at the head of their league, because he would not abandon the doctrine of transubstantiation, and permit the communion in both kinds. (3.) To the king's displeasure against the archbishop and the other bishops of the new learning, because he could not prevail with them to give consent in Parliament that the king should appropriate all the suppressed monasteries to his own use. (4.) To his majesty's unhappy marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves, a Protestant; which was promoted by the Reformers, and proved the ruin of the Lord Cromwell, who was at that time the bulwark of the Reformation. (5.) To the artifice and abject submission of Gardiner, Bonner, and other popish bishops, who, by flattering the king's imperious temper, and complying with his dictates, prejudiced him against the reformed. And, lastly, To his majesty's growing infirmities, which made him so peevish and positive that it was dangerous to advise to anything that was not known to be agreeable to his sovereign will and pleasure.

The king began to discover his zeal against the Sacramentaries [and Anabaptists*] (as those were called who denied the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist), by prohibiting the importing of all foreign books, or

* In the articles of religion set forth in 1536, the sect of Anabaptists is mentioned and condemned. Fourteen Hollanders, accused of holding their opinions, were put to death in 1535, and ten saved themselves by recantation. In 1428, there were in the diocese of Norwich one hundred and twenty who held that infants were sufficiently baptized if their parents were baptized before them; that Christian people be sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and need no water; and that the sacrament of baptism used in the Church by water is but a light matter, and of small effect. Three of these persons were burned alive. Long before this, it was a charge laid against the Lollards that they held these opinions, and would not baptize their new-born children.

—See Fox as quoted by Crosby, vol. i, p. 24, 40, 41. —Ed.

* Strype's Mem. of Crammer, p. 51.

printing any portions of Scripture till they had been examined by himself and council, or by the bishop of the diocess; by punishing all that denied the old rites, and by forbidding all to argue against the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, on pain of death. For breaking this last order, he condemned to the flames this very year that faithful witness to the truth, John Lambert, who had been minister of the English congregation at Antwerp, and afterward taught school in London; but hearing Dr. Taylor preach concerning the real presence, he offered him a paper of reasons against it: Taylor carried the paper to Cranmer, who was then a Lutheran, and endeavoured to make him retract; but Lambert, unhappily, appealed to the king, who, after a kind of mock trial in Westminster Hall, in presence of the bishops, nobility, and judges, passed sentence of death upon him, condemning him to be burned as an incorrigible heretic. Cranmer was appointed to dispute against him, and Cromwell to read the sentence. He was soon after executed in Smithfield in a most barbarous manner; his last words in the flames were, "None but Christ! None but Christ!"*

The Parliament that met next spring dissolved the Reformation, and brought religion back to the standard in which it continued to the king's death, by the act [31 Hen. VIII., cap. xiv.] commonly known by the name of the bloody statute, or the statute of the six articles: it was entitled, An act for abolishing Diversity of Opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion. The six articles were these: †

1. "That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remains no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ are present.

2. "That communion in both kinds is not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God, but that both the flesh and blood of Christ are together in each of the kinds.

3. "That priests may not marry by the law of God.

4. "That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God.

5. "That private masses ought to be continued, which, as it is agreeable to God's law, so men receive great benefit by them.

6. "That auricular confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church."

It was farther enacted, that if any did speak, preach, or write against the first article, they should be judged heretics, and be burned without any abjuration, and forfeit their real and personal estate to the king. Those who preached, or obstinately disputed against the other articles, were to suffer death as felons, without

* Lambert having heard Dr. Taylor preach on the presence of Christ in the sacrament, he sought an interview with him, and stated his objections to the received doctrine, which he afterward committed to writing. Taylor showed this paper to Dr. Barnes, a Lutheran, and they reported the matter to Cranmer, who summoned Lambert into the archiepiscopal court. It is deserving of notice that Cranmer, Taylor, and Barnes, the chief agents in Lambert's death, were themselves brought to the stake as heretics!—*Dr. Price's Hist. of Noncon.*, vol. i., p. 49, 50.—C.

† Cranmer alone had the courage to oppose the passing these articles.—W.

benefit of clergy; and those who, either in word or writing, declared against them, were to be prisoners during the king's pleasure, and to forfeit their goods and chattels for the first offence, and for the second to suffer death. All ecclesiastical incumbents were to read this act in their churches once a quarter.

As soon as the six articles took place, Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer of Worcester, resigned their bishoprics, and being presented for speaking against the act, they were imprisoned. Latimer continued a prisoner to the king's death, but Shaxton, being threatened with the fire, turned apostate, and proved a cruel persecutor of the Protestants in Queen Mary's reign. Commissions were issued out to the archbishops, bishops, and their commissaries, to hold a sessions quarterly, or oftener, and to proceed upon presentations by a jury according to law; which they did most severely, insomuch that in a very little time five hundred persons were put in prison, and involved in the guilt of the statute; but Cranmer and Cromwell obtained their pardon, which mortified the popish clergy to such a degree, that they proceeded no farther till Cromwell fell.

Another very remarkable act of Parliament, passed this session, was concerning obedience to the king's proclamations. It enacts, that the king, with advice of his council, may set forth proclamations with pains and penalties, which shall be obeyed as fully as an act of Parliament, provided they be not contrary to the laws and customs in being, and do not extend so far as that the subject should suffer in estate, liberty, or person. An act of attainder was also passed against sixteen persons, some for denying the supremacy, and others without any particular crime mentioned; none of them were brought to a trial, nor is there any mention in the records of any witnesses examined.* There never had been an example of such arbitrary proceedings before in England; yet this precedent was followed by several others in the course of this reign. By another statute, it was enacted that the councillors of the king's successor, if he were under age, might set forth proclamations in his name, which were to be obeyed in the same manner with those set forth by the king himself. I mention this, because upon this act was founded the validity of all the changes of religion in the minority of Edward VI. †

Next year [1540] happened the fall of Lord Cromwell, one of the great pillars of the Reformation. He had been lately constituted the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, and made a speech in Parliament, April 12th, under that character. On the 14th of April the king created him Earl of Essex, and Knight of the Garter; but within two months he was arrested at the council-table for high treason, and sent to the Tower, and on the 28th of July was beheaded by virtue of a bill of attainder, without being

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. i., p. 263.

† In this year sixteen men and fifteen women were banished for opposing infant baptism: they went to Delft, in Holland, and were there prosecuted and put to death as Anabaptists; the men being beheaded, and the women drowned. Among other injunctions issued out in 1539, was one against those who embraced the opinions, or possessed books containing the opinions, of Sacramentarians and Anabaptists.—*Crosby*, b. i., p. 42.—E.D.

brought to a trial, or once allowed to speak for himself. He was accused of executing certain orders and directions, for which he had very probably the king's warrant, and, therefore, was not admitted to make answer. But the true cause of his fall* was the share he had in the king's marriage with the Lady Anne of Cleves, whom his majesty took an aversion to as soon as he saw her, and was, therefore, determined to show his resentments against the promoters of it; but his majesty soon after lamented the loss of his honest and faithful servant when it was too late.

Two days after the death of Cromwell there was a very odd execution of Protestants and papists at the same time and place. The Protestants were Dr. Barnes, Mr. Gerrard, and Mr. Jerome, all clergymen and Lutherans; they were sent to the Tower for offensive sermons preached at the Spittle in the Easter week, and were attainted of heresy by the Parliament without being brought to a hearing. Four papists, viz., Gregory Buttolph, Adam Dampin, Edmund Brindholme, and Clement Philpot, were by the same act attainted for denying the king's supremacy, and adhering to the Bishop of Rome. The Protestants were burned, and the papists hanged: the former cleared themselves of heresy by rehearsing the articles of their faith at the stake, and died with great devotion and piety; and the latter, though grieved to be drawn in the same hurdle with them they accounted heretics, declared their hearty forgiveness of all their enemies.

About this time [1543] was published a very remarkable treatise, called *A Necessary Erudition for a Christian Man*. It was drawn up by a committee of bishops and divines, and was af-

* Dr. Maddox remarks on this statement of the cause of Cromwell's fall, that it is expressly contradicted by Bishop Burnet, who, speaking of the king's creating him Earl of Essex, upon his marriage with Anne of Cleves, adds, "This shows that the true causes of Cromwell's fall *must* be founded in some *other thing* than his making up the king's marriage, who had never thus raised his title if he had intended so soon to pull him down."—*Hist. Ref.*, vol. i., p. 275.

In reply to this, Mr. Neal says, "Let the reader judge: his (*i. e.*, Bishop Burnet's) words are these: 'An unfortunate marriage, to which he advised the king, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to destroy what himself had brought about, was the occasion of his disgrace and destruction.'—Vol. iii., p. 172. If his lordship has contradicted this in any other place (which I apprehend he has not), he must answer for it himself."

It may be observed, that these two passages stand in a very voluminous work, at a great distance from one another, so that the apparent inconsistency might escape the bishop's notice; while his remark in the first can have little force, when applied to the conduct of a prince so capricious and fluctuating in his attachments as was Henry VIII., and who soon grew disgusted with his queen. It is with no propriety that Mr. Neal's accuracy and fidelity are, in this instance, impeached: it justifies his representation, that nearly the same is given by Fuller in his *Church History*, b. v., p. 231. "Match-makers," says he, "betwixt private persons seldom find great love for their pains; betwixt princes, often fall into danger, as here it proved in the Lord Cromwell, the grand contriver of the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves."

The cause of Cromwell's disgrace is more fully and judiciously investigated by Dr. Warner, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 197, 198.—ED.

terward read and approved by the lords spiritual and temporal, and the lower house of Parliament. A great part of it was corrected by the king's own hand, and the whole was published by his order, with a preface in the name of King Henry VIII., dedicated to all his faithful subjects. It was called the King's Book, and was designed for a standard of Christian belief.* The reader, therefore, will judge by the abstract below, of the sentiments of our first Reformers in sundry points of doctrine and discipline,†

* Burnet's *Hist. Ref.*, vol. i., p. 286.

† It begins with a description of Faith; "of which (says the book) there are two acceptations. (1.) It is sometimes taken for 'a belief or persuasion wrought by God in men's hearts, whereby they assent and take for true all the words and sayings of God revealed in Scripture.' This faith, if it proceeds no farther, is but a dead faith. (2.) Faith is sometimes considered in conjunction with hope and charity, and so it signifies 'a sure confidence and hope to obtain whatsoever God has promised for Christ's sake, and is accompanied with a hearty love to God, and obedience to his commands.' This is a lively and effectual faith, and is the perfect faith of a Christian. It is by this faith that we are justified, as it is joined with hope and charity, and includes an obedience to the whole doctrine and religion of Christ. But whether there be any special particular knowledge, whereby men may be certain and assured that they are among the *predestinate*, which shall to the end persevere in their calling, we cannot find either in the Scriptures or doctors; the promises of God being conditional, so that, though his promise stands, we may fail of the blessing for want of fulfilling our obligation."

After the chapter of Faith follows an excellent paraphrase on the twelve articles of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, or the salutation of the angel to the blessed Virgin, and the Ten Commandments; and here the second commandment is shortened, the words 'for I the Lord thy God,' &c., being left out, and only those that go before set down. Images are said to be profitable to stir up the mind to emulation, though we may not give them godly honour; nevertheless, censuring and kneeling before them is allowed. Invocation of saints as intercessors is declared lawful; and the fourth commandment only ceremonial, and obliging the Jews.

Then follows an article of Free-will, which is described, "A certain power of the will joined with reason, whereby a reasonable creature, without constraint in things of reason, discerneth and willeth good and evil; but it willeth not that that is acceptable to God unless it be helped with grace, but that which is *ill* it willeth of itself." Our wills were perfect in the state of innocence, but are much impaired by the fall of Adam; the high powers of reason and freedom of will being wounded and corrupted, and all men thereby brought into such blindness and infirmity that they cannot avoid sin except they are made free by special grace, that is, by the supernatural working of the Holy Ghost. The light of reason is unable to conceive the things that appertain to eternal life, though there remains a sufficient freedom of will in things pertaining to the present life. 'Without me,' says the Scripture, 'you can do nothing;' therefore, when men feel that, notwithstanding their diligence, they are not able to do that which they desire, they ought with a steadfast faith and devotion to ask of him, who gave the beginning, that he would vouchsafe to perform it. But preachers are to take care so to moderate themselves, that they neither so preach the grace of God as to take away free-will, and make God the author of sin, nor so extol free-will as to injure the grace of God."

In the article of Justification, it asserts, "that all the posterity of Adam are born in original sin, and are hereby guilty of everlasting death and damnation; but that God sent his own Son, being naturally God,

which then constituted the established doctrine of the Church of England; for by the statute of 32 Hen. VIII., cap. xxvi., it is enacted "that all decrees and ordinances which shall be made

to take our nature and redeem us, which he could not have done but by virtue of the union of his two natures." It then speaks of a twofold justification: the first is upon our believing, and is obtained by repentance and a lively faith in the passion and merits of our blessed Saviour, and joining therewith a full purpose to amend our lives for the future. The second, or final justification at death, or the last judgment, implies, farther, the exercise of all Christian graces, and the following the motions of the Spirit of God in doing good works, which will be considered and recompensed in the day of judgment. When the Scripture speaks of justification by faith without mentioning any other grace, it must not be understood of a naked faith, but of a lively, operative faith, as before described, and refers to our *first* justification: thus we are justified by free grace; and, whatever share good works may have in our *final* justification, they cannot derogate from the grace of God, because all our good works come of the free mercy and grace of God, and are done by his assistance; so that all boasting is excluded."

This leads to the article of Good Works, "which are said to be absolutely necessary to salvation; but they are not outward corporeal works, but inward spiritual works; as the love and fear of God, patience, humility, &c. Nor are they superstitious works of men's invention; nor only moral works done by the power of reason, and the natural will of man, without faith in Christ; which, though they are good in kind, do not merit everlasting life; but such outward and inward good works as are done by faith in Christ, out of love to God, and in obedience to his commands, and which cannot be performed by man's power without Divine assistance. Now these are of two sorts: (1.) Such as are done by persons already justified; and these, though imperfect, are accepted for Christ's sake, and are meritorious towards the attaining everlasting life. (2.) Other works are of an inferior sort, as fasting, alms-deeds, and other fruits of penance, which are of no avail without faith. But, after all, justification and remission of sins is the free gift of the grace of God; and it does not derogate from that grace to ascribe the dignity to good works above mentioned, because all our good works come of the grace of God."

The chapter of Prayer for Souls Departed leaves the matter in suspense: "It is good and charitable to do it; but because it is not known what condition departed souls are in, we ought only to recommend them to the mercy of God."

In the chapter of the Sacraments, "all the seven sacraments are maintained, and in particular the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist."

In the sacrament of Orders, the book maintains no real distinction between bishops and priests; it says that "St. Paul consecrated and ordered bishops by imposition of hands; but that there is no certain rule prescribed in Scripture for the nomination, election, or presentation of them; this is left to the positive laws of every country. That the office of the said ministers is to preach the word, to minister the sacraments, to bind and loose, to excommunicate those that will not be reformed, and to pray for the universal Church; but that they may not execute their office without license from the civil magistrate. The sacraments do not receive efficacy or strength from the ministrations of the priest or bishop, but from God; the said ministers being only officers, to administer with their hands those corporeal things by which God gives grace, agreeably to St. Ambrose, who writes thus: 'The priest lays his hands upon us, but it is God that gives grace; the priest lays on us his beseeching hands, but God blesseth us with his mighty hand.'"

Concerning the order of Deacons, the book says, Vol. I.—F

and ordained by the archbishops, bishops, and doctors, and shall be published with the king's advice and confirmation, by his letters patent, in and upon the matters of Christian faith, and lawful rights and ceremonies, shall be in every point thereof believed, obeyed, and performed, to all intents and purposes, upon the pains therein comprised; provided nothing be ordained contrary to the laws of the realm." How near the book above mentioned comes to the qualifications of this statute, is obvious to the reader. It is no less evident that by the same act the king was in a manner invested with the infallibility of the pope, and had the consciences and faith of his people at his absolute disposal.

By this abstract of the erudition of a Christian man,* it appears, farther, that our reformers

"Their office in the primitive Church was partly to minister meat and drink, and other necessaries, to the poor, and partly to minister to the bishops and priests. Then follows this remarkable passage: 'Of these two orders only, that is to say, priests and deacons, Scripture maketh express mention, and how they were conferred of the apostles by prayer and imposition of hands; but the primitive Church *afterward* appointed inferior degrees, as sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, &c.; but lest, peradventure, it might be thought by some that such authorities, powers, and jurisdictions, as patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and metropolitans now have, or heretofore at any time have had, justly and lawfully over other bishops, were given them by God in Holy Scripture, we think it expedient and necessary that all men should be advertised and taught, that all such lawful power and authority of any one bishop over another, were and be given them by the consent, ordinances, and positive laws of men only, and not by any ordinance of God in Holy Scripture; and all such power and authority which any bishop has used over another, which have not been given him by such consent and ordinance of men, are in very deed *no lawful power, but plain usurpation and tyranny.*'"

To the view which Mr. Neal has given of the doctrinal sentiments contained in this piece, which was also called the bishop's book, it is proper to add the idea it gave of the duty of subjects to their prince. Its commentary on the fifth commandment runs thus: "Subjects be bound not to withdraw their fealty, truth, love, and obedience towards their prince, for any cause, whatsoever it be." In the exposition of the sixth commandment, the same principles of passive obedience and nonresistance are inculcated, and it is asserted "that God hath assigned no judges over princes in this world, but will have the judgment of them reserved to himself."—Ed.

Though the Institution of a Christian Man is a book now disused, the same sentiments, connected with the idea of the *jure divino* of kings, still run through the homilies, the articles, the canons, and the rubric of the Church of England, and have been again and again sanctioned by the resolutions and orders of our convocations. Bishop Blake, on his deathbed, solemnly professed "that the religion of the Church of England had taught him the doctrine of nonresistance and passive obedience, and that he took it to be the distinguishing character of that church."—*High-Church Politics*, p. 75, 89, and the note in the last page.—Ed.

It is not easy to say what sincere or complete alliance there can be between the Church and State, when the dogmas of the former are in such glaring repugnance to the constitution of the latter; when the former educates slaves, the latter freemen; when the former sanctions the tyranny of kings, the latter is founded in the rights of the people. In this respect, surely, the Church needs a reform.—Ed.

* Dr. Warner observes, on this performance, that there were so many absurdities of the old religion still retained, so much metaphysical jargon about the

built pretty much upon the plan of St. Austin, with relation to the doctrines of justification and grace. The sacraments and ceremonies are so contrived as to be consistent with the six articles established by Parliament. But with regard to discipline, Cranmer and his brethren were for being directed wholly by the civil magistrate, which has since been distinguished by the name of Erastianism. Accordingly, they took out commissions to hold their bishoprics during the king's pleasure, and to exercise their jurisdiction by his authority only.

But notwithstanding this reformation of doctrine, the old popish forms of worship were continued till this year [1544], when a faint attempt was made to reform them. A form of procession was published in English, by the king's authority, entitled *An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by His Majesty and his Clergy to be read to the People*; also a Litany, with Suffrages to be said or sung in the Time of the Processions. In the litany they invoke the blessed Virgin, the angels, archangels, and all holy orders of blessed spirits; all holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all the blessed company of heaven, to pray for them. The rest of the litany is in a manner the very same as now in use, only a few more collects were placed at the end, with some psalms, and a paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer. The preface is an exhortation to the duty of prayer, and says that it is convenient, and very acceptable to God, to use private prayer in our mother-tongue, that, by understanding what we ask,* we may more earnestly and fervently desire the same. The hand of Cranmer was, no doubt, in this performance, but it was little regarded, though a mandate was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to publish it.†

But Cranmer's power was now very much weakened; he strove against the stream, and could accomplish nothing farther, except a small mitigation of the rigorous prosecution of the six articles; for by the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII., cap. v., it is enacted "that persons shall not be convicted upon this statute but by the oaths of twelve men; that the prosecution shall be within a year; and that, if any one preaches against the six articles, he shall be informed against within forty days." This rendered the prosecution more difficult; and yet, after all, several were burned at this time for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, as Mrs. Anne Askew, Mr. Belenian, Adams, Lascels, and others. The books of Tyndal, Frith, Joy, Barnes, and other Protestants, were ordered to be burned; and the importation of all foreign books relating to religion was forbid, without special license from the king.

Upon the whole, *the Reformation went very much backward* the three or four last years of the king's life, as appears by the statute of 35

merit of good works, about the essential parts and consequences of faith, about free-will and grace, that this book, instead of promoting the Reformation, visibly put it back.—*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 205.

This work was reprinted by Bishop Lloyd, in 1825, under the title of *Formularies of Faith* put forth by authority in the reign of Henry VIII.—C.

* Burnet's *Hist. Ref.*, vol. i., p. 331, and the Records, b. iii., No. 28.

† Burnet's *Hist. Ref.*, vol. iii., p. 164.

Henry VIII., cap. i., which leads the people back into the darkest parts of popery. It says "that recourse must be had to the Catholic and apostolic Church for the decision of controversies; and therefore all books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of Tyndal's false translation, or comprising any matter of Christian religion, articles of faith, or Holy Scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth by the king [in the six articles], 1540, or to be set forth by the king, shall be abolished. No person shall sing or rhyme contrary to the said doctrine. No person shall retain any English books or writings against the holy and blessed sacrament of the altar, or other books abolished by the king's proclamation. There shall be no annotations or preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in English in any church. No woman, or artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men, husbandmen, or labourers, shall read the New Testament in English. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the king's instructions. If any spiritual person shall be convicted of preaching or maintaining anything contrary to the king's instructions already made, or hereafter to be made, he shall for the first offence recant, for the second bear a fagot, and for the third be burned.

Here is popery and spiritual slavery in its full extent. Indeed, the pope is discharged of his jurisdiction and authority, but a like authority is vested in the king. His majesty's instructions are as binding as the pope's canons, and upon as severe penalties. He is absolute lord of the consciences of his subjects. No bishop or spiritual person may preach any doctrine but what he approves, nor do any act of government in the Church but by his special commission. This seems to have been given his majesty by the act of supremacy, and is farther confirmed by one of the last statutes of his reign [37 Henry VIII., cap. xvii], which declares that "archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical persons, have no manner of jurisdiction ecclesiastical, but by, under, and from his royal majesty; and that his majesty is the only supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland; to whom, by Holy Scripture, all authority and power is wholly given to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, and to correct all manner of heresies, errors, vices, and sins whatsoever, and to all such persons as his majesty shall appoint thereunto."

This was carrying the regal power to the utmost length. Here is no reserve of privilege for convocations, councils, or colleges of bishops; the king may ask their advice, or call them in to his aid and assistance, but his majesty has not only a negative voice upon their proceedings, but may himself, by his letters patent, publish injunctions in matters of religion, for correcting all errors in doctrine and worship. His proclamations have the force of a law, and all his subjects are obliged to believe, obey, and profess according to them, under the highest penalties.*

* "When the religion of a people is made to depend on the pleasure of their rulers, it is necessarily subjected to a thousand infusions foreign from its nature. The kingly or magisterial office is essentially politi-

Thus matters stood when this great and absolute monarch died of an ulcer in his leg, being so corpulent that he was forced to be let up and down stairs with an engine. The humour in his leg made him so peevish, that scarce anybody durst speak to him of the affairs of his kingdom or of another life. He signed his will December 30, 1546, and died January 28th following, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth of his age. He ought to be ranked (says Bishop Burnet) among the ill princes, but not among the worst.*

cal. Its power may be wielded by an irreligious, immoral, or profane man; a despiser of Christianity, or a blasphemer of God. What, therefore, can be more monstrous than to attach to such an office a controlling power over the faith and worship of the Church; to constitute its occupant the supreme head of that body, which is represented as a congregation of faithful men? The Christian faith addresses men individually, soliciting an examination of its character, and demanding an intelligent and hearty obedience. But where the pleasure of a king is permitted to regulate the faith of a nation, authority is substituted for reason, and the promptings of fear supplant the perceptions of evidence, and the confiding attachment of an enlightened piety. This is the radical defect of the English Reformation. The people were prohibited from proceeding farther than the king authorized. They were to believe as he taught, and to worship as he enjoined. Suspending their own reason, extinguishing the *light divine* within them, they were to follow their monarch, licentious and bloodthirsty as he was, in all matters pertaining to the moral government and eternal welfare of their souls.—*Dr. Price's Hist. Nonconformity*, vol. i., p. 63, 64.—C.

* "The policy of the king continued to vacillate to the close of his life, which happened on the 28th of January, 1547. Of his character little need be said. In early life, his personal qualities were brilliant and imposing, and the contrast he furnished to his prudent and parsimonious father attached an unwonted degree of popularity to the commencement of his reign. But his temper grew capricious, and his disposition cruel, as he advanced in years. Casting aside the tenderness of his youth, he became ferocious and bloodthirsty; the indiscriminate persecutor of all parties, according as his humour or policy might suggest. His claim to our attention is founded on the religious revolution he effected. The part he acted in this great change invested him with a false glory, which has misled the judgment and perverted the sympathies of his countrymen. His intimate connexion with the first movements of ecclesiastical reform has obtained him credit for religious principles of which he was wholly destitute. The adulatory style in which he was addressed by the contending religionists of his day has been mistaken for the sober expressions of truth; and his name, in consequence, has passed current as a reformer of religion, a purifier of the temple of God. A veil has thus been cast over the enormities of his life, which has preserved him from the execration to which he is so justly obnoxious. The motives by which he was actuated, in his separation from the papacy, were anything but religious. The divorce which he caused Cranmer to pronounce in 1533, as it was designed to make way for his own gratification, so it precipitated him into a course of measures, from the spiritual bearings of which his heart was utterly estranged. He sought only the satisfaction of his own evil passions. The man who could profane with blood the sanctuary of domestic joys; who could win, with flattering speech, the confiding attachment of the female heart, and then consign the beautiful form, in whose best affections he was enshrined, to the block; who could raise talent from obscurity, avail himself of its services, and then, with brutal indifference, reward them with a public execution, retained so little

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF KING EDWARD VI.

THE sole right and authority of reforming the Church of England were now vested in the crown; and, by the Act of Succession, in the king's council, if he were under age. This was preferable to a foreign jurisdiction; but it can hardly be proved that either the king or his council have a right to judge for the whole nation, and impose upon the people what religion they think best, without their consent. The reformation of the Church of England was begun and carried on by the king, assisted by Archbishop Cranmer and a few select divines. The clergy in convocation did not move in it but as they were directed and overawed by their superiors; nor did they consent till they were modelled to the designs of the court.

Our learned historian, Bishop Burnet,* endeavours to justify this conduct, by putting the following question, "What must be done when the major part of a church is, according to the conscience of the supreme civil magistrate, in an error, and the lesser part is in the right?" In answer to this question, his lordship observes, that "there is no promise in Scripture that the majority of pastors shall be in the right; on the contrary, it is certain that truth, separate from interest, has few votaries. Now, as it is not reasonable that the smaller part should depart from their sentiments because opposed by the majority, whose interests led them to oppose the Reformation, therefore they might take sanctuary in the authority of the prince and the law." But is there any promise in Scripture that the king or prince shall be always in the right? or is it reasonable that the majority should depart from their sentiments in religion because the prince, with the minority, are of another mind? If we ask what authority Christian princes have to bind the consciences of their subjects, by penal laws, to worship God after their manner, his lordship answers, This was practised in the Jewish state. But it ought to be remembered that the Jewish state was a theocracy; that God himself was their king, and their chief magistrates only his vicegerents or deputies; that the laws of Moses were the laws of God; and the penalties annexed to them as much of Divine appointment as the laws themselves. It is therefore absurd to make the special commission of the Jewish magistrates a model for the rights of Christian princes. But his lordship adds, "It is the first law in Justinian's code, made by the Emperor Theodosius, that all should everywhere, under severe pain, follow that faith that was received by Damasius, bishop of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria. And why might not the king and laws of England give the like authority to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York?" I answer, Because Theodosius's law was an unreasonable usurpation upon the right of conscience. If the Apostle Paul, who was an inspired person, had not dominion over the faith of the churches, how came the Roman emperor, or other Christian

of the image of humanity, as to be infinitely removed from the spirit and temper of Christ.—*Doct. Price's Hist. Nonconformity*, vol. i., p. 60, 61.—C.

* *Hist. Ref.*, vol. ii., in preface.

princes, by such a jurisdiction, which has no foundation in the law of nature or in the New Testament!

His lordship goes on, "It is not to be imagined how any changes in religion can be made by sovereign princes, unless an authority be lodged with them of giving the sanction of a law to the sounder, though the lesser part, of a church; for as princes and lawgivers are not tied to an implicit obedience to clergymen, but are left to the freedom of their own discerning, so they must have a power to choose what side to be of, where things are much inquired into." And why have not the clergy and the common people the same power? why must they be tied to an implicit faith in their princes and lawgivers? Is there any promise in the Word of God that princes and lawgivers shall be infallible, and always judge right which is the sounder, though the lesser part of a church? "If," as his lordship adds, "the major part of synods cannot be supposed to be in matters of faith so assisted from Heaven that the lesser part must necessarily acquiesce in their decrees, or that the civil powers must always make laws according to their votes, especially when interest does visibly turn the scale," how can the prince or civil magistrate depend upon such assistance? Can we be sure that interest or prejudice will never turn the scale with him; or that he has a better acquaintance with the truths of the Gospel than his clergy or people? It is highly reasonable that the prince should choose for himself what side he will be of, when things are much inquired into; but then let the clergy and people have the same liberty, and neither the major nor minor part impose upon the other, as long as they entertain no principles inconsistent with the safety of the government. "When the Christian belief had not the support of law, every bishop taught his own flock the best he could, and gave his neighbours such an account of his faith, at or soon after his consecration, as satisfied them; and so," says his lordship, "they maintained the unity of the Church." And why might it not be so still? Is not this better, upon all accounts, than to force people to profess what they cannot believe, or to propagate religion with the sword, as was too much the case with our Reformers? If the penal laws had been taken away, and the points in controversy between Protestants and papists had been left to a free and open debate, while the civil magistrate had stood by and only kept the peace, the Reformation would certainly have taken place in due time, and proceeded in a much more unexceptionable manner than it did.

To return to the history. King Edward VI. came to the crown at the age of nine years and four months; a prince for learning and piety, for acquaintance with the world, and application to business, the very wonder of his age. His father, by his last will and testament, named sixteen persons executors of his will, and regents of the kingdom, till his son should be eighteen years of age: out of these, the Earl of Hertford, the king's uncle, was chosen protector of the king's realms, and governor of his person. Besides these, twelve were added as a privy council, to be assisting to them. Among the regents, some were for the old religion, and others for the new; but it soon appeared that

the Reformers had the ascendant, the young king having been educated in their principles by his tutor, Dr. Cox, and the new protector, his uncle, being on the same side. The majority of the bishops and inferior clergy were on the side of popery, but the government was in the hands of the Reformers, who began immediately to relax the rigours of the late reign.* The persecution upon the six articles was stopped; the prison doors were set open; and several who had been forced to quit the kingdom for their religion, returned home, as, Miles Coverdale, afterward Bishop of Exeter; John Hooper, afterward Bishop of Gloucester; John Rogers, the protomartyr; and many others, who were preferred to considerable benefices in the Church. The reforming divines, being delivered from their too awful subjection to the late king, began to open against the abuses of popery. Dr. Ridley and others preached vehemently against images in churches, and inflamed the people, so that in many places they outran the law, and pulled them down without authority. Some preached against the lawfulness of soul-masses and obits; though the late king, by his last will and testament, had left a large sum of money to have them continued at Windsor, where he was buried, and for a frequent distribution of alms for the repose of his soul, and its deliverance out of purgatory; but this charity was soon after converted to other uses. The popish clergy were alarmed at these things, and insisted strongly that till the king, their supreme head, was of age, religion should continue in the state in which King Henry left it. But the Reformers averred that the king's authority was the same while he was a minor as when he was of age; and that they had heard the late king declare his resolution to turn the mass into a communion if he had lived a little longer, upon which they thought it their duty to proceed.

After the solemnity of the king's coronation, the regents appointed a royal visitation, and commanded the clergy to preach nowhere but in their parish churches without license, till the visitation was over. The kingdom was divided into six circuits, two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a register, being appointed for each. The divines were by their preaching to instruct the people in the doctrines of the Reformation, and to bring them off from their old superstitions. The visitation began in the month of August; six of the gravest divines and most popular preachers attended it: their names were Dr. Ridley, Dr. Madew, Mr. Briggs, Cottisford, Joseph, and Farrar. A book of homilies,† or sermons, upon the chief points of the Christian faith,‡ drawn up chiefly by Archbishop Cranmer,

* The heads of the two parties were these: For the Reformation—King Edward, duke of Somerset, protector; Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Holgate, archbishop of York; Sir W. Paget, secretary of state; Lord-viscount Lisle, lord-admiral; Dr. Holbeach, bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely; Dr. Latimer, bishop of Worcester; Dr. Ridley, elect of Rochester. For the old religion—Princess Mary; Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, lord-chancellor; Dr. Tonstal, bishop of Durham; Dr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Bonner, bishop of London.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 27.

‡ The book consisted of twelve discourses, on the

was printed, and ordered to be left with every parish priest, to supply the defect of preaching, which few of the clergy at that time were capable of performing. Cranmer communicated it to Gardiner, and would fain have gained his approbation of it; but he was so inflamed at being left out of the king's will, that he constantly opposed all innovation till the king should be of age.

With these homilies the visitors were to deliver sundry injunctions from the king, to the number of thirty-six.*

The bishops were enjoined to see the articles put in execution, and to preach themselves four times a year, unless they had a reasonable ex-

following arguments: 1. Concerning the use of the Scriptures. 2. Of the misery of mankind by sin. 3. Of their salvation by Christ. 4. Of a true and lively faith. 5. Of good works. 6. Of Christian love and charity. 7. Against swearing and perjury. 8. Against apostasy. 9. Against the fear of death. 10. An exhortation to obedience. 11. Against whoredom and adultery. 12. Against strife and contention about matters of religion. These titles of the homilies are taken verbatim from Bishop Burnet.—*Neal's Review.*

* The chief were,

1. "That all ecclesiastical persons observe the laws relating to the king's supremacy.

2. "That they preach once a quarter against pilgrimages and praying to images, and exhort to works of faith and charity.

3. "That images abused with pilgrimages and offerings be taken down; that no wax candles or tapers be burned before them; but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament shall remain still, to signify that Christ is the light of the world."

The limitation in this article giving occasion to great heats among the people, some affirming their images had been so abused, and others not, the council sent orders to see them all taken down.

4. "That when there is no sermon, the Paternoster, the Creed, and Ten Commandments, shall be recited out of the pulpit to the parishioners.

5. "That within three months every church be provided with a Bible; and, within twelve months, with Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament.

9. "That they examine such who come to confession, whether they can recite the Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments in English, before they receive the sacrament of the altar, else they ought not to come to God's board.

21. "That in time of high mass the Epistle and Gospel shall be read in English; and that one chapter in the New Testament be read at matins, and one in the Old at even-song.

23. "No processions shall be used about churches or churchyards; but immediately before high mass the litany shall be said or sung in English; and all ringing of bells (save one) utterly forborne.

24. "That the holydays, at the first beginning godly instituted and ordained, be wholly given to God, in hearing the Word of God read and taught; in private and public prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God, and promising amendment; in reconciling themselves to their neighbours, receiving the communion, visiting the sick, &c. Only it shall be lawful in time of harvest to labour upon holy and festival days, in order to save that thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity to abstain from working on those days does grievously offend God.

28. "That they take away all shrines, coverings of shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindills, or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, so that no memory of them remain in walls or windows; exhorting the people to do the like in their several houses."

The rest of the articles related to the advancement of learning, to the encouragement of preaching, and correcting some very gross abuses.

cuse. They were to give orders to none but such as were able to preach, and to recall their licenses from others. The injunctions were to be observed under the pains of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation.

In bidding of their prayers, they were to remember the king, their supreme head, the queen-dowager, the king's two sisters, the lord-protector, and the council; the nobility, the clergy, and the commons, of this realm. The custom of bidding prayer, which is still in use in the Church, is a relic of popery. Bishop Burnet* has preserved the form, as it was in use before the Reformation, which was this: After the preacher had named and opened his text, he called on the people to go to their prayers, telling them what they were to pray for. "Ye shall pray," says he, "for the king, for the pope, for the Holy Catholic Church," &c. After which all the people said their beads in a general silence, and the minister kneeled down likewise and said his: they were to say a Paternoster, Ave Maria, Deus miseratur nostri, Domine salvum fac regem, Gloria Patri, &c., and then the sermon proceeded. How sadly this bidding of prayer has been abused of late by some divines, to the entire omission of the duty itself, is too well known to need a remark!

Most of the bishops complied with the injunctions, except Bonner of London, and Gardiner of Winchester. Bonner offered a reserve, but that not being accepted, he made an absolute submission; nevertheless, he was sent for some time to the Fleet for contempt. Gardiner having protested against the injunctions and homilies as contrary to the law of God, was sent also to the Fleet, where he continued till after the Parliament was over, and was then released by a general act of grace.

The Parliament that met November the 9th made several alterations in favour of the Reformation. They repealed all laws that made anything-treason but what was specified in the act of 25 Edward III., and two of the statutes against Lollardies. They repealed the statute of the six articles, with the acts that followed in explanation of it; all laws in the late reign declaring anything felony that was not so declared before; together with the act that made the king's proclamation of equal authority with an act of Parliament. Besides the repeal of these laws, sundry new ones were enacted,† as "that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered in both kinds," agreeably to Christ's first institution, and the practice of the Church for five hundred years; and that all private masses should be put down: an act concerning the admission of bishops into their sees; which sets forth that the manner of choosing bishops by a *congé d'elire*, being but the shadow of an election, all bishops, hereafter, shall be appointed by the king's letters patent only, and shall continue the exercise of their jurisdiction during their natural life, if they behave well.‡ One of the first patents with this clause is that of Dr. Barlow, bishop of Bath and Wells,§ bearing date February 3, in the second year of the king's reign;

* Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 30, and Collection of Records, b. i., No. 8.

† 1 Edw. VI., cap. i. ‡ 1 Edw. VI., cap. ii., § Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 218.

but all the rest of the bishops afterward took out letters for their bishoprics with the same clause. In this the archbishop had a principal hand, for it was his judgment that the exercise of all episcopal jurisdiction depended upon the prince; and that, as he gave it, he might restrain or take it away at his pleasure.* Cranmer thought the exercise of his own episcopal authority ended with the late king's life, and, therefore, would not act as archbishop till he had a new commission from King Edward.†

In the same statute it is declared "that, since all jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, was derived from the king, therefore, all processes in the spiritual court should from henceforward be carried on in the king's name, and be sealed with the king's seal, as in the other courts of common law, except the Archbishop of Canterbury's courts, only in all faculties and dispensations; but all collations, presentations, or letters of orders, were to pass under the bishops' proper seals as formerly." By this law, causes concerning wills and marriages were to be tried in the king's name; but this was repealed in the next reign.

Lastly: The Parliament gave the king all the lands for maintenance of chantries not possessed by his father; all legacies given for obits, anniversaries, lamps in churches; together with all guild lands, which any fraternity enjoyed on the same account:‡ the money was to be converted to the maintenance of grammar-schools, but the hungry courtiers shared it among themselves. After this the houses were prorogued from the 24th of December to the 20th of April following.

The convocation that sat with the Parliament did little; the majority being on the side of popery, the archbishop was afraid of venturing anything of importance with them; nor are any of their proceedings upon record; but Mr. Strype has collected, from the notes of a private member, that the lower house agreed to the communion in both kinds; and that, upon a division about the lawfulness of priests' marriages, fifty-three were for the affirmative, and twenty-two for the negative.§

The Reformation in Germany lying under great discouragements by the victorious arms of Charles V., who had this year taken the Duke of Saxony prisoner, and dispossessed him of his electorate, several of the foreign Reformers, who had taken sanctuary in those parts, were forced to seek it elsewhere. Among these, Peter Martyr, a Florentine, was invited by the archbishop, in the king's name, into England, and had the divinity-chair given him at Oxford; Bucer had the same at Cambridge; Ochinus and Fagius, two other learned foreigners, had either pensions or canonries, with a dispensation of residence, and did good service in the universities; but Fagius soon after died.

The common people were very much divided in their opinions about religion, some being zealous for preserving the popish rites, and others no less averse to them. The country people were very tenacious of their old shows, as

processions, wakes, carrying of candles on Candlemas Day, and palms on Palm Sundays, &c., while others looked upon them as heathenish rites, absolutely inconsistent with the simplicity of the Gospel. This was so effectually represented to the council by Cranmer, that a proclamation was published, February 6, 1548, forbidding the continuance of them. And for putting an end to all contests about images that had been abused to superstition, an order was published February 11th, that all images whatsoever should be taken out of churches; and the bishops were commanded to execute it in their several diocesses.* Thus the churches were emptied of all those pictures and statues which had for divers ages been the objects of the people's adoration.

The clergy were no less divided than the laity, the pulpits clashing one against the another, and tending to stir up sedition and rebellion: the king, therefore, after the example of his father, and by advice of his council, issued out a proclamation, September 3d, in the second year of his reign, to prohibit all preaching throughout all his dominions. The words are these: "The king's highness, minding shortly to have one uniform order throughout this realm, and to put an end to all controversies in religion, so far as God shall give grace, doth at this present, and till such time as the said order shall be set forth, inhibit all manner of persons whatsoever to preach in open audience, in the pulpit or otherwise; to the intent that the whole clergy, in the mean space, may apply themselves in prayer to Almighty God for the better achieving the same most godly intent and purpose."

At the same time a committee of divines was appointed to examine and reform the offices of the Church:‡ these were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the Bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, St. Asaph, Salisbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Carlisle, Bristol, St. David's, Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, Hereford, Westminster, and Rochester; with the Doctors Cox, May, Taylor, Heins, Robertson, and Redmayn. They began with the sacrament of the eucharist, in which they made but little alteration, leaving the office of the mass as it stood, only adding to it so much as changed it into a communion of both kinds. Auricular confession was left indifferent. The priest, having received the sacrament himself, was to turn to the people and read the exhortation: then followed a denunciation, requiring such as had not repented to withdraw, lest the devil should enter into them as he did into Judas. After a little pause, to see if any would withdraw, followed a confession of sins and absolution, the same as now in use; after which the sacrament was administered in both kinds, without elevation. This office was published, with a proclamation declaring his majesty's intentions to proceed to a farther reformation, and willing his subjects not to run before his direction, assuring them of his earnest zeal in this affair, and hoping they would quietly tarry for it.

In reforming the other offices, they examined

* Strype's Mem. of Cranmer, p. 141. App., p. 53.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 42.

‡ Edw. VI., cap. 42.

§ Strype's Life of Cran., p. 156.

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 61, 64.

† Id. ib.

and compared the Romish missals of Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor, and Lincoln; and out of them composed the morning and evening service, almost in the same form as it stands at present; only there was no confession nor absolution. It would have obviated many objections if the committee had thrown aside the mass-book, and composed a uniform service in the language of Scripture, without any regard to the Church of Rome; but this they were not aware of, or the times would not bear it. From the same materials, they compiled a litany, consisting of many short petitions, interrupted by suffrages; it is the same with that which is now used, except the petition to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; which, in the review of the liturgy in Queen Elizabeth's time, was struck out.

In the administration of baptism, a cross was to be made on the child's forehead and breast, and the devil was exorcised to go out, and enter no more into him. The child was to be dipped three times in the font, on the right and left side, and on the breast, if not weak. A white vestment was to be put upon it, in token of innocence; and it was to be anointed on the head, with a short prayer for the unction of the Holy Ghost.

In order to confirmation, those that came were to be catechised; then the bishop was to sign them with the cross, and lay his hands upon them, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

If sick persons desired to be anointed, the priest might do it upon the forehead and breast, only making the sign of the cross, with a short prayer for his recovery.

In the office of burial, the soul of the departed person is recommended to the mercy of God; and the minister is to pray that the sins which he committed in this world may be forgiven him, and that he may be admitted into heaven, and his body raised at the last day.

This was the first service-book or liturgy of King Edward VI. We have no certain account of the use of any liturgies in the first ages of the Church, those of St. Mark, St. James, and that of Alexandria, being manifestly spurious. It is not till the latter end of the fourth century that they are first mentioned; and then it was left to the care of every bishop to draw up a form of prayer for his own church. In St. Austin's time they began to consult about an agreement of prayers, that none should be used without common advice; but still there was no uniformity. Nay, in the darkest times of popery, there was a vast variety of forms in different sees; witness the offices *secundum usum* Sarum, Bangor, York, &c. But our Reformers split upon this rock, sacrificing the peace of the Church to a mistaken necessity of an exact uniformity of doctrine and worship, in which it was impossible for all men to agree. Had they drawn up divers forms, or left a discretionary latitude for tender consciences, as to some particular phrases, all men would have been easy, and the Church more firmly united than ever.

The like is to be observed as to rites and ceremonies of an indifferent nature. Nothing is more certain than that the Church of Rome indulged a variety. Every religious order (says

Bishop Burnet*) had their peculiar rites, with the saints' days that belonged to their order, and services for them; but our Reformers thought proper to insist upon an exact uniformity of habits and ceremonies for all the clergy; though they knew many of them were exceptionable, having been abused to idolatry, and were a yoke which some of the most resolved Protestants could not bear. Nay, so great a stress was laid upon the square cap and surplice, that, rather than dispense with the use of them to some tender minds, the bishops were content to part with their best friends, and hazard the Reformation into the hands of the papists. If there must be habits and ceremonies for decency and order, why did they not appoint new ones rather than retain the old, which had been idolized by the papists to such a degree as to be thought to have a magical virtue, or a sacramental efficacy? Or, if they meant this, why did they not speak out, and go on with the consecration of them!

The council had it some time under consideration whether those vestments in which the priests used to officiate should be continued. It was objected against them, by those who had been confessors for the Protestant religion, and others, that "the habits were a part of the train of the mass; that the people had such a superstitious opinion of them as to think they gave an efficacy to their prayers, and that Divine service said without this apparel was insignificant: whereas, at best, they were but inventions of popery, and ought to be destroyed with that idolatrous religion."† But it was said, on the other hand, by those divines that had stayed in England, and weathered the storm of King Henry's tyranny by a politic compliance, and concealment of their opinions, that "Church habits and ceremonies were indifferent, and might be appointed by the magistrates; that white was the colour of the priests' garments in the Mosaic dispensation; and that it was a natural expression of the purity and decency that became priests. That they ought to depart no farther from the Church of Rome than she had departed from the practice of the primitive Church."

Besides, "clergy were then so poor that they could scarce afford to buy themselves decent clothes." But did the priests buy their own garments? could not the parish provide a gown, or some other decent apparel, for the priest to minister in sacred things, as well as a square cap, a surplice, a cope, or a tippet? were these the habits of the primitive clergy before the rise of papacy? But upon these slender reasons the garments were continued, which soon after divided the Reformers among themselves, and gave rise to the two parties of Conformists and Nonconformists; Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley being at the head of the former, and Bishop Hooper, Rogers, with the foreign divines, being patrons of the latter.

The Parliament, after several prorogations, met the 24th of November, 1548; and, on the 15th of January following, the act confirming the new liturgy passed both houses, the Bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester protesting. The preamble sets forth,

* Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 72.

† Fuller's Church History, b. vii., p. 402.

“that the Archbishop of Canterbury, with other learned bishops and divines, having, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement, concluded upon an order of Divine worship agreeably to Scripture and the primitive Church, the Parliament having considered the book, gave the king their most humble thanks, and enacted, that from the feast of Whitsunday, 1549, all divine offices should be performed according to it; and that such of the clergy as refused to do it, or officiated in any other manner, should, upon the first conviction, suffer six months’ imprisonment, and forfeit a year’s profits of his benefice; for the second offence, forfeit all his Church preferments, and suffer a year’s imprisonment; and for the third offence, imprisonment for life. Such as writ or printed against the book were to be fined £10 for the first offence, £20 for the second, and to forfeit all their goods, and be imprisoned for life for the third.” It ought to be observed, that this service-book was not laid before the convocation, nor any representative body of the clergy; and whereas it is said to be done by one universal agreement, it is certain that four of the bishops employed in drawing it up protested against it, viz., the Bishops of Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westminster. But if the liturgy had been more perfect than it was, the penalties by which it was imposed were severe and unchristian, contrary to Scripture and primitive antiquity.*

As soon as the act took place, the council appointed visitors to see that the new liturgy was received all over England. Bonner, who resolved to comply in everything, sent to the dean and residentiary of St. Paul’s to use it; and all the clergy were so pliable, that the visitors returned no complaints; only that the Lady Mary continued to have mass said in her house, which, upon the intercession of the emperor, was indulged her for a time.† Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, continued still a prisoner in the Tower, without being brought to a trial, for refusing to submit to the council’s supremacy while the king was under age, and for some other complaints against him. His imprisonment was certainly illegal: it was unjustifiable to keep a man in prison two years upon a bare complaint; and then, without producing any evidence in support of the charge, to sift him by articles and interrogatories: this looked too much like an inquisition; but the king being in the pope’s room (says Bishop Burnet), there were some things gathered from the canon law, and from the proceedings *ex officio*, that rather excused than justified the hard measures he met with. When the council sent Secretary Petre to the bishop, to know whether he would subscribe to the use of the service-book, he consented, with some exceptions, which, not being admitted, he was threatened with deprivation.

But the new liturgy did not sit well upon the minds of the country people, who were for go-

ing on in their old way, of wakes, processions, church ales, hollydays, censoring of images, and other theatrical rites, which strike the minds of the vulgar: these, being encouraged by the old monks and friars, rose up in arms in several counties, but were soon dispersed. The most formidable insurrections were those of Devonshire and Norfolk. In Devonshire they were ten thousand strong, and sent the following articles or demands to the king:

1. “That the six articles should be restored.
2. “That mass should be said in Latin.
3. “That the host should be elevated and adored.
4. “That the sacrament should be given but in one kind.
5. “That images should be set up in churches.
6. “That the souls in purgatory should be prayed for.
7. “That the Bible should be called in, and prohibited.
8. “That the new service-book should be laid aside, and the old religion restored.”

An answer was sent from court to these demands; but nothing prevailed on the enraged multitude, whom the priests inflamed with all the artifice they could devise, carrying the host about the camp in a cart, that all might see and adore it. They besieged the city of Exeter, and reduced it to the last extremity; but the inhabitants defended it with uncommon bravery, till they were relieved by the Lord Russell, who with a very small force entered the town and dispersed the rebels. The insurrection in Norfolk was headed by one Ket, a tanner, who assumed to himself the power of judicature under an old oak, called from thence the Oak of Reformation. He did not pretend much of religion, but to place new counsellors about the king, in order to suppress the greatness of the gentry, and advance the privileges of the commons. The rebels were twenty thousand strong; but the Earl of Warwick, with six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, quickly dispersed them. Several of the leaders of both rebellions were executed, and Ket was hanged in chains.

The hardships the Reformers underwent in the late reign from the six articles, should have made them tender of the lives of those who differed from the present standard. Cranmer himself had been a papist, a Lutheran, and was now a Sacramentary, and in every change guilty of inexcusable severities; while he was a Lutheran, he consented to the burning of John Lambert and Anne Askew, for those very doctrines for which he himself afterward suffered. He bore hard upon the papists, stretching the law to keep their most active leaders in prison; and this year he imbrued his hands in the blood of a poor frantic woman, Joan Bocher, more fit for Bedlam than a stake; which was owing, not to any cruelty in the archbishop’s temper, but by those miserable persecuting principles by which he was governed.

Among others that fled out of Germany into England, from the Rustic war, there were some that went by the name of Anabaptists [disseminating their errors, and making proselytes], who, besides the principle of adult baptism, held several wild opinions about the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and the person of Christ.* Com-

* It is to be wished that Mr. Neal had not charac-

* Burnet’s Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 93, 95.

† The intercession of the Emperor Carolus was supported by the requisition of the council, and urged by the importance of preserving amity with him. But the king, amiable as his temper appears to have been, with tears opposed the advice of his council, and finally denied the emperor’s suit.—Fox, as quoted by Crosby, b. i., p. 44.—Ed.

† Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 152.

plaint being made of them to the council, April 12th, a commission was ordered to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Worcester [Westminster], Chichester, Lincoln, Rochester [Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Cox, Dr. May], and some others, any three being a quorum, to examine and search after all Anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the common prayer, whom they were to endeavour to reclaim, and after penance to give them absolution; but if they continued obstinate, they were to excommunicate, imprison, and deliver them to the secular arm. This was little better than a Protestant inquisition. People had generally thought that all the statutes for burning heretics had been repealed; but it was now said that heretics were to be burned by the common law of England, and that the statutes were only for directing the manner of conviction; so that the repealing them did not take away that which was grounded upon a writ at common law. Several tradesmen that were brought before the commissioners abjured; but Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, obstinately maintained that "Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could not partake of it; but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her." These were her words: a scholastic nicety not capable of doing much mischief, and far from deserving so severe a punishment. The poor woman could not reconcile the spotless purity of Christ's human nature with his receiving flesh from a sinful creature; and for this she is declared an obstinate heretic, and delivered over to the secular power to be burned. When the compassionate young king could not prevail with himself to sign the warrant for her execution, Cranmer with his superior learning was employed to persuade him; he argued from the practice of the Jewish Church in stoning blasphemers, which rather silenced his highness than satisfied him: for when at last he yielded to the archbishop's importunity, he told him, with tears in his eyes, that if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it to God.* This struck the archbishop with surprise, but yet he suffered the sentence to be executed.†

terized, in this style, the sentiments of these persons; but had contented himself, without insinuating his own judgment of their tenets, with giving his readers the words of Bishop Burnet; for calling their opinions *wild notions* will have a tendency with many to soften their resentment against the persecuting measures which Mr. Neal justly condemns, and be considered as furnishing an apology for them. Bishop Burnet says, "Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many who, building on some of his principles, carried things much farther than he did. The chief foundation he laid down was, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians." Upon this many argued that the mysteries of the Trinity, and Christ's incarnation and sufferings, of the fall of man, and the aids of grace, were indeed philosophical subtleties, and only pretended to be deduced from Scripture, as almost all opinions of religion were, and therefore they rejected them. Among these the baptism of infants was one. They held that to be no baptism, and so were rebaptized. But from this, which was most taken notice of, as being a visible thing, they carried all the general name of Anabaptists.—*Burnet's Hist. Ref.*, vol. ii., p. 110, &c.—Ed.

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 112.

† Mr. Neal, representing Joan Bocher as a poor,

Nor did his grace renounce his burning principles as long as he was in power; for about two years after, he went through the same bloody work again. One George Van Paris, a Dutchman, being convicted of saying that God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God, was dealt with to abjure, but refusing, he was condemned in the same manner with Joan of Kent, and on the 25th of April, 1552, was burned in Smithfield; he was a man of a strict and virtuous life, and very devout; he suffered with great constancy of mind, kissing the stake and fagots that were to burn him. No part of Archbishop Cranmer's life exposed him more than this: it was now said by the papists that they saw men of harmless lives might be put to death for heresy by the confession of the Reformers themselves. In all the books published in Queen Mary's days, justify-

frantic woman, more fit for Bedlam than the stake, and as obstinately maintaining her opinion, has not spoken so respectfully of her as her character and the truth of the case required. The charge of obstinacy wants propriety and candour; for though an opinion in the account of others may be a great and hurtful error, it cannot, without insincerity and the violation of conscience, be renounced by the person who has embraced it until his judgment is convinced of its falsehood. Arguments which produce conviction in one mind, do not carry the same degree of clearness and strength to other minds; and men are very incompetent judges of the nature and force of evidence necessary to leave on others the impressions they themselves feel. The extraordinary efforts used to bring Joan Bocher to retract her opinion, show her to have been a person of note, whose opinions carried more weight and respect than it can be supposed would the chimeras of a frantic woman. The account which Mr. Strype gives of her is truly honourable. "She was," he says, "a great disperser of Tyndal's New Testament, translated by him into English, and printed at Colen, and was a great reader of Scripture herself. Which book, also, she dispersed in the court, and so became known to certain women of quality, and was more particularly acquainted with Mrs. Anne Ascue. She used, for the more secrecy, to tie the books with strings under her apparel, and so pass with them into the court."* By this it appears that she hazarded her life in dangerous times, to bring others to the knowledge of God's Word; and by Mr. Neal's own account, her sentiments, were they ever so erroneous, were taken up out of respect to Christ, "for she could not reconcile the spotless purity of Christ's human nature with his receiving flesh from a sinful creature."—Ed.

When condemned to die, we are informed she said to her judges, "It is a godly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago since you burned Anne Ascue for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them." Where was Cranmer's conscience, that this statement did not arouse him? I scarcely know a more painful and humiliating fact than the part he took in this criminal affair. It did not arise from cruelty of disposition, for his heart was humane and benevolent, but from the perverted views he had early imbibed in an intolerant and unchristian school. How bitter must the recollection of it have been during his own imprisonment at Oxford!—*Strype's Mem.*, vol. ii., i., 335.—C.

* Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii., p. 214, as quoted in Lindsey's Apology, fourth edition, p. 43, and in his Historical View of the Unitarian Doctrine of Worship, p. 87.

ing her severities against Protestants, these instances were always produced; and when Cranmer himself was brought to the stake, they called it a just retaliation. But neither this, nor any other arguments, could convince the divines of this age of the absurdity and wickedness of putting men to death for conscience' sake.

Bonner, bishop of London, being accused of remissness in not settling the new service-book throughout his diocese, and being suspected of disaffection to the government, was enjoined to declare publicly, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, his belief of the king's authority while under age, and his approbation of the new service-book, with some other articles; which he not performing to the council's satisfaction, was cited before the court of delegates, and after several hearings, in which he behaved with great arrogance, sentence of deprivation was pronounced against him, September 23d, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, Secretary Smith, and the Dean of St. Paul's. It was thought hard to proceed to such extremities with a man for a mere omission, for Bonner pleaded that he forgot the article of the king's authority in his sermon; and it was yet harder to add imprisonment to deprivation; but he lived to take a severe revenge upon his judges in the next reign. The vacant see was filled up with Dr. Ridley, who, on the 24th of February, 1549-50, was declared Bishop of London and Westminster, the two bishoprics being united in him; but his consecration was deferred to the next year.

The Parliament that met the 14th of November revived the act of the late king, empowering his majesty to reform the canon law, by naming thirty-two persons, viz., sixteen of the spirituality, of whom four to be bishops; and sixteen of the temporality, of whom four to be common lawyers, who within three years should compile a body of ecclesiastical laws, which, not being contrary to the statute law, should be published by the king's warrant under the great seal, and have the force of laws in the ecclesiastical courts. This design was formed, and very far advanced in King Henry VIII.'s time, but the troubles that attended the last part of his reign prevented the finishing it. It was now resumed, and in pursuance of this act a commission was first given to eight persons, viz., two bishops, two divines, two doctors of law, and two common lawyers, who were to prepare materials for the review of the thirty-two; but the preface to the printed book says that Cranmer did almost the whole himself.* It was not finished till the month of February, 1552-53, when another commission was granted to thirty-two persons to revise it, of whom the former eight were a part, viz., eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight common lawyers; they divided themselves into four classes, and the amendments of each class were communicated to the whole. Thus the work was finished, being digested into fifty-one titles. It was translated into Latin by Dr. Hadden and Sir John Cheek; but before it received the royal confirmation the king died; nor was it ever revived in the succeeding reigns. Archbishop Parker first published it in the year 1571, under

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 271.

the title of *Reformatio Legum Anglicarum, &c.*, and it was reprinted 1640. By this book Cranmer seems to have softened his burning principles; for though, under the third title of judgments for heresy, he lays a very heavy load upon the back of an obstinate heretic, as that "he shall be declared infamous, incapable of public trust, or of being witness in any court, or of having power to make a will, or of having the benefit of the law," yet there is no mention of capital proceedings.

Another remarkable act, passed this session,* for ordaining ministers; it appoints "that such forms of ordaining ministers as should be set forth by the advice of six prelates and six divines, to be named by the king, and authorized under the great seal, should be used after April next, and no other." Here is no mention again of a convocation or synod of divines; nor do the Parliament reserve to themselves a right of judgment, but intrust everything absolutely with the crown. The committee soon finished their Ordinal, which is almost the same with that now in use. They take no notice in their book of the lower orders in the Church of Rome, as subdeacons, readers, acolytes, &c., but confine themselves to bishops, priests, and deacons; and here it is observable that the form of ordaining a priest and a bishop is the same we yet use, there being no express mention in the words of ordination whether it be for the one or the other office:† this has been altered of late years, since a distinction of the two orders has been so generally admitted; but that was not the received doctrine of these times.‡ The committee struck out most of the modern rites of the Church of Rome, and contented themselves, says Bishop Burnet, with those mentioned in Scripture, viz., imposition of hands, and prayer. The gloves, the sandals, the mitre, the ring, and crosier, which had been used in consecrating bishops, were laid aside. The anointing, the giving consecrated vestments, the delivering into the hands vessels for consecrating the eucharist, with a power to offer sacrifice for the dead and living, which had been the custom in the ordination of a priest, were also omitted. But when the bishop ordained, he was to lay one hand on the priest's head, and with his other hand to give him a Bible, with a chalice and bread in it. The chalice and bread are now omitted, as is the pastoral staff in the consecration of a bishop. By the rule of this Ordinal, a deacon was not to be ordained before twenty-one, a priest before twenty-four, nor a bishop before he was thirty years of age.

The council went on with pressing the new liturgy upon the people, who were still inclined in many places to the old service; but, to put it out of their power to continue it, it was ordered that all clergymen should deliver up, to such persons whom the king should appoint, all their old antiphonals, missals, grails, processions, legends, pies, portuasses, &c., and to see to the observing one uniform order in the Church;

* 3 and 4 of Edward VI., cap. xii.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 144. Collyer's Eccles. Hist., vol. ii., p. 290.

‡ For a full vindication of the above assertions, see Mr. Neal's Review, p. 860-864 of the first volume of the quarto edition of his history.—Ed.

which the Parliament confirmed, requiring, farther, all that had any images in their houses that had belonged to any church, to deface them; and to dash out of their primers all prayers to the saints.

1550. Ridley, being now bishop of London, resolved upon a visitation of his diocese. His injunctions were, as usual, to inquire into the doctrines and manners of the clergy;* but the council sent him a letter in his majesty's name, to see that all altars were taken down, and to require the church-wardens of every parish to provide a table decently covered, and to place it in such part of the choir or chancel as should be most meet, so that the ministers and communicants should be separated from the rest of the people. The same injunctions were given to the rest of the bishops, as appears by the collection of Bishop Sparrow. Ridley began with his own cathedral at St. Paul's, where he ordered the wall on the back side of the altar to be broken down, and a decent table to be placed in its room; and this was done in most churches throughout the province of Canterbury. The reasons for this alteration were these:

1. "Because our Saviour instituted the sacrament at a table, and not at an altar.

2. "Because Christ is not to be sacrificed over again, but his body and blood to be spiritually eaten and drunk at the holy supper; for which a table is more proper than an altar.

3. "Because the Holy Ghost, speaking of the Lord's Supper, calls it the Lord's table, 1 Cor., x., 21, but nowhere an altar.

4. "The canons of the Council of Nice, as well as the fathers St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, call it the Lord's table; and though they sometimes call it an altar, it is to be understood figuratively.

5. "An altar has relation to a sacrifice; so that if we retain the one we must admit the other; which would give great countenance to mass-priests.

6. "There are many passages in ancient writers that show that communion-tables were of wood; that they were made like tables;† and that those who fled into churches for sanctuary did hide themselves under them.

7. "The most learned foreign divines have declared against altars; as Bucer, Œcolampadius, Zuinglius, Bullinger, Calvin, P. Martyr, Joannes Alasco, Hedio, Capito, &c., and have removed them out of their several churches: only the Lutheran churches retain them."‡

Ridley, Cranmer, Latimer, and the rest of the English Reformers, were of opinion that the retaining altars would serve only to nourish in people's minds the superstitious opinion of a propitiatory mass, and would minister an occasion of offence and division among the godly; and the next age will show they were not mistaken in their conjectures. But some of the

bishops refused to comply with the council's order; as Day, bishop of Chichester, and Heath of Worcester, insisting on the apostle's words to the Hebrews, "We have an altar;" and, rather than comply, they suffered themselves to be deprived of their bishoprics for contumacy, October, 1551. Preachers were sent into the countries to rectify the people's prejudices, which had a very good effect; and if they had taken the same methods with respect to the habits, and other relics of popery, these would hardly have kept their ground, and the Reformers would have acted a more consistent and prudent part.

The sad consequences of retaining the popish garments in the service of the Church began to appear this year: a debate, one would think, of small consequence, but at this time apprehended of great importance to the Reformation. The people, having been bred up in a superstitious veneration for the priests' garments, were taught that they were sacred; that without them no administrations were valid; that there was a sort of virtue conveyed into them by consecration; and, in a word, that they were of the same importance to a Christian clergyman as the priests' garments of old were in their ministrations; it was time, therefore, to disabuse them. The debate began upon occasion of Dr. Hooper's nomination to the bishopric of Gloucester, in the room of Dr. Wakeham, who died in December, 1549.

Dr. Hooper was a zealous, pious, and learned man: he went out of England in the latter end of King Henry's reign, and lived at Zurich at a time when all Germany was in a flame on account of the Interim, which was a form of worship contrived to keep up the exterior face of popery, with the softening of some other senses put upon things. Upon this arose a great and important question among the Germans concerning the use of things indifferent.* It was said, "If things were indifferent in themselves, they were lawful; and that it was the subject's duty to obey when commanded." So the old popish rites were kept up, on purpose to draw the people more easily back to popery. Out of this another question arose, "whether it was lawful to obey in things indifferent, when it was certain they were enjoined with an ill design." To which it was replied, that the designs of legislators were not to be inquired into. This created a vast distraction in the country: some conformed to the Interim; but the major part were firm to their principles, and were turned out of their livings for disobedience. Those who complied were for the most part Lutherans, and carried the name of Adiaphorists, from the Greek word that signifies things indifferent. But the rest of the Reformed were for shaking off all the relics of popery, with the hazard of all that was dear to them in the world; particularly at Zurich, where Hooper was, they were zealous against any compliance with the Interim, or the use of the old rites prescribed by it.

With these principles Hooper came over to England, and applied himself to preaching and explaining the Scriptures to the people; he was in the pulpit almost every day in the week, and

* Among the other articles which he put to the inferior clergy, this was one: "Whether may Anabaptists or others, use private conventicles, with different opinions and forms from those established, and with other questions about baptism and marriages."—*Crosby*, vol. i., p. 31—Ed.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 150. Strype's Ann., vol. i., p. 160.

‡ Strype's Ann., vol. i., p. 162. Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 158. Strype's Ann., vol. i., p. 162.

his sermons were so popular, that all the churches were crowded where he preached.* His fame soon reached the court, where Dr. Poynt and he were appointed to preach all the Lent sermons. He was also sent to preach throughout the counties of Kent and Essex, in order to reconcile the people to the Reformation. At length, in the month of July, 1550, he was appointed Bishop of Gloucester by letters patent from the king, but declined it, for two reasons :

1. Because of the form of the oath, which he calls foul and impious. And,

2. By reason of the Aaraonical habits.

By the oath is meant the oath of supremacy,† which was in this form : " By God, by the saints, and by the Holy Ghost ;" which Hooper thought impious, because God only ought to be appealed to in an oath, forasmuch as he only knows the thoughts of men. The young king, being convinced of this, struck out the words with his own pen.‡

But the scruple about the habits was not so easily got over. The king and council were inclined to dispense with them ; but Ridley and the rest of the bishops that had worn the habits were of another mind, saying " the thing was indifferent, and, therefore, the law ought to be obeyed." This had such an influence upon the council, that all Hooper's objections were afterward heard with great prejudice. It discovered but an ill spirit in the Reformers not to suffer Hooper to decline his bishopric, nor yet to dispense with those habits which he thought unlawful. Hooper was as much for the clergy's wearing a decent and distinct habit from the laity as Ridley, but prayed to be excused from the old symbolizing popish garments,

1. Because they had no countenance in Scripture or primitive antiquity.

2. Because they were the inventions of antichrist, and were introduced into the Church in the corruptest ages of Christianity.

3. Because they had been abused to superstition and idolatry, particularly in the pompous celebration of the mass ; and, therefore, were not indifferent.

4. To continue the use of these garments was, in his opinion, to symbolize with antichrist, to mislead the people, and was inconsistent with the simplicity of the Christian religion.

Cranmer was inclined to yield to these reasons ; but Ridley and Goodrick insisted strongly on obedience to the laws, affirming that, " in matters of rites and ceremonies, custom was a good argument for the continuance of those that had been long used." But this argument seemed to go too far, because it might be used for the retaining all those other rites and ceremonies of popery which had been long used in the Church, but were now abolished by these Reformers themselves.

Hooper, not willing to rely upon his own judgment, wrote to Bucer at Cambridge, and to Pe-

ter Martyr at Oxford, who gave their opinions against the habits, as inventions of antichrist, and wished them removed, as will appear more fully in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,* but were of opinion, since the bishops were so resolute, that he might acquiesce in the use of them for a time, till they were taken away by law ; and the rather, because the Reformation was in its infancy, and it would give occasion of triumph to the common enemy to see the Reformers at variance among themselves. The divines of Switzerland and Geneva were of the same mind, being unwilling that a clergyman of so much learning and piety, and so zealous for the Reformation as Hooper was, should be silenced ; they therefore advised him to comply for the present, that he might be the more capable, by his authority and influence in the Church, to get them laid aside. But these reasons not satisfying Hooper's conscience, he continued to refuse for above nine months.

The governing prelates being provoked with his stiffness, resolved not to suffer such a precedent of disobedience to the ecclesiastical laws to go unpunished. Hooper must be a bishop, and must be consecrated in the manner others had been, and wear the habits the law appointed ; and to force him to comply, he was served with an order of council, first to silence him, and then to confine him to his house. The doctor thought this usage very severe : to miss his promotion was no disappointment ; but to be persecuted about clothes, by men of the same faith with himself, and to lose his liberty because he would not be a bishop, and in the fashion, this, says Mr. Collyer, was possibly more than he well understood. After some time, Hooper was committed to the custody of Cranmer, who, not being able to bring him to conformity, complained to the council, who thereupon ordered him into the Fleet, where he continued some months, to the reproach of the Reformers. At length he laid his case before the Earl of Warwick, who, by the king's own motion, wrote to the archbishop to dispense with the habit at his consecration ; but Cranmer alleged the danger of a *præmunire* ; upon which a letter was sent from the king and council to the archbishop and other bishops to be concerned in the consecration, warranting them to dispense with the garments, and discharging them of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures they might incur any manner of way by omitting the same ; but though this letter was dated August the 5th, yet such was the reluctance of Cranmer and Ridley, that Hooper was not consecrated till March following ; in which time, says Bishop Burnet,† the matter was in some sort compromised, Hooper consenting to be robed in his habits at his consecration, when he preached before the king, or in his cathedral, or in any public place, but to be dispensed with at other times.

Accordingly,‡ being appointed to preach be-

* Collyer's Eccles. Hist., vol. ii., p. 297.

† Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 166.

* He was chaplain to the Duke of Somerset. Fuller says he was well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.—C.

† Mr. Fuller, when he wrote his Church History, conceived that the oath Bishop Hooper refused was that of canonical obedience, but when he published his Worthies he was convinced of his mistake, and corrected it.—*Neal's Review*.—Ed.

‡ Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 203.

† Mr. Neal, in his Review, adds from Mr. Fox, that " Bishop Hooper was constrained to appear once in public attired after the manner of other bishops, which, unless he had done, some think there was a contrivance to take away his life ; for his servant told me," says Mr. Fox, " that the Duke of Suffolk sent such word to Hooper, who was not himself ignorant of what was doing."—Ed.

fore the king, he came forth, says Mr. Fox, like a new player on the stage: his upper garment was a long scarlet chymere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders, and a four-square cap on his head; but he took it patiently, for the public profit of the Church.* After this, Hooper retired to his diocess, and preached sometimes two or three times a day, to crowds of people that hungered for the word of life: he was impartial and zealous in the faithful discharge of every branch of his episcopal character, even beyond his strength, and was himself a pattern of what he taught to others.

In the king's letter to the archbishop, Hooper is said to be a divine of great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study, both in the Scriptures and profane learning, as also a person of good discretion, ready utterance, and of an honest life; but all these qualifications must be buried in silence and a prison, at a time when there was a famine of the Word, rather than the above-mentioned uniformity in dress be dispensed with.

Most of the reforming clergy were with Hooper in this controversy; several that had submitted to the habits in the late reign laid them aside in this, as the Bishops Latimer and Coverdale, Dr. Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, and others, who laid down their lives for the Protestant faith.† In some ordinations, Cranmer and Ridley dispensed with the habits; for Mr. Thomas Sampson, parson of Bread-street, London, afterward one of the heads of the Puritans, and successively Dean of Chichester and Christ Church, in a letter to Secretary Cecil, writes, "That at his ordination by Cranmer and Ridley, he excepted against the apparel, and was, nevertheless, permitted and admitted."‡ If they had not done so on some occasions, there would not have been clergymen to support the Reformation. Bishop Burnet says they saw their error, and designed to procure an act to abolish the popish garments; but whether this were so or not, it is certain that in the next reign they repented their conduct; for when Ridley was in prison he wrote a letter to Hooper, in which he calls him "his dear brother and fellow-elder in Christ," and desires a mutual forgiveness and reconciliation. And when he and Cranmer came to be degraded, they smiled at the ridiculous attire with which they were clothed, and declared they had long since laid aside all regards to that pagantry.§

This behaviour of the bishops towards the king's natural-born subjects was the more extraordinary, because a latitude was allowed to foreign Protestants to worship God after the manner of their country, without any regard to the popish vestments; for this year a church of German refugees was established at St. Austin's in London, and erected into a corporation under the direction of John a Lasco, superintendent of all the foreign churches in London, with whom were joined four other ministers;

and, as a mark of favour, three hundred and eighty of the congregation were made denizens of England. The preamble to the patent sets forth that the German Church made profession of pure and uncorrupted religion, and was instructed in truly Christian and apostolical opinions and rites.* In the patent which incorporates them there is the following clause: "*Item.* We command, and peremptorily enjoin our lord-mayor, aldermen, and magistrates of the city of London, and their successors, with all archbishops, bishops, justices of the peace, and all officers and ministers whatsoever, that they permit the said superintendent and ministers to enjoy and exercise their own proper rites and ceremonies, and their own proper and peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, though differing from the rites and ceremonies used in our kingdom, without impediment, let, or disturbance; any law, proclamation, or injunction heretofore published to the contrary notwithstanding."

John a Lasco was a Polander of noble birth; and, according to the words of the patent, a man very famous for learning, and for integrity of life and manners. He was in high esteem with the great Erasmus, who says that he, though an old man, had profited much by his conversation. And Peter Martyr calls him his most learned patron.† But he did not please the ruling prelates, because he took part with Hooper, and wrote against the popish garments, and for the posture of sitting rather than kneeling at the Lord's Supper.‡

1551. Upon the translation of Ridley to the see of London, Dr. Poynt was declared Bishop of Rochester, and Coverdale, coadjutor to Veysey, Bishop of Exeter. The see of Winchester had been two years as good as vacant by the long imprisonment of Gardiner, who had been confined all this time without being brought to a trial: the bishop complained of this to the council, who thereupon issued out a commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, with Secretary Petre, Judge Hales, two civilians, and two Masters in Chancery, to proceed against him for contempt. It was objected to him, that he refused to preach concerning the king's power while under age; that he had been negligent in obeying the king's injunctions, and was so obstinate that he would not ask the king mercy. It was the declared opinion of the popish clergy at this time, that the king's laws were to be obeyed, but not the orders of his council; and, therefore, that all things should remain as the late king left them, till the present king, now a child, came of age. This the rebels in Devon pleaded, as well as the Lady Mary and others. For the same opinion Gardiner was deprived of his bishopric, April 18th,§ upon which he appealed to the king when at age; and so his process ended, and he was sent back to the Tower, where he lay till Queen Mary discharged him. Nothing can be said in vindication of this severity but this, that both he and Bonner had taken out

* Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 173.

† Pierce's Vind., p. 31-33.

‡ Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 192.

§ Bishop Maddox maintained that the habits put on those Reformers were the popish habits, which was the ground of their dislike. Mr. Neal, in his Review, controverts the truth, and exposes the futility, of this distinction.—Ed.

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., in Records, vol. ii., No. 51.

† Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 239.

‡ About the end of December, 1550, after many cavils in the state, Bishop Burnet informs us that an act passed for the king's general pardon, wherein the Anabaptists were excepted.—Crosby, vol. i., p. 50.
§ Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 191.

commissions, with the rest of the bishops, to hold their bishoprics only during the king's pleasure, which gave the regents a right to displace them whensoever they pleased. Dr. Poynt was translated from Rochester to Winchester; Dr. Story was made Bishop of Rochester; and Veysey resigning, Coverdale was made Bishop of Exeter in his room; so that now the bench of bishops had a majority for the Reformation.

It was therefore resolved, in council, to reform the doctrine of the Church. Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley were appointed to this work, who framed forty-two articles upon the chief points of the Christian faith; copies of which were sent to the other bishops and learned divines, for their corrections and amendments; after which, the archbishop reviewed them a second time, and having given them his last hand, presented them to the council, where they received the royal sanction.* This was another high act of the supremacy; for the articles were not brought into Parliament, nor agreed upon in convocation,† as they ought to have been, and as the title seems to express: when this was afterward objected to Cranmer as a fraud in the next reign, he owned the charge, but said he was ignorant of the title, and complained of it to the council, who told him the book was so entitled because it was published in the time of the convocation; which was no better than a collusion. It is entitled, "Articles agreed upon by the bishops and other learned men in the convocation held at London, in the year 1552, for the avoiding diversity of opinions, and establishing consent touching true religion. Published by the king's authority." These articles are for substance the same with those now in use, being reduced to the number of thirty-nine in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, where the reader will meet with the corrections and alterations.‡ The

controverted clause of the twentieth article, that the Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith, is not in King Edward's articles, nor does it appear how it came into Queen Elizabeth's. It is evident, by the title of the articles, that they were designed as articles of truth, and not of peace, as some have since imagined, who subscribed them rather as a compromise, not to teach any doctrine contrary to them, than as a declaration that they believed according to them. This was a notion the imposers never thought of, nor does there appear any reason for this conceit. So that (says Bishop Burnet*) those who subscribed did either believe them to be true, or else they did grossly prevaricate.

With the book of articles was printed a short catechism,† with a preface prefixed in the king's name. It is supposed to be drawn up by Bishop Poynt, but revised by the rest of the bishops and other learned men. It is dated May 7th, about seven weeks before the king's death; [and in the first impression of the articles it was printed before them.]

1552. The next work the Reformers were employed in was a second correction of the Common Prayer Book. Some things they added, and others that had been retained through the necessity of the times were struck out. The most considerable amendments were these. The daily service opened with a short confession of sins, and of absolution to such as should repent. The communion began with a rehearsal of the Ten Commandments, the congregation being on their knees; and a pause was made between the rehearsal of every commandment, for the people's devotions. A rubric was also added, concerning the posture of kneeling, which declares that there was no adoration intended thereby to the bread and wine, which was gross idolatry: nor did they think the very flesh and blood of Christ there present. This clause was struck out by Queen Elizabeth, to give a latitude to papists and Lutherans, but was inserted again at the restoration of King Charles II., at the request of the Puritans. Besides these amendments, sundry old rites and ceremonies, which had been retained in the former book, were discontinued; as the use of oil in confirmation and extreme unction; prayer for the dead in the office of burial; and in the communion service, auricular confession, the use of the cross in the eucharist, and in confirmation. In short, the whole liturgy was, in a manner, reduced to the form in which it appears at present, excepting some small variations that have since been made for the clearing some ambiguities. By this book of Common Prayer, says Mr. Strype,§ all copes and vestments were forbidden throughout England; the prebendaries of St. Paul's left off their hoods, and the bishops their crosses, &c., as by act of Parliament is more at length set forth.

When the Parliament met January 23d, the new Common Prayer Book was brought into the house, with an ordinal or form of ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons, both which passed the houses without any considerable opposition.

* Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 210.

† Bishop Maddox objected to this representation, and said it was confuted by Archbishop Wake, who had examined the matter fully. Mr. Neal rests the vindication of his state of it on the authority of Bishop Burnet, supported by the remark of Mr. Collyer, who says, "Tis pretty plain they were passed by some members of convocation only, delegated by both houses, as appears by the very title, articles, &c., agreed upon in the synod of London, by the bishops and certain other learned men."—*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 325. *Neal's Review*.—Ed.

‡ An alteration in the twenty-eighth article is not noticed by Mr. Neal, in the place to which he refers. The last clause of the article was laid down in these words: "The custom of the Church for baptizing young children is both to be commended, and by all means to be retained in the Church." This clause was left out of Queen Elizabeth's articles. It seems by this, however, observes Crosby, "that the first Reformers did not found the practice of infant baptism upon Scripture, but took it only as a commendable custom, that had been used in the Christian Church, and, therefore, ought to be retained."—*Hist. Eng. Bapt.*, vol. i., p. 54, 55. But what shall we think of, rather, how should we lament the bigotry and illiberality of those times, when men were harassed and put to death for declining a religious practice, which they who enjoined it did not pretend to enforce on the authority of Scripture, but only as a custom of the churches: a plea which would have equally justified all those other religious ceremonies which they themselves, notwithstanding this sanction, rejected!—Ed.

* Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 169.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 211, 214.

§ Life of Cranmer, p. 290.

‡ *Neal's Review*.

The act requires "all persons, after the feast of Allhallows next, to come to common prayer every Sunday and holyday, under pain of the censures of the Church. All archbishops and bishops are required to endeavour the due execution of this act; and whereas divers doubts had been raised about the service-book, it is said the king and Parliament had now caused it to be perused, explained, and made more perfect." The new service-book was to take place in all churches after the feast of All Saints, under the same penalties that had been enacted to the former book three years before.*

By another act of this session, the marriages of the clergy, if performed according to the service-book, were declared good and valid, and their children inheritable according to law; and by another, the bishopric of Westminster was suppressed, and reunited to the see of London. Dr. Heath, bishop of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, were both deprived this year [1553], with Tonsal, bishop of Durham, whose bishopric was designed to be divided into two; but the act never took effect.

One of the last things the king set his hand to was a royal visitation, in order to examine what plate, jewels, and other furniture were in the churches. The visitors were to leave in every church one or two chalices of silver, with linen for the communion-table and for surplices, but to bring in the best of the church furniture into the king's treasury, and to sell the linen copes, altar-cloths, &c., and give the money to the poor. The pretence was, the calling in the superfluous plate that lay in churches more for pomp than use. Some have called this by no better name than sacrilege, or church theft, and it really was no better. But it ought to be remembered, the young king was now languishing under a consumption, and near his end.

It must, however, be confessed, that in the course of this as well as the last reign, there was a very great alienation of church-lands: the chantry-lands were sold among the laity, some of whom held five or six prebendaries or canonries, while the clergy themselves were in want. Bishop Latimer complains, in one of his sermons, "that the revenues of the Church were seized by the rich laity, and that the incumbent was only a proprietor in title; that many benefices were let out to farm by secular men, or given to their servants as a consideration for keeping their hounds, hawks, and horses; and that the poor clergy were reduced to such short allowance that they were forced to go to service, to turn clerks of the kitchen, surveyors, receivers," &c. And Camden complains "that avarice and sacrilege had strangely the ascendant at this time; that estates formerly settled for the support of religion and the poor were ridiculed as superstitious endowments, first miscalled and then plundered." The bishops were too easy in parting with the lands and manors belonging to their bishoprics, and the courtiers were too eager in grasping at everything they could lay their hands upon.† If the revenues of the Church had been abused to superstition, they might have been converted to other religious uses; or if too great a propor-

tion of the riches of the kingdom was in the hands of the Church, they should have made an ample provision for the maintenance of the clergy, and the endowment of smaller livings, before they had enriched their friends and families.

Nor were the lives of many who were zealous for the Reformation free from scandal: the courtiers and great men indulged themselves in a dissolute and licentious life, and the clergy were not without their blemishes. Some that embraced the Reformation were far from adorning their profession, but rather disposed the people to return to their old superstitions: nevertheless, there were many great and shining lights among them, who preached and prayed fervently against the corruptions of the times, and were an example to their flocks, by the strictness and severity of their lives and manners, but their numbers were small in comparison to the many that were otherwise, turning the doctrines of grace into lasciviousness.*

We have now seen the length of King Edward's reformation. It was an adventurous undertaking for a few bishops and privy-councillors to change the religion of a nation only by the advantage of the supremacy of a minor, without the consent of the people in Parliament or convocation, and under the eye of a presumptive heir, who was a declared enemy of all their proceedings, as was the case in the former part of this reign. We have taken notice of the mistaken principles of the Reformers in making use of the civil power to force men to conformity, and of their stretching the laws to reach at those whom they could not fairly come at any other way. But, notwithstanding these and some other blemishes, they were great and good men, and valiant in the cause of truth, as appears by their sealing it with their blood. They made as quick advances, perhaps, in restoring religion towards its primitive simplicity as the circumstances of the time would admit; and it is evident they designed to go farther, and not make this the last standard of the Reformation. Indeed, Queen Elizabeth thought her brother had gone too far, by stripping religion of too many ornaments, and, therefore, when she came to the crown, she was hardly persuaded to restore it to the condition in which he left it. King James I., King Charles I., Archbishop Laud, and all their admirers, instead of removing farther from the superstitious pomps of the Church of Rome, have been for returning back to them, and have appealed to the settlement of Queen Elizabeth as the purest standard.†

But the Reformers themselves were of another mind, as appears by the sermons of Latimer, Hooper, Bradford, and others; by the letters of Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and John a Lasco,‡ who, in his book *De Ordinatione Ecclesiarum Peregrinarum in Anglia*, dedicated to Sigismund, king of Poland, 1555, says "that King Edward desired that the rites and cere-

* Strype's Life of Crammer, p. 290.

† It is evident to the careful student of history, that the Reformation in England produced its happiest effects in the days of Edward; that the Church of England has never been so pure as soon after its transition from popery; and that its subsequent alterations have ever been in favour of Romanism.—C.

‡ Voet., *Eccl. Pol.*, lib. ii., cap. vi., part i., p. 421.

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 190.

† Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 218.

monies used under popery should be purged out by degrees; that it was his pleasure that strangers should have churches to perform all things according to apostolical observation only, that by this means the English churches might be excited to embrace apostolical purity with the unanimous consent of the states of the kingdom." He adds, "that the king was at the head of this project, and that Cranmer promoted it, but that some great persons stood in the way." As a farther evidence of this, a passage was left in the preface of one of their service-books to this purpose: * "that they had gone as far as they could in reforming the Church, considering the times they lived in, and hoped they that came after them would, as they might, do more." King Edward, in his Diary, † laments that he could not restore the primitive discipline according to his heart's desire, because several of the bishops, some for age, some for ignorance, some for their ill name, and some out of love to popery, were unwilling to it. And the Church herself, in one of her public offices, laments the want of a godly discipline to this day.

Martin Bucer, a German divine, and professor of divinity in Cambridge, a person in high esteem with the young king, drew up a plan and presented it to his majesty, in which he writes largely of ecclesiastical discipline. ‡ The king having read it, set himself to write a general discourse about reformation, but did not live to finish it. Bucer proposed § that there might be a strict discipline, to exclude scandalous livers from the sacrament; that the old popish habits might be laid aside. He did not like the half office of communion, or second service, to be said at the altar when there was no sacrament. He approved not of godfathers answering in the child's name so well as in their own. He presses much the sanctification of the Lord's Day, and that there might be many fastings, but was against the observation of Lent. He would have the pastoral function restored to what it ought to be; that bishops, throwing off all secular cares, should give themselves to their spiritual employments. He advises that coadjutors might be given to some, and a council of presbyters appointed for them all. He would have rural bishops set over twenty or thirty parishes, who should gather

their clergy often together, and inspect them closely; and that a provincial synod should meet twice a year, when a secular man, in the king's name, should be appointed to observe their proceedings.

Cranmer was of the same mind. He disliked the present way of governing the Church by convocations as they are now formed, in which deans, archdeacons, and cathedrals have an interest far superior in number to those elected to represent the clergy. These, says Bishop Burnet,* can in no sort pretend to be more than a part of our civil constitution. They have no foundation in Scripture, nor any warrant from the first ages of the Church; but did arise from the model set forth by Charles the Great, and formed according to the feudal law, by which a right of giving subsidies was vested in all who were possessed of such tenures as qualified them to contribute towards the support of the state. Nor was Cranmer satisfied with the liturgy, though it had been twice reformed, if we may give credit to the learned Bullinger, † who told the exiles at Frankfort "that the archbishop had drawn up a book of prayers a hundred times more perfect than that which was then in being; but the same could not take place, for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation, and other enemies." ‡

The king was of the same sentiments; but his untimely death, which happened in the sixteenth year of his age and seventh of his reign, put an end to all his noble designs for perfecting the Reformation. He was, indeed, an incomparable prince, of most promising expectations, and, in the judgment of the most impartial persons, the very phoenix of his age. It was more than whispered that he was poisoned. But it is very surprising that a Protestant divine, Heylin, in his History of the Reformation, § should say "that he was ill-principled; that his reign was unfortunate; and that his death was not an infelicity to the Church," only because he was apprehensive he would have reduced the hierarchy to a more primitive standard. With good King Edward died all farther advances of the Reformation; for the alterations that were made afterward by Queen Elizabeth hardly came up to his standard. ||

* Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 214.

† Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 266. Bennet's Mem., p. 52.

‡ The troubles at Frankfort, in the Phoenix, vol. ii., p. 82, and Pierce's Vindication, p. 12, 13. Mr. Pierce remarks that this is reported, as is plain to him who looks into the book itself, not on the testimony of Bullinger, as Strype represents it, but by one of Dr. Cox's party on his own knowledge.—Review.—Ed.

§ Pref., p. 4, part vii., p. 141.

|| "It is praise enough for young Edward," remarks Sir James Mackintosh, "that his gentleness, as well as his docility, disposed him not to shed blood. The fact, however, that the blood of no Roman Catholic was spilt on account of religion in Edward's reign, is indisputable. The Protestant Church of England did not strike the first blow. If this proceeded from the virtue of the counsellors of Edward, we must allow it to outweigh their faults; if it followed from their fortune, they ought to have been envied by their antagonists. Truth and justice require it to be positively pronounced, that Gardiner and Bonner cannot plead the example of Cranmer and Latimer for the bloody persecution which involved in its course the destruction of the Protestant prel-

* The following quotation, Mr. Neal, in answer to Bishop Maddox, observes, is transcribed from Mr. Pierce's Vindication, p. 11, where it is to be found verbatim, with his authority; and in Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation, p. 50, Mr. Strype intimates that a farther reformation was intended (Life of Cran., p. 299); and Bishop Burnet adds, that in many of the letters to foreign divines, it is asserted that both Cranmer and Ridley intended to procure an act for abolishing the habits.—Ed.

† King Edward's Remains, num. 2.

‡ Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 156.

§ Bucer died in 1551, and was consulted on the review of the Common Prayer, 1550. But Mr. Neal has introduced his sentiments in this place, because he was here giving a summary of the changes in King Edward's reign. And in reply to Bishop Maddox, who, after Bishop Burnet, says that the most material things to which Bucer excepted were corrected afterward, Mr. Neal observes, that they who will be at the pains to read over the abstract of his book, entitled "Of the Kingdom of Christ," in Collier's Eccles. Hist., vol. ii., p. 296, &c., must be of another mind.—Review.—Ed.

We may observe, from the history of this reign,

1st. That in matters of faith the first Reformers followed the doctrine of St. Austin in the controverted points of original sin, predestination, justification by faith alone, effectual grace, and good works.

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

3dly. *That they believed but two orders of churchmen in Holy Scripture, viz., bishops and deacons; and, consequently, that bishops and priests were but different ranks or degrees of the same order.*

4thly. That they gave the right hand of fellowship to foreign churches, and ministers that had not been ordained by bishops; there being no dispute about reordination in order to any church preferment, till the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign!

In all which points most of our modern churchmen have departed from them.*

[To Mr. Neal's remarks on the reign of Edward VI. it may be added, that the Reformation was all along conducted in a manner inconsistent with the principles on which it was founded. The principles on which the justification of it rested were, the right of private judgment, and the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of faith. Yet the Reformation was limited to the conceptions and ideas of those who were in power. No liberty was granted to the consciences of dissidents; no discussion of points on which they themselves had not doubts was permitted: such as held sentiments different from their model, and pursued their inquiries farther, without consideration of their numbers or their characters, so far from being allowed to propose their opinions, or to hold separate assemblies for religious worship, agreeably to their own views of things, were stigmatized as heretics, and pursued unto death. Besides the instances Mr. Neal mentions, the Anabaptists were excepted out of the king's general pardon, that came out in 1550; † they were also burned in divers towns in the kingdom, and met death with singular intrepidity and cheerfulness. ‡ Thus inquiry was stifled; and the Reformation was really not the result of a comprehensive view and calm investigation of all the doctrines and practices which had been long established, but the triumph of power in discarding a few articles and practices which more particularly struck the minds of those who were in government. These persons gained, and have exclusively possessed, the honourable title of Reformers, without any respect to, nay, with a contemptuous disregard of, those who saw farther, and, in point of numbers, carried weight. Bishop Lat-

ates. The anti-Trinitarian and the Anabaptist, if they had regained power, might, indeed, have urged such a mitigation; but the Roman Catholic had not even the odious excuse of retaliation."—*Hist. of England*, ii., 271, 319.—C.

* It is with pleasure that mention is made of the liberal and able essay of Archbishop Whately on the Nature of Christ's Kingdom; this work takes essentially different ground from that held by the larger part of the English and American Episcopalians.—C.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 143.

‡ Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. i., p. 62.

imer, in a sermon before the king, reported, on the authority of a credible person, that there were, in one town, five hundred Anabaptists.* The Reformers, in thus proscribing inquiry and reformation beyond their own standard, were not consistent with themselves; for they acknowledged that corruptions had been a thousand years introducing, which could not be all discovered and thrown out at once.† By this concession they justified the principle, while they punished the conduct of those who, acting upon it, endeavoured to discover and wished to reject more corruption.]—Ed.

CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

It will appear, in the course of this reign, that an absolute supremacy over the consciences of men, lodged with a single person, may as well be prejudicial as serviceable to true religion; for if King Henry VIII. and his son, King Edward VI., reformed some abuses by their supremacy, against the inclinations of the majority of the people, we shall find Queen Mary making use of the same power to turn things back into their old channel, till she had restored the grossest and most idolatrous part of popery. This was begun by proclamations and orders of council, till her majesty could procure a parliament that would repeal King Edward's laws for religion, which she quickly found means to accomplish. It is strange, indeed, that when there were but seven or eight peers that opposed the laws made in favour of the Reformation under King Edward, the same House of Lords should almost all turn papists in the reign of Queen Mary; but as to the Commons it is less wonderful, because they are changeable, and the court took care to new-model the magistrates in the cities and corporations before the elections came on, so that not one almost was left that was not a Roman Catholic. Bribery and menaces were made use of in all places; and where they could not carry elections by reason of the superiority of the reformed, the sheriffs made double returns.‡ It is sad when the religion of a nation is under such a direction! But so it will be when the management of religion falls into the hands of a bigoted prince and ministry.

Queen Mary was a sad example of the truth of this observation, whose reign was no better than one continued scene of calamity. It is the genuine picture of popery, and should be remembered by all true Protestants with abhorrence; the principles of that religion being such as no man can receive, till he has abjured his senses, renounced his understanding and reason, and put off all the tender compassions of human nature.

King Edward VI. being far gone in a consumption, from a concern for preserving the Reformation, was persuaded to set aside the succession of his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the Queen of Scots, the first and last being papists, and Elizabeth's blood being tainted by act of Parliament; and to settle the crown

* Crosby's Hist., vol. i., p. 63.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 190.

‡ Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 252.

by will upon Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, a lady of extraordinary qualities, zealous for the Reformation, and next in blood after the princesses above mentioned. One may guess the sad apprehensions the council were under for the Protestant religion, when they put the king, who was a minor, and not capable of making a will, upon this expedient, and set their hands to the validity of it. The king being dead, Queen Jane was proclaimed with the usual solemnities, and an army raised to support her title; but the Princess Mary, then at Norfolk, being informed of her brother's death, sent a letter to the council, in which she claims the crown, and charges them, upon their allegiance, to proclaim her in the city of London and elsewhere. The council, in return, insisted upon her laying aside her claim, and submitting as a good subject to her new sovereign. But Mary, by the encouragement of her friends in the North, resolved to maintain her right; and to make her way more easy, she promised the Suffolk men to make no alteration in religion. This gained her an army, with which she marched towards London; but before she came thither, both the council and citizens of London declared for her; and on the 3d of August she made her public entry, without the loss of a drop of blood, four weeks after the death of her brother.

Upon Queen Mary's entrance into the Tower she released Bonner, Gardiner, and others, whom she called her prisoners. August 12, her majesty declared in council "that, though her conscience was settled in matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compel others, but by the preaching of the Word." This was different from her promise to the Suffolk men: she assured them that "religion should be left upon the same foot she found it at the death of King Edward, but now she insinuates that the old religion is to be restored, but without compulsion." Next day there was a tumult at St. Paul's, occasioned by Dr. Bourne, one of the canons of that church, preaching against the late Reformation; he spoke in commendation of Bonner, and was going on with severe reflections upon the late King Edward, when the whole audience was in an uproar; some called to pull down the preacher, others throwing stones, and one a dagger, which stuck in the timber of the pulpit. Mr. Rogers and Bradford, two popular preachers for the Reformation, hazarded their lives to save the doctor, and conveyed him in safety to a neighbouring house; for which act of charity they were soon after imprisoned, and then burned for heresy.

To prevent the like tumults for the future, the queen published an inhibition, August 18th, forbidding all preaching without special license; declaring, farther, that she would not compel her subjects to be of her religion till public order should be taken in it by common assent. Here was another intimation of an approaching storm: "the subjects were not to be compelled till public order should be taken for it." And, to prevent farther tumults, a proclamation was published, for masters of families to oblige their apprentices and servants to frequent their own parish churches on Sundays and holydays, and keep them at home at other times.

The shutting up all the Protestant pulpits at once awakened the Suffolk men, who, presu-

ming upon their merits and the queen's promise, sent a deputation to court to represent their grievances; but the queen checked them for their insolence; and one of their number, happening to mention her promise, was put in the pillory three days together, and had his ears cut off for defamation. On the 22d of August, Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Tostal of Durham, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester, were restored to their bishoprics. Some of the Reformers, continuing to preach after the inhibition, were sent for into custody, among whom were Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, Coverdale of Exeter, Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Rogers the protomartyr, and several others. Hooper was committed to the Fleet, September 1, no regard being had to his active zeal in asserting the queen's right in his sermon against the title of Lady Jane; but so sincerely did this good man follow the light of his conscience, when he could not but see what sad consequences it was like to have. Coverdale of Exeter, being a foreigner, was ordered to keep his house till farther order. Burnet* says he was a Dane, and had afterward leave to retire. But, according to Fuller,† he was born in Yorkshire. Archbishop Cranmer was so silent at Lambeth, that it was thought he would have returned to the old religion; but he was preparing a protestation against it, which taking air, he was examined, and confessing the fact, he was sent to the Tower, with Bishop Latimer, about the 13th of September. The beginning of next month, Holgate, archbishop of York, was committed to the Tower, and Horn, dean of Durham, was summoned before the council, but he fled beyond sea.

The storm gathering so thick upon the Reformers, above eight hundred of them retired into foreign parts; among whom were five bishops, viz., Poynt of Winchester, who died in exile; Barlow of Bate and Wells, who was superintendent of the congregation at Embden; Scory of Chichester; Coverdale of Exon; and Bale of Ossory; five deans, viz., Dr. Cox, Haddon, Horn, Turner, and Sampson; four archdeacons, and above fifty doctors of divinity and eminent preachers, among whom were Grindal, Jewel, Sandys, Reynolds, Pilkington, Whitehead, Lever, Nowel, Knox, Rough, Wittingham, Fox, Parkhurst, and others, famous in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: besides, of noblemen, merchants, tradesmen, artificers, and plebeians, many hundreds. Some fled in disguise, or went over as the servants of foreign Protestants, who, having come hither for shelter in King Edward's time, were now required to leave the kingdom;‡ among these were Peter Martyr and John a Lasco, with his congregation of Germans. But to prevent too many of the English embarking with them, an order of council was sent to all the ports that none should be suffered to leave the kingdom without proper passports. The Roman Catholic party, out of their abundant zeal for their religion, outrun the laws, and celebrated mass in divers churches before it was restored by authority;§ while the people that favoured the Reformation continued their public

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 221, 239.

† Fuller's Worthies, b. iii., p. 198.

‡ Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 314.

§ Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 223.

devotion with great seriousness and fervency, as foreseeing what was coming upon them; but the rude multitude came into the churches, insulted their ministers, and ridiculed their worship. The court not only winked at these things, but fined Judge Hales (who alone refused to sign the act which transferred the crown to Jane Grey) a thousand pounds sterling, because in his circuit he ordered the justices of Kent to conform themselves to the laws of King Edward, not yet repealed; upon which that gentleman grew melancholy, and drowned himself.

The queen was crowned October 1, 1553, by Gardiner, attended by ten other bishops, all in their mitres, copes, and crosiers; and a Parliament was summoned to meet the 10th. What methods were used in the elections have been related. On the 31st of October a bill was sent down to the Commons for repealing King Edward's laws about religion, which was argued six days, and at length carried. It repeals in general all the late statutes relating to religion, and enacts, "that after the 20th of December next there should be no other form of Divine service but what had been used in the last year of King Henry VIII." Severe punishments were decreed against such as should interrupt the public service, as should abuse the holy sacrament, or break down altars, crucifixes, or crosses. It was made felony for any number of persons above twelve to assemble together with an intention to alter the religion established by law. November 3d, Archbishop Cranmer, the Lord Guilford, Lady Jane, and two other sons of the Duke of Northumberland, were brought to their trials for high treason, in levying war against the queen, and conspiring to set up another in her room. They all confessed their indictments, but Cranmer appealed to his judges how unwillingly he had set his hand to the exclusion of the queen: these judgments were confirmed by Parliament; after which, the queen's intended marriage with Philip of Spain being discovered, the Commons sent their speaker and twenty of their members humbly to entreat her majesty not to marry a stranger, with which she was so displeased, that upon the 6th of December she dissolved the Parliament.

The convocation that sat with the Parliament was equally devoted to the court. Care had been taken about their elections. In the collection of public acts, there are found about a hundred and fifty presentations to livings before the choice of representatives, so that the lower house of convocation was of a piece with the upper, from whence almost all of the Protestant bishops were excluded by imprisonment, deprivation, or otherwise. Bonner presided as the first bishop of the province of Canterbury. Harsfield, his chaplain, preached the sermon on Acts, xx., 28, Feed the flock; and Weston, dean of Westminster, was chosen prolocutor. On the 20th of October it was proposed to the members to subscribe to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which all complied with but the following six divines, who by their places had a right to sit in convocation: Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester; Philips, dean of Rochester; Haddon, dean of Exeter; Cheyney, archdeacon of Hereford; Aylmer, archdeacon of Stow; and Young, chanter of St. David's: these disputed upon the argument for three days, but the dis-

putation was managed according to the fashion of the times, with reproaches and menaces on the stronger side, and the prolocutor ended it with saying, "You have the word, but we have the sword."*

This year [1554] began with Wyatt's rebellion, occasioned by a general dislike to the queen's marriage with Philip of Spain: it was a raw, unadvised attempt, and occasioned great mischiefs to the Protestants, though religion had no share in the conspiracy, Wyatt himself being a papist: this gentleman got together four thousand men, with whom he marched directly to London; but coming into Southwark, February 2, he found the bridge so well fortified that he could not force it without cannon, so he marched about, and having crossed the Thames at Kingston, he came by Charing Cross to Ludgate next morning, in hopes the citizens would have opened their gates; but being disappointed, he yielded himself a prisoner at Temple Bar, and was afterward executed, as were the Lady Jane Grey, Lord Guilford her husband, and others, the Lady Elizabeth herself hardly escaping. Wyatt, upon his trial, accused her, in hopes of saving his life; upon which she was ordered into custody; but when Wyatt saw he must die, he acquitted her on the scaffold; and upon the queen's marriage this summer she obtained her pardon.

As soon as the nation was a little settled, her majesty, by virtue of the supremacy, gave instructions to her bishops to visit the clergy. The injunctions were drawn up by Gardiner, and contain an angry recital of all the innovations introduced into the Church in the reign of King Edward; and a charge to the bishops "to execute all the ecclesiastical laws that had been in force in King Henry VIII.'s reign, but not to proceed in their courts in the queen's name. She enjoins them not to enact the oath of supremacy any more, but to punish heretics and heresies, and to remove all married clergymen from their wives; but for those that would renounce their wives, they might put them into some other cures.† All the ceremonies, holy-

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 267.

Bishop Warburton, in his notes on Mr. Neal's History (see a supplemental volume of his works, 8vo, 1788, p. 455), with great anger, impeaches the truth of this passage. "This is to lie," says his lordship, "under the cover of truth. Can anybody in his senses believe that when the only contention between the two parties was who had the word, that the more powerful would yield it up to their adversaries? Without all doubt, some Protestant member, in the heat of dispute, said, 'We have the word;' upon which the prolocutor insultingly answers, 'But we have the sword,' without thinking any one would be so foolish as to join the two propositions into one, and then give it to the prolocutor." In reply to these unhandsome reflections, it is sufficient to say, that Mr. Neal spoke on the authority of Bishop Burnet, whom he truly quotes, and whom it would have been more consistent with candour and the love of truth for Bishop Warburton to have consulted the authority before he insinuated his conjectures against the statement of a fact, and, without authority, pointed his charge of folly and falsehood; of which Mr. Neal, by quoting his author, stands perfectly clear; and which, if well founded, must fall, not on him, but Bishop Burnet, whose remark on the prolocutor's speech is, that "by it he truly pointed out wherein the strength of both causes lay."—Ed.

† "The married clergy were observed to suffer

days, and fasts used in King Henry's time were to be revived. Those clergymen who had been ordained by the late service-book were to be reordained, or have the defects of their ordination supplied; that is, the anointing, the giving the priestly vestments, with other rites of the Roman pontifical. And, lastly, it was declared that all people should be compelled to come to church.* The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of St. David's, Chester, and Bristol, were deprived for being married; and the Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, were deprived by the royal pleasure, as holding their bishoprics by such a patent. It was very arbitrary to turn out the married bishops, while there was a law subsisting to legitimate their marriages; and to deprive the other bishops without any manner of process, merely for the royal pleasure. This was acting up to the height of the supremacy, which, though the queen believed to be an unlawful power, yet she claimed and used it for the service of the Romish Church. The vacant bishoprics were filled up the latter end of March, with men after the queen's heart, to the number of sixteen, in the room of so many deprived or dead.

The new bishops in their visitation, and particularly Bishop Bonner, executed the queen's injunctions with rigour. The mass was set up in all places, and the old popish rites and ceremonies revived. The carvers and makers of statues had a quick trade for roods and other images that were to be set up again in churches. The most eminent preachers in London were under confinement, and all the married clergy throughout the kingdom were deprived. Dr. Parker reckons that of sixteen thousand clergymen, twelve thousand were turned out; which is not probable, for if we compute by the diocese of Norwich, which is almost an eighth part of England, and in which there were but three hundred and thirty-five deprived, the whole number will fall short of three thousand.† Some were turned out without conviction, upon common fame: some were never cited, and yet turned out for not appearing. Those that quitted their wives, and did penance, were, nevertheless, deprived; which was grounded on the vow that (as was pretended) they had made. Such was the deplorable condition of the reformed this summer, and such the cruelty of their adversaries.

The queen's second Parliament met April 2d. The court had taken care of the elections by large promises of money from Spain. Their design was to persuade the Parliament to approve of the Spanish match;‡ which they acquiesced with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage against the foul and unchristian aspersions of the Romish persecutors; the honour of their wives and children were at stake; the desire of leaving them an unsullied name and a virtuous example, combined with the sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it.—*Southey's Book of the Church, London ed.*, vol. ii., p. 151.—C.

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii., p. 291, 274. Collection of Records, num. 15.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 226.

‡ "This," observes Dr. Warner, "is the first instance to be met with in the English history of corrupting parliaments; but the precedent has been so well followed ever since, that if ever this nation

complished, with this proviso, that the queen alone should have the government of the kingdom; after which the houses were presently dissolved. King Philip arrived in England* July 20th, and was married to the queen on the 27th, at Winchester, he being then in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and the queen in her thirty-eighth. He brought with him a vast mass of wealth: twenty-seven chests of bullion, every chest being above a yard long; and ninety-nine horse-loads and two cart-loads of coined silver and gold.

The Reformers complaining of their usage in the late dispute held in convocation, the court resolved to give them a fresh mortification, by appointing another at Oxford in presence of the whole university; and because Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ridley and Latimer, were the most celebrated divines of the Reformation, they were by warrant from the queen removed from the Tower to Oxford, to manage the dispute. The convocation sent their prolocutor and several of their members, who arriving on the 13th of April, being Friday, sent for the bishops on Saturday, and appointed them Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, every one his day, to defend their doctrine. The questions were upon transubstantiation and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. The particulars of the dispute are in Mr. Fox's Book of Martyrs. The bishops behaved with great modesty and presence of mind; but their adversaries insulted and triumphed in the most barbarous manner. Bishop Ridley writes, "that there were perpetual shoutings, tauntings, reproaches, noise, and confusion." Cranmer and old Latimer were hissed and laughed at; and Ridley was borne down with noise and clamour: "In all my life," says he, "I never saw anything carried more vainly and tumultuously; I could not have thought that there could have been found any Englishman honoured with degrees in learning, that could allow of such thronical ostentations, more fit for the stage than the schools." On the 28th of April they were summoned again to St. Mary's, and required by Weston the prolocutor to subscribe, as having been vanquished in disputation; but they all refusing, were declared obstinate heretics, and no longer members of the Catholic Church.

It was designed to expose the Reformers by another disputation at Cambridge; but the prisoners in London hearing of it, published a paper, declaring, "that they would not dispute but in writing, except it were before the queen and council, or before either house of Parliament, because of the misreports and unfair should lose its liberties and be enslaved and ruined, it will be by means of Parliament corrupted with bribes and places."—*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 341.—Ed.

* The view of Philip, in this match, was undoubtedly to make himself master of the kingdom. When afterward Mary was supposed to be pregnant, he applied to Parliament to be appointed regent during the minority of the child, and offered security to resign the government on its coming of age. The motion was warmly debated in the House of Peers, and nearly carried; when the Lord Paget stood up and said, "Pray, who shall sue the king's bond?" This laconic speech had its intended effect, and the debate was soon concluded in the negative.—*Granger's Biogr. History of England*, vol. i., p. 161, note, 8vo edition.—Ed. † Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 338.

usage they had everywhere met with." At the same time they printed a summary of their faith, for which they were ready to offer up their lives to the halter or the fire, as God should appoint.*

And here they declared "that they believed the Scriptures to be the true Word of God, and the judge of all controversies in matters of religion; and that the Church is to be obeyed as long as she followed this word.

"That they adhered to the Apostles' Creed, and those creeds set out by the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; and by the first and fourth Councils of Toledo; and the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Damasus.

"They believed justification by faith alone; which faith was not only an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost, which did illuminate the mind, and supple the heart to submit itself unfeignedly to God.

"They acknowledged the necessity of an inherent righteousness, but that justification and pardon of sins came only by Christ's righteousness imputed to them.

"They affirmed that the worship of God ought to be performed in a tongue understood by the people.

"That Christ only, and not the saints, was to be prayed to.

"That, immediately after death, departed souls pass either into the state of the blessed or of the damned, without any purgatory between.

"That baptism and the Lord's Supper are the sacraments of Christ, which ought to be administered according to his institutions; and, therefore, they condemned the denying the cup to the people, transubstantiation, the adoration or sacrifice of the mass; and asserted the lawfulness of marriage to all ranks and orders of men."

These truths they declared themselves ready to defend, as before; and, in conclusion, they charged all people to enter into no rebellion against the queen, but to obey her in all points, except where her commands are contrary to the law of God. This put an end to all farther triumphs of the popish party for the present, and was a noble testimony to the chief and distinguishing doctrines of the Protestant faith. But since the Reformers were not to be run down by noise and clamour, therefore their steadfastness must undergo the fiery trial.

The queen's third Parliament met November 11, 1554. In the writs of summons the title of Supreme Head of the Church was omitted, though it was still by law vested in the crown. The money brought from Spain had procured a House of Commons devoted to the court. The first bill passed in the house was the repeal of Cardinal Pole's attainder. It had the royal assent November 22d, and the cardinal himself arrived in England two days after in quality of the pope's legate, with a commission to receive the kingdom of England into the bosom of the Catholic Church, under the pope as their supreme pastor. On the 27th, he made a speech in Parliament, inviting them to a reconciliation with the apostolic see. Two days after, a committee of Lords and Commons was appointed to

draw up a supplication to the king and queen, to intercede with the legate for a reconciliation, with a promise to repeal all acts made against the pope's authority.* This being presented by both houses on their knees to the king and queen, they made intercession with the cardinal, who thereupon made a long speech in the house, at the close of which he enjoined them for penance to repeal the laws above mentioned, and so, in the pope's name, he granted them a full absolution, which they received on their knees, and then absolved the realm from all censures.

The Act of Repeal was not ready till the beginning of January, when it passed both houses and received the royal assent. It enumerates and reverses all acts since the 20th of Henry VIII. against the Holy See; but then it contains the following restrictions, which they pray, through the cardinal's intercession, may be established by the pope's authority:

1. "That all bishoprics, cathedrals, or colleges, now established, may be confirmed forever.
2. That marriages within such degrees as are not contrary to the law of God, may be confirmed, and their issue legitimated.
3. That institutions into benefices may be confirmed.
4. That all judicial processes may be confirmed.
5. That all the settlements of the lands of any bishoprics, monasteries, or other religious houses, may continue as they were, without any trouble from the ecclesiastical courts."

The cardinal admitted of these requests, but ended with a heavy denunciation of the judgments of God upon those who had the goods of the Church in their hands, and did not restore them. And to make the clergy more easy, the statutes of Mortmain were repealed for twenty years to come. But, after all, the pope refused to confirm the restrictions, alleging that the legate had exceeded his powers; so that the possessors of Church lands had but a precarious title to their estates under this reign; for, even before the reconciliation was fully concluded, the pope published a bull, by which he excommunicates all those persons who were in possession of the goods of the Church or monasteries, and did not restore them.† This alarmed the superstitious queen, who, apprehending herself near her time of child-birth, sent for her ministers of state, and surrendered up all the lands of the Church that remained in the crown, to be disposed of as the pope or his legate should think fit. But when a proposal of this kind was made to the Commons in Parliament, some of them boldly laid their hands upon their swords, and said "they well knew how to defend their own properties." But the queen went on with acts of devotion to the Church; she repaired several old monasteries, and erected new ones; she ordered a strict inquiry to be made after those who had pillaged the churches and monasteries, and had been employed in the visitations of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. She commanded Bishop Bonner to rase out of the public rec-

* Here popery developed its genuine character, and clearly demonstrated that it could not exist with freedom of thought and the diffusion of popular knowledge. The Church of Rome has never possessed power in any nation, without calling the people to make a retrograde march.—C.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 309.

ords all that had been done against the monks ; and particularly the accounts of the visitations of monasteries ; which has rendered the ecclesiastical history of this time defective.

The next act brought into the house was for reviving the statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV. and V. for burning heretics ; which passed both houses in six days, to the unspeakable joy of the popish clergy. The houses having been informed of some heretical preachers, who had prayed in their conventicles that God would turn the queen's heart from idolatry to the true faith, or else shorten her days, they passed an act "that all that prayed after this manner should be adjudged traitors." After which, on the 16th of January, 1555, the Parliament was dissolved.

The kingdom being now reconciled to the Church of Rome, and the penal laws against heretics revived, a council was held about the manner of dealing with the reformed. It is said that Cardinal Pole was for the gentler methods of instruction and persuasion, which is somewhat doubtful ;* but Gardiner was certainly for rigour, imagining that a few examples of severity upon the heads of the party would terrify the rest into a compliance. The queen was of his mind, and commanded Gardiner, by a commission to himself and some other bishops, to make the experiment. He began with Mr. Rogers,† Mr. Cardmaker, and Bishop Hooper, who had been kept in prison eighteen months without law. These, upon examination, were

* *Life of Strype's Memoirs of Cranmer*, p. 347 ; and *Life of Whitgift*, p. 6. Mr. Strype's words in the former place are as follows : "In these instructions (given to the clergy) there are several strictures that make it appear Pole was not so gentle towards the heretics as was reported, but rather the contrary, and that he went hand in hand with the bloody bishops of these days ; for it is plain that he put the bishops upon proceeding with them (the Protestants) according to the sanguinary laws lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind of inquisition by him set up, wherein the names of all such were to be written, that in every place and parish in England were reconciled ; and so, whosoever were not found in those books, might be known to be no friend to the pope, and so to be proceeded against. And, indeed, after Pole's crafty and zealous management of this reconciliation (with Rome), all that good opinion that men had before of him vanished, and they found themselves much mistaken in him, insomuch that people spoke against him as bad as of the pope himself, or the worst of his cardinals. Indeed, he had frequent conferences with the Protestants about justification by faith alone, &c., and would often wish the true doctrine might prevail ; but now the mask was taken off, and he showed himself what he was."

In the place answering to the latter reference, Strype says, "He wholly Italianized, and returned into England endued with a nature foreign and fierce, and was the very butcher and scourge of the English Church."—*Author's Review*, p. 896.

Dr. Warner, whose character of Cardinal Pole is a panegyric, yet says "that he was very inconsistent in one particular ; which was, that at the same time he was exclaiming against the persecution of the reformed, and would not himself take any part in that slaughter, he was giving commissions to others to proceed in it, and returned a certificate into the Court of Chancery of several who had been convicted of heresy before the commissaries of his appointing."—*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 402.

† A prebend of St. Paul's. He was a very learned man and useful preacher.—C.

asked whether they would abjure their heretical opinions about the sacrament, and submit to the Church as then established ; which they refusing, were declared obstinate heretics, and delivered over to the secular power. Mr. Rogers was burned in Smithfield, February 4, a pardon being offered him at the stake, which he refused, though he had a wife* and ten small children unprovided for. Bishop Hooper was burned at Gloucester, February 9. He was not suffered to speak to the people ; and was used so barbarously in the fire, that his legs and thighs were roasted, and one of his hands dropped off before he expired : his last words were, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."† While he was in prison he wrote several excellent letters, full of devotion and piety, to the foreign divines.‡ In one to Bullinger, dated December 11, 1554, about two months before his martyrdom, are these expressions : "With us the wound which antichrist had received is healed, and he is declared head of the Church, who is not a member of it. We are still in the utmost peril, as we have been for a year and a half. We are kept asunder in prison, and treated with all kinds of inhumanity and scorn. They threaten us every day with death, which we do not value. We resolutely despise fire and sword for the cause of Christ. We know in whom we have believed, and are sure we have committed our souls to him by well-doing. In the mean time, help us with your prayers, that he that has begun the good work in us would perform it to the end. We are the Lord's, let him do with us as seemeth good in his sight."

About the same time, Mr. Saunders, another minister, was burned at Coventry. When he came to the stake he said, "Welcome the cross of Christ ; welcome everlasting life." Dr. Taylor, parson of Hadley, suffered next : Gardiner used him very roughly, and, after condemning and degrading him, sent him to his own parsonage to be burned, which he underwent with great courage, February 9, though he had barbarous usage in the fire, his brains being beat out with one of the halberts.§

Gardiner, seeing himself disappointed, meddled no farther, but committed the prosecution of the bloody work to Bonner, bishop of London. This clergyman behaved more like a cannibal

* He requested to see his wife before his execution, but this favour was brutally denied by Gardiner.—*Fox*, vol. iii., p. 98.—C.

† When engaged in prayer at the stake, a box was laid before him, containing his parson if he would recant ; but he exclaimed, "If you love my soul, away with it."—C.

‡ *Hist. Ref.*, vol. iii., in *Records*, numb. 38.

§ Fox tells us the jailer had strict charge not to permit any one to speak to him. His wife was, consequently, refused admission ; but the keeper, himself probably a father, took the babe from her arms and carried it to Saunders. He was delighted with the sight of his child, exclaiming, "What man, fearing God, would not lose this life present, rather than, by prolonging it here, he should judge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whore-monger? Yea, if there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?" He likewise was offered a pardon at the stake, but steadfastly refused it, and died exclaiming, "Welcome the cross of Christ ; welcome everlasting life."—C.

than a Christian ; he condemned without mercy all that came before him, ordering them to be kept in the most cruel durance till they were delivered over to the civil magistrate. He tore off the beard of Tomkins, a weaver in Shore-ditch, and held his hand in the flame of a candle till the sinews and veins shrunk and burst, and the blood spirted out in Harpsfield's face, who was standing by. He put others in dungeons, and in the stocks, and fed them with bread and water ; and when they were brought before him, insulted over their misery in a most brutish manner.

In the month of March were burned Bishop Ferrar, at St. David's ; Mr. Lawrence, a priest, at Colchester ; Mr. Tomkins, a weaver, in Smithfield ; Mr. Hunter, an apprentice of nineteen years of age, at Brentwood ; Mr. Causton and Mr. Higden, gentlemen of good estates, in Essex ; Mr. William Pigot, at Braintree ; Mr. Stephen Knight, at Malden ; Mr. Rawlings White, a poor fisherman, at Cardiffe. In the next month, Mr. March, a priest, at Chester, and one Flower, a young man, in St. Margaret's churchyard, Westminster.

These burnings were disliked by the nation, which began to be astonished at the courage and constancy of the martyrs, and to be startled at the unrelenting severity of the bishops, who, being reproached with their cruelties, threw the odium upon the king and queen. At the same time, a petition was printed by the exiles beyond sea, and addressed to the queen, putting her in mind "that the Turks tolerated Christians, and Christians in the most places tolerated Jews ; that no papist had been put to death for religion in King Edward's time. And then they beseech the nobility and common people to intercede with her majesty to put a stop to this issue of blood, and at least grant her subjects the same liberty she allowed strangers, of transporting themselves into foreign parts." But it had no effect. King Philip, being informed of the artifices of the bishops, caused his confessor, Alphonsus, to preach against these severities, which he did in the face of the whole court : Bonner himself pretended to be sick of them, but after some little recess he went on. And though Philip pretended to be for milder measures, yet on the 24th of May he and the queen signed a letter to Bonner, to quicken him to his pastoral duty ;* whereupon he redoubled his fury, and in the month of June condemned nine Protestants at once to the stake in Essex, and the council wrote to the sheriffs to gather the gentry together to countenance the burning with their presence.

In the month of July, Mr. John Bradford, late prebendary of St. Paul's, and a most celebrated preacher in King Edward's days, suffered martyrdom. He was a most pious Christian, and is said to have done as much service to the Reformation by his letters from prison as by his preaching in the pulpit. Endeavours were used to turn him, but to no purpose. He was brought to the stake with one John Lease, an apprentice of nineteen years old ; he kissed the stake and the fagots, but being forbid to speak to the people, he only prayed with his fellow-sufferer, and quietly submitted to the fire. His last words

were, "Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto eternal life, and few there be that find it." From Smithfield the persecution spread all over the country ; in the months of June and July eight men and one woman were burned in several parts of Kent ; and in the months of August and September, twenty-five more in Suffolk, Essex, and Surrey.

But the greatest sacrifice to popish cruelty was yet to come, for on the 16th of October the Bishops Ridley and Latimer were burned at one stake, in Oxford. Latimer died presently, but Ridley was a long time in exquisite torments, his lower parts being burned before the fire reached his body. His last words to his fellow-sufferer were, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame or enable us to abide it." Latimer replied, "Be of good comfort, for we shall this day light such a candle in England as, I trust, by God's grace, shall never be put out." The very same day Gardiner, their great persecutor, was struck with the illness of which he died ; it was a suppression of urine, which held him in great agonies till the 12th of November, when he expired. He would not sit down to dinner till he had received the news from Oxford of the burning of the two bishops, which was not till four of the clock in the afternoon, and while he was at dinner he was seized with the distemper which put an end to his life.* When Bishop Day spoke to him of justification through the blood of Christ, he said, "If you open that gap to the people, then farewell all again." He confessed he had sinned with Peter, but had not repented with him.

On the 18th of December, Mr. Archdeacon Philpot† was burned, and behaved at the stake with the courage and resolution of the primitive martyrs.

On the 21st of March following, Archbishop

* This is said on the authority of Fox, after whom most historians repeat it. Dr. Warner, however, gives no credit to the story. He observes "that the bishops were burned on the 16th of October ; on the 21st the Parliament was opened by a speech from the lord-chancellor, and on the 23d he appeared again in the House of Lords ; and had he been seized with a retention of urine on the 16th, he would scarcely have been able to come abroad on those days ; neither would he probably have held out till the 12th of November following, which was the day he died. And Bishop Godwin, who takes no notice of this report, says he died of a dropsy."—*Warner's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 382.—Ed.

† It is not pleasing to dwell on the failings of good men, especially of those to whose zeal and integrity the cause of religion and truth is, in a great degree, indebted ; yet the impartiality of an historian, and the instruction and warning of future times, require some notice of them. Mr. Neal, in this view, would not have done amiss, had he informed his readers that this eminent Protestant divine and martyr incurred the blame of his friends, and discovered a very illiberal and intolerant spirit, by a highly insulting and passionate behaviour towards some of his fellow-prisoners, who denied the doctrine of the Trinity and of the deity of Christ. It gave, even in those times, so much offence, that he judged it proper to attempt a vindication of himself in a little tract, entitled, "An apology of John Philpot, written for spitting upon an Arian, with an invective against the Arians, the verie natural children of Antichrist ; with an admonition to all that be faithful in Christ to beware of them, and of other late sprung heresies, as of the most enemies of the Gospel."—Ed.

Cranmer suffered. He had been degraded by the Bishops Thirlby and Bonner on February 14th. Bonner insulted him in an indecent manner, but Thirlby melted into tears. After this, by much persuasion, and in hopes of life, he set his hand to a paper, in which he renounced the errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and acknowledged his belief of the corporeal presence, the pope's supremacy, purgatory, and invocation of saints, &c. This was quickly published to the world, with great triumph among the papists, and grief to the Reformers. But the unmerciful queen was still resolved to have his life, and accordingly sent down a writ for his execution: she could never forgive the share he had in her mother's divorce, and in driving the pope's authority out of England. Cranmer, suspecting the design, prepared a true confession of his faith, and carried it in his bosom to St. Mary's Church on the day of his martyrdom, where he was raised on an eminence, that he might be seen by the people and hear his own funeral sermon. Never was a more awful and melancholy spectacle; an archbishop, once the second man in the kingdom, now clothed in rags, and a gazing-stock to the world! Cole, the preacher, magnified his conversion as the immediate hand of God, and assured him of a great many masses to be said for his soul. After sermon he desired Cranmer to declare his own faith, which he did with tears, declaring his belief in the Holy Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed, and then came to that which he said troubled his conscience more than anything he had done in his life, and that was his subscribing the above-mentioned paper, out of fear of death and love of life; and, therefore, when he came to the fire, he was resolved that hand that signed it should burn first. The assembly was all in confusion at this disappointment; and the broken-hearted archbishop, shedding abundance of tears, was led immediately to the stake, and, being tied to it, he stretched out his right hand to the flame, never moving it, but once to wipe his face, till it dropped off. He often cried out, "That unworthy hand!"* which was consumed before the fire reached his body. His last words were, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age and twenty-third of his archbishopric, and was succeeded by Cardinal Pole.

* "The language of Cranmer," remarks one of the most philosophical and candid of historians, "speaks his sincerity, and demonstrates that the love of truth still prevailed in his inmost heart. It gushed forth at the sight of death, full of healing power, which engendered a purifying and ennobling penitence, and restored the mind to its own esteem after a departure from the onward path of sincerity. Courage survived a public avowal of dishonour, the hardest test to which that virtue can be exposed; and if he once fatally failed in fortitude, he in his last moments atoned for his failure by a magnanimity equal to his transgression. Let those who require unbending virtue in the most tempestuous times condemn the amiable and faulty primate; others, who are not so certain of their own steadiness, will consider his fate as, perhaps, the most memorable example in history of a soul which, though debased, is not depraved, by an act of weakness, and preserved a heroic courage after the forfeiture of honour, its natural spur, and, in general, its inseparable companion."—*Mackintosh's England*, vol. ii., p. 327, London edition.—C.

It is not within the compass of my design to write a martyrology of these times, nor to follow Bishop Bonner and his brethren through the rivers of Protestant blood which they spilt. The whole year 1556 was one continued persecution, in which popery triumphed in all its false and bloody colours. Bonner, not content to burn heretics singly, sent them by companies to the flames. Such as were suspected of heresy were examined upon the articles of the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, auricular confession, and the mass; and if they did not make satisfactory answers, they were, without any farther proofs, condemned to the fire. Women were not spared, nor infants in the womb. In the Isle of Guernsey, a woman with child being ordered to the fire, was delivered in the flames, and the infant being taken from her, was ordered by the magistrates to be thrown back into the fire. At length the butcherly work growing too much for the hands that were employed in it, the queen erected an extraordinary tribunal for trying of heresy, like the Spanish Inquisition, consisting of thirty-one commissioners, most of them laymen; and in the month of June, 1555, she issued out a proclamation that such as received heretical books should be immediately put to death by martial law. She forbid prayers to be made for the sufferers, or even to say God bless them: so far did her fiery zeal transport her.* Upon the whole, the number of them that suffered death for the Reformed religion in this reign were no less than two hundred and seventy-seven persons,† of whom were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, labourers, and servants, fifty-five women, and four children. Besides these, there were fifty-four more under prosecution, seven of whom were whipped, and sixteen perished in prison: the rest, who were making themselves ready for the fire, were delivered by the merciful interposure of Divine Providence in the queen's death.

In a book corrected, if not written, by Lord Burleigh in Queen Elizabeth's time, entitled the Executions for Treason, it is said four hundred persons suffered publicly in Queen Mary's reign, besides those who were secretly murdered in prison; of these, twenty were bishops and dignified clergymen; sixty were women, of whom some were big with child; and one was delivered of a child in the fire, which was burned; and above forty men-children.‡ I might add, these merciless papists carried their fury against the reformed beyond the grave; for they caused the bones of Fagius and Bucer to be dug out of their graves, and having ridiculously cited them by their commissioners to appear, and give an account of their faith, they caused them to be burned for nonappearance. Is it possible, after such

* Clarke's Martyr., p. 506.

† Bishop Maddox observes, that Bishop Burnet reckons the number of sufferers to be two hundred and eighty-four. But Mr. Strype has preserved (*Memorials*, vol. iii., p. 291, Appendix) an exact catalogue of the numbers, the places, and the times of execution. The general sums are as follows:

Anno	{	1555—71	Total, two hundred and eighty-eight, besides those that dyed of famyne in sondry prisons.
		1556—89	
		1557—88	
		1558—40	

‡ Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 264.

a relation of things, for any Protestant to be in love with high commissions, with oaths *ex officio*, and laws to deprive men of their lives, liberties, and estates, for matters of mere conscience? And yet these very Reformers, when the power returned into their hands, were too much inclined to these engines of cruelty.

The controversy about predestination* and free-will appeared first among the Reformers at this time. Some that were in the King's Bench prison for the profession of the Gospel, denied the doctrines of absolute predestination and original sin. They were men of strict and holy lives, but warm for their opinions, and unquiet in their behaviour. Mr. Bradford had frequent conferences with them, and gained over some to his own persuasion. The names of their teachers were, Harry Hart, Trew, and Abingdon; they ran their notions as high as the modern Arminians, or as Pelagius himself, despising learning, and utterly rejecting the authorities of the fathers. Bradford was apprehensive that they would do a great deal of mischief in the Church, and therefore, in concert with Bishop Ferrar, Taylor, and Philpot, he wrote to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, at Oxford, to take some cognizance of the matter, and consult together about remedying it. Upon this occasion Ridley wrote back a letter of God's election and predestination, and Bradford wrote another upon the same subject. But the free-willers treated him rudely: "They told him he was a great slander to the Word of God in respect of his doctrine, because he believed and affirmed the salvation of God's people to be so certain, that they should assuredly enjoy the same. They said it hanged partly upon our perseverance to the end; but Bradford said it hanged upon God's grace in Christ, and not upon our perseverance in any point, otherwise grace was no grace." When this holy martyr saw he could not convince them, he desired they might pray one for another. "I love you," says he, "my dear hearts, though you have taken it otherwise without cause: I am going before you to my God and your God; to my Father and your Father; to my Christ and your Christ; to my home and your home."

Mr. Careless, another eminent martyr, had much conference with these men in the King's Bench prison, of whose contentiousness he complained in a letter to Philpot. In answer to which Philpot writes, "that he was sorry to hear of the contentions that these schismatics raised, but that he should not cease to do his endeavours in defence of the truth against these arrogant, self-willed, and blinded scatterers; that these sects were necessary for the trial of our faith." He advised Mr. Careless to be modest and humble, that others, seeing his grave conversation among those contentious babblers, might glorify God in the truth. He then beseeches the brethren in the bowels of Christ to keep the bond of peace, and not to let any root of bitterness spring up among them.

But this contention could not be laid asleep for some time, notwithstanding their common sufferings for the cause of religion. They wrote one against another in prison, and dispersed their writings abroad in the world. Mr. Careless wrote a confession of his faith, one article

of which was for predestination, and against free-will. This confession he sent to the Protestant prisoners in Newgate, whereunto they generally subscribed, and particularly twelve that were under sentence of condemnation to be burned. Hart, having got a copy of Careless's confession, wrote his own in opposition to it on the back-side; and would have persuaded the prisoners in Newgate to subscribe it, but could not prevail. I do not find any of these free-willers at the stake (says my author), or if any of them suffered, they made no mention of their distinguishing opinions when they came to die. But these unhappy divisions among men that were under the cross gave great advantage to the papists, who took occasion from hence to scoff at the professors of the Gospel, as disagreeing among themselves. They blazed abroad their infirmities, and said they were suffering for they knew not what. Dr. Martin, a great papist, exposed their weaknesses: but when Martin came to visit the prisoners, Careless took the opportunity to protest openly against Hart's doctrines, saying "he had deceived many simple souls with his Pelagian opinions."

Besides these free-willers, it seems there were some few in prison for the Gospel that were Arians, and disbelieved the divinity of Jesus Christ. Two of them lay in the King's Bench, and raised such unseemly and quarrelsome disputes, that the marshal was forced to separate the prisoners from one another; and in the year 1556 the noise of their contentions reached the ears of the council, who sent Dr. Martin to the King's Bench to examine into the affair.*

I mention these disputes to show the frailty and corruption of human nature even under the cross, and to point the reader to the first beginnings of those debates which afterward occasioned unspeakable mischiefs to the Church; for though the Pelagian doctrine was espoused but by a very few of the English Reformers, and was buried in that prison where it began for almost fifty years, it revived in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth, under the name of Arminianism, and within the compass of a few years supplanted the received doctrine of the Reformation.

Many of the clergy that were zealous professors of the Gospel under King Edward VI., through fear of death recanted and subscribed; some out of weakness, who, as soon as they were out of danger, revoked their subscriptions, and openly confessed their fall; of this sort were Seory and Barlow, bishops, the famous Mr. Jewel, and others. Among the common people, some went to mass to preserve their lives, and yet frequented the assemblies of the Gospellers, holding it not unlawful to be present with their bodies at the service of the mass as long as their spirits did not consent.† Bradford and others wrote with great warmth against these temporizers, and advised their brethren not to trust or consort with them. They also published a treatise upon this argument, entitled the Mischief and Hurt of the Mass; and recommended the reading it to all that had defiled themselves with that idolatrous service.

But though many complied with the times, and some concealed themselves in friends' houses, shifting from one place to another, oth-

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 352.

† Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 362, 363.

* Cranmer's Mem., p. 351-353. Appendix, p. 83.

ers resolved, with the hazard of their lives, to join together and worship God according to the service-book of King Edward. There were several of these congregations up and down the country, which met together in the night, and in secret places, to cover themselves from the notice of their persecutors. Great numbers in Suffolk and Essex constantly frequented the private assemblies of the Gospellers, and came not at all to the public service; but the most considerable congregation was in and about London. It was formed soon after Queen Mary's accession, and consisted of above two hundred members. They had divers preachers, as Mr. Scambler, afterward Bishop of Peterborough; Mr. Fowler; Mr. Rough, a Scotsman, who was burned; Mr. Bernher, and Mr. Benthams, who survived the persecution, and, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was made Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry; Mr. Cuthbert Simpson was deacon of the church, and kept a book with names of all that belonged to it: they met sometimes about Aldgate, sometimes in Blackfriars, sometimes in Thames-street, and sometimes on board of ships, when they had a master, for their purpose: sometimes they assembled in the villages about London, to cover themselves from the bishops' officers and spies; and especially at Islington; but here, by the treachery of a false brother, the congregation was at length discovered and broke up: Mr. Rough their minister, and Mr. Simpson their deacon, were apprehended and burned, with many others. Indeed, the whole church was in the utmost danger; for whereas Simpson the deacon used to carry the book wherein the names of the congregation were contained to their private assemblies, he happened that day, through the good providence of God, to leave it with Mrs. Rough, the minister's wife. When he was in the Tower the recorder of London examined him strictly, and because he would neither discover the book nor the names, he was put upon the rack three times in one day.* He was then sent to Bonner, who said to the spectators, "You see what a personable man this is; and for his patience, if he was not a heretic, I should much commend him, for he has been thrice racked in one day, and in my house has endured some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience moved." But notwithstanding this, Bonner condemned him, and ordered him first into the stocks in his Coal-house, and from thence to Smithfield, where, with Mr. Fox and Davenish, two others of the church taken at Islington, he ended his life in the flames.

Many escaped the fury of the persecution by withdrawing from the storm and flying into foreign countries. Some went into France and Flanders, some to Geneva, and others into those parts of Germany and Switzerland where the Reformation had taken place; as Basil, Frankfort, Embden, Strasburgh, Doesburgh, Arrow, and Zurich, where the magistrates received them with great humanity, and allowed them places for public worship. But the uncharitableness of the Lutherans on this occasion was very remarkable: they hated the exiles because they were Sacramentarians, and when any English came among them for shelter, they expelled

them their cities; so that they found little hospitality in Saxony and other places of Germany, where Lutheranism was professed. Philip Melancthon interceded with the Senate on their behalf, but the clergy were so zealous for their consubstantiation, that they irritated the magistrates everywhere against them. The number of the refugees is computed at above eight hundred; the most considerable of whom have been mentioned, as the Bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Wells, Chichester, Exeter, and Ossory; and the Deans of Christ Church, Exeter, Durham, Wells, and Chichester; the Archdeacons of Canterbury, Stowe, and Lincoln; with a great many other very learned divines.* The laity of distinction were, the Duchess of Suffolk with her husband, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Richard Morrison, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir John Cheeke, and others.

The exiles were most numerous at Frankfort, where that contest and division began which gave rise to the Puritans, and to that separation from the Church of England which continues to this day. It will, therefore, be necessary to trace it from its original. On the 27th of June, 1554, Mr. Whittingham, Williams, Sutton, and Wood, with their families and friends, came to settle at the city of Frankfort; and, upon application to the magistrates, were admitted to a partnership in the French Church for a place of worship, the two congregations being to meet at different hours, as they should agree among themselves, but with this proviso, that before they entered they should subscribe the French confession of faith, and not quarrel about ceremonies, to which the English agreed; and after consultation among themselves, they concluded, by universal consent of all present, not to answer aloud after the minister, nor to use the litany and surplice, but that the public service should begin with a general confession of sins, then the people to sing a psalm in metre, in a plain tune; after which, the minister to pray for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, and so proceed to the sermon; after sermon, a general prayer for all estates, and particularly for England, at the end of which was joined the Lord's Prayer, and a rehearsal of the articles of belief; then the people were to sing another psalm, and the minister to dismiss them with a blessing. They took possession of their church July 29th, 1554, and having chosen a minister and deacons to serve for the present, they sent to their brethren that were dispersed to invite them to come to Frankfort, where they might hear God's Word truly preached, the sacraments rightly ministered, and Scripture discipline used, which in their own country could not be obtained.

The more learned clergymen, and some younger divines, settled at Strasburgh, Zurich, and Basil, for the benefit of the libraries of those places, and of the learned conversation of the professors, as well as in hopes of some little employment in the way of printing.† The congregation at Frankfort sent letters to these places on the 2d of August, 1554, beseeching the English divines to send some of their number, whom they might choose, to take the oversight of them. In their letter they commend their new

* Clarke's Martyr, p. 497.

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 354, &c.

† Hist. of the Troubles of Frankfort, printed 1575.

settlement, as nearer the policy and order of Scripture than the service-book of King Edward. The Strasburgh divines demurring upon the affair, the congregation at Frankfort sent for Mr. Knox from Geneva, Mr. Haddon from Strasburgh, and Mr. Lever from Zurich, whom they elected for their ministers. At length the students at Zurich sent them word that, unless they might be assured that they would use the same order of service concerning religion as was set forth by King Edward, they would not come to them, for they were fully determined to admit and use no other. To this the Frankfort congregation replied, that they would use the service-book as far as God's Word commanded it, but as for the unprofitable ceremonies, though some of them were tolerable, yet, being in a strange country, they could not be suffered to use them; and, indeed, they thought it better that they should never be practised. "If any," say they, "think that the not using the book in all points should weaken our godly fathers' and brethren's hands, or be a disgrace to the worthy laws of King Edward, let them consider that they themselves have, upon consideration and circumstances, altered many things in it heretofore; and if God had not in these wicked days otherwise determined, would hereafter have altered more; and in our case we doubt not but they would have done as we do." So they made use of the book, but omitted the litany and responses.

But this not giving satisfaction, Mr. Chambers and Mr. Grindal came with a letter from the learned men of Strasburgh, subscribed with sixteen hands, in which they exhort them, in the most pressing language, to a full conformity. They say they make no question but the magistrates of Frankfort will consent to the use of the English service, and, therefore, they cannot doubt of the congregation's good-will and ready endeavours to reduce their church to the exact pattern of King Edward's book, as far as possible can be obtained: "should they deviate from it at this time, they apprehend they should seem to condemn those who were now sealing it with their blood, and give occasion to their adversaries to charge them with inconstancy." The Frankfort congregation, in their letter of December 3d, reply, that "they had omitted as few ceremonies as possible, so that there was no danger of their being charged with inconstancy. They apprehended that the martyrs in England were not dying in defence of ceremonies, which they allow may be altered; and as for doctrine, there is no difference; therefore, if the learned divines of Strasburgh should come to Frankfort with no other views but to reduce the congregation to King Edward's form, and to establish the popish ceremonies, they give them to understand that they had better stay away." This was signed by John Knox, now come from Geneva, John Bale, John Fox the martyrologist, and fourteen more.

Things being in this uncertain posture at Frankfort, King Edward's book being used in part, but not wholly, and there being no prospect of an accommodation with their brethren at Strasburgh, they resolved to ask the advice of the famous Mr. Calvin, pastor of the church at Geneva, who, having perused the English liturgy, took notice "that there were many toler-

able weaknesses in it, which, because at first they could not be amended, were to be suffered, but that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ to enterprise farther, and to set up something more filed from rust, and purer. If religion (says he) had flourished till this day in England, many of these things should have been corrected. But, since the Reformation is overthrown, and a church is to be set up in another place, where you are at liberty to establish what order is most for edification, I cannot tell what they mean who are so fond of the leavings of popish dregs." Upon this letter the Frankfort congregation agreed not to submit to the Strasburgh divines, but to make use of so much of the service-book as they had done, till the end of April, 1555; and if any new contention arose among them in the mean time, the matter was to be referred to Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Vvret.

But upon the 13th of March, Dr. Cox, who had been tutor to King Edward VI., a man of a high spirit, but of great credit with his countrymen, coming to Frankfort with some of his friends, broke through the agreement, and interrupted the public service by answering aloud after the minister; and the Sunday following, one of his company, without the consent of the congregation, ascended the pulpit, and read the whole litany. Upon this, Mr. Knox, their minister, taxed the authors of this disorder in his sermon with a breach of their agreement; and farther affirmed, that some things in the service-book were superstitious and impure. The zealous Dr. Cox reproved him for his censoriousness; and being admitted with his company to vote in the congregation, got the majority to forbid Mr. Knox to preach any more. But Knox's friends applied to the magistrate, who commanded them to unite with the French Church, both in discipline and ceremonies, according to their first agreement. Dr. Cox and his friends, finding Knox's interest among the magistrates too strong, had recourse to an unchristian method to get rid of him. This divine, some years before he was in England, had published an English book, called An Admonition to Christians, in which he had said that the emperor was no less an enemy to Christ than Nero. For which, and some other expressions in the book, these gentlemen accused him of high treason against the emperor. The Senate being tender of the emperor's honour, and not willing to embroil themselves in a controversy of this nature, desired Mr. Knox, in a respectful manner, to depart the city, which he did accordingly, March 25, 1555.

After this, Cox's party, being strengthened by the addition of several English divines from other places, sixteen of them, viz., three doctors of divinity and thirteen bachelors, petitioned the magistrates for the free use of King Edward's service-book, which they were pleased to grant. Thus the old congregation was broke up by Dr. Cox and his friends, who now carried all before them. They chose new church-officers, taking no notice of the old ones, and set up the service-book of King Edward without interruption. Knox's friends would have left the matter to the arbitration of divines, which the others refused, but wrote to Mr. Calvin to countenance their proceedings, which that great

divine could not do; but after a modest excuse for intermeddling in their affairs, told them that, "in his opinion, they were too much addicted to the English ceremonies; nor could he see to what purpose it was to burden the Church with such hurtful and offensive things, when there was liberty to have a simple and more pure order. He blamed their conduct to Mr. Knox, which he said was neither godly nor brotherly; and concludes with beseeching them to prevent divisions among themselves." This pacific letter having no effect, the old congregation left their countrymen in possession of their church, and departed the city. Mr. Fox, the martyrologist, with a few more, went to Basil; and the rest to Geneva, where they were received with great humanity, and having a church appointed them, they chose Mr. Knox and Goodman their pastors. Here they set up the Geneva discipline, which they published in English, under the title of *The Service, Discipline, and Form of Common Prayers and Administration of Sacraments used in the English Church of Geneva*, with a dedication to their brethren in England and elsewhere. Dated from Geneva, February 10th, 1556. The liturgy is too long to be inserted in this place, but is agreeable to that of the French churches. In their dedication, they say "that their discipline is limited within the compass of God's Word, which is sufficient to govern all our actions. That the dilatory proceedings of the bishops in reforming church discipline and removing offensive ceremonies is one cause of the heavy judgments of God upon the land. That the late service-book of King Edward being now set aside by Parliament according to law, it was in no sense the established worship of the Church of England, and, consequently, they were under no obligation to use it, any farther than it was consonant to the Word of God. Being, therefore, at liberty, and in a strange land, they had set up such an order as, in the judgment of Mr. Calvin and other learned divines, was most agreeable to Scripture, and the best Reformed Churches." Their reasons for laying aside the late rites and ceremonies were these: "because, being invented by men, though upon a good occasion, yet they had since been abused to superstition, and made a necessary part of Divine worship. Thus Hezekiah was commended for breaking in pieces the brazen serpent, after it had been erected eight hundred years, and the high places that had been abused to idolatry were commanded to be destroyed. In the New Testament, the washing the disciples' feet, which was practised in the primitive Church, was for wise reasons laid aside, as well as their love-feasts. Besides, these rites and ceremonies have occasioned great contentions in the Church in every age. The Galatian Christians objected to St. Paul, that he did not observe the Jewish ceremonies as the other apostles did; and yet he observed them while there was any hope of gaining over weak brethren; for this reason he circumcised Timothy; but when he perceived that men would retain them as necessary things in the Church, he called that, which before he made indifferent, wicked and impious, saying, that 'whosoever was circumcised, Christ could nothing profit him.' The like contentions have been between the Greek and Latin Church in

later ages. For which, and other reasons, they have thought fit to lay aside these human inventions, which have done so much mischief, and have contented themselves with that wisdom that is contained in God's book; which directs them to preach the Word of God purely, to minister the sacraments sincerely, and use prayers and other orders thereby approved, to the edification of the Church, and increase of God's glory."

The reader has now seen the first breach or schism between the English exiles, on account of the service-book of King Edward, which made way for the distinction, by which the two parties were afterward known, of Puritans and Conformists. It is evident that Dr. Cox and his friends were the aggressors, by breaking in upon the agreement of the congregation of Frankfort, which was in peace, and had consented to go on in their way of worship for a limited time, which time was not then expired. He artfully ejected Mr. Knox from his ministry among them, and brought in the service-book with a high hand; by which those who had been in possession of the church about nine months* were obliged to depart the city, and set up their worship in another place. The doctor and his friends discovered an ill spirit in this affair. They might have used their own forms without imposing them upon others, and breaking a congregation to pieces that had settled upon a different foundation with the leave of the government under which they lived. But they insisted that, because the congregation of Frankfort was made up of Englishmen, they ought to have the form of an English church; that many of them had subscribed to the use of the service-book; and that the departing from it at this time was pouring contempt on the martyrs who were sealing it with their blood. But the others replied, that the laws of their country relating to the service-book were repealed; and as for their subscription, it could not bind them from making nearer approaches to the purity and simplicity of the Christian worship, especially when there was no established Protestant Church of England, and they were in a strange country, where the vestments and ceremonies gave offence. Besides, it was allowed on all hands that the book itself was imperfect; and it was credibly reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury had drawn up a form of common prayer much more perfect, but that he could not make it take place, because of the corruption of the clergy. As for discipline, it was out of the question that it was imperfect, for the service-book itself laments the want of it; and, therefore, they apprehend that, if the martyrs themselves were in their circumstances, they would practise with the same latitude, and reform those imperfections in the English service-book which they attempted, but could not obtain, in their own country.

* Mr. Neal has said, "almost two years;" here, by consulting his authority, "the troubles at Frankfort," it appears that he is properly corrected by Bishop Maddox. In other respects, his lordship's animadversions on this part of Mr. Neal's History are not just or accurate, if Mr. Neal's authority, to which he has faithfully adhered, deserves credit. This piece, when it was become scarce, was reprinted in the "Phoenix," vol. ii., 1708. Mr. Strype refers to it as giving authentic information.—Ed.

To return to Dr. Cox's congregation at Frankfurt. The doctor having settled Mr. Horn in the pastoral office, in the room of Mr. Whitehead, who resigned, after some time left the place. But within six months a new division happened among them, occasioned by a private dispute between Mr. Horn, the minister, and Mr. Ashby, one of the principal members. Mr. Horn summoned Ashby to appear at the vestry before the elders and officers of the Church; Ashby appealed from them, as parties, to the whole Church, who appointed the cause to be brought before them; but Mr. Horn and the officers protested against it, and chose rather to lay down their ministry and service in the Church, than submit to a popular decision. The congregation being assembled on this occasion, gave it as their opinion that, in all controversies among themselves, and especially in cases of appeals, the dernier resort should be in the Church. It is hardly credible what heats and divisions, factions and parties, these personal quarrels occasioned among a handful of strangers, to the scandal of religion, and their own reproach with the people among whom they lived. At length the magistrate interposed, and advised them to bury all past offences in oblivion, and to choose new church officers in the room of those that had laid down; and since their discipline was defective as to the points of controversy that had been before them, they commanded them to appoint certain persons of their number to draw up a new form of discipline, or correct and amend the old one; and to do this before they chose their ecclesiastical officers, that, being all private persons, they might agree upon that which was most reasonable in itself, without respect of persons or parties. This precept was delivered in writing, March 1st, 1557, and signed by Mr. John Glauburge. Hereupon fifteen persons were appointed to the work, which, after some time, was finished; and having been subscribed by the Church to the number of fifty-seven, was confirmed by the magistrate; and on the 21st of December, twenty-eight more were added to the Church and subscribed; but Mr. Horn and his party, to the number of twelve, dissented, and appealed to the magistrates, who had the patience to hear their objections, and the others' reply. But Mr. Horn and his friends not prevailing, left the congregation to their new discipline, and departed the city, from which time they continued in peace till the death of Queen Mary.

During these troubles died Dr. Poynt, late bishop of Winchester, born in Kent, and educated in Queen's College, Oxon, a very learned and pious divine, who was in such favour with King Edward for his practical preaching that he preferred him first to the bishopric of Rochester, and then to Winchester.* Upon the accession of Queen Mary he fled to Strasburgh, where he died, August 2, 1556, before he was full forty years old, and was buried with great lamentations of his countrymen.

To return to England. Both the universities were visited this year. At Cambridge they burned the bodies of Bucer and Fagius, with their books and heretical writings. At Oxford the visitors went through all the colleges, and

burned all the English Bibles, and such heretical books as they could find. They took up the body of Peter Martyr's wife out of one of the churches, and buried it in a dunghill, because, having been once a nun, she broke her vow; but her body was afterward taken up again in Queen Elizabeth's time, and mixed with the bones of St. Fridiswide, that they might never more be disturbed by papists. The persecution of the Reformed was carried on with all imaginable fury; and a design was set on foot to introduce the Inquisition, by giving commissions to certain laymen to search for persons suspected of heresy, and present them to their ordinaries, as has been related. Cardinal Pole being thought too favourable to heretics, because he had released several that were brought before him upon their giving ambiguous answers, had his legatine power taken from him, and was recalled; but upon his submission he was forgiven, and continued here till his death, but had little influence afterward either in the courts of Rome or England, being a clergyman of too much temper for the times he lived in.

Princess Elizabeth was in constant danger of her life throughout the whole course of this reign. Upon the breaking out of Wyat's conspiracy she was sent to the Tower, and led in by the Traitors' gate; her own servants being put from her, and no person allowed to have access to her: the governor used her hardly, not suffering her to walk in the gallery or upon the leads. Wyat and his confederates were examined about her, and some of them put to the rack; but they all cleared her except Wyat, who once accused her, in hopes to save his life, but declared upon the scaffold to all the people that he only did it with that view. After some time she was sent to Woodstock in custody of Sir Henry Benefield, who used her so ill that she apprehended they designed to put her privately to death. Here she was under close confinement, being seldom allowed to walk in the gardens. The politic Bishop Gardiner often moved the queen to think of putting her out of the way, saying it was to no purpose to lop off the branches while the tree was left standing. But King Philip was her friend, who sent for her to court, where she fell upon her knees before the queen, and protested her innocence as to all conspiracies and treasons against her majesty; but the queen still hated her: however, after that, her guards were discharged, and she was suffered to retire into the country, where she gave herself wholly to study, meddling in no sort of business, for she was always apprehensive of spies about her. The princess complied outwardly with her sister's religion, avoiding as much as she could all discourses with the bishops, who suspected her of an inclination to heresy from her education. The queen herself was apprehensive of the danger of the popish religion if she died without issue; and was often urged by her clergy, especially when her health was visibly declining, to secure the Roman Catholic religion by delivering the kingdom from such a presumptive heir. Her majesty had no scruple of conscience about spilling human blood in the cause of religion;*

* Fuller's Worthies, b. ii., p. 72.

* "In a book entitled 'The Executions for Treason,' written by Lord Burleigh, in Queen Elizabeth's

the preservation of the princess was, therefore, little less than a miracle of Divine Providence, and was owing, under God, to the protection of King Philip, who, despairing of issue from the queen, was not without expectations from the princess.

But the hand of God was against Queen Mary and her government, which was hardly attended with one prosperous event; for instead of having issue by her marriage, she had only a false conception, so that there were little or no hopes afterward of a child. This increased the sourness of her temper; and her husband, being much younger than herself, grew weary of her, slighted her company, and then left her to look to his hereditary dominions, after he had lived with her about fifteen months. There being a war between Spain and France, the queen was obliged to take part with her husband; this exhausted the treasure of the nation, and was the occasion of the loss of all the English dominions upon the Continent. In the beginning of this year the strong town of Calais was taken, after it had been in the possession of the English two hundred and ten years: afterward the French took Guines and the rest of that territory, nothing being left but the isles of Jersey and Guernsey. The English, says a learned writer, had lost their hearts; the government at home being so unacceptable that they were not much

time, he says, 'Four hundred persons suffered publicly in Queen Mary's days, besides those who were secretly murdered in prison: of these, twenty were bishops and dignified clergymen; sixty were women; children, more than forty; some women big with child; one bore a child in the fire, and the child was burned.' This is probably the nearest approach we can make to the facts of the case, and it exhibits a sufficiently fearful and horrid spectacle. Religious persecution had not been unknown to our fathers, but the instances of capital punishment for heresy were few, and the interval between them had been great. They had not, however, been sufficiently numerous to impair the humanity of the nation, much less so to pervert its sympathies as to induce any complacency in these horrible exhibitions. The slaughter of Gardiner and Bonner was therefore regarded with indignation and abhorrence. Their names became hateful, and their memory has been loaded with the reproach of many generations. 'It was an unusual and ungrateful thing,' says Burnet, 'to the English nation, that is apt to compassionate all in misery, to see four, five, six, seven, and once thirteen, burning in one fire; and the sparing neither sex nor age, nor blind nor lame, but making havoc of all equally, and, above all, the barbarity of Guernsey, raised that horror in the whole nation, that there seems, ever since that time, such an abhorrence to that religion, to be derived down from father to son, that it is no wonder an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, does, upon every new provocation, or jealousy of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive symptoms.' While some approach to truth can be obtained, in calculating the numbers that were burned, it is impossible to form any adequate conception of the mass of misery which was involved in the persecutions of this period. A speedy death, though by fire, was merciful and kind, compared with the treatment which some experienced. New methods of torment were devised by a perverted ingenuity, which might inflict the pain, without bringing the relief, of death. Bigotry put on its fiercest and most rancorous form, and revelled in scenes of woe which might have touched the hardest heart.—*Dr. Price's Hist. Noncon.*, vol. i., p. 120-122.—C.

concerned to support it, for they began to think that Heaven itself was against it.

Indeed, there were strange and unusual accidents in the heavens.* Great mischief was done in many places by thunder and lightning, by deluges, by excessive rains, and by stormy winds. There was a contagious distemper like the plague, that swept away great numbers of people, so that in many places there were not priests to bury the dead, nor men enough to reap the harvest. Many bishops died, which made way for the Protestant ones in the next reign. The Parliament was dissatisfied with King Philip's demand for men and money for the recovery of Calais; and the queen herself grew melancholy upon the loss of that place, and the other misfortunes of the year. She had been declining in health ever since her pretended miscarriage, which was vastly increased by the absence of her husband, her despair of issue, and the cross accidents that attended her government. Her spirits were now decayed, and a dropsy coming violently upon her, put an end to her unhappy life and reign, November 17, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age and sixth of her reign; Cardinal Pole, archbishop of Canterbury, dying the same day.†

Queen Mary was a princess of severe principles, constant at her prayers, and very little given to diversions. She did not mind any branch of government so much as the Church, being entirely at the disposal of her clergy, and forward to give a sanction to all their cruelties. She had deep resentments of her own ill-usage in her father's and brother's reigns, which easily induced her to take revenge, though she coloured it over with a zeal against heresy. She was perfectly blind in matters of religion, her conscience being absolutely directed by the pope and her confessor, who encouraged her in all the cruelties that were exercised against the Protestants, assuring her that she was doing God and his Church good service. There is but one instance of a pardon of any condemned for heresy during her whole reign. Her natural temper was melancholy; and her infirmities, together with the misfortunes of her government, made her so peevish, that her death was lamented by none but her popish clergy. Her reign was in every respect calamitous to the nation, and "ought to be transmitted down to posterity in characters of blood."

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN TO THE SEPARATION OF THE PROTESTANT NONCONFORMISTS.

Queen Elizabeth's † accession to the crown

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 366.

† During his residence in Italy, on the demise of Paul III., Cardinal Pole had been elected pope, at midnight, by the conclave, and sent for to come and be admitted. He desired that this, as it was not a work of darkness, might be postponed to the morning. Upon this message, the cardinals, without any farther ceremony, proceeded to another election, and chose the Cardinal de Monte, who, before he left the conclave, bestowed a hat upon a servant who looked after his monkey.—*Granger's Biogr. History*, 8vo, vol. i., p. 158, note.—Ed.

‡ Strype's Ann., vol. i., p. 251, 175.

gave new life to the Reformation: as soon as it was known beyond sea most of the exiles returned home, and those who had hid themselves in the houses of their friends began to appear; but the public religion continued for a time in the same posture the queen found it; the popish priests kept their livings, and went on celebrating mass. None of the Protestant clergy who had been ejected in the last reign were restored, and orders were given against all innovations without public authority. Though the queen had complied with the changes in her sister's reign, it was well known she was a favourer of the Reformation; but her majesty proceeded with great caution, for fear of raising disturbances in her infant government. No prince ever came to the crown under greater disadvantages. The pope had pronounced her illegitimate, upon which the Queen of Scots put in her claim to the crown. All the bishops and clergy of the present establishment were her declared enemies. The nation was at war with France, and the treasury exhausted; the queen, therefore, by the advice of her privy council, resolved to make peace with her neighbours as soon as possible, that she might be more at leisure to proceed in her intended alterations of religion, which, though very considerable, were not so entire as the best and most learned Protestants of these times desired. The queen inherited the spirit of her father, and affected a great deal of magnificence in her devotions, as well as in her court. She was fond of many of the old rites and ceremonies in which she had been educated. She thought her brother had stripped religion too much of its ornaments, and made the doctrines of the Church too narrow in some points. It was therefore with difficulty that she was prevailed on to go the length of King Edward's reformation.*

The only thing her majesty did before the meeting of the Parliament was to prevent pulpit disputes, for some of the reformed that had been preachers in King Edward's time, began to make use of his service-book without authority or license from their superiors; this alarmed the popish clergy, and gave occasion to a proclamation, dated December 27, 1558.† By which all preaching of ministers or others was prohibited; and the people were charged to hear no other doctrine or preaching but the Epistle and Gospel for the day, and the Ten Commandments in English, without any exposition or paraphrase whatsoever. The proclamation admits of the litany, the Lord's Prayer, and the creed, in English; but no public prayers were to be read in the Church but such as were appointed by law, till the meeting of the Parliament, which was to be upon the 23d of January.‡

While the exiles were preparing to return home, conciliatory letters passed between them; those of Geneva desired a mutual forgiveness, and prayed their brethren of Arrow, Basil, Frankfort, Strasburgh, and Worms, to unite

with them in preaching God's word, and in endeavouring to obtain such a form of worship as they had seen practised in the best Reformed Churches. The others replied that it would not be in their power to appoint what ceremonies should be observed; but they were determined to submit in things indifferent, and hoped those of Geneva would do so too; however, they would join with them in petitioning the queen that nothing burdensome might be imposed. Both parties congratulated her majesty's accession, in poems, addresses, and dedications of books; but they were reduced to the utmost poverty and distress. They came threadbare home, bringing nothing with them (says Mr. Strype*) but much experience, as well as learning. Those who could comply with the queen's establishment were quickly preferred; but the rest were neglected, and though suffered to preach in the churches for some time, they were afterward suspended, and reduced to as great poverty as before.

It had been happy if the sufferings of the exiles had taught them a little more charity and mutual forbearance; or that they had followed the advice of their learned friends and patrons beyond sea, who advised them to go through with the Reformation, and clear the Church of all the relics of popery and superstition at once. This was the advice of Gualter, one of the chief divines of Zurich, who, in his letter to Dr. Masters, the queen's physician, January 16, 1558-9, wishes "that the Reformers among us would not hearken to the counsels of those men who, when they saw that popery could not be honestly defended nor entirely retained, would use all artifices to have the outward face of religion to remain mixed, uncertain, and doubtful; so that while an evangelical reformation is pretended, those things should be obtruded on the Church which will make the returning back to popery, superstition, and idolatry, very easy. We have had the experience of this (says he) for some years in Germany, and know what influence such persons may have: their counsels seem to a carnal judgment to be full of modesty, and well fitted for carrying on a universal agreement; and we may well believe the common enemy of our salvation will find out proper instruments, by whose means the seeds of popery may still remain among you. I apprehend that in the first beginnings, while men may study to avoid the giving some small offence, many things may be suffered under this colour, that they will be continued but for a little while, and yet afterward it will scarce be possible, by all the endeavours that can be used, to get them removed, at least not without great strugglings."† The letter seems to be written with a prophetic spirit; Masters laid it before the queen, who read it all over, though without effect. Letters of the same strain were written by the learned Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and Weidner, to the Earl of Redford, who had been some time at Zurich; and to Jewel, Sandys, Horn, Cox, Grindal, and the rest of the late exiles, pressing them vehemently to act with zeal and courage, and to take care in the first beginnings to have all things settled upon sure and sound foundations.

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., 376.

† This proclamation was directed against the papists as well as the reformed: "for both," says Strype, "took their occasions to speak freely their minds in the pulpits."—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i., *Appendix*, p. 3. *Camden's Eliz.*, p. 6.

‡ Burnet's History of the Reform., vol. ii., p. 376-378.

§ Strype's Ann., vol. i., p. 103-105.

* *Annals*, vol. i., p. 129.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 276.

Upon the authority of this clause the queen appointed a certain number of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who exercised the same power that had been lodged in the hands of one vicegerent in the reign of King Henry VIII. And how sadly they abused their power in this and the two next reigns will appear in the sequel of this history.* They did not trouble themselves much with the express words of Scripture, or the first four general councils, but entangled their prisoners with oaths *ex officio*, and the inextricable mazes of the popish canon law; and though all ecclesiastical courts ought to be subject to a prohibition from the courts of Westminster, this privilege was seldom allowed by the commissioners. The act makes no mention of an arbitrary jurisdiction of fining, imprisoning, or inflicting corporeal punishments on the subjects, and therefore can be construed to extend no farther than to suspension or deprivation; but notwithstanding this, these commissioners sported themselves in all the wanton acts of tyranny and oppression, till their very name became odious to the whole nation; in-somuch that their proceedings were condemned by the united voice of the people, and the court dissolved by act of Parliament, with a clause that no such jurisdiction should be received for the future in any court whatsoever.

Bishop Burnet says† that the supremacy granted by this act is short of the authority that King Henry had; nor is it the whole that the queen claimed, who sometimes stretched her prerogative beyond it. But since it was the basis of the Reformation, and the spring of all its future movements, it will be proper to inquire what powers were thought to be yielded the crown by this act of supremacy, and some others made in support of it. King Henry VIII., in his letter to the convocation of York, assures them that "he claimed nothing more by the supremacy than what Christian princes in the primitive times assumed to themselves in their own dominions."‡ But it is capable of demonstration, that the first Christian emperors did not claim all that jurisdiction over the Church

Holy Scriptures for himself, may be punished by ecclesiastical censures, if an ecclesiastical judge should decree such interpretation to be erroneous."—*High Church Politics*, p. 66.—Ed.

* In addition to our author's remark may be subjoined the reflections of a modern writer: "On this foundation," says he, "was erected, in a subsequent part of her reign, that court of ecclesiastical commission, which, in the sequel, was the source of the most arbitrary proceedings, and of the most shameful tyranny, oppression, and persecution. The powers we have mentioned, as granted to Elizabeth, will appear to many, in the present enlightened and liberal age, to have been unreasonable and enormous, and contrary to the just ends of political government. But the conferring of such powers accorded with the idea of the times, which had no conception of introducing religious changes by the mere operation of reason and argument, and which had not learned to ascertain the true nature, objects, boundaries, and distinctions of civil and ecclesiastical authority."—*History of Knowledge in the New Annual Register for 1789*, p. 6.—Ed.

† Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 386.

‡ The primitive times, as they are called, did not commence till the beginning of the fourth century, under Constantine the Great, who was the first prince that employed the powers of the state in the affairs of the Church.—Ed.

in spirituals that King Henry did, who, by the act of the thirty-first of his reign, was made absolute lord over the consciences of his subjects, it being therein enacted that "whatsoever his majesty should enjoin in matters of religion should be obeyed by all his subjects."

It is very certain that the kings and queens of England never pretended to the character of spiritual persons, or to exercise any part of the ecclesiastical function in their own persons; they neither preached nor administered the sacraments, nor pronounced or inflicted the censures of the Church; nor did they ever consecrate to the episcopal office, though the right of nomination is in them: these things were done by spiritual persons, or by proper officers in the spiritual courts, deriving their powers from the crown. When the adversaries of the supremacy objected the absurdity of a lay person being head of a spiritual body, the queen endeavoured to remove the difficulty by declaring, in her injunctions to her visitors, "that she did not, nor would she ever, challenge authority and power to minister Divine service in the Church; nor would she ever challenge any other authority than her predecessors King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. used."

But, abating this point, it appears very probable that all the jurisdiction and authority claimed by the pope, as head of the Church, in the times preceding the Reformation, was transferred to the king by the act of supremacy, and annexed to the imperial crown of these realms, as far as was consistent with the laws of the land then in being; though since it has undergone some abatements. The words of the learned Mr. Hooker* are very express: "If the whole ecclesiastical state should stand in need of being visited and reformed; or when any part of the Church is infested with errors, schisms, heresies, &c., whatsoever spiritual powers the legates had from the see of Rome, and exercised in right of the pope for remedying of evils, without violating the laws of God or nature; as much in every degree have our laws fully granted to the king forever, whether he thinks fit to do it by ecclesiastical synods, or otherwise according to law."

The truth of this remark will appear by considering the powers claimed by the crown in this and the following reigns.

1. The kings and queens of England claimed authority in matters of faith, and to be the ultimate judges of what is agreeable or repugnant to the Word of God. The act of supremacy says expressly, "that the king has power to redress and amend all errors and heresies; he might enjoy what doctrines he would to be preached, not repugnant to the laws of the land; and if any should preach contrary, he was for the third offence to be judged a heretic, and suffer death: his majesty claimed a right to forbid all preaching for a time, as King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Elizabeth did; or to limit the clergy's preaching to certain of the thirty-nine articles established by law, as King Charles I. did." All the forementioned kings and queens published instructions or injunctions concerning matters of faith, without consent of the clergy in convocation assembled; and enforced them upon the clergy under the penalties

* Eccles. Pol., b. viii., § 8.

of a *præmunire*, which made it a little difficult to understand that clause of the twentieth article of the Church which says the Church has authority in matters of faith.

2. With regard to discipline, the kings of England seem to have had the keys at their girdle; for, though the old canon law be in force, as far as is consistent with the laws of the land and the prerogative of the crown, yet the king is the supreme and ultimate judge in the spiritual courts by his delegates, as he is in the courts of common law by his judges. His majesty might appoint a single person of the laity to be his vicar-general in all causes ecclesiastical to reform what was amiss, as King Henry VIII. and Charles I. did, which very much resembled the pope's legate in the times before the Reformation. By authority of Parliament, the crown was empowered to appoint thirty-two commissioners, some of the laity and some of the clergy, to reform the canons or ecclesiastical laws; and though the design was not executed, the power was certainly in the king, who might have ratified the new canons, and given them the force of a law, without the consent of the clergy in convocation, or of the Parliament; and, therefore, at the coronation of King Charles I., the bishop was directed to pray "that God would give the king Peter's key of discipline, and Paul's doctrine."

3. As to rights and ceremonies, the act of uniformity* says expressly, "that the queen's majesty, by advice of her ecclesiastical commissioners, or of her metropolitan, may ordain and publish such ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory and the edifying of the Church." Accordingly, her majesty published her injunctions, without sending them into convocation or Parliament, and erected a court of high commission for ecclesiastical causes, consisting of commissioners of her own nomination, to see them put in execution. Nay, so jealous was Queen Elizabeth of this branch of her prerogative, that she would not suffer her high court of Parliament to pass any bill for the amendment or alteration of the ceremonies of the Church, it being, as she said, an invasion of her prerogative.

4. The kings of England claimed the sole power of the nomination of bishops; and the deans and chapters were obliged to choose those whom their majesties named, under penalty of a *præmunire*; and after they were chosen and consecrated, they might not act but by commission from the crown. They held their very bishoprics for some time *durante bene placito*; and by the statute of the fifth and sixth of Edward VI., chap. i., it was enacted "that archbishops and bishops shall punish by censures of the Church all persons that offend," &c., which plainly implies that without such a license or authority they might not do it.

5. No convocation or synods of the clergy can assemble but by a writ or precept from the crown; and when assembled, they can do no business without the king's letters patent, appointing them the particular subjects they are to debate upon; † and, after all, their canons are of no force without the royal sanction.

Upon the whole, it is evident, by the ex-

* 1 Eliz., cap. 1.

† Stat. 25 Hen. VIII., and stat. *præmun.*

press words of several statutes,* that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, was vested in the king, and taken away from the bishops, except by delegation from him. The king was chief in the determination of all causes in the Church; he had authority to make laws, ceremonies, and constitutions, and without him no such laws, ceremonies, or constitutions are, or ought to be, of force. And, lastly, all appeals, which before had been made to Rome, are forever, hereafter, to be made to his majesty's chancery, to be ended and determined, as the manner now is, by delegates. †

I am sensible that the constitution of the Church has been altered in some things since that time; but let the reader judge, by what has been recited from acts of Parliament, of the high powers that were then intrusted with the crown, and how far they were agreeable with the natural or religious rights of mankind. The whole body of the papists refused the oath of supremacy, as inconsistent with their allegiance to the pope; but the Puritans took it under all these disadvantages, with the queen's explication in her injunctions; that is, that no more was intended than "that her majesty, under God, had the sovereignty and rule over all persons born in her realms, either ecclesiastical or temporal, so as no foreign power had or ought to have authority over them." They apprehended this to be the natural right of all sovereign princes in their dominions, though there has been no statute law for it; but, as they did not admit the government of the Church to be monarchical, they were of opinion that no single person, whether layman or ecclesiastic, ought to assume the title of supreme head of the Church on earth, in the sense of the acts above mentioned. This appears from the writings of the famous Mr. Cartwright, in his admonition to the Parliament.

"The Christian sovereign," says he, ‡ "ought not to be called head, under Christ, of the particular and visible churches within his dominions: it is a title not fit for any mortal man; for when the apostle says Christ is *κεφαλή*, the head, it is as much as if he had said Christ, and no other, is head of the Church. No civil magistrate, in councils or assemblies for Church matters, can either be chief moderator, over-ruler, judge, or determiner; nor has he such authority as that, without his consent, it should not be lawful for ecclesiastical persons to make any Church orders or ceremonies. Church matters ought, ordinarily, to be handled by church officers. The principal direction of them is, by God's ordinance, committed to the ministers of the Church and to the ecclesiastical governors: as these meddle not with the making civil laws, so the civil magistrate ought not to ordain ceremonies or determine controversies in the Church, so long as they do not intrench upon

* 37 Hen. VIII., cap. xvii., 1 Eliz., cap. i.

† Thus the power, which had been for ages exercised by the pope, was transferred to the temporal monarch. The acquisition of this power was highly flattering to the love of authority in princes, especially as they had been so long under subjection to the pope. To a woman of Queen Elizabeth's spirit it was, independently of every religious consideration, a powerful inducement to support the Reformation.—Ed.

‡ Admonition to Parliament, lib. ii., p. 4, 11.

his temporal authority. Nevertheless, our meaning is not to seclude the magistrate from our Church assemblies; he may call a council of his clergy, and appoint both time and place; he may be there by himself or his deputy, but not as moderator, determiner, or judge; he may have his voice in the assembly, but the orders and decrees of councils are not made by his authority; for in ancient times the canons of the councils were not called the decrees of the emperors, but of the bishops. It is the prince's province to protect and defend the councils of his clergy, to keep the peace, to see their decrees executed, and to punish the contemners of them, but to exercise no spiritual jurisdiction."

We shall meet with a fuller declaration of the Puritans upon this head hereafter; in the mean time, it may be observed, that the just boundaries of the civil and ecclesiastical powers were not well understood and stated in this age.

The powers of the civil magistrates seem chiefly to regard the civil welfare of his subjects: he is to protect them in their properties, and in the peaceable enjoyment of their civil and religious rights; but there is no passage in the New Testament that gives him a commission to be lord of the consciences of his subjects, or to have dominion over their faith. Nor is this agreeable to reason, because religion ought to be the effect of a free and deliberate choice. Why must we believe as the king believes, any more than as the clergy or pope? If every man could believe as he would; or if all men's understandings were exactly of a size; or if God would accept of a mere outward profession when commanded by law, then it would be reasonable there should be but one religion, and one uniform manner of worship: but to make ecclesiastical laws, obliging men's practice under severe penalties, without or against the light of their consciences, looks like an invasion of the kingly office of Christ, and must be subversive of all sincerity and virtue.

On the other hand, the jurisdiction of the Church is purely spiritual. No man ought to be compelled by rewards or punishments to become a member of any Christian society, or to continue of it any longer than he apprehends it to be his duty. All the ordinances of the Church are spiritual, and so are her weapons and censures. The weapons of the Church are Scripture and reason, accompanied with prayers and tears. These are her pillars, and the walls of her defence. The censures of the Church are admonitions, reproofs, or declarations of persons' unfitness for her communion, commonly called excommunications, which are of a spiritual nature, and ought not to affect men's lives, liberties, or estates. No man ought to be cut off from the rights and privileges of a subject merely because he is disqualified for Christian communion. Nor has any church upon earth authority from Christ to inflict corporeal punishments upon those whom she may justly expel her society; these are the weapons of civil magistrates, who may punish the breakers of the laws of their countries with corporeal pains and penalties, as guardians of the civil rights of their subjects; but Christ's kingdom is not of this world.

If these principles had obtained at the Refor-

mation, there would have been no room for the disturbance of any whose religious principles were not inconsistent with the safety of the government.* Truth and charity would have prevailed; the civil powers would have protected the Church in her spiritual rights; and the Church, by instructing the people in their duty to their superiors, would have supported the state. But the Reformers, as well Puritans as others, had different notions. They were for one religion, one uniform mode of worship, one form of discipline or Church government for the whole nation, with which all must comply outwardly, whatever were their inward sentiments; it was therefore resolved to have an act of Parliament to establish a uniformity of public worship, without any indulgence to tender consciences; neither party having the wisdom or courage to oppose such a law, but both endeavouring to be included in it.

To make way for this, the papists who were in possession of the churches were first to be vanquished; the queen, therefore, appointed a public disputation in Westminster Abbey, before her privy council and both houses of Parliament, March 31st, 1559, between nine of the bishops and the like number of Protestant divines, upon these three points:

1st. Whether it was not against Scripture and the custom of the ancient Church to use a tongue unknown to the people in the common prayers and sacraments? 2dly. Whether every church had not authority to appoint, change, and take away ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same were done to edifying? 3dly. Whether it could be proved by the Word of God that in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and living?

The disputation was to be in writing; but the papists, finding the populace against them, broke it off after the first day, under pretence that the Catholic cause ought not to be submitted to such an arbitration, though they had not these scruples in the reign of Queen Mary, when it was known the issue of the conference would be in their favour. The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln said the doctrine of the Catholic Church was already established, and that it was too great an encouragement to heretics to admit them to discourse against the faith before an unlearned multitude. They added, that the queen had deserved to be excommunicated; and talked of thundering out their anathemas against the privy council, for which they were both sent to the Tower. The reformed had a great advantage by their adversaries quitting the field in this manner, it being concluded from

* It would have been more consistent with our author's reasoning if, instead of "religious principles," he had substituted actions. If religious principles are to be the grounds of toleration or protection, according to their supposed consistency or inconsistency with the safety of the civil government, there is not only room for endless disputes concerning this consistency; but men of the best views and characters will be liable to suffer through the imputation of consequences arising from their principles, which they themselves disavow and abhor. Besides, the pernicious tendency of some principles is counteracted by the influence of others, and the good dispositions of those who hold them. Overt acts alone afford a clear, definite rule, by which to judge of moral or political character.
—En.

hence that their cause would not bear the light, which prepared the people for farther changes.

The papists being vanquished, the next point was to unite the reformed among themselves, and get such an establishment as might make them all easy; for though the troubles at Frankfurt were hushed, and letters of forgiveness had passed between the contending parties, and though all the Reformers were of one faith, yet they were far from agreeing about discipline and ceremonies, each party being for settling the Church according to their own model. Some were for the late service and discipline of the English at Geneva; others were for the service-book of King Edward VI., and for withdrawing no farther from the Church of Rome than was necessary to recover purity of faith, and the independence of the Church upon a foreign power. Rites and ceremonies were, in their opinion, indifferent; and those of the Church of Rome preferable to others, because they were venerable and pompous, and because the people had been used to them: these were the sentiments of the queen, who therefore appointed a committee of divines to review King Edward's liturgy, and to see if in any particular it was fit to be changed; their names were Dr. Parker, Grindal, Cox, Pilkington, May, Bill, Whitehead, and Sir Thomas Smith, doctor of the civil law. Their instructions were to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and to make people easy about the belief of the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament; but not a word in favour of the stricter Protestants.

Her majesty was afraid of reforming too far; she was desirous to retain images in churches, crucifixes and crosses, vocal and instrumental music, with all the old popish garments; it is not, therefore, to be wondered that, in reviewing the liturgy of King Edward, no alterations were made in favour of those who now began to be called Puritans, from their attempting a purer form of worship and discipline than had yet been established. The queen was more concerned for the papists, and, therefore, in the litany this passage was struck out, "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us." The rubric that declared, that by kneeling at the sacrament no adoration was intended to any corporeal presence of Christ, was expunged. The committee of divines left it at the people's liberty to receive the sacrament kneeling or standing, but the queen and Parliament restrained it to kneeling; so that the enforcing this ceremony was purely an act of the state. The old festivals, with their eyes, and the popish habits, were continued, as they were in the second year of King Edward VI., till the queen should please to take them away; for the words of the statute are, "They shall be retained till other order shall be therein taken by authority of the queen's majesty, with the advice of the commissioners authorized under the great seal of England, for causes ecclesiastical." Some of the collects were a little altered; and thus the book was presented to the two houses and passed into a law,* being hardly equal to that which was set out by King Edward, and confirmed by Parliament in the fifth year of his reign. For whereas in that liturgy

all the garments were laid aside except the surplice, the queen now returned to King Edward's first book, where copes and other garments were ordered to be used.

The title of the act is, an act for the uniformity of common prayer and service in the Church, and administration of the sacraments. It was brought into the House of Commons April 18, and was read a third time April 20. It passed the House of Lords April 28, and took place from the 24th of June, 1559. Heath, archbishop of York,* made an elegant speech against it, in which, among other things, he observes, very justly, that an act of this consequence ought to have had the consent of the clergy in convocation before it passed into a law. "Not only the orthodox, but even the Arian emperors," says he, "ordered that points of faith should be examined in councils; and Gallio, by the light of nature, knew that a civil judge ought not to meddle with matters of religion." But he was overruled, the act of supremacy, which passed the house the very next day, having vested this power in the crown.† This statute lying open to common view at the beginning of the Common Prayer Book, it is not worth while to transcribe it in this place. I shall only take notice of one clause, by which all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was again delivered up to the crown: "The queen is hereby empowered, with the advice of her commissioners or metropolitan, to ordain and publish such farther ceremonies and rites as may be for the advancement of God's glory and edifying his Church, and the reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments." And had it not been for this clause of a reserve of power to make what alterations her majesty thought fit, she told Archbishop Parker that she would not have passed the act.

Upon this fatal rock of uniformity in things merely indifferent, in the opinion of the imposers, was the peace of the Church of England split. The pretence was decency and order; but it seems a little odd that uniformity should be necessary to the decent worship of God, when in most other things there is a greater beauty in variety. It is not necessary to a decent dress that men's clothes should be always of the same colour and fashion; nor would there be any indecorum or disorder if in one congregation the sacrament should be administered kneeling, in another sitting, and in a third standing; or if in one and the same congregation the minister were at liberty to read prayers either in a black gown or a surplice, supposing the garments to be indifferent, which the makers of this law admitted, though the Puritans denied. The rigorous pressing of this act was the occasion of all the mischiefs that befell the Church for above eighty years. What good end could it answer to press men's bodies into the public service without convincing their minds! If there must be one established form

* Mr. Strype says there is so much learning, and such strokes therein, that we need not doubt but that it is his.—*Ann. Ref.*, vol. i., p. 73. The speech itself is in his appendix to vol. i., No. 6. This prelate was always honourably esteemed by the queen, and sometimes had the honour of a visit from her. He lived discreetly in his own house, till by very age he departed this life.—*Annals*, vol. i., p. 143.—Ed.

† D'Ew's Journal, p. 39.

* Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 390. Strype's Ann., p. 83.

of worship, there should certainly have been an indulgence for tender consciences. When there was a difference in the Church of the Romans about eating flesh and observing festivals, the apostle did not pinch them with an act of uniformity, but allowed a latitude, Rom., xiv., 5: "Let not him that eateth judge him that eateth not: but let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. Why dost thou judge thy brother? or, why dost thou set at naught thy brother? For we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ." Had our Reformers followed this apostolical precedent, the Church of England would have made a more glorious figure in the Protestant world than it did by this compulsive act of uniformity.*

* "The Act of Uniformity, like its kindred statutes, was fenced round with penalties. He who ventured to address his Maker in other language than that of the Book of Common Prayer, was liable to the loss of goods and chattels for the first offence, to twelve months' imprisonment for the second, and to confinement during life for the third. How strange it is that men bearing the Christian name should be so impious as to prescribe to the Deity the only form of supplication he shall receive! This is one of those species of infatuation, the folly of which would amuse, if its impiety did not prohibit the indulgence of levity. The statute in question affected both the Protestants and Catholics, and was peculiarly offensive to such of the former as had imbibed an attachment to a simpler ritual, and a purer form of polity, than was established in England. It prohibited the slightest deviation from the prescribed order of public worship, and obviously assumed a principle which would go far to discredit and condemn the Reformation itself. If Elizabeth, by virtue of her office as queen, possessed the right of determining the form of public worship, that right belonged equally to her sister Mary, and the fathers of the English Church were, consequently, wrong in refusing her obedience. But if it be alleged that the right of the former so to legislate was founded on the correctness of her creed, by whom, it may be asked, was this correctness to be determined? By Elizabeth herself, or by her subjects? If the former, why is not the same admission to be made in favour of Mary? and if the latter, where is the justice of visiting with punishment such as deemed her creed unscriptural, and her laws pernicious? Among the innumerable follies to which men have been addicted, none is more egregious or absurd than is exhibited in the end which this statute contemplated. Were it attainable, it would be unworthy of pursuit, for it is wholly apart from religion; and, if compassed, it might exist with the greatest security where the spirit of religion is not found. To whatever extent it has been accomplished by human legislation, it has involved the corruption of Christianity, and a most unnatural and pernicious imprisonment of the human mind. What conceivable benefit would flow from the same mode of worship being enforced in every Christian assembly throughout England? But the folly of the attempt to secure uniformity of religious worship is apparent in its hopelessness. It has not, it will not, it cannot succeed. So long as religious principle endures, or the human mind retains the power of thought and the faculty of research, all enactments of this kind must be futile. They constitute an unnatural coercion of man's intellect; and if they appear to succeed for a season, their ultimate defeat is thereby rendered more signal. Uniformity in the modes of religion has usually been sought at the expense of its living spirit. They have been mistaken for religion itself; and the energy and zeal which ought to have been expended on the conversion of an apostate world have, consequently, been employed in the establishment of rites with which religion has but little if any connexion. There is not an established sect in

Sad were the consequences of these two laws both to the papists and Puritans. The papists, in convocation, made a stand for the old religion; and, in their sixth session, agreed upon the following articles, to be presented to the Parliament for disburdening their consciences.

1. "That in the sacrament of the altar the natural body of Christ is really present, by virtue of the words of consecration pronounced by the priest.

2. "That after the consecration there remains not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but God-man.

3. "That in the mass the true body of Christ is offered as a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.

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

5. "That the authority of determining matters of faith and discipline belongs only to the pastors of the Church, and not to laymen."

These articles or resolutions were presented to the lord-keeper by their prolocutor Dr. Harpsfield, but his lordship gave them no answer; nor did the convocation move any farther in matters of religion, it being apparent that they were against the Reformation.

As soon as the session was ended, the oath of supremacy was tendered to the bishops, who all refused it, except Dr. Kitchen, bishop of Landaff, to the number of fourteen; the rest of the sees being vacant. Of the deprived bishops three retired beyond sea, viz., Dr. Pate, bishop of Worcester, Scot of Chester, and Goldwell of St. Asaph; Heath, archbishop of York, was suffered to live at his own house, where the queen went sometimes to visit him; Tonstal and Thirleby, bishops of Durham and Ely, resided at Lambeth, in the house of Archbishop Parker, with freedom and ease; the rest were suffered to go at large upon their parole; only Bonner, bishop of London, White of Winchester, and Watson of Lincoln, whose hands had been deeply stained with the blood of the Protestants in the late reign, were made close prisoners; but they had a sufficient maintenance from the queen. Most of the monks returned to a secular life; but the nuns went beyond sea, as did all others who had a mind to live where they might have a free exercise of their religion.

Several of the reformed exiles were offered bishoprics, but refused them, on account of the habits and ceremonies, &c., as Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Bernard Gilpin, old father Miles Coverdale, Mr. Knox, Mr. Thomas Sampson, and others. Many who accepted did it with trembling, from the necessity of the times, and in hopes by their

Christendom which does not furnish confirmation of these remarks; and we shall frequently have occasion to observe the evidence of their truth which the history of our own hierarchy supplies. "The artificial religion of creeds and rituals withers and dies in the hands of the most artful priests, and the most absolute and prosperous monarchs; while the artless practice of piety and virtue lives with the poor through successive generations. Penal statutes to suppress it resemble penal statutes to cleanse the world of violets; fashion may banish them from the burgomaster's garden, but the heavens will unite to nourish them under the shade of the nettle or at the foot of an oak."—*Robinson's Eccl. Researches*, p. 186. *Dr. Price*, vol. i., p. 140.—C.

interest with the queen to obtain an amendment in the constitution of the Church; among these were Grindal, Parkhurst, Sandys, Pilkington, and others.

The sees were left vacant for some time, to see if any of the old bishops would conform; but neither time nor anything else could move them; at length, after twelve months, Dr. Matthew Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, by some of the bishops that had been deprived in the late reign, for not one of the present bishops would officiate. This, with some other accidents, gave rise to the story of his being consecrated at the Nag's Head tavern in Cheapside, a fable that has been sufficiently confuted by our church historians;* the persons concerned in the consecration were Barlow and Scory, bishops elect of Chichester and Hereford; Miles Coverdale, the deprived bishop of Exeter, and Hodgkins, suffragan of Bedford; the two former appeared in their chimere and surplice, but the two latter wore long gowns open at the arms, with a falling cape on the shoulders; the ceremony was performed in a plain manner, without gloves or sandals, ring or slippers, mitre or pall, or even without any of the Aaronical garments, only by imposition of hands and prayer. Strange! that the archbishop should be satisfied with this in his own case, and yet be so zealous to impose the popish garments upon his brethren.

But still it has been doubted whether Parker's consecration was perfectly canonical.

1st. Because the persons engaged in it had been legally deprived in the late reign, and were not yet restored. To which it was answered, that having been once consecrated, the episcopal character remained in them, and therefore they might convey it; though Coverdale and Hodgkins never exercised it after this time.

2dly. Because the consecration ought by law to have been directed according to the statute of the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII., and not according to the form of King Edward's Ordinal for ordaining and consecrating bishops, inasmuch as that book had been set aside in the late reign, and was not yet restored by Parliament.

These objections being frequently thrown in the way of the new bishops by the papists, made them uneasy; they began to doubt of the validity of their consecrations, or at least of their legal title to their bishoprics. The affair was at length brought before Parliament, and to silence all future clamours, Parker's consecration, and those of his brethren, were confirmed by the two houses, about seven years after they had filled their chairs.

The archbishop was installed December 17, 1559, soon after which he consecrated several of his brethren, whom the queen had appointed to the vacant sees, as Grindal to the bishopric of London, Horn to Winchester, and Pilkington to Durham, &c. Thus the Reformation was

restored, and the Church of England settled on its present basis. The new bishops being poor, made but a mean figure in comparison of their predecessors: they were unacquainted with courts and equipages, and numerous attendants; but as they grew rich, they quickly rose in their department, and assumed a lordly superiority over their brethren.

The hierarchy being now at its standard, it may not be improper to set before the reader in one view the principles upon which it stands; with the different sentiments of the Puritans, by which he will discover the reasons why the Reformation proceeded no farther:

1. The court-reformers apprehended that every prince had authority to correct all abuses of doctrine and worship within his own territories. From this principle, the Parliament submitted the consciences and religion of the whole nation to the disposal of the king; and in case of a minority, to his council; so that the king was sole reformer, and might, by commissioners of his own appointment, declare and remove all manner of errors, heresies, &c., and model the doctrine and discipline of the Church as he pleased, provided his injunctions did not expressly contradict the statute law of the land.

Thus the Reformation took place in sundry material points in the reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, before it had the sanction of Parliament or convocation; and though Queen Mary disallowed of the supremacy, she made use of it to restore the old religion, before the laws for abolishing it were repealed. Hence, also, they indulged the foreign Protestants with the liberty of their separate discipline, which they denied to their own countrymen.

The Puritans disowned all foreign authority and jurisdiction over the Church as much as their brethren, but could not admit of that extensive power which the crown claimed by the supremacy, apprehending it unreasonable that the religion of a whole nation should be at the disposal of a single lay person; for let the apostle's rule, "that all things be done decently and in order," mean what it will, it was not directed to the prince or civil magistrate. However, they took the oath, with the queen's explication in her injunctions, as only restoring her majesty to the ancient and natural rights of sovereign princes over their subjects.

2. It was admitted by the court-reformers that the Church of Rome was a true church, though corrupt in some points of doctrine and government; that all her ministrations were valid, and that the pope was a true Bishop of Rome, though not of the universal Church. It was thought necessary to maintain this, for the support of the character of our bishops, who could not otherwise derive their succession from the apostles.

But the Puritans affirmed the pope to be antichrist, the Church of Rome to be no true church, and all her ministrations to be superstitious and idolatrous; they renounced her communion, and durst not risk the validity of their ordinations upon an uninterrupted line of succession from the apostles through their hands.

3. It was agreed by all that the Holy Scriptures were a perfect rule of faith; but the bish-

* Life of Parker, p. 38, 60, 61. Voltaire, though he knew, or, as a liberal writer observes, should have known, that this story was refuted even by the Puritans themselves, has yet related it as a fact. It was a calumny, to which the custom of the new-ordained bishops furnishing a grand dinner or entertainment gave rise.—*Wendeborn's View of England*, vol. ii., p. 300.—Ed.

ops and court-reformers did not allow them a standard of discipline or church government, but affirmed that our Saviour and his apostles left it to the discretion of the civil magistrate, in those places where Christianity should obtain, to accommodate the government of the Church to the policy of the state.

But the Puritans apprehended the Holy Scriptures to be a standard of church discipline, as well as doctrine; at least, that nothing should be imposed as necessary but what was expressly contained in, or derived from them by necessary consequence. And if it should be proved that all things necessary to the well government of the Church could not be deduced from Holy Scripture, they maintained that the discretionary power was not vested in the civil magistrate, but in the spiritual officers of the Church.

4. The court-reformers maintained that the practice of the primitive Church for the first four or five centuries was a proper standard of church government and discipline, and in some respects better than that of the apostles, which, according to them, was only accommodated to the infant state of the Church while it was under persecution, whereas theirs was suited to the grandeur of a national establishment. Therefore they only pared off the later corruptions of the papacy, from the time the pope usurped the title of universal bishop, and left those standing which they could trace a little higher, such as archbishops, metropolitans, archdeacons, suffragans, rural deans, &c., which were not known in the apostolic age, or those immediately following.

Whereas the Puritans were for keeping close to the Scriptures in the main principles of church government, and for admitting no church officers or ordinances but such as are appointed therein. They apprehended that the form of government ordained by the apostles was aristocratical, according to the constitution of the Jewish sanhedrim, and was designed as a pattern for the churches in after ages, not to be departed from in any of its main principles; and, therefore, they paid no regard to the customs of the papacy, or the practices of the earlier ages of Christianity, any farther than they corresponded with the Scriptures.

5. Our Reformers maintained that things indifferent in their own nature, which are neither commanded nor forbidden in the Holy Scriptures, such as rites, ceremonies, habits, &c., might be settled, determined, and made necessary by the command of the civil magistrate; and that in such cases it was the indispensable duty of all subjects to observe them.

But the Puritans insisted that those things which Christ had left indifferent ought not to be made necessary by any human laws, but that we are to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free; and farther, that such rites and ceremonies as had been abused to idolatry, and manifestly tended to lead men back to popery and superstition, were no longer indifferent, but to be rejected as unlawful.

6. Both parties agreed too well in asserting the necessity of a uniformity of public worship, and of using the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their respective principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns

whenever they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the queen's supremacy and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the decrees of provincial and national synods allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate; but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience and freedom of profession which is every man's right, as far as is consistent with the peace of the civil government he lives under.

The principle upon which the bishops justified their severities against the Puritans, in this and the following reigns, was the subjects' obligation to obey the laws of their country in all things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the laws of God. And the excellent Archbishop Tillotson, in one of his sermons, represents the dissenters as a humorous and perverse set of people, in not complying with the service and ceremonies of the Church, for no other reason, says he, but because their superiors require them. But if this were true, it is a justifiable reason for their dissent, supposing the magistrate requires that which is not within the bounds of his commission. Christ, say the Nonconformists, is the sole law-giver of his Church, and has enjoined all things necessary to be observed in it to the end of the world; therefore, where he has indulged a liberty to his followers, it is as much their duty to maintain it as to observe any other of his precepts. If the civil magistrate should, by a stretch of the prerogative, dispense with the laws of his country, or enjoin new ones, according to his arbitrary will and pleasure, without consent of Parliament, would it deserve the brand of humour or perverseness to refuse obedience, if it were for no other reason, but because we will not submit to an *arbitrary dispensing power*? Besides, if the magistrate has a power to impose things indifferent, and make them necessary in the service of God, he may dress up religion in any shape, and, instead of one ceremony, may load it with a hundred.

To return to the history. The Reformation being thus settled, the queen gave out commissions for a general visitation, and published a body of injunctions, consisting of fifty-three articles, commanding her loving subjects obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep them, according to their offices, degrees, and states. They are almost the same with those of King Edward. I shall, therefore, only give the reader an abstract of such as we may have occasion to refer to hereafter.

Article 1. "All ecclesiastical persons shall see that the act of supremacy be duly observed, and shall preach four times a year against yielding obedience to any foreign jurisdiction. 2. They shall not set forth or extol the dignity of any images, relics, of miracles, but shall declare the abuses of the same, and that all grace is from God. 3. Parsons shall preach once every month upon works of faith, mercy, and charity, commanded by God; and shall inform the people that works of man's devising, such as pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, &c., are offensive to God. 4. Parsons having cure of souls shall preach in person once a quarter at least, or else read one of the homilies prescribed by the queen to be read every Sun-

day in the churches where there is no sermon. 5. Every holyday, when there is no sermon, they shall recite from the pulpit the Paternoster, Creed, and Ten Commandments. 6. Within three months every parish shall provide a Bible, and within twelve months Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the Gospels in English, and set them up in their several churches. 7. The clergy shall not haunt ale-houses or taverns, or spend their time idly at dice, cards, tables, or any other unlawful game. 8. None shall be admitted to preach in churches without license from the queen or her visitors, or from the archbishop or bishop of the diocess. 16. All parsons under the degree of M.A. shall buy for their own use the New Testament in Latin and English, with paraphrases, within three months after this visitation. 17. They shall learn out of the Scriptures some comfortable sentences for the sick. 18. There shall be no popish processions; nor shall any persons walk about the church, or depart out of it, while the priest is reading the Scriptures. 19. Nevertheless, the perambulation of parishes or processions with the curates shall continue, who shall make a suitable exhortation. 20. Holydays shall be strictly observed, except in harvest-time, after Divine service. 21. Curates may not admit to the holy communion persons that live openly in sin without repentance, or that are at variance with their neighbours, till they are reconciled. 22. Curates, &c., shall teach the people not obstinately to violate the laudable ceremonies of the Church. 23. Also, they shall take away, utterly extinguish, and destroy all shrines, coverings of shrines; all tables, candlesticks, trindals, and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere, within their churches and houses; preserving, nevertheless, or repairing, both the walls and glass windows; and they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like in their several houses. 28. Due reverence shall be paid to the ministers of the Gospel. 29. No priest or deacon shall marry without allowance of the bishop of his diocess, and two justices of the peace; nor without consent of the parents of the woman (if she have any), or others that are nearest of kin, upon penalty of being incapable of holding any ecclesiastical promotion, or ministering in the Word and sacraments. Nor shall bishops marry without allowance of their metropolitan, and such commissioners as the queen shall appoint. 30. All archbishops and bishops, and all that preach and administer the sacraments, or that shall be admitted into any ecclesiastical vocation, or into either of the universities, shall wear such garments and square caps as were worn in the latter end of the reign of King Edward VI. 33. No person shall absent from his parish church, and resort to another, but upon an extraordinary occasion. 34. No innholders or public-houses shall sell meat or drink in the time of Divine service. 35. None shall keep in their houses any abused images, tables, pictures, paintings, and monuments of feigned miracles. 36. No man shall disturb the minister in his sermon, nor mock or make a jest of him. 37. No man, woman,

or child shall be otherwise busied in time of Divine service, but shall give due attendance to what is read and preached. 40. No person shall teach school but such as are allowed by the ordinary. 41. Schoolmasters shall exhort their children to love and reverence the true religion now allowed by authority. 42. They shall teach their scholars certain sentences of Scripture tending to godliness. 43. None shall be admitted to any spiritual cure that are utterly unlearned. 44. The parson or curate of the parish shall instruct the children of his parish for half an hour before evening prayer on every holyday and second Sunday in the year, in the catechism, and shall teach them the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments. 45. All the ordinaries shall exhibit to the visitors a copy of the book containing the causes why any have been imprisoned, famished, or put to death for religion in the late reign. 46. Overseers in every parish shall see that all the parishioners duly resort to church, and shall present defaulters to the ordinary. 47. Churchwardens shall deliver to the queen's visitors an inventory of all their church furniture, as vestments, copes, plate, books, and especially of grayles, couches, legends, processions, manuals, hymnals, portuesses, and such like, appertaining to the Church. 48. The litany and prayers shall be read weekly, on Wednesdays and Fridays. 49. Singing-men shall be continued and maintained in collegiate churches, and there shall be a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the Church, that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing; and yet, nevertheless, for the comforting such as delight in music, it may be permitted that, in the beginning or end of the common prayer, there may be sung a hymn, or such-like song, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentences of the hymn may be understood and perceived. 50. There shall be no vain and contentious disputes in matters of religion; nor the use of opprobrious words, as papist, papistical, heretic, schismatic, or sacramentary. Offenders to be remitted to the ordinary. 51. No book or pamphlet shall be printed or made public without license from the queen, or six of her privy council, or her ecclesiastical commissioners, or from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the chancellors of both universities, the bishop being ordinary, and the archdeacon also of the place, where any such book shall be printed, or two of them, whereof the ordinary to be always one: the names of the licensers to be printed at the end. Ancient and profane authors are excepted. 52. In time of reading the litany, and all other collects and common prayer, all the people shall devoutly kneel; and when the name of Jesus shall be in any lesson, sermon, or otherways pronounced in the church, due reverence shall be made of all persons with lowliness of courtesy, and uncovering the heads of the men, as has been heretofore accustomed."

These injunctions were to be read in the churches once every quarter of a year.

An appendix was added, containing one form of bidding prayer; and an order relating to tables in churches, which enjoins "that no altar

be taken down but by oversight of the curate and church-wardens, or one of them at least, wherein no riotous or disorderly manner shall be used ; and that the holy table in every church be decently made, and set in the place where the altar stood, and there to stand covered, saving when the sacrament is to be administered ; at which time it shall be so placed within the chancel, as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more numbers, communicate with the said minister ; and after the communion done, the holy table shall be placed where it stood before."

The penalties for disobeying these injunctions were, suspension, deprivations, sequestration of fruits and benefices, excommunication, and such other corrections as to those who have ecclesiastical jurisdiction under her majesty should seem meet.

The major part of the visiters were laymen, any two of whom were empowered to examine into the true state of all churches ; to suspend or deprive such clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others in their places ;* to proceed against the obstinate by imprisonment, church censures, or any other legal methods. They were to reserve pensions for such as quitted their benefices by resignation ; to examine into the condition of all that were imprisoned on the account of religion, and to discharge them ; and to restore all such to their benefices who had been unlawfully deprived in the late times.

This was the first high commission, which was issued about midsummer, 1559. It gave offence to many, that the queen should give lay-visiters authority to proceed by ecclesiastical censures ; but this was no more than is frequently done by lay-chancellors in the ecclesiastical courts.† It was much more unjustifiable for the commissioners to go beyond the censures of the Church, by fines, imprisonments, and inquisitory oaths, to the ruin of some hundreds of families, without the authority of that statute which gave them being, or any other.

Mr. Strype assures us that the visiters took effectual care to have all the instruments and utensils of idolatry and superstition demolished and destroyed out of the churches where God's pure service was to be performed ; such as roods, *i. e.*, images of Christ upon the cross, with Mary and John standing by ; also images of tutelary saints of the churches that were dedicated to them, popish books, altars, and the like. But it does not appear that either the second or twenty-third article of injunctions empowered them absolutely to remove all images out of churches ; the queen herself was as yet undetermined in that matter.‡ Bishop Jewel, in his letter to Peter Martyr, February 4th, 1560, says there was to be a conference about the lawfulness of images in churches the day following, between Parker and Cox, who were for them, and himself and Grindal, who were against them ; and if they prevail, says he, I will be no longer a bishop.§ However, it is certain that the visiters commanded the prebendaries and archdea-

con of London to see that the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's be purged and freed from all and singular images, idols, and altars ; and in the place of the altars, to provide a decent table for the ordinary celebration of the Lord's Supper ; and, accordingly, the roods and high altar were taken away.*

The populace was on the side of the Reformation,† having been provoked with the cruelties of the late times : great numbers attended the commissioners, and brought into Cheapside, Paul's Churchyard, and Smithfield, the roods and crucifixes that were taken down, and in some places the vestments of the priests, copes, surplices, alter-cloths, books, banners, sepulchres, and burned them to ashes, as it were, to make atonement for the blood of the martyrs which had been shed there. Nay, they went farther, and in their furious zeal broke the painted glass windows, rased out some ancient inscriptions, and spoiled those monuments of the dead that had any ensigns of popery upon them. "The divines of this time," says Mr. Strype, "could have been content to have been without all relics and ceremonies of the Romish Church, that there might not be the least compliance with popish devotions." And it had not been the worse for the Church of England if their successors had been of the same mind.

But the queen disliked these proceedings : ‡ she had a crucifix, with the blessed Virgin and St. John, still in her chapel ; and when Sandys, bishop of Worcester, spoke to her against it, she threatened to deprive him. The crucifix was after some time removed, but replaced in 1570. To put some stop to these proceedings, her majesty issued out a proclamation, dated September 19th, in the second year of her reign, prohibiting "the defacing or breaking any parcel of any monument, tomb, or grave, or other inscription, in memory of any person deceased, or breaking any images of kings, princes, or nobles, &c., set up only in memory of them to posterity, and not for any religious honour ; or the defacing or breaking any images in glass windows in any churches, without consent of the ordinary." It was with great difficulty, and not without a sort of protestation from the bishops, that her majesty consented to have so many monuments of idolatry as are mentioned

* Strype's Ann., vol. i., p. 175.

† The following anecdotes mark the strong disposition of the people towards a reformation, and are pleasing specimens of the skill and ingenuity with which Queen Elizabeth knew how to suit herself to their wishes. On her releasing the prisoners, confined in the former reign on account of religion, one Rainsford told the queen that he had a petition to present to her, in behalf of other prisoners, called Mathew, Mark, Luke, and John. She readily replied that she must first consult the prisoners themselves, and learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he had asked for them. At the time of her coronation, from one of the principal arches through which she was conducted, a boy personating Truth was let down, and presented her with a Bible. She received it on her knees, kissed it, and placing it in her bosom, said, "she preferred that above all other presents that were on that day made her."—*History of Knowledge in the New Annual Register for 1789*, p. 4 ; and *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, abridged, 8vo, p. 344.—Ed.

‡ Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 291. Life of Parker, p. 46, 310. Strype's Annals, vol. i., p. 175, 176.

* Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 400.

† This, Dr. Warner observes, was justifying one abuse by another.—Ed.

‡ Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 290.

§ Pierce's Vind., p. 38.

in her twenty-third injunction removed out of churches; but she would not part with her altar, or her crucifix, nor with lighted candles, out of her own chapel. The gentlemen and singing children appeared there in their surplices, and the priests in their copes: the altar was furnished with rich plate, and two gilt candlesticks, with lighted candles, and a massy crucifix of silver in the midst: the service was sung, not only with the sound of organs, but with the artificial music of coronets, sackbuts, &c., on solemn festivals. The ceremonies observed by the knights of the garter in their adoration towards the altar, which had been abolished by King Edward, and revived by Queen Mary, were retained. In short, the service performed in the queen's chapel, and in sundry cathedrals, was so splendid and showy, that foreigners could not distinguish it from the Roman, except that it was performed in the English tongue. By this method, most of the popish laity were deceived into conformity, and came regularly to Church for nine or ten years, till the pope, being out of all hopes of an accommodation, forbid them, by excommunicating the queen, and laying the whole kingdom under an interdict.

When the visiters had gone through the kingdom, and made their report of the obedience given her majesty's laws and injunctions, it appeared that not above two hundred and forty-three clergymen had quitted their livings, viz., thirteen bishops, and three bishops elect; one abbot, four priors, one abbess, twelve deans, fourteen archdeacons, sixty canons or prebendaries, one hundred beneficed clergy, fifteen heads of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge; to which may be added about twenty doctors in several faculties. In one of the volumes in the Cotton library, the number is one hundred and ninety-two; D'Ew's Journal mentions but one hundred and seventy-seven; Bishop Burnet one hundred and ninety-nine; but Camden and Cardinal Allen reckon as above. Most of the inferior beneficed clergy kept their places, as they had done through all the changes of the three last reigns,* and, without all question, if the

* "The number of clergy who lost their preferments by refusing this oath was much smaller than might have been expected. Strype gives the following list, *ibid.*, 106.

Bishops	14
Deans	13
Archdeacons	14
Heads of colleges	15
Prebendaries	50
Rectors of churches	80
Abbots, Priors, and Abbesses,	6

In all, 192

Burnet makes the number of deans 12, and of archdeacons the same. In the other items of this list he agrees with Strype.—*Burnet's Reform.*, vol. ii., 620. Collier makes the whole number to be about 250.—*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., 431. The compliance of the Catholic clergy on this occasion shows the futility of tests, however cautiously worded, as a means of securing uniformity of doctrine. They may drive the conscientious from the service of the sanctuary, but will never eject the formalist and hypocrite. How much more noble and Christian-like was the conduct of the Nonconformists under Charles the Second, two thousand of whom resigned their livings rather than burden their conscience by an unprincipled subscription! It was remarked with equal truth and wisdom by Bishop Shipley, in the debate on the Dis-

queen had died, and the old religion had been restored, they would have turned again; but the bishops and some of the dignified clergy having sworn to the supremacy under King Henry, and renounced it again under Queen Mary, they thought it might reflect a dishonour upon their character to change again, and therefore they resolved to hold together, and by their weight endeavour to distress the Reformation. Upon so great an alteration of religion the number of recusants out of nine thousand four hundred parochial benefices was inconsiderable; and yet it was impossible to find Protestants of a tolerable capacity to supply the vacancies, because many of the stricter sort, who had been exiles for religion, could not come up to the terms of conformity and the queen's injunctions.*

It may seem strange that, amid all this concern for the new form of worship, no notice should be taken of the doctrinal articles which King Edward had published for avoiding diversities of opinions, though her majesty might have enjoined them, by virtue of her supremacy under the great seal, as well as her brother; but the bishops durst not venture them into convocation, because the majority were for the old religion, and the queen was not very fond of her brother's doctrines. To supply this defect for the present, the bishops drew up a declaration of their faith,† which all churchmen were obliged to read publicly at their entrance upon their cures.

These were the terms of ministerial conformity at this time: the oath of supremacy, compliance with the act of uniformity, and this declaration of faith. There was no dispute among the Reformers about the first and last of these qualifications, but they differed upon the second; many of the learned exiles and others refusing to accept of livings in the Church according to the act of uniformity and the queen's injunctions. If the popish habits and ceremonies had been left indifferent, or other decent ones appointed in their room, the seeds of division had been prevented; but as the case stood, it was next to a miracle that the Reformation had not fallen back into the hands of the papists; and if some of the Puritans had not complied for the present, in hopes of the removal of these grievances in more settled times, this would have been the sad consequence, for it was impossible, with all the assistance they could get from both universities, to fill up the parochial vacancies with men of learning and character. Many churches were furnished for a considerable time, and not a few mechanics, altogether as unlearned as the most remarkable of those that were ejected, were preferred to dignities and livings, who, being disregarded by the people, brought great discredit on the Reformation, while others of the first rank for learning, piety, and usefulness in their functions, were laid by in silence. There was little or no preaching

senters' Relief Bill, in 1779, 'I am not afraid of those tender and scrupulous consciences who are over cautious of professing and believing too much; if they are sincerely in the wrong, I forgive their errors, and respect their integrity. The men I am afraid of are the men who believe everything, who subscribe everything, and who vote for everything.'—*Parl. History*.—C. * Strype's Ann., vol. i., p. 72, 73.

† See this declaration, Appendix No. 1.

all over the country; the Bishop of Bangor writes that "he had but two preachers in all his diocess."* It was enough if the parson could read the service, and sometimes a homily. The bishops were sensible of the calamity; but instead of opening the door a little wider, to let in some of the more conscientious and zealous Reformers, they admitted the meanest and most illiterate who would come up to the terms of the laws, and published a second book of homilies for their farther assistance.

It is hard to say, at this distance of time, how far the bishops were to blame for their servile and abject compliance with the queen; yet one is ready to think that those who had drunk so deep of the cup of persecution, and had seen the dreadful effects of it in the fiery trial of their brethren the martyrs, should have insisted as one man upon a latitude for their conscientious brethren in points of indifference; whereas their zeal ran in a quite different channel; for when the spiritual sword was put into their hands, they were too forward in brandishing it over the heads of others, and even to outrun the laws, by suspending, depriving, fining, and imprisoning men of true learning and piety, popular preachers declared enemies of popery and superstition, and of the same faith with themselves, who were fearful of a sinful compliance with things that had been abused to idolatry.

All the exiles were now come home, except a few of the Puritan stamp that stayed at Geneva to finish their translation of the Bible, begun in the late reign. The persons concerned in it were Miles Coverdale, Christ. Goodman, John Knox, Ant. Gibbs, Thomas Sampson, William Cole, of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, and William Whittingham: they compared Tyndal's old English Bible first with the Hebrew, and then with the best modern translations; they divided the chapters into verses, which the former translators had not done; they added some figures, maps, and tables, and published the whole in 1560, at Geneva, in quarto, printed by Rowland Harle, with a dedication to the queen, and an epistle to the reader, dated April 10th, which are left out in the later editions, because they touched somewhat severely upon certain ceremonies retained in the Church of England, which they excited her majesty to remove, as having a popish aspect; and because the translators had published marginal notes, some of which were thought to affect the queen's prerogative, and to allow the subject to resist wicked and tyrannical kings; therefore, when the proprietors petitioned the secretary of state for reprinting it in England for public use, in the year 1565, it was refused, and the impression stopped, till after the death of the archbishop, in the year 1576.† The author of the Troubles at Frankfort, published in the year 1575, complains that "if the Geneva Bible be such as no enemy of God can justly find fault with, then may men marvel that such a work, being so profitable, should find so small favour as not to be printed again."‡ The exceptionable notes were on Exodus, xv., 19, where disobedience to kings is allowed; 2 Chron., xix., 16, where Asa is censured for stopping short at the deposing of his mother, and not executing her; Rev., ix., 3, where the locusts that come

out of the smoke are said to be heretics, false teachers, worldly, subtle prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, doctors, bachelors, and masters. But notwithstanding these and some other exceptionable passages in the notes, the Geneva Bible was reprinted in the years 1576 and 1579, and was in such repute that some, who had been curious to search into the number of its editions, say that by the queen's own printers it was printed above thirty times. However, for a present supply, Tyndal and Coverdale's translation, printed in the reign of King Henry VIII., was revised and published for the use of the Church of England till the bishops should publish a more correct one, which they had now undertaken.

Together with the exiles, the Dutch and German Protestants, who, in the reign of King Edward VI., had the church in Austin Friars assigned them for a place of worship, returned to England with John a Lasco, a Polonian, their superintendent. They petitioned the queen to restore them to their church and privileges, which her majesty declined for some time, because she would not admit of a stranger to be superintendent of a church within her bishop's diocess. To take off this objection, Alasco resigned, and the people chose Grindal, bishop of London, their superintendent; and then the queen confirmed their charter, which they still enjoy, though they never chose another superintendent after him. The French Protestants were also restored to their church in Threadneedle-street, which they yet enjoy.

The Reformation took place this year in Scotland, by the preaching of Mr. John Knox, a bold and courageous Scotch divine, who shunned no danger, nor feared the face of any man in the cause of religion. He had been a preacher in England in King Edward's time, then an exile at Frankfort, and at last one of the ministers of the English congregation at Geneva, from whence he arrived at Edinburgh, May 2d., 1559, being forty-five years of age, and settled at Perth, but was a sort of evangelist over the whole kingdom. He maintained this position, that if kings and princes refused to reform religion, inferior magistrates and the people, being directed and instructed in the truth by their preachers, may lawfully reform within their own bounds themselves; and if all, or the far greater part, be enlightened by the truth, they may make a public reformation. Upon this principle the Scots Reformers humbly petitioned the queen-dowager, regent for her daughter [Mary], now in France, for liberty to assemble publicly or privately for prayer, for reading and explaining the Holy Scriptures, and administering the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper in the vulgar tongue; and the latter in both kinds, according to Christ's institution. This reasonable petition not being admitted, certain noblemen and barons formed an association, resolving to venture their lives and fortunes in this cause; and they encouraged as many of the curates of the parishes within their districts as were willing to read the prayers and lessons in English, but not to expound the Scriptures till God should dispose the queen to grant them liberty. This being executed at Perth and the neighbouring parts without disturbance, the association spread, and was sign-

* MS., p. 886.

† Life of Parker, p. 206.

‡ Hickman against Heylin, p. 179.

ed by great numbers, even in the capital city of Edinburgh. Upon this they presented another petition, representing to the regent the unseasonableness of her rigour against the Protestants, considering their numbers; but she was deaf to all moderate councils. At the meeting of the Parliament the congregation, or heads of the association, presented the regent with sundry articles relating to liberty of conscience, to lay before the house, which she suppressed, and would not suffer to be debated; whereupon they drew up the following protestation, and desired it might be recorded: "That since they could not procure a reformation, agreeable to the Word of God, from the government, that it might be lawful for them to follow the dictates of their consciences. That none that joined with them in the profession of the true faith should be liable to any civil penalties, or incur any damages for so doing. They protest that if any tumults arise on the score of religion, the imputation ought not to lie upon them who now humbly entreat for a regular remedy; and that in all other things they will be most loyal subjects." The regent acquainted the court of France with the situation of affairs, and received an order to suffer no other religion but the Roman Catholic to be professed, with a promise of large supplies of forces to support her. Upon this she summoned the magistrates of Perth, and the Reformed ministers, to appear before her at Stirling, with a design to have them banished by a solemn decree. The ministers appeared accordingly, being attended by vast crowds of people armed and prepared to defend them, agreeably to the custom of Scotland, which allowed criminals to come to their trials attended with their relations and friends. The regent, astonished at the sight, prayed John Areskin to persuade the multitude to retire, and gave her parole that nothing should be decreed against the ministers; but they were no sooner gone quietly home than she condemned them for non-appearance.

This news being brought to Perth, the burghers, encouraged by great numbers of the nobility and neighbouring gentry, formed an army of seven thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Glencairne, for the defence of their ministers against the regent, who was marching with an army of French and Scots to drive them out of their country; but being informed of the preparation of the burghers, she consented to a treaty, by which it was agreed that she should be received with honour into the city, and be suffered to lodge in it some days, provided she would promise to make no alteration in religion, but refer all to the Parliament; the Scots forces on both sides to be dismissed; but the reformed had no sooner disbanded their army, and opened their gates to the regent, than she broke all the articles, set up the mass, and left a garrison of French in the town, resolving to make it a place of arms. Upon this notorious breach of treaty, as well as the regent's declaration that promises were not to be kept with heretics, the congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose raised a little army, and signed an engagement to assist each other in maintaining the Reformation with their lives and fortunes. Mr. Knox encouraged them by his sermons; and the popu-

lace being warmed, pulled down altars and images, plundered the monasteries, and dismantled the churches of their superstitious ornaments. The regent marched against them at the head of two thousand French, and two thousand Scots in French pay; but being afraid to venture a battle, she retreated to Dunbar, and the confederates made themselves masters of Perth, Scone, Stirling, and Lithgow. At length a truce was concluded, by which the ministers of the congregation had liberty to preach in the pulpits of Edinburgh for the present; but the regent, having soon after received large recruits from France, repossessed herself of Leith, and ordered it to be fortified and stored with all necessary provisions; the confederates desired her to demolish the works, alleging it to be a violation of the truce; but she commanded them upon their allegiance to be quiet and lay down their arms; and marching directly to Edinburgh, she obliged them to desert the city and retire to Stirling, whither the French troops followed them, and dispersed them into the mountains. In this low condition they published a proclamation, discharging the regent of her authority, and threatening to treat as enemies all that obeyed her orders; but not being able to stand their ground, they threw themselves into the arms of Queen Elizabeth, who, being sensible of the danger of the Protestant religion, and of her own crown, if Scotland should become entirely popish, under the government of a queen of France, who claimed the crown of England, entered into an alliance to support the confederate Protestants in their religion and civil liberties, and signed the treaty at Berwick, February 27, 1560.

Among other articles of this treaty, it was stipulated that the queen should send forces into Scotland, to continue there till Scotland was restored to its liberties and privileges, and the French driven out of the kingdom. Accordingly, her majesty sent an army of seven thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, which joined the confederate army of like force.* This army was afterward re-enforced by a large detachment from the northern marches, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk; after which they took the city of Leith, and obliged the queen-regent to shut herself up in the castle of Edinburgh, where she died June 10th. The French offered to restore Calais, if the queen would recall her forces from Scotland; but she refused. At length, the troubles of France requiring all their forces at home, plenipotentiaries were sent into Scotland to treat with Elizabeth about withdrawing the French forces out of that kingdom, and restoring the Scots to their parliamentary government. The treaty was concluded the beginning of August, whereby a general amnesty was granted; the English and French forces were to withdraw in two months, and a parliament to be called with all convenient speed, to settle the affairs of religion and the kingdom; but Francis and Mary refused to ratify it.

Before the Parliament met Francis died, and left Mary Queen of Scots a young widow. The late treaty not being ratified, the Parliament had no direct authority from the crown, but assembled by virtue of the late treaty, and received

* Rapin, vol. viii., p. 271.

the following petitions from the barons and gentlemen concerning religion :

1. "That the doctrines of the Roman Church should be suppressed by act of Parliament, in those exceptionable points therein mentioned.

2. "That the discipline of the ancient Church be revived.

3. "That the pope's usurped authority be discharged."

All which was voted, and the ministers were desired to draw up a confession of faith, which they expressed in twenty-five articles, agreeable to the sentiments of Calvin and the foreign Reformers. The confession, being read in Parliament, was carried but with three dissenting voices, the popish prelates offering nothing in defence of their religion.

By another act the pope's authority was abolished, and reading mass was made punishable, for the first offence, with loss of goods; for the second, banishment; and for the third, death. This was carrying matters too far; for to judge men to death for matters of mere conscience that do not affect the government, is not to be justified. "To affirm that we are in the right and others in the wrong," says Mr. Collyer,* "is foreign to the point; for every one that suffers for religion thinks himself in the right, and therefore ought not to be destroyed for his sincerity, for the prejudices of education, or the want of a better understanding, unless his opinions have mutiny and treason in them, and shake the foundations of civil society."

Upon the breaking up of the Parliament a commission was directed to Mr. Knox, Willock, Spotiswood, and some other divines, to draw up a scheme of discipline for the Church, which they did pretty much upon the Geneva plan, only admitting superintendents in the room of bishops, and rejecting imposition of hands in the ordination of ministers, because that miracles were ceased, which they apprehended to accompany that ceremony. Their words are these: † "Other ceremonies than the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chief minister, that the person there presented is appointed to serve the Church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary." They also appointed ten or twelve superintendents to plant and erect kirks, and to appoint ministers in such counties as should be committed to their care, where there were none already. But then they add, these men must not live like idle bishops, but must preach themselves twice or thrice a week, and visit their districts every three or four months, to inspect the lives and behaviour of the parochial ministers, to redress grievances, or bring them before an assembly of the kirk. The superintendents were to be chosen by the ministers and elders of the several provinces, and to be deprived by them for misbehaviour. The assemblies of the kirk were divided into classical, provincial, and national, in which last the dernier resort of all kirk-jurisdiction was lodged.

When this plan of discipline was laid before the estates, it was referred to farther consideration, and had not a parliamentary sanction, as

the Reformers expected. But after the recess of the Parliament, several noblemen, barons, and chief gentlemen of the nation met together, at the instance of Mr. Knox, and signed it, resolving to abide by the new discipline till it should be confirmed or altered by Parliament. From this time the old hierarchical government was disused, and the kirk was governed by general, provincial, and classical assemblies, with superintendents, though there was no law for it till some years after.

To return to England. The popish bishops behaved rudely towards the queen and her new bishops: they admonished her majesty by letter to return to the religion of her ancestors, and threatened her with the censures of the Church in case she refused. This not prevailing, Pope Pius IV. himself exhorted her by letter, dated May 5, 1570, to reject evil counsellors, and obey his fatherly admonitions, assuring her that, if she would return to the bosom of the Church, he would receive her with the like affectionate love as the father in the Gospel received his son. Parpalio, the nuncio that was sent with this letter, offered, in the pope's name, to confirm the English liturgy, to allow of the sacrament in both kinds, and to disannul the sentence against her mother's marriage; but the queen would not part with her supremacy.* Another nuncio, the Abbot Martmegues, was sent this summer with other proposals, but was stopped in Flanders, and forbid to set foot in the realm. The emperor, and other Roman Catholic princes, interceded with the queen to grant her subjects of their religion churches to officiate in after their own manner, and to keep up a separate communion; but her majesty was too politic to trust them, upon which they entered upon more desperate measures, as will be seen hereafter. †

Archbishop Parker visited his diocese this summer, and found it in a deplorable condition, the major part of the benefited clergy being either mechanics or mass-priests in disguise; many churches were shut up, and in those that were open, not a sermon was to be heard in some counties within the compass of twenty miles; the people perished for lack of knowledge, while men who were capable of instructing them were kept out of the Church, or, at least, denied all preferment in it. But the queen was not so much concerned for this as for maintaining her supremacy; his grace, therefore, by her order, drew up a form of subscription to be made by all that held any ecclesiastical preferment, ‡ wherein they acknowledge and confess "that the restoring the supremacy to the crown, and the abolishing all foreign power, as well as the administration of the sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer and the queen's injunctions, is agreeable to the Word of God and the practice of the primitive Church." Which most that favoured the Reformation, as well as great numbers of time-serving priests, complied with; but some refused, and were deprived.

* Foxes and Firebrands, part iii., p. 15, 18.

† "Elizabeth," as Dr. Warner expresses it, "was not to be won with either threats or entreaties to part with her supremacy, of which she was as fond as the king her father."—Ep.

‡ Strype's Ann., p. 408. . † Life of Parker, p. 77.

* Collyer's Eccl. Hist., p. 468.

† First Book of Discipline, p. 31.

The next thing the archbishop undertook was settling the calendar, and the order of lessons to be read throughout the year, which his grace, as one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, procured letters under the great seal to reform.* Before this time it was left to the discretion of the minister to change the chapters to be read in course for some others that were more for edification; and even after this new regulation the bishops recommended it; for in the preface to the second book of homilies, published in the year 1564, there is a serious admonition to all ministers ecclesiastical to be diligent and faithful in their high functions, in which, among others, is this remarkable instruction to the curates or ministers.† “If one or other chapter of the Old Testament falls in order to be read on Sundays or holidays, it shall be well done to spend your time to consider well of some other chapter in the New Testament of more edification, for which it may be changed. By this your prudence and diligence in your office will appear, so that your people may have cause to glorify God for you, and be the readier to embrace your labours.” If this indulgence had been continued, one considerable difficulty to the Puritans had been removed, viz., their obligation to read the Apocrypha lessons; and surely there could be no great danger in this, when the minister was confined within the canon of Scripture.

But this liberty was not long permitted, though, the admonition being never legally reversed, Archbishop Abbot was of opinion that it was in force in his time, and ought to have been allowed the clergy throughout the course of this reign.‡ His words are these, in his book entitled “*Hill's Reasons Unmasked*,” p. 317: “It is not only permitted to the minister, but recommended to him, if wisely and quietly he do read canonical Scripture where the Apocrypha, upon good judgment, seemeth not so fit; or any chapter of the canonical may be conceived not to have in it so much edification before the simple as some other parts of the same canonical Scriptures may be thought to have.” But the governing bishops were of another mind: they would trust nothing to the discretion of the minister, nor vary a tittle from the act of uniformity.

Hitherto there were few or no peculiar lessons for holidays and particular Sundays, but the chapters of the Old and New Testaments were read in course, without any interruption or variation; so it is in the Common Prayer Book of 1549, fol. 5. In the second edition of that book, under King Edward VI., there were proper lessons for some few holidays, but none for Sundays; but now there was a table of proper lessons for the whole year, thus entitled, “Proper lessons to be read for the first lesson, both at morning and evening prayer, on the Sundays throughout the year; and for some also the second lessons.” It begins with the Sundays of Advent, and appoints Isa., i., for matins, and Isa., ii., for even-song. There is another table for proper lessons on holidays, beginning with St. Andrew; and a third table for proper psalms on certain days, as Christmas, Easter, Ascension Whitsunday, &c. At the

end of this Common Prayer Book, printed by Jug and Cawood, 1560, were certain prayers for private and family use, which in the later editions are either shortened or left out. Mr. Strype cannot account for this conduct, but says it was great pity that the people were dis furnished of those assistances they so much wanted; but the design seems to have been to confine all devotion to the Church, and to give no liberty to clergy or laity, even in their closets or families, to vary from the public forms. An admonition was published at the same time, and set up in all churches, forbidding all parsons under the degree of master of arts to preach or expound the Scriptures, or to innovate or alter anything, or use any other rite but only what is set forth by authority; these were only to read the homilies.* And whereas, by reason of the scarcity of ministers, the bishops had admitted into the ministry sundry artificers and others, not brought up to learning, and some that were of base occupation, it was now desired that no more tradesmen should be ordained till the convocation met and took some better order in this affair.

But it was impossible to comply with this admonition; for so many churches in country towns and villages were vacant, that in some places there was no preaching, nor so much as reading a homily, for many months together. In sundry parishes it was hard to find persons to baptize, or bury the dead; the bishops, therefore, were obliged to admit of pluralists, non-residents, civilians, and to ordain such as offered themselves, how meanly soever they were qualified, while others, who had some scruples about conformity, stood by unprovided for; the learned and industrious Mr. John Fox, the martyrologist, was of this number, for in a letter to his friend Dr. Humphreys, lately chosen President of Magdalen College, Oxon, he writes thus: “I still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition that England received me in when I first came home out of Germany, nor do I change my degree or order, which is that of the Mendicants; or, if you will, of the friars-preachers.” Thus pleasantly did this grave and learned divine reproach the ingratitude of the times. The Puritans complained of these hardships to the queen, but there was no remedy.

The two universities could give little or no assistance to the Reformers; for the professors and tutors, being of the popish religion, had trained up the youth in their own principles for the last six or seven years. Some of the heads of colleges were displaced this summer, and Protestants put in their room; but it was a long time before they could supply the necessities of the Church. There were only three Protestant preachers in the University of Oxford in the year 1563, and they were all Puritans, viz., Dr. Humphreys, Mr. Kingsmill, and Mr. Sampson; and though by the next year the clergy were so modelled that the bishops procured a convocation that favoured the Reformation, yet they were such poor scholars that many of them could hardly write their names.

Indeed, the Reformation went heavily on. The queen could scarcely be persuaded to part with images, nor consent to the marriage of the

* M.S. penes me, p. 88. † Life of Parker, p. 84.
‡ Strype's Ann., p. 117. § Life of Parker, p. 83.

* Life of Parker, p. 90.

clergy; for she commanded that no head or member of any collegiate or cathedral church should bring a wife or any other woman within the precincts of it, to abide in the same, on pain of forfeiture of all ecclesiastical promotions;* and her majesty would have absolutely forbid the marriage of all her clergy, if Secretary Cecil had not briskly interposed. She repented that she had made any married men bishops, and told the archbishop, in anger, that she intended to publish other injunctions, which his grace understood to be in favour of popery; upon which the archbishop wrote to the secretary that he was sorry the queen's mind was so turned, but in such a case he should think it his duty to obey God rather than man. Upon the whole, the queen was so far from improving her brother's reformation, that she often repented she had gone so far.†

Her majesty's second Parliament met the 12th of January, 1562, in which a remarkable act was passed, for assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions. It was a confirmation of the act of supremacy. "All persons that by writing, printing, preaching, or teaching, maintained the pope's authority within this realm, incurred a præmunire for the first offence, and the second was high treason. The oath of supremacy was to be taken by all in holy orders, by all graduates in the universities, lawyers, schoolmasters, and all other officers of any court whatsoever; and by all knights, citizens, and burgesses, in Parliament."‡ But the archbishop, by the queen's order, wrote to the bishops not to tender the oath but in case of necessity, and never to press it a second time without his special direction; so that none of the popish bishops or divines were burdened with it except Bonner and one or two more.

The convocation was opened at St. Paul's the day after the meeting of the Parliament. Mr. Day, provost of Eton, preached the sermon, and Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, was chosen prolocutor. Her majesty having directed letters of license to review the doctrine and discipline of the Church, they began with the doctrine, and reduced the forty-two articles of King Edward VI. to the number of thirty-nine, as at present, the following articles being omitted: Article 39. The resurrection of the dead is not passed already. Art. 40. The souls of men deceased do neither perish with their bodies nor sleep idly. Art. 41. Of the Millenarians. Art. 42. All men not to be saved at last. Some of the other articles underwent a new division, two being joined into one, and in other parts one is divided into two; but there is no remarkable variation in the doctrine.§

* Life of Parker, p. 107, 109.

† Of this Dr. Warner gives the following instances: When the Dean of St. Paul's, in a sermon at court, spoke with some dislike of the sign of the cross, her majesty called aloud to him from her closet, commanding him to desist from that ungodly digression, and to return to his text. At another time, when one of her chaplains preached a sermon on Good Friday in defence of the real presence, which, without guessing at her sentiments, he would scarce have ventured on, she openly gave him thanks for his pains and piety.—*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 427.—Ed.

‡ Life of Parker, p. 126.

§ The eighth article of Edward VI. had a clause

It has been warmly disputed whether the first clause of the twentieth article, "The Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith," was a part of the article which passed the synod, and was afterward confirmed by Parliament in the year 1571. It is certain that it is not among King Edward's articles; nor is it in that original manuscript of the articles subscribed by both houses of convocation with their own hands, still preserved in Bene't College library among the rest of Archbishop Parker's papers. The records of this convocation were burned in the fire of London, so that there is no appealing to them; but Archbishop Laud says that he sent to the public records in his office, and the notary returned him the twentieth article with the clause; and that afterward he found the book of articles subscribed by the lower house of convocation in 1571, with the clause. Heylin says that he consulted the records of convocation, and that the contested clause was in the book; and yet Fuller, a much fairer writer, who had the liberty of perusing the same records, declares that he could not decide the controversy.* The fact is this: the statute of 1571 expressly confirms English articles comprised in an imprinted book, entitled "Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year 1562, according to the computation of the Church of England; for the avoiding diversity of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion: put forth by the queen's authority." Now there were only two editions of the articles in English before this time, both which have the same numerical title with that transcribed in the statute, and both, says my author, want the clause of the Church's power. But Mr. Strype, in his life of Archbishop Parker, says that the clause is to be found in two printed copies of 1563, which I believe very few have seen.† However, till the original MS. above mentioned can be set aside, which is carefully marked as

imputing to the Anabaptists as the Pelagians, the opinion that original sin consisted in following of Adam: in this revival of the articles the part of the clause charging the Anabaptists with that opinion was left out. That article concerning baptism stated also the grounds of administering that rite to infants in this manner: "The custom of the Church for baptizing young children is both to be commended, and by all means to be retained in the Church." It seems, by this, that the first Reformers did not found the practice of infant baptism upon Scripture; but took it only as a commendable custom that had been used in the Christian Church, and, therefore, ought to be retained.—*Crosby's History of the English Baptists*, vol. i., p. 54.—Ed.

* Church History, b. ix., p. 74.

† The celebrated Mr. Anthony Collins discussed the question concerning the genuineness of this clause, in several publications; and professed to demonstrate that it was not a part of the articles agreed on by the convocations of 1562 and 1571. His first pamphlet was entitled, *Priestcraft in Perfection*. Its appearance gave a general alarm to the clergy; and a variety of pamphlets, sermons, and larger works, in reply to it, issued forth from the press. The two principal of which Mr. Collins answered in 1724, in "An Historical and Critical Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England."—See *British Biography*, vol. ix., p. 275, 278, &c.—Ed.

to the number of pages, and the number of lines and articles in each page, it seems more probable that the clause was some way or other surreptitiously inserted by those who were friends of the Church's power, than struck out by the Puritans, as Laud and his followers have published to the world; for it is hard to suppose that a foul copy, as this is pretended to be, should be so carefully marked and subscribed by every member of the synod with their own hands, and yet not be perfect; but it is not improbable that the notary or registrar, who transcribed the articles into the convocation-book, with the names of them that subscribed, might, by direction of his superiors, privately insert it; and so it might appear in the records of 1571, though it was not in the original draught. The controversy is of no great moment to the present clergy, because it is certain the clause was a part of the article confirmed by Parliament at the restoration of King Charles II., 1662; though how far it was consistent with the act of supremacy, which lodged the ultimate power of determining matters of faith and discipline in the crown, I must leave with the reader. The synod itself seemed to be apprehensive of the danger of a præmunire, and, therefore, after their names these words were cautiously added: "Ista subscriptio facta est ab omnibus sub hac protestatione, quod nihil statuunt in præjudicium cujusquam senatus consulti, sed tantum supplicem libellum petitiones suas continentem humiliter offerunt: *i. e.*, "This subscription is made by all, with this protestation, that they determine nothing in prejudice of any act of Parliament, but only offer this little book to the queen or Parliament, containing their requests and petitions."

The articles were concluded, and the subscription finished, in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, January 31, 1562, in the ninth session of convocation.* All the bishops subscribed except Gloucester and Rochester, whô, I believe, were absent. Of the lower house there were upward of a hundred hands; but, whatever their learning was, many of them wrote so ill that it was hard to read their names. Among the subscribers are several of the learned exiles, who were dissatisfied with the constitution; as the Reverend Mr. Beseley, Watts, Cole, Mullins, Sampson, Pullan, Spencer, Wisdom, Nowel, Heton, Beaumont, Pedder, Lever, Pownal, Wilson, Croley, and others. But the articles did not pass into a law, and become a part of the establishment, till nine years after, though some of the more rigid bishops of the ecclesiastical commission insisted upon subscription from this time.

The next considerable affair that came under debate was the rites and ceremonies of the Church; and here, first, Bishop Sandys brought in a paper of advice to move her majesty,

"That private baptism, and baptism by women, may be taken out of the Common Prayer Book. That the cross in baptism may be disallowed, as needless and superstitious. That commissioners may be appointed to reform the ecclesiastical laws."

Another paper was presented to the house with the following requests, signed by thirty-three names.

"That the psalms may be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, and that organs may be laid aside. That none may baptize but ministers, and that they may leave off the sign of the cross. That at the ministrations of the communion the posture of kneeling may be left indifferent. That the use of copes and surplices may be taken away; so that all ministers in their ministry use a grave, comely, and sad garment, as they commonly do in preaching. That ministers be not compelled to wear such gowns and caps as the enemies of Christ's Gospel have chosen to be the special array of their priesthood. That the words in the thirty-third article, concerning the punishment of those who do not in all things conform to the public order about ceremonies, may be mitigated. That all the saints' days, festivals, and holydays, bearing the name of a creature, may be abrogated; or at least a commemoration only of them reserved by sermons, homilies, or common prayer, for the better instructing the people in history; and that after service men may go to work."

I have subjoined the names of the subscribers to this paper, that the reader may take notice what considerable persons they were for learning and ability, as well as numbers, that desired a farther reformation in the Church.*

This paper not being approved, another was brought into the lower house February 13, containing the following articles to be approved or rejected.†

"That all Sundays in the year, and principal feasts of Christ, be kept holydays, and that all other holydays be abrogated. That in all parish churches the minister, in the common prayer, turn his face towards the people, and there read distinctly the service appointed, that the people may hear and be edified. That in baptism the cross may be omitted, as tending to superstition. Forasmuch as divers communicants are

* Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul's and prolocutor.

Sampson, dean of Christ Church, Oxon.

Lawrence Nowel, dean of Litchfield.

Ellis, dean of Hereford.

Day, provost of Eton.

Dodds, dean of Exon.

Mullins, archdeacon of London.

Pullan, archdeacon of Colchester.

Lever, archdeacon of Coventry.

Bemont, archdeacon of Huntingdon.

Spencer, archdeacon of Chichester.

Croley, archdeacon of Hereford.

Heton, archdeacon of Gloucester.

Rogers, archdeacon of St. Asaph.

Kemp, archdeacon of St. Alban's.

Prat, archdeacon of St. David's.

Longland, archdeacon of Bucks.

Watts, archdeacon of Middlesex.

Calphil,	} Proctors of the	Church of Oxon.
Walker,		Church of Suffolk.
Saul,		Dean and chapter of Gloucester.
Wiburne,		Church of Rochester.
Savage,		Clergy of Gloucester.
W. Bonner,		Church of Somerset.
Avys,		Church of Wigorn.
Wilson,		Church of Wigorn, Worcester.
Nevynson,		Clergy of Canterbury.
Tremayne,		Clergy of Exeter.
Renyger,		Dean and chapter of Winton.
Roberts,		Clergy of Norwich.
Reeve,		Dean and chapter of Westminster.
Hills,		Clergy of Oxon.

† Strype's Annals, p. 337.

* Strype's Annals, p. 329.

not able to kneel for age and sickness at the sacrament, and others kneel and knock superstitiously, that therefore the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary. That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying Divine service and ministering of the sacraments (once), to wear a surplice; and that no minister say service or minister the sacraments but in a comely garment or habit. That the use of organs be removed."

These propositions were the subject of warm debates; some approving and others rejecting them. In conclusion, the house being divided, it appeared, upon the scrutiny, that the majority of those present were for approving them, forty-three against thirty-five; but when the proxies were counted, the scale was turned; those who were for the propositions being fifty-eight, and those against them fifty-nine; so that by the majority of one single voice, and that not a person present to hear the debates but a proxy,* it

* "The authenticity of the first part of the twentieth article, which affirms that 'the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith,' has been impugned on grounds which, to say the least, are entitled to respect. The charge of interpolation was first advanced by Burton, during the reign of Charles the First. In a letter to the temporal lords of the privy council, he says, 'The prelates, to justify their proceedings, have forged a new article of religion, brought from Rome (which gives them full power to alter the doctrine and discipline of our Church at a blow), and have foisted it into the twentieth article of our Church. And this is in the last edition of the Articles, 1628, in affront of his majesty's declaration before them. The clause forged is this: 'The Church (that is, the bishops, as they expound it) hath power to decree, &c.' This clause is a forgery, fit to be examined and deeply censured in the Star Chamber. For it is not to be found in the Latin or English Articles of Edward the Sixth, or of Queen Elizabeth, ratified by Parliament. And if to forge a will or writing be censurable in the Star Chamber, which is but a wrong to a private man, how much more the forgery of an article of religion, to wrong the whole Church, and overturn religion, which concerns all our souls?' Laud denied the charge, alleging that the Puritans had been guilty of publishing mutilated editions of the Articles, in which the contested clause was omitted. 'I do openly here,' he said in his speech in the Star Chamber, 'charge upon that pure sect this foul corruption of falsifying the Articles of the Church of England. Let them take it off as they can.' This controversy was revived, in the beginning of the last century, by Mr. Anthony Collins, in a publication entitled *Priestcraft in Perfection*. He attacked the authenticity of the contested clause with much ingenuity and force of evidence. Several answers appeared, the principal of which were, *A Vindication of the Church of England from the Assertions of Priestcraft in Perfection*, &c., published in 1710; and, *An Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*, by Dr. Bennet, in 1715. Collins replied to these, as well as to Collier and others, in *An Historical and Critical Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, published in 1724: wherein he undertakes to demonstrate that the clause, *The Church has power, &c.*, is not a part of the Articles, as they were established by act of Parliament in the thirteenth of Elizabeth, or agreed on by the convocations of 1562 and 1571. It is not easy to form a decided opinion on the question. Fuller, with his usual honesty, acknowledges the difficulty, and abstains from giving judgment. 'Whether,' he says, 'the bishops were faulty in their addition, or their opposites in their subtraction, I leave to more cunning state arithmeticians to decide.' Neal inclines to the view of Collins, but speaks with hesitation; while

was determined to make no alteration in the ceremonies, nor any abatement of the present establishment.*

I mention these names, not to detract from the merit of those who appeared for the present establishment, for many of them would have voted for the alterations, had they not been awed by their superiors, or afraid of a præmunire; whereas, if the contrary vote had prevailed, it was only to address the queen or Parliament to alter the service-book in those particulars; but I mention them to show that the voice of half the clergy in convocation, and of no less numbers out of it, were for amendments, or, at least, a latitude in the observation of the rites and ceremonies of the Church. Indeed, it was very unkind that, when such considerable abatements had been made in favour of the Roman Catholics, nothing should be indulged to those of the same faith, and who had suffered in the same cause with themselves, especially when the controversy was about points which one party apprehended to be sinful, and the other acknowledged to be indifferent. Sundry other papers and petitions were drawn up by the lower house of convocation in favour of a farther reformation, but nothing passed into a law.

Strype and Collier maintain the opposite.—*Fuller's Ch. Hist.*, vol. ix., 73. *Neal's Puritans*, vol. i., 147. *Strype's Parker*, vol. ii., 54. *Collier's Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., 486."—C.

* The names of the forty-three that approved the above articles were,

Dean Nowel, prolocutor, St. Paul's.
Mr. Archdeacon Lever, Coventry.
Dean Pedder, Wigorniensis.
Mr. Archdeacon Watts, Middlesex.
Dean Nowel, of Litchfield.
Mr. Archdeacon Spencer, Cicestrensis.
Mr. Besely, proct. cler., Cant.
Mr. Nevynson, proct. cler., Cant.
Mr. Bower, proct. cler., Somers.
Mr. Ebden, proct. cler., Wint.
Mr. Archdeacon Longland, Bucks.
Mr. Lancaster, thesaurar., Sarum.
Mr. Archdeacon Weston, Lewensis.
Mr. Archdeacon Wisdom, Eliensis.
Mr. Saul, proct. dec. cap., Glouc.
Mr. Walker, proct., Suffolk.
Mr. Becon.
Mr. Proctor, proct. cler., Sussex.
Mr. Cocerel, proct. cler., Surrey.
Mr. Archdeacon Tod, Bedf.
Mr. Archdeacon Croley, Hereford.
Mr. Soreby, proct. cler., Cicest.
Mr. Bradbridge, cancellar., Cicest.
Mr. Hills, proct. cler., Oxon.
Mr. Savage, proct. cler., Glouc.
Mr. Archdeacon Pullan, Colchest.
Mr. Wilson, proct., Wigorn.
Mr. Burton.
Mr. Archdeacon Bemont, Huntingd.
Mr. Wiburne, proct. eccl., Roff.
Mr. Day, prov., Eton.
Mr. Reeve, proct. dec. cap., Westm.
Mr. Roberts, proct. cler., Norw.
Mr. Calfhil, proct. cler., Lond. and Oxon.
Mr. Godwin, proct. cler., Linc.
Mr. Archdeacon Prat, St. David's.
Mr. Tremayn, proct. cler., Exon.
Mr. Archdeacon Heton, Glouc.
Mr. Archdeacon Kemp, St. Alban's.
Mr. Avys, proct. eccl., Wigorn.
Mr. Renyger, proct. dec. cap., Wint.
Mr. Dean Elis, Hereford.
Mr. Dean Sampson, Oxon.

The Church having carried their point* against the Puritans in convocation, we are now to see what use they made of their victory. The plague being in London and several parts of the country this summer, put a little stop to their zeal for uniformity at present; some were indulged, but none preferred that scrupled the habits. In proof of this, we may produce the examples of two of the worthiest and most learned divines of the age: one was Father Miles Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter, who, with Tyndal and Rogers, first translated the Bible into English after Wickliffe. This prelate was born in Yorkshire, bred at Cambridge, and proceeded doctor in divinity in the University of Tubing. Returning to England in the reign of King Edward, he was made Bishop of Exeter, 1551.† Upon the accession of Queen Mary he was imprisoned, and narrowly escaped the fire; but by the intercession of the King of Denmark was sent over into that country, and coming back at her death, assisted at the consecration of Queen Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury; yet, because he could not comply with the ceremonies and habits, he was neglected, and had no preferment. This reverend man, says Mr. Strype,‡ being now old and poor, Grindal, bishop of London, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, at the Bridge Foot, where he preached quietly about two years; but not coming up to the conformity required, he was persecuted thence, and obliged to relinquish his parish a little before his death, which happened May 20, 1567, at the age of eighty-one.§ He was a celebrated preacher, admired and followed by all the Puritans; but the Act of Uniformity brought down his reverend hairs with sorrow to the grave. He was buried in St. Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange, and was attended to his grave with vast crowds of people.

The other was that venerable man, Mr. John Fox, the martyrologist, a grave, learned, and painful divine, and exile for religion, who employed his time abroad in writing the acts and monuments of that Church which would hardly receive him into her bosom, and in collecting materials relating to the martyrdom of those

* "I conceive," says one of the most accurate and impartial of historians, "the Church of England party, that is, the party adverse to any species of ecclesiastical change, to have been the least numerous of the three (Catholic, Church of England, Puritan) during this reign; still excepting, as I have said, the neutrals, who commonly make a numerical majority, and are counted along with the dominant religion. The Puritans, or, at least, those who rather favoured them, had a majority among the *Protestant gentry* in the queen's days. It is agreed on all hands, and is quite manifest, that they predominated in the House of Commons. But that house was composed, as it has ever been, of the principal landed proprietors, and as such represented the general wish of the community, when it demanded a farther reform in religious matters, as on any other subjects. One would imagine, by the manner in which some express themselves, that the discontented were a small faction, who, by some unaccountable means, in despite of the government and the nation, formed a majority of all parliaments under Elizabeth and her two successors."—*Hallam's Const. Hist.*, i., 257. Such is the representation of Bishop Maddox in his animadversions on Neal, p. 37. &c.—C.

† Fuller's Worthies, b. iii., p. 198.

‡ Ann., p. 405. § Life of Parker, p. 149.

that suffered for religion in the reigns of King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary; all which he published, first in Latin for the benefit of foreigners, and then in English for the service of his own country, in the year 1561. No book ever gave such a mortal wound to popery as this; it was dedicated to the queen, and was in such high reputation, that it was ordered to be set up in the churches, where it raised in the people an invincible horror and detestation of that religion which had shed so much innocent blood. Queen Elizabeth had a particular esteem for Mr. Fox, but this excellent and laborious divine, though reduced to very great poverty and want, had no preferment in the Church because he scrupled the habits, till at length, by the intercession of some great friend, he obtained a prebend in the Church of Sarum, which he made a shift to hold till his death, though not without some disturbance from the bishops.*

The parochial clergy, both in city and country, had an aversion to the habits; they wore them sometimes in obedience to the law, but more frequently administered without them; for which some were cited into the spiritual courts, and admonished, the bishops not having yet assumed the courage of proceeding to suspension and deprivation. At length the matter was laid before the queen, as appears by a paper found among Secretary Cecil's MSS., dated February 24, 1564, which acquaints her majesty, that "some perform Divine service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the Church; some in a seat made in the church; some in a pulpit with their faces to the people; some keep precisely to the order of the book, some intermix psalms in metre; some say with a surplice, and others without one.

"The table stands in the body of the church in some places, in others it stands in the chancel; in some places the table stands altarwise, distant from the wall a yard; in others in the middle of the chancel, north and south; in some places the table is joined, in others it stands upon tressels; in some the table has a carpet, in others none.

‡ Some administer the communion with surplice and cap; some with surplice alone; † others with none; some with chalice, others with a communion-cup, others with a common cup; some with unleavened bread, and some with leavened.

"Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting; some baptize in a font, some in a basin; some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not; some minister in a surplice, others without; some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button-cap, some with a hat; some in scholars' clothes, some in others."

Her majesty was highly displeased with this report, and especially that her laws were so little regarded; she therefore directed a letter to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, dated January 25th, "to confer with the bishops of the ecclesiastical commission, and to inquire what

* Strype's Annals, vol. i., p. 130. Bishop Warburton says that he was also installed in the third prebend of Durham, October 14, 1572, but held it not long; Bellamy succeeding to the same stall October 31, 1573.—*Supplement to Warburton's Works*, p. 456.—Ed. † Life of Parker, p. 149.

diversities there were among the clergy in doctrine, rites, and ceremonies, and to take effectual methods that an exact order and uniformity be maintained in all external rites and ceremonies, as by law and good usages are provided for; and that none hereafter be admitted to any ecclesiastical preferment but who is well disposed to common order, and shall formally promise to comply with it.* To give countenance to this severity, it was reported that some of the warmer Puritans had turned the habits into ridicule, and given unhandsome language to those that wore them, which, according to Mr. Strype, was the occasion of their being pressed afterward with so much rigour; but whatever gave occasion to the persecution that followed, or whoever was at the head of it, supposing the insinuation to be just, it was very hard that so great a number of useful ministers, who neither censured their brethren, nor abused their indulgence by an unmannerly behaviour, should be turned out of their benefices for the indiscretion of a few. The bishops, in their letters to the foreign divines, had promised not to urge their brethren in these things, and, when opportunity served, to seek reformation of them; but now they took themselves to be released from their promises, and set at liberty by the queen's express command to the contrary; their meaning being, that they would not do it with their own accord, without direction from above.

The Puritans and their friends, foreseeing the storm, did what they could to avert it. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, wrote to the Earl of Leicester, October 25th, to use his interest with the queen in their behalf. He said "that compulsion should not be used in things of liberty. He prayed the earl to consider how all reformed countries had cast away popish apparel, with the pope, and yet we contend to keep it as a holy relic.† That many ministers would rather leave their livings than comply; and the realm had a great scarcity of teachers, many places being destitute of any. That it would give incurable offence to foreign Protestants; and since we have forsaken popery as wicked, I do not see," says the bishop, "how their apparel can become saints and professors of the Gospel." Whittingham, dean of Durham, wrote to the same purpose. He dreaded the consequence of imposing that as necessary which at best was only indifferent, and, in the opinion of many wise and learned men, superstitious. "If the apparel which the clergy wear at present," says he, "seems not so modest and grave as their vocation requires, or does not sufficiently distinguish them from men of other callings, they refuse not to wear that which shall be thought, by godly magistrates, most decent for these uses, provided they may keep themselves ever pure from the defiled robe of antichrist. Many papists," says he, "enjoy their livings and liberty who have not sworn obedience, nor do any part of their duty to their miserable flock.‡ Alas! my lord, that such compulsion should be used towards us, and such great lenity towards the papists. Oh! noble earl, be our patron and stay in this behalf, that we may not lose that liberty that hitherto, by the queen's benignity,

we have enjoyed." Other letters were written to the same purpose, and all made what friends they could among the courtiers.

The nobility were divided, and the queen herself seemed to be at a stand, but the archbishop spirited her forward; and having received her majesty's letter, authorizing him to proceed, he entered upon the unpleasing work with vigour and resolution. The Bishops Jewel and Horn preached at Paul's Cross to reconcile the people to the habits. Jewel said he did not come to defend them, but to show that they were indifferent, and might be complied with. Horn went a little farther, and wished those cut off from the Church that troubled it about white or black garments, round or square caps. The Puritans were not allowed to preach against the habits, but they expostulated with the bishops, and told them that, in their opinions, those ought rather to be cut off which stopped the course of the Gospel, and that grieved and offended their weak brethren, by urging the remnants of antichrist more than God's commandments, and by punishing the refusers of them more extremely than the breakers of God's laws.

The archbishop, with the Bishops of London, Ely, Winchester, and Lincoln, framed sundry articles to enforce the habits, which were afterward published under the title of Advertisements. But when his grace brought them to court, the queen refused to give them her sanction. The archbishop, chafed at the disappointment, said that the court had put him upon framing the Advertisements, and if they would not go on, they had better never have done anything; nay, if the council would not lend their helping hand against the Nonconformists, as they had done heretofore in Hooper's days, they should only be laughed at for all they had done.* But still the queen was so cold, that, when the Bishop of London came to court, she spoke not a word to him about the redressing the neglect of conformity in the city of London, where it was most disregarded. Upon which the archbishop applied to the secretary, desiring another letter from the queen to back their endeavours for conformity, adding, in some heat, "If you remedy it not by letter, I will no more strive against the stream, fume or chide who will."

But the wearing of popish garments being one of the grand principles of nonconformity, it will be proper to set before the reader the sentiments of some learned performers upon this controversy, which employed the pens of some of the most judicious divines of the age.

We have related the unfriendly behaviour of the Bishops Cranmer and Ridley towards Hooper, and that those very prelates who once threatened his life for refusing the habits, if we may credit Mr. Fox's Latin edition of the Book of Martyrs, lived to see their mistakes and repent;† for when Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, came to Oxford to degrade Bishop Ridley, he refused to put on the surplice, and while they were putting it on him whether he would or no, he vehemently inveighed against the apparel, calling it "foolish, abominable, and too fond for a vice in a play."

Bishop Latimer also derided the garments;

* Life of Parker, p. 154.

† Life of Parker, p. 155, and Appendix, p. 40.

‡ Life of Parker, p. 157, and Appendix, p. 43.

* Life of Parker, p. 159.

† Fox's Book of Martyrs, vol. iii., p. 500. Strype's Ann., vol. ii., p. 555.

and when they pulled off his surplice at his degradation, "Now," says he, "I can make no more holy water."

In the articles against Bishop Farrar, in King Edward's reign, it was objected, article forty-nine, that he had vowed never to wear the cap, but that he came into his cathedral with a long gown and hat, which he did not deny, alleging he did it to avoid superstition, and without any offence to the people.

When the popish vestments were put upon Dr. Taylor, the martyr, in order to his degradation, he walked about with his hands by his sides, saying, "How say you, my lord, am I not a goodly fool? If I were in Cheapside, would not the boys laugh at these foolish toys and apish trumpery?" And when the surplice was pulled off, "Now," says he, "I am rid of a fool's coat."

When they were pulling the same off from Archbishop Cranmer, he meekly replied, "All this needed not: I myself had done with this gear long ago."

Dr. Heylin testifies that John Rogers, the promartyr, peremptorily refused to wear the habits unless the popish priests were enjoined to wear upon their sleeves, by way of distinction, a chalice with a host. The same he asserts concerning Philpot, a very eminent martyr; and concerning one Tyms, a deacon, who was likewise martyred in Queen Mary's reign.

The holy martyr John Bradford, as well as Mr. Sampson and some others, excepted against the habits at their entrance into holy orders, and were ordained without them.

Bucer and Peter Martyr, professors of our two famous universities, were both against the habits, and refused to wear them. Bucer being asked why he did not wear the square cap, answered, Because his head was not square.* And Martyr, in one of his letters after his return home, says, "When I was at Oxford I would never use those white garments in the choir, though I was a canon in the Church; and I am satisfied in my own reasons for what I did."† In the same letter, Bucer says he would be content to suffer some great pain in his body upon condition that these things were utterly taken away.‡ And, in such case as we are now [1550], he willeth that in no case they should be received. He adds, in his letter from Cambridge to a friend beyond sea, dated 12th January, 1550, that no foreigner was consulted about the purity of ceremonies, "De puritate rituum scito hic neminem extraneum de his rebus rogari." And though both he and Peter Martyr thought they might be borne with for a season, yet, in our case, he would not have them suffered to remain.

These were the sentiments of our first Reformers in the reign of King Edward VI. and Queen Mary.

Upon restoring the Protestant religion, under Queen Elizabeth, the same sentiments concerning the habits prevailed among all the Reformers at first, though they disagreed upon the grand question whether they should desert their ministry rather than comply.

Mr. Strype, in his Life of Archbishop Parker, a most cruel persecutor of the Puritans, says

that he was not fond of the cap, the surplice, and the wafer-bread, and such like injunctions, and would have been pleased with a toleration; that he gloried in having been consecrated without the Aaronical garments; but that his concern for his prince's honour made him resolute that her royal will might take place.

Dr. Horn, bishop of Winchester, in his letter to Gaultier, says "that the act of Parliament which enjoined the vestments was made before they were in office, so that they had no hand in making it;* but they had obeyed the law, thinking the matter to be of indifferent nature; and they had reason to apprehend that, if they had deserted their stations on that account, their enemies might have come into their places;† but he hoped to procure an alteration of the act in the next Parliament, though he believed it would meet with great opposition from the papists." Yet this very bishop, a little after, wished them cut off from the Church that troubled it about white or black garments.

Bishop Jewel calls the vestments "the habits of the stage, the relics of the Amorites, and wishes they may be extirpated to the roots, that all the remnants of former errors, with all the rubbish, and even the dust that yet remained, might be taken away." But, he adds, the queen is fixed; and so was his lordship soon after, when he refused the learned Dr. Humphreys a benefice within his diocess on this account, and called the Nonconformists men of squeamish stomachs.‡

Bishop Pilkington complains "that the disputes which began about the vestments were now carried farther, even to the whole constitution; that pious persons lamented this, atheists laughed, and the papists blew the coals; and that the blame of all was cast upon the bishops. He urged that it might be considered that all Reformed Churches had cast away popish apparel with the pope; that many ministers would rather leave their livings than wear them; and he was well satisfied that it was not an apparel becoming those that profess godliness. I confess," says he, "we suffer many things against our hearts, groaning under them; but we cannot take them away, though we were ever so much set upon it. We were under authority, and can innovate nothing without the queen; nor can we alter the laws; the only thing left to our choice is, whether we will bear these things or break the peace of the Church."§

Bishop Grindal was a considerable time in suspense whether he should accept a bishopric with the popish vestments. He consulted Peter Martyr on this head, and says that all the bishops that had been beyond the sea had dealt with the queen to let the habits fall; but she was inflexible. This made them submit to the laws, and wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them. Upon this principle he conformed, and was consecrated; and in one of his letters he calls God to witness that it did not lie at their (the bishops') door that the habits were not quite taken away.

Dr. Sandys, bishop of Worcester, and Parkhurst of Norwich, inveigh severely against the habits, and they, with the rest of the bishops,

* Life of Parker, Appendix, p. 41.

† Hist. Ref., p. 65.

‡ Ann. Ref., vol. ii., p. 554, 555.

* Pierce's Vindication, p. 44.

† Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 289, 294. Life of Parker, p. 154. ‡ MS., p. 873. § Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 316.

threaten to declaim against them "till they are sent to hell, from whence they came."* Sandys, in one of his letters to Parker, says, "I hope we shall not be forced to use the vestments, but that the meaning of the law is, that others, in the mean time, shall not take them away, but that they shall remain for the queen."

Dr. Guest, bishop of Rochester, wrote against the ceremonies to Secretary Cecil, and gave it as his opinion "that, having been evil used, and once taken away, they ought not to be used again, because the Galatians were commanded to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free, and because we are to abstain from all appearance of evil. The Gospel teaches us to put away needless ceremonies, and to worship God in spirit and truth; whereas these ceremonies were no better than the devices of men, and had been abused to idolatry. He declares openly against the cross, against images in churches, and against a variety of garments in the service of God. If a surplice be thought proper for one," says his lordship, "it should serve for all Divine offices. The bishop is for the people's receiving the sacrament into their hands, according to the example of Christ and the primitive Church, and not for putting it into the people's mouths; and as for the posture, that it should be rather standing than kneeling; but that this should be left to every one's choice."†

Not one of the first set of bishops after the Reformation approved of the habits, or argued for their continuance from *Scripture, antiquity, or decency*, but submitted to them out of necessity, and to keep the Church in the queen's favour.‡ How much are the times altered! our first Reformers never ascribed any holiness or virtue to the vestments, but wished and prayed for their removal;§ whereas several modern conformists have made them essential to their ministrations, and have represented religion as naked and defective without them.

But the question that divided the Reformers was the lawfulness of wearing habits that had been consecrated to idolatrous and superstitious uses, and were the very marks and badges of that religion they had renounced. Upon this they consulted the foreign divines, who all agreed in the reasonableness of abolishing the habits, but were divided in their sentiments about the lawfulness of wearing them in the mean time: some were afraid of the return of Lutheranism or popery, if the ministers should desert their stations in the Church; and others

apprehended that if they did not reject them at first, they should never obtain their removal afterward.

Dr. Humphreys and Sampson, two heads of the Nonconformists, wrote to Zurich the following reasons against the lawfulness of wearing the habits: "That they did not think the prescribing habits to the clergy merely a civil thing; nor that the habits now prescribed were decent; for how can that habit be decent that serves only to dress up the theatrical pomp of popery? The papists glory in this, that these habits were brought in by them, for which they vouch Otho's Constitutions and the Roman Pontifical. They add, that in King Edward's time the surplice was not universally used nor pressed, whereas the copes then taken away are now to be restored. This is not to extirpate popery, but to plant it again, and instead of going forward in Reformation, to go backward. We do not place religion in habits," say they, "but we oppose them that do [the papists]. Besides, it gives some authority to servitude, to depart from our liberty. We hate contention, nor do we desert our churches, and leave them exposed to wolves, but we are driven from them. We leave our brethren to stand and fall to their own master, and desire the same favourable forbearance from them. All that is pretended is, that the habits are not unlawful; not that they are good and expedient; but forasmuch as the habits of the clergy are visible marks of their profession, they ought not to be taken from their enemies. The ancient fathers had their habits, but not peculiar to bishops, nor distinct from the laity. The instances of St. John and Cyprian are singular. In Tertullian's time the *paullium* was the common habit of old Christians. Chrysostom speaks of white garments, but with no approbation: he rather finds fault with them; nor do we condemn things indifferent as unlawful; but we wish there might be a free synod to settle this matter, in which things may not be carried according to the minds of one or two persons. The doctrine of our Church is now pure, and why should there be any defect in our worship? why should we borrow anything from popery? why should we not agree in rites, as well as in doctrine, with the other Reformed Churches? we have a good opinion of our bishops, and bear with their state and pomp; we once bore the same cross with them, and preached the same Christ with them; why, then, are we now turned out of our benefices, and some put in prison, only for habits, and publicly defamed?*

"But the dispute is not only about a cap and surplice; there are other grievances which ought to be redressed or dispensed with; as, 1. Music and organs in Divine worship. 2. The sponsors in baptism, answering in the child's name. 3. The cross in baptism. 4. Kneeling at the sacrament, and the use of unleavened bread. 5. There is also a want of discipline in the Church. 6. The marriage of the clergy is not legitimated, but their children are looked upon by some as bastards. 7. Marriage is not to be performed without a ring. 8. Women are not to be church'd without the veil. 9. The court of faculties, pluralities, licenses for non-residence, for eating flesh in Lent, &c., are insufferable grievances. 10. Ministers have not

* Bishop Burnet quotes this as concerning the corruptions of the spiritual courts, vol. iii., T.

† MS., p. 891. Strype's Annals, vol. i., p. 38. Appendix, No. 14. ‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i., p. 177.

§ Bishop Warburton asks here, "Who ascribes any holiness or virtue to them now, I pray?" In reply, it is sufficient to observe that Mr. Neal refers to the time when he wrote, about thirty-six years before the bishop's strictures appear to have been penned, and not many years after Dr. Nichols, in his defence of the Church of England, had called ministers' ordinary habit profane; and when Dr. Grey (System of Ecclesiastical Law, p. 55) had carried the notion of decency, in this respect, very high, representing "the Church, as by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, providing to have its ministers known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special messengers and ministers of Almighty God." This representation approximates very much to the idea of holiness and virtue.—ED.

* Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 311.

a free liberty to preach without subscribing to the use and approbation of all the ceremonies.* And, lastly, the article which explained the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament is taken away."

The bishops alleged, in vindication of their compliance with these things, the necessity of the time, the queen's peremptoriness, the indifferent nature of the things required, and their fears of the loss of the whole Reformation if they should desert their stations in the Church; promising not to urge them upon their brethren who were dissatisfied, but to endeavour their removal in a proper season.

The learned foreigners gave their opinions upon this nice question with caution and reserve. Peter Martyr, in his letter to Grindal†, writes thus: "As to the habits to be used in holy things, since they carry an appearance of the mass, and are merely remainders of popery, it is," says he, "the opinion of the learned Bullinger, the chief minister of Zurich, that they are to be refrained from, lest by your example a thing that is scandalous should be confirmed; but," he adds, "though I have been always against the use of such ornaments, yet I see the present danger, lest you should be put from the office of preaching. There may also be some hopes, that as images and altars are taken away, so also those appearances of the mass may be removed, if you and others, who have taken upon you episcopacy, labour in it. I am therefore more backward to advise you rather to refuse the bishopric than to submit to the use of those vestures; and yet, because I am sensible scandals of this kind are to be avoided, I am more willing to yield to Bullinger's opinion aforesaid." But, after all, he advises him to do nothing against his conscience.

Bullinger and Gualter, ministers of Zurich, in their letters to Horn and Grindal, "lament the unhappy breach in the Church of England, and approve of the zeal of those divines who wish to have the house of God purged from all the dregs of popery. They are not pleased with them who first made the laws about habits, nor with those who zealously maintain them. They declare that they acted unwisely, if they were of the reformed side; but if they were disgraced enemies, that they had been laying snares with ill designs. They are therefore absolutely against the imposition of these, and other grievances; but they think many things of this sort should be submitted to, rather than men should forsake the ministry at this juncture, lest the whole Reformation should be lost; but that they should press the queen and the nobility to go on and complete the Reformation, so gloriously begun."‡

These divines wrote also to the Earl of Bedford, and acquainted him "that they were sorry to hear that not only the vestments, but many other things were retained in the Church, which savoured plainly of popery. They complain of the bishops printing their letter, and that their private opinion about the lawfulness of wearing the habits for the present should be made use of to cast reproaches on persons, for whom they should rather have compassion in their suffer-

ings, than study to aggravate them. They pray his lordship to intercede with the queen and nobility for their brethren that were then under sufferings, who deserved a very great regard, forasmuch as it had appeared what true zeal they had for religion, since the only thing they desired was, that the Church should be purged from all the dregs of popery. This cause, say they, in general is such, that those who promote it are worthy of the highest dignity. They do, therefore, earnestly pray his lordship at this time to exert himself, and employ all the interest he has in the queen and nobility, that the Church of England, so happily reformed to the admiration of the whole world, may not be defiled with the remnants of popery. To retain these things will look like giddiness," say these divines; "it will offend the weak, and give great scandal to their neighbours in France and Scotland, who are yet under the cross; and the very papists will justify their tyrannical impositions by such proceedings."*

The divines of Geneva were more peremptory in their advices; for in their letter of October 24th, 1564, signed by Theodore Beza, and seventeen of his brethren, they say, "If the case were theirs, they would not receive the ministry upon these conditions if it were proffered, much less would they sue for it. As for those who have hitherto complied, if they are obliged not only to wink at manifest abuses, but to approve of those things which ought to be redressed, what thing else can we advise them to, but that they should retire to a private life? As for the popish habits, those men that are authors of their being imposed, do deserve most evil of the Church, and shall verily answer it at the dreadful bar of Christ's judgment." Then they argue very strongly against the habits; and having advised the ministers not to lay down their ministry presently, for fear of the return of popery, they conclude thus: "Nevertheless, if ministers are commanded not only to tolerate these things, but by their subscriptions to allow them as lawful, what else can we advise them to, but that, having witnessed their innocence, and tried all other means in the fear of the Lord, they should give over their functions to open wrong?" They then declare their opinions against the cross in baptism; the validity of baptism by midwives; the power of the keys being in the hands of lay-chancellors and bishops' courts; and conclude with an exhortation and prayer for unity, and a more perfect reformation in the English Church.

Though the Reformation in Scotland was not fully established, yet the superintendent ministers and commissioners of charges within that realm directed a letter the very first opportunity to their brethren the bishops, and pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman anti-christ, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. It was dated from Edinburgh, December 28th, 1566, and signed by John Spotswood, and nine of his brethren, preachers of Christ Jesus. The letter does not enter into the debate whether the habits are simply indifferent or not, but pleads in a most earnest and pathetic manner for toleration and forbearance, and that the deprived ministers may be restored. "If surplice, corner-cap, and

* Hist. Ref., in Records, p. 335.

† Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 29, 30. Ann., vol. i., p. 173. ‡ Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 508. MS., p. 889.

* Hist. Ref., vol. ii., p. 313.

tippet," say they, "have been badges of idolatry, what have the preachers of Christian liberty, and the open rebukers of all superstition, to do with the dregs of the Roman beast? Our brethren, that of conscience refuse that unprofitable apparel, do neither damn yours, nor molest you that use such vain trifles. If ye shall do the like by them, we doubt not but you will therein please God, and comfort the hearts of many." But the whole letter breathes such an excellent spirit, that I cannot forbear recommending it to the reader's perusal in the Appendix.

It is evident, upon the whole, that it was the unanimous opinion of the foreign divines that the habits ought to be laid aside by authority, and that, in the mean time, they should not be urged upon those that scrupled them; but they were not so well agreed in the lawfulness of wearing them till they were taken away; though their fears of the return of popery, if the ministers should desert their stations; their compassion for the souls of the people, who were perishing for lack of knowledge; and their hopes that the queen would quickly be prevailed with to remove them, made most of them apprehend they might be dispensed with for the present.

The English laity were more averse to the habits than the clergy; as their hatred of popery increased, so did their aversion to the garments. There was a strong party in the very court against them, among whom was the great Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys, vice-chamberlain; Burleigh, lord-treasurer; Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state; and the Earls of Bedford, Warwick, and others. But the Protestant populace throughout the nation were so inflamed that nothing but an awful subjection to authority could have kept them within bounds. Great numbers refused to frequent those places of worship where service was ministered in that dress; they would not salute such ministers in the streets, nor keep them company; nay, if we may believe Dr. Whitgift, in his defence against Cartwright, "they spit in their faces, reviled them as they went along, and showed such-like rude behaviour,"* because they took them for papists in disguise, for time-servers, and half-faced Protestants that would be content with the return of that religion whose badge they wore.† There was, indeed, a warm spirit in the people against everything which came from that pretended church, whose garments had been so lately dyed with the blood of their friends and relations. Upon the whole, I leave the reader to determine how far the wisdom and moderation of the queen can be vindicated in imposing these habits on the clergy; or the bishops be excused for imprisoning, suspending, and depriving some of the most useful preachers in the kingdom, on account of things which, in their own opinion, were but barely tolerable, but in the judgment of their brethren were absolutely sinful.‡

* Strype's Annals, vol. i., p. 178, 460, 602. Mem. Cranmer, p. 363. Life of Parker, p. 77.

† The grounds on which such a suspicion might rest may be seen in Mr. Neal's Review, in the quarto edition of his History, vol. i., p. 881, 882.

‡ Strype attributes the rigorous measures henceforth adopted to the disturbances and insolent behaviour of some of the Puritans. Bishop Maddox, in his animadversions on Neal, lays great stress on this

We have already mentioned the queen's letter of January 25th; in obedience to which, Archbishop Parker wrote to his brethren of the ecclesiastical commission, and in particular to Grindal, bishop of London (there being in that city the greatest number of clergy, and of the best learning, that refused the apparel), to consult proper methods to reduce them to an exact uniformity.* After some debate, the commissioners agreed upon certain advertisements (as they were called), partly for due order in preaching and administering the sacraments, and partly for the apparel of persons ecclesiastical.†

allegation, and thus endeavours to vindicate the bishops from a charge of falsehood and tyranny. A pretext for persecution has never been wanting, when the governors of the Church or the State have determined on it. Wyatt's insurrection was thus employed in Mary's time; and the insolence and disloyalty of the Puritans were reiterated at subsequent periods, in vindication of the coercive measures which were adopted. The indiscretions and violence of the Puritans towards the Protestant Church are not to be compared with those of the Reformers towards the Church of Rome; yet it is customary, with a certain class of writers, to magnify the former and to gloss over and extenuate the latter. The one class of offences is represented as justifying the severest measures of a vindictive hierarchy; the other, as the inevitable attendants on the earliest movements of religious zeal. Such a procedure betrays more of party-spirit than of the calm decision of an impartial judgment. The same principle holds in both cases, and must be fairly applied. Both the Reformers and the Puritans frequently mistake an intemperate and contentious spirit for that of the Gospel. The violence and fierceness of human passion were permitted, in some cases, to mingle with and debase their religious zeal. To deny this fact is to contradict the page of history. To regret the Reformation on this account is to display an ignorance of human nature, and an utter disregard of the welfare of the Church. That instances of such misconduct did occur among the Puritans, may be freely admitted; but that they were so numerous as to call for or to justify the measures which their enemies adopted, neither Strype nor Maddox has succeeded in proving. The fact is, that Elizabeth's bishops yielded somewhat to the corrupting influences of their station, and were, therefore, indisposed to fulfil their early promises. When writing to Bullinger, they had pleaded that the obnoxious ceremonies were enjoined by Parliament before their entrance into it. 'But that, after it was passed, they, being chosen to be bishops, must either content themselves to take their places as things were, or else leave them to papists or Lutherans. But, in the mean space, they promised not to urge their brethren in those things, and, when opportunity should serve, to seek reformation of them.'—Parker, i., 307. How far they fulfilled this promise, let the records of history tell. Some of them were honestly concerned to do so, but Parker was too intolerant to permit it.—Dr. Price's *Hist. of Nonconformity*, vol. i., p. 168.—C. * Life of Parker, p. 161.

† The articles for preaching declare, "that all licenses granted before March 1st, 1564, shall be void and of none effect; and that all that shall be thought meet for the office of preaching shall be admitted again, paying no more than fourpence for the writing, parchment, and wax; and that those who were not approved as preachers, might read the homilies.

"In the ministration of the communion in cathedrals and collegiate churches, the principal ministers shall wear a cope with gospeller and epistoler agreeably; but at all other prayers to be said at the communion-table, they shall wear no copes, but surplices only; deans and prebendaries shall wear a surplice with a silk hood in the choir, and when they preach, a hood.

By the first of these articles, all preachers throughout the nation were disqualified at once, and by the last, they subscribed, and promised not to preach or expound the Scriptures without a license from the bishop, which was not to be obtained without a promise under the hand of an absolute conformity to the ceremonies. Here the commissioners surely broke through the act of submission, by which they were obliged never to make or execute any canons or constitutions without the royal assent. But the bishops presumed upon their interest with her majesty; they knew her mind, though she refused, for political reasons, to ratify their advertisements, telling them that the oath of canonical obedience was sufficient to bind the inferior clergy to their duty, without the interposition of the crown.

Parker therefore went on, and having cited the Puritan clergy to Lambeth, he admonished some, and threatened others;* but Grindal withdrew, being naturally averse to methods of severity, and afraid of a præmunire. His grace took a great deal of pains to gain him over, and by his arguments, says Strype, brought him to a good resolution. He also applied to the council for the queen's and their assistance; and to the secretary of state, beseeching him to spirit up the Bishop of London to his duty, which was done accordingly. What pains will some men take to draw their brethren into a snare, and force them to be partners in oppression and cruelty!

Among those that the archbishop cited before him were the Reverend Mr. Thomas Sampson, dean of Christ Church, and Dr. Lawrence Humphreys (regius professor of divinity), president

"Every minister saying the public prayers, or administering the sacraments, &c., shall wear a surplice with sleeves; and the parish shall provide a decent table standing on a frame for the communion-table; and the Ten Commandments shall be set on the east wall, over the said table.

"All dignitaries in cathedral churches, doctors, bachelors of divinity and law, having ecclesiastical livings, shall wear in their common apparel a broad side-gown with sleeves, straight at the hands, without any cuffs or falling capes, and tippets of sarsenet, and a square cap, but no hats, except in their journeying. The inferior clergy are to wear long gowns and caps of the same fashion, except in case of poverty, when they may wear short gowns."

To these advertisements certain protestations were annexed, to be made, promised, and subscribed by such as shall hereafter be admitted to any office or cure in the Church. "And here every clergyman subscribed, and promised not to preach or expound the Scriptures without special license of the bishop under his seal, but only to read the homilies; and likewise to observe, keep, and maintain such order and uniformity in all external polity, rites, and ceremonies of the Church, as by laws, good usages, and orders are already well provided and established."

These advertisements were enjoined the clergy by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Rochester (commissioners in causes ecclesiastical), and by the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, and some others. The preface says, "that they do not prescribe these rules as equivalent with the Word of God, or as of necessity to bind the consciences of the queen's subjects, in their own nature considered; or as adding any efficacy or holiness to public prayer, or to the sacraments; but as temporal orders merely ecclesiastical, without any vain superstition, and as rules of decency, distinction, and order for the time."

* Life of Parker, p. 161, 216.

of Magdalen College, Oxon, men of high renown throughout the nation for learning, piety, and zeal for the Reformation, and exiles for religion in Queen Mary's reign. Upon their appearance, the archbishop urged them with the opinions of Bucer and Peter Martyr; but the authority of these divines not being sufficient to remove their scruples, they were ordered not to depart the city without leave. After long attendance, and many checks from some of the council for their refractoriness, they framed a supplicatory letter in a very elegant but submissive style, and sent it to the archbishop, and the rest of the ecclesiastical commissioners, March 20th, "in which they protest before God, what a bitter grief it was to them that there should be such dissensions about a cap and surplice among persons of the same faith. They allege the authorities of St. Austin, Socrates, and Theodoret, to show that in their times there was a variety of rites and observances, which break not unity and concord. They beseech the bishops, therefore, if there was any fellowship in Christ, that they would follow the direction of St. Paul about things in their own nature indifferent, 'that every one should be persuaded in his own mind.' Conscience (say they) is a tender thing, and all men cannot look upon the same things as indifferent; if, therefore, these habits seem so to you, you are not to be condemned by us; on the other hand, if they do not appear so to us, we ought not to be vexed by you. They then appeal to antiquity, to the practice of other Reformed Churches, and to the consciences of the bishops themselves, and conclude thus: 'Wherefore we most humbly pray that a thing which is the care and pleasure of papists, and which you [the bishops] have no great value for yourselves, and which we refuse, not from any contempt of authority, but from an aversion to the common enemy, may not be our snare nor our crime.'"

* In one of their examinations the archbishop put nine questions to them, to which they gave the following answers:

Quest. 1. "Is the surplice a thing evil and wicked, or is it indifferent?"

Answ. "Though the surplice in substance be indifferent, yet in the present circumstance it is not, being of the same nature with the *vestis peregrina*, or the apparel of idolatry, for which God by the prophet threatens to visit.

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

Answ. "Because things that have been consecrated to idolatry are not indifferent.

Quest. 3. "Whether the ordinary [or bishop] detesting papistry, may enjoy the surplice to be worn, and enforce his injunction?"

Answ. "It may be said to such a one, in Tertullian's words, 'Si tu diaboli pompam oderis, quicquid ex ea attigeris, id scias esse idolatriam.' That is, 'If thou hatest the pomp and pageantry of the devil, whatsoever of it thou meddlest with is idolatry.' Which if he believes, he will not enforce the injunction.

Quest. 4. "Whether the cope be a thing indifferent, being prescribed by law for decency and reverence, and not in respect of superstition or holiness?"

Answ. "Decency is not promoted by a cope, which was devised to deface the sacrament. St. Jerome says that the gold ordained by God, for reverence and decency of the Jewish temple, is not to be admitted to beautify the Church of Christ; and if so, much less copes brought in by papists, and continued in their service as proper ornaments of their religion.

The ecclesiastical commissioners were very much divided in their opinions how to proceed with these men. Some were for answering the reasons given below, and for enforcing the habits, with a protestation that they wished them taken away. Others were for connivance, and others for a compromise; accordingly, a pacific proposition was drawn up, which Humphreys and Sampson were willing to subscribe with the reserve of the apostle, "All things are lawful, but all things edify not." But the archbishop, who was at the head of the commission, would abate nothing, for on the 29th of April, 1561, he told them peremptorily, in open court, that they should conform to the habits; that is, to wear the square cap, and no hats, in their long gowns; to wear the surplice with non-regents' hoods in the choirs, according to ancient custom; and to communicate kneeling in

Quest. 5. "Whether anything that is indifferent may be enjoined as godly to the use of common prayer and sacraments?"

Ans. "If it be merely indifferent, as time, place, and such necessary circumstances of Divine worship, for the which there may be brought a ground out of Scripture, we think it may."

Quest. 6. "Whether the civil magistrate may constitute by law an abstinence from meats on certain days?"

Ans. "Because of abstinence a manifest commodity ariseth to the commonwealth in policy, if it be sufficiently guarded against superstition, he may appoint it, due regard being had to persons and times."

Quest. 7. "Whether a law may be made for the difference of ministers' apparel from laymen?"

Ans. "Whether such prescription to a minister of the Gospel of Christ be lawful may be doubted, because no such thing is decreed in the New Testament; nor did the primitive Church appoint any such thing, but would rather that ministers should be distinguished from the laity *doctrina, non veste*, by their doctrine, not by their garments."

Quest. 8. "Whether ministers going in such apparel as the papists used ought to be condemned of any preacher for so doing?"

Ans. "We judge no man; to his own master he stands or falls."

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

Ans. "Irenæus will not have brethren restrained from brotherly communion for diversity in ceremonies, provided there be unity of faith and charity; and it is to be wished that there may be the like charitable permission among us."

To these answers our divines subjoined some other arguments against wearing and enforcing the habits; as, (1.) Apparel ought to be worn as meat ought to be eaten; but, according to St. Paul, meat offered to idols ought not to be eaten; therefore, popish apparel ought not to be worn. (2.) We ought not to give offence in matters of mere indifference; therefore, the bishops who are of this opinion ought not to enforce the habits. (3.) Popish garments have many superstitious mystical significations, for which purpose they were consecrated by the papists; we ought, therefore, to consecrate them also, or lay them wholly aside. (4.) Our ministrations are supposed by some not to be valid, or acceptable to God, unless performed in popish apparel; and this being a prevailing opinion, we apprehend it highly necessary to disabuse the people. (5.) Things indifferent ought not to be made necessary, because then they change their nature, and we lose our Christian liberty. (6.) If we are bound to wear popish apparel when commanded, we may be obliged to have shaven crowns, and to make use of oil, spittle, cream, and all the rest of the papistical additions to the ordinances of Christ.—*Strype's Ann.*, vol. i., p. 459.

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wafer-bread, or else they should part with their preferment. To which our divines replied that their consciences could not comply with these injunctions, be the event what it might.* Upon this they were both put under confinement; but the storm fell chiefly upon Sampson, who was detained in prison a considerable time, as a terror to others, and, by special order from the queen, was deprived of his deanery; nor could he ever obtain, after this, any higher preferment in the Church than the government of a poor hospital.†

Humphrey's place was not at the queen's disposal; however, he durst not return to Oxford, even after he had obtained his release out of prison, but retired to one Mrs. Warcup's, in Berkshire, a most devout woman, who had run all hazards for harbouring the persecuted Protestants in the late times: from hence he wrote a most excellent letter to the queen, in which he "beseeches her majesty's favour about the habits, forasmuch as she well knew that the controversy was about things in their own nature indifferent, and in which liberty of conscience ought not to be restrained. He protests his own and his brethren's loyalty, and then expostulates with her majesty why her mercy should be shut against them, when it was open to all others. Did she say she would not yield to subjects? Yet she might spare miserable men. Would she not rescind a public act? Yet she might relax and suspend. Would she not take away a law? Yet she might grant a toleration. Was it not fit to indulge some men's affections? Yet it was most fit and equal not to force the minds of men. He therefore earnestly beseeched her to consider the majesty of the glorious Gospel, the equity of the cause, the fewness of the labourers, the greatness of the harvest, the multitude of the tares, and the heaviness of the punishment." Humphreys made so many friends at court, that at length he obtained a toleration, but had no preferment in the Church till ten or twelve years after, when he was persuaded to wear the habits.‡ For although the Bishop of Winchester presented him to a small living within the diocese of Salisbury, Jewel refused to admit him, and said he was determined to abide by his resolution till he had good assurance of his conformity. The Oxford historian§ says Dr. Humphreys was a moderate, conscientious Nonconformist, a great and general scholar, an able linguist, a deep divine; and that for his excellence of style, exactness of method, and substance of matter in his writings, he went beyond most of our theologians.¶

* Life of Parker, p. 185.

† Mr. Neal appears not to have known that Mr. Sampson was also appointed a prebendary in St. Paul's Cathedral, and was permitted by the queen to be a theological lecturer in Whittingdon College, in London. And in justice to Archbishop Parker it should be added, that some favour, though it does not appear what, was, on his application, granted to Mr. Sampson by the chapter of Christ Church, and he also strongly solicited the secretary "that, as the queen's pleasure had been executed upon him for example to the terror of others, it might yet be mollified to the commendation of her clemency."—*British Biography*, vol. iii., p. 20, note, and p. 22. *Warner's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 433.—ED.

‡ MS. p. 873. *Strype's Annals*, vol. ii., p. 451.

§ Life of Parker, p. 185. § Athen. Ox., p. 242.

¶ "That Dr. Humphreys's want of preferment, till

As Sampson was thus deprived, so were others who would not enter into bonds to wear the square cap.* Of this number was George Withers, a man of good learning, preacher of Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk; but at the pressing instances of the people, he sent a letter to the archbishop to let him know he would rather strain his conscience a little than discourage the godly, or let the wicked have their mind. He afterward preached at Cambridge, and pressed the university to destroy the superstitious paintings in the glass windows, which occasioned some disorder; upon which, not long after, he travelled to Geneva, Zurich, and other places, and after some years returned and became parish minister of Danbury, in Essex, submitting to the rites for peace' sake, though he did not approve of them, which was the case of many others.

While the case of the Oxford divines was under consideration, his grace was consulted how to reduce the London Puritans: he was afraid to press them with the advertisements, because the queen could not be prevailed with to put the seal to them; he therefore sent them again to the secretary, with a letter to the queen, praying "that if not all, yet at least those articles that related to the apparel might be returned with some authority."† But the queen was firm to her former resolution: she would give no authority to the advertisements; but, to support her commissioners, issued a proclamation, peremptorily requiring uniformity in the habits, upon pain of prohibition from preaching and deprivation.

Hereupon the archbishop consulted with men learned in the civil law what method to proceed in; and then concluded, with the consent of the rest of the commissioners, to summons the whole body of pastors and curates within the city of London to appear at Lambeth, and to examine every one of them upon this question, Whether they would promise conformity to the apparel established by law, and testify the same by subscription of their hands? Those who demurred were immediately to be suspended, and, after three months, deprived of their livings. To prepare the way for this general citation, it was thought proper first to summon the Reverend Mr. John Fox, the martyrologist, that the reputation of his great piety might give the greater countenance to the proceedings of the commissioners; but when they called upon him to sub-

scribe, he took his Greek Testament out of his pocket, and said, "To this I will subscribe." And when they offered him the canons he refused, saying, "I have nothing in the Church but a prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you if you take it from me."* But the commissioners had not courage enough to deprive a divine of so much merit, who held up the ashes of Smithfield before their eyes.†

The 26th of March being the day appointed for the appearance of the London clergy, the archbishop desired the secretary of state, with some of the nobility and queen's council, to countenance the proceedings of the commissioners with their presence, but they refused to be concerned in such disagreeable work. When the ministers appeared in court, Mr. Thomas Cole, a clergyman, being placed by the side of the commissioners in priestly apparel, the bishop's chancellor, from the bench, addressed them in these words: "My masters, and ye ministers of London, the council's pleasure is that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel, like this man who stands here canonically habited with a square cap, a scholar's gown priestlike, a tippet, and, in the church, a linen surplice. Ye that will subscribe, write *Volo*; those that will not subscribe, write *Nolo*; be brief, make no words." When some of the clergy offered to speak, he interrupted them, and cried, "Peace, peace. Apparitor, call over the churches, and ye masters answer presently, *sub pena contemptus*."‡ Great was the anguish and distress of those ministers, who cried out for compassion, to themselves and families, saying, "We shall be killed in our souls for this pollution of ours." After much persuasion and many threatenings, sixty-one out of a hundred were prevailed with to subscribe, and thirty-seven absolutely re-

* "Fuller, vol. ix., 76. Heylin's Reform., 164. The remark of the latter writer on Fox's reply is characteristic. 'This refractory answer,' he says, 'for it was no better, might well have moved the bishop to proceed against him, as he did against some others who had stood on the same refusal; but kissing goes by kindness, as the saying is, and so much kindness was shown to him, that he both kept his resolution and his place together; which, whether it might not do more hurt to the Church than that preferment in the Church did advantage him, I think no wise man will make a question; for, commonly, the exemption or indemnity of some few particulars confirms the obstinacy of the rest, in hope of being privileged with the like indemnity.'—C.

† "When Dr. Humphreys was chosen President of Magdalen College, in 1561, Fox wrote him a congratulatory letter, couched in a facetious style. 'Why do I trifle thus,' said this estimable man, 'and begin to congratulate you your preferment, who should much rather expostulate the case with you? For come, sir, tell me, why have you thus left us and our flock and order, and gone away? Fugitive, runaway as you are, be you not ashamed? You ought to have taken example of greater constancy by me, who still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition as England received me in when I first came home out of Germany. Nor do I change my degree nor order, which is that of the mendicant, or, if you will, of the friars preachers. And in this order you yourself were, and was like enough to continue an honest companion with us. But now you have forsaken this our order and *classis*, and mounted I know not whither; fortunate success, as the proverb is, waiting on you.'—*Strype's Parker*, vol. i., p. 223, 221.—C.

‡ Life of Grindal, p. 93. Strype's Annals, p. 463.

1576, was owing to his Puritanical principles, is evident," says Mr. Neal in his Review, "from the testimony of Lord Burleigh and Mr. Strype, whose words are these: 'In the latter end of the year 1576, he (Lord Burleigh) did Humphreys the honour to write to him, hinting that his nonconformity seemed to be the chief impediment of his preferment, the queen, and some other honourable persons at court, considering him as forgetful of his duty in disobeying her injunctions. This impediment being surmounted, to whatever considerations or influence it was owing, he was made Dean of Gloucester, and afterward Dean of Winchester. This last dignity and his professorship, notwithstanding his non-subscribing, Fuller says, he held as long as he lived. But then it appears, by Strype, that the lord-treasurer was his particular friend, and had prevailed with him to wear the habits.'"—*Maddox's Vindication*, p. 324, 325; and *Neal's Review*, p. 898.—Ed.

* Life of Parker, p. 187, 192, 199.

† *Ibid.*, p. 212, 214.

fused; of which last number, as the archbishop acknowledged, were the best, and some preachers.* These were immediately suspended, and put from all manner of ministry, with signification that if they did not conform within three months they were to be deprived. The archbishop imagined that their behaviour would have been rough and clamorous, but, contrary to his expectations, it was reasonable, quiet, and modest.

The ministers gave in a paper of reasons [see below] for refusing the apparel.†

* Life of Parker, p. 215.

† “Reasons, grounded upon the Scriptures, whereby we are persuaded not to admit the use of the outward apparel and ministering garments of the pope’s church.

“1st. Our Saviour saith, ‘Take heed that you count not one of these little ones; for he that offendeth one of these little ones that believeth in me, it were good for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.’ To offend the little ones in Christ, is to speak or do anything whereby the simple Christians may take occasion either to like that which is evil, or to mislike that which is good. Now for us to admit the use of these things may occasion this mischief; therefore, in consenting to them, we should offend many of these little ones.

“Farther, St. Paul saith, ‘If any man that is infirm shall see thee that hast knowledge sitting at meat at the idol’s table, will not his conscience be stirred up to eat that which is offered to idols? and so the weak brother, for whom Christ died, shall perish in thy knowledge; and in sinning after this sort against the brethren, and wounding their weak consciences, ye do sin against Christ.’—1 Cor., viii., 10-12. This place proveth, that whatsoever is done by him that has knowledge, or seems to have it, in such sort that he may seem to allow that as good which in itself cannot be other than evil, is an occasion for the weak to allow and approve of the thing that is evil, and to mislike that that is good, though the doing of it be indifferent of itself to him that has knowledge. To sit at the idol’s table, or to eat things offered to idols, is in him that has knowledge a thing indifferent, for he knows that the idol is nothing, and that every creature of God is good, and to be received with thanksgiving, without asking any questions for conscience’s sake. But to do this in presence of him that thinks that none can do so but he must be partaker of idolatry, is to encourage him to like idolatry, and to mislike the true service of God; for none can like both. Now the case of eating and drinking, and of wearing apparel, is in this point the same; for though to wear the outward and ministering garments of the pope’s church is in itself indifferent, yet to wear them in presence of the infirm and weak brethren, who do not understand the indifference of them, may occasion them to like the pomp of the pope’s ministrations, which of itself is evil, and to mislike the simple ministrations of Christ, which in itself is good.

“2dly. We may not use anything that is repugnant to Christian liberty, nor maintain an opinion of holiness where none is; nor consent to idolatry, nor deny the truth, nor discourage the godly, and encourage the wicked; nor destroy the Church of God, which we are bound to edify; nor show disobedience where God commanded us to obey; all which we should do, if we should consent to wear the outward and ministering garments of the pope’s church, as appear by the following passages of Scripture: by St. Paul’s exhortation, Gal., v., 1, ‘Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free?’ by the example of Christ, Math., xv., 2, 3, who would not have his disciples maintain an opinion of holiness which the Pharisees had in washing hands: by the doctrine of St. Paul, 2 Cor., vi., 15, where he teacheth that there ‘can be no agreement between Christ

To their declaration, and everything else that was offered, from the danger of the Reforma-

and Belial:’ by the example of Daniel, chap. vi., who, making his prayer to God contrary to the commandment of the king, set open his window towards Jerusalem, lest he might seem to deny his profession, or consent to the wicked: by the example of St. Paul, who rebuked Peter sharply because he did, by his dissimulation, discourage the godly that from among the heathen were converted to Christ, and encourage the superstitious Jews; and again, by his doctrine, 2 Cor., xiii., where he teacheth that ministers have power to edify, but not to destroy. It is farther evident from the examples of the patriarchs and prophets, who, in worshipping God, would not use the rites and ceremonies of the idolatrous; and, to conclude, from the doctrine and example of Peter and John, Acts, iv., who, refusing to obey the commandment of the rulers, in ceasing to preach Christ, said, ‘Whether it be right in the sight of God to obey you rather than God, be ye yourselves judges.’

“3dly. For a farther proof we may bring the testimony and practice of the ancient fathers:

“Tertullian, in his book *De Corona Militis*, compares those men to dumb idols who wear anything like the decking of the idols. Again, he saith, ‘Si in idolo recumbere alienum est a fide, quid in idoli habitu videri?’ ‘If it be a matter of infidelity to sit at the idol’s feast, what is it to be seen in the habit or apparel of the idol?’

“St. Austin, in his eighty-sixth epistle to Casulanus, warneth him not to fast on the same day, lest thereby he might seem to consent with the wicked Manichees.

“The fourth Council of Toletane [Toledo], canon fifth, to avoid consent with heretics, decreed that in baptism the body of the baptized should be but once dipped.

“The great clerk Origen, as Epiphanius writeth, tom. 1, b. ii., haeres. 61, because he delivered palm to those that offered to the image of Serapis, although he openly said, ‘Venite accipite non frondes simulachri sed frondes Christi,’ ‘Come and receive the boughs, not of the image, but of Christ:’ yet was he for this, and such like doings, excommunicated and cast out of the Church, by those martyrs and confessors that were at Athens.

“In the Tripartite History, b. vi., chap. xxx., it is said that the Christian soldiers who, by the subtlety of Julian, were brought to offer incense to the idol, when they perceived their fault, ran forth into the streets, professing the religion of Christ, testifying themselves to be Christians, and confessing that their hands had offended unadvisedly, but that now they were ready to give their whole bodies to the most cruel torments and pains for Christ.

“Farther, to prove that wearing the ministering garments of the pope’s church is to confirm the opinion of the necessity and holiness of the same, and to show consent to idolatry, let it be remembered that the first devisers of them have taught that of necessity they must be had; and have made laws to punish and deprive those that had them not, as appears in the pontifical *De Clerico faciendo*, that is, of the ordering of a clerk, where the surplice is termed the habit or garment of the holy religion. And Durandus, in his third book, entitled *Rationale Divinorum*, calls it the linen garment, which those men that are occupied in any manner at the service of the altar and holy things must wear over their common apparel.

“Lindwood, also, in his constitutions for the province of England, *De Habitu Clericali*, affirms the necessity of this habit; so does Ottobonus and others, appointing grievous punishments for those that refuse to wear them; yea, and the pontifical teaches that when a clerk has, by murder or otherwise, deserved to die, he must be degraded, by plucking violently from him those garments, with these words, ‘*Autoritate Dei Omnipotentis. Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, &c.*’ ‘By the authority of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by our au-

tion, and the ruin of so many poor families, the commissioners replied it was not their business to argue and debate, but to execute the queen's injunctions. Archbishop Parker seemed pleased with the resolution of his chancellor, and said "that he did not doubt, when the ministers had felt the smart of poverty and want, they would comply, for the wood," says he, "is yet green."* He declared, farther, that he was fully bent to go through with the work he had begun; and the rather, because the queen would have him try with his own authority what he could do for order. This raised his ambition, and put him upon soliciting the secretary of state by letter for his countenance; in one of which he tells him that "if he was not better backed there would be fewer Winchester, as is desired," referring to Stephen Gardiner, the bloody persecuting Bishop of Winchester in Queen Mary's reign; "but for my part," says he, "so that my prince may win honour, I will be very gladly the rock of offence; since 'the Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do to me;' nor will I be amused or daunted; *fremat mundus, ruat cælum.*"† These were the weapons, and this the language, of one whom Mr. Strype calls the mild and gentle archbishop!

thority, we take from thee the habit of the clergy, and we make the naked and bare of the ornaments of religion; and we do depose, degrade, spoil, and strip thee of thy clergy order, benefice, and privilege; and as one that is unworthy of the profession of a clerk, we bring thee back again into the servitude and shame of the secular habit.'

"These things being thus weighed, with the warning that St. Paul giveth, 1 Thess., chap. v., where he commands us to abstain from all appearance of evil, we cannot but think that in using of these things we should beat back those that are coming from superstition, and confirm those that are grown in superstition, and, consequently, overthrow that which we have been labouring to build, and incur the danger of that horrible curse that our Saviour has pronounced, 'Wo to the world because of offences.'

"Knowing, therefore, how horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God, by doing that which our consciences (grounded upon the truth of God's Word, and the example and doctrine of ancient fathers) do tell us were evil done, and to the great discrediting of the truth whereof we profess to be teachers, we have thought good to yield ourselves into the hands of men, to suffer whatsoever God hath appointed us to suffer, for the preferring of the commandments of God and a clear conscience, before the commandments of men; in complying with which we cannot escape the condemnation of our consciences; keeping always in memory that horrible saying of John in his First Epistle, 'If our conscience condemn us, God is greater than our conscience;' and not forgetting the saying of the Psalmist, 'It is good to trust in the Lord, and not to trust in man,' Psal. cxviii. 'It is good to trust in the Lord, and not to trust in princes.' And again, Psal. cxlvi., 'Trust not in princes, nor in the children of men, in whom there is no health, whose spirit shall depart out of them, and they shall return to the earth from whence they came, and in that day all their devices shall come to naught.'

"Not despising men, therefore, but trusting in God only, we seek to serve him with a clear conscience so long as we shall live here, assuring ourselves that those things that we shall suffer for doing so shall be a testimony to the world that great reward is laid up for us in heaven, where we doubt not but to rest forever, with them that have before our days suffered for the like."—*MS. penes me*, p. 57, &c.

* Life of Parker, p. 215.

† Life of Parker, p. 219, 220, &c.

The Nonconformists had juster thoughts of him; he was at the head of all their sufferings, and pushed them forward with unrelenting vigour. The queen might have been softened; the secretary of state and courtiers declared they could not keep pace with him; Grindal relented, and the Bishop of Durham declared he would rather lay down his bishopric than suffer such proceedings in his diocese. But Parker was above these reproaches, and instead of relaxing, framed such injunctions for the London clergy as had never been heard of in a Protestant kingdom or a free government. The commissioners obliged every clergyman that had cure of souls to swear obedience, 1. To all the queen's injunctions and letters patent; 2. To all letters from the lords of the privy council; 3. To the articles and injunctions of their metropolitan; * 4. To the articles and mandates of their bishop, archdeacon, chancellors, somners, receivers, &c., and in a word, to be subject to the control of all their superiors with patience.† To gird these injunctions close upon the Puritans, there was appointed in every parish four or eight censors, spies, or jurats, to take cognizance of all offences given or taken. These were under oath enjoined to take particular notice of the conformity of the clergy and of the parishioners, and to give in their presentments when required; so that it was impossible for an honest Puritan to escape the high commission.

By these methods of severity, religion and virtue were discountenanced for the sake of their pretended ornaments; the consciences of good men were entangled, and the Reformation exposed to the utmost hazard.‡ Many churches were shut up in the city of London for want of ministers, to the grief of all good men and the inexpressible pleasure of the papists, who rejoiced to see the Reformers weakening their own hands, by silencing such numbers of the most useful and popular preachers, while the country was in distress for want of them. Bishop Sandys, in one of his sermons before the queen some years after, tells her majesty "that many of her people, especially in the northern parts, perished for want of saving food. Many there are," says he, "that hear not a sermon in seven years. I might safely say in seventeen: their blood will be required at somebody's hands."§

But, to make thorough work with the refusers of the habits, the archbishop called in all licenses, according to the advertisements, and appointed all preachers throughout his whole province to take out new ones; this was to reach those who were neither incumbents nor curates in parishes, but lecturers or occasional preachers. All parsons and curates were forbid to suffer any to preach in their churches upon any former licenses given by the archbishop; and such as took out new licenses bound themselves for the future not to disturb the public establishment, or vary from it. And because some,

* Strype's Ann., p. 463.

† Dr. Warner calls this an oath of a most extraordinary nature under a free government, and adds, "with this unrelenting rigour did the archbishop carry on the severity against the Puritans, and almost he alone."—*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 435.—E. c.

‡ Life of Parker, p. 224.

§ Life of Parker, p. 198.

when they had been discharged from their ministry in one diocess for nonconformity, got a settlement in another, it was now appointed that such curates as came out of other diocesses should not be allowed to preach without letters testimonial from the ordinary where they last served. But those Puritans who could not with a good conscience take out new licenses kept their old ones, and made the best use of them they could.* "They travelled up and down the countries, from church to church, preaching where they could get leave, as if they were apostles," says Bishop Jewel; and so they were with regard to their poverty, for silver and gold they had none; but his lordship adds, "And they take money for their labours." An unpardonable crime! that honest men of a liberal education, that had parted with their livings in the Church for a good conscience, should endeavour, after a very poor manner, to live by the Gospel.

There was still one door of entrance in the ministry left open to the Puritans, which the archbishop used all his interest to shut, but could not prevail. It was a privilege granted the University of Cambridge, by Pope Alexander VI., to license twelve ministers yearly to preach anywhere throughout England without obtaining licenses from any of the bishops. The bull says that "the chancellor of the university (who was then Fisher, bishop of Rochester) and his successors, shall license twelve preachers yearly, under the common seal of the university, who shall have liberty to preach, &c., *durante vita naturali*." The archbishop sent to Secretary Cecil, their chancellor, praying him to set aside this practice: 1. Because the present licenses varied from the original bull, being given out by the vice-chancellor, whereas they ought to be in the name of the chancellor only. 2. Because it was unreasonable to give licenses *durante vita naturali, i. e.*, for life; whereas they ought to be only *quam diu nobis placuerint, and dum laudabiliter gesserint, i. e.*, during our pleasure, or as long as they behave well.† 3. But that which troubled the archbishop most was the clause which infringed his own and his brethren's jurisdiction, that they might preach without a license from any of the bishops. And yet this clause is in the letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, granted to the university for this purpose; the words are, "*Licentia ordinariorum locorum super hoc minime requisita*." This was thought insufferable; the vice-chancellor, therefore, was sent for to town to defend the privilege of the university, which he did to the satisfaction of the chancellor; but the archbishop was so angry that he declared he would not admit any of their licenses without the chancellor's name; nor could he imagine that the vice-chancellor, by his pretended experience and skill in the civil law, could inform his honour of anything that he was not capable of answering. But here his grace met with a disappointment, for the university retained their privilege, and made use of it to the relief of the Puritans.‡

* Life of Grindal, p. 99. Pierce, p. 52.

† Life of Parker, p. 193.

‡ Bishop Maddox inveighs against them for availing themselves of a bull granted by the pope, whom they affirm to be antichrist, and when they loaded the queen and bishops with heavy accusations as en-

In the queen's progress this year [1565], her majesty visited the University of Cambridge, and continued there five days, being entertained by the scholars with speeches and disputations. On the 3d day of her being there [August 7th], a philosophy act was kept by Thomas Byng, of Peter-house, on these two questions: 1. Whether monarchy be not the best form of government? 2. Whether frequent alterations of the laws are dangerous? The opponents were Mr. Thomas Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College; Mr. Chaderton, of Queen's; Mr. Preston and Mr. Clark, of King's College; who performed their parts to the satisfaction of the queen and the whole audience; but it seems Preston pleased her majesty best, and was made her scholar, with the settlement of a salary. The divinity questions were, 1. Whether the authority of the Scripture is greater than that of the Church? 2. Whether the civil magistrate has authority in ecclesiastical affairs? These were the tests of the times. At the close of the disputation the queen made a short and elegant oration in Latin, encouraging the scholars to pursue their studies, with a promise of her countenance and protection.

But this learned body was soon after thrown into confusion by the controversy of the habits, especially of the surplice. Dr. Longworth, master of St. John's, being absent from his college, the students of that house came to chapel on a festival day without their hoods and surplices,* to the number of three hundred, and continued to do so for some time, the master at his return making no complaint, nor attempting to recover them to uniformity. In Trinity College all except three declared against the surplice, and many in other colleges were ready to follow their example. The news of this being sent to court, it was easy to foresee an impending storm: several members of the university wrote to the secretary, humbly beseeching his intercession with the queen, that they might not be forced to revive a popish ceremony, which they had laid aside; assuring him, before God, that nothing but reason, and the quiet enjoyment of their consciences, had induced them to do as they had done. But Cecil sent them an angry answer, admonishing them to return quietly to

couragers of popery. The bishop's reflections are also pointed against our historian for mentioning this conduct without a censure. To which Mr. Neal replies that this grant from Pope Alexander VI., the advantage of which the Puritans enjoyed, had been confirmed to the university by letters patent from Queen Elizabeth herself; a copy of which may be seen in the Appendix to Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 69. Mr. Neal also properly asks, "Would the Protestants in France have shut up their churches if the antichristian powers would have given them a license to preach? Nay, would they not have preached without any license at all if they had not been dragooned out of the country?" He asserts for himself, "If he were a missionary, and could spread the Christian faith by virtue of a license from the pope, or the grand signor, or the Emperor of China, in their dominions, he would not scruple to accept it, but be thankful to the Divine Providence that had opened such a door."—*Appendix to the Review*.—Ed.

* However, they had worn them before.—*Bishop Maddox*.

† By the instigation of T. Cartwright.—*Ib.*, from *Strype*.

the habits, as they had used them before. He also wrote to the vice-chancellor, requiring him to call together the heads of the colleges, and let them know that, as they tendered the honour of God, the preservation of Christian unity, the reputation of the university, the favour of the queen, and his own good-will to them, they should continue the use of the habits.

The heads of the colleges being sensible of the risk the university would run of being disfranchised of students if the habits were pressed, applied again to their Chancellor Cecil to intercede with the queen for a dispensation: one of their letters was signed by the master of Trinity College, Dr. Beaumont, who had been an exile; John Whitgift, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury; Roger Kelk, master of Magdalen College; Richard Longworth, master of St. John's; Matthew Hutton, master of Pembroke Hall, afterward Archbishop of York, and many others. In their letter they acquaint his honour "that a great many persons in the university, of piety and learning, were fully persuaded of the unlawfulness of the habits; and, therefore, if conformity were urged, they would be forced to desert their stations, and thus the university would be stripped of its ornaments; they therefore give it as their humble opinion that indulgence in this matter would be attended with no inconveniences; but, on the other hand, they were afraid religion and learning would suffer very much by rigour and imposition."* This letter was resent at court, and especially by the ecclesiastical commission; Longworth, master of St. John's, was sent for before the commissioners, and obliged to sign a recantation, and read it publicly in the Church; the rest made their peace by letters of submission: all the heads of colleges were commanded to assist the vice-chancellor in bringing the scholars to a uniformity in the habits, which, nevertheless, they could not accomplish for many years. Whitgift, seeing which way the tide of preferment ran, drew his pen in defence of the hierarchy in all its branches, and became a most potent advocate for the habits. But the University of Cambridge was still a sanctuary for the Puritans.

To return to the Puritan clergy: April 2d, Mr. Crowley, the suspended minister of Cripplegate, seeing a corpse coming to be buried at his church, attended with clerks in their surplices singing before it, threatened to shut the church doors against them; but the singing-men resisted, resolving to go through with their work, till the alderman's deputy threatened to lay them by the heels for breaking the peace; upon which they shrunk away, but complained to the archbishop, who, sending for Crowley, deprived him of his living, and confined him to his house, for saying he would not suffer the wolf to come to his flock. He also bound the deputy in £100 to be ready when he shall be called for.† This Mr. Crowley was a learned man, and had been an exile in Queen Mary's days, at Frankfort; he was very diligent in disputing against certain priests in the Tower, and took a great deal of pains to bring them over to their allegiance to the queen, upon the principle of the unlawfulness of deposing princes upon any pretence

whatsoever. He wrote divers learned books, and died a Nonconformist, in the year 1588, and was buried in the Church of Cripplegate. Among the deprived ministers, some betook themselves to the study of physic, and others to secular employments; some went into Scotland, or beyond sea; others got to be chaplains in gentlemen's families; but many who had large families were reduced to beggary. Many churches were now shut up, and the people ready to mutiny for want of ministers. Six hundred persons came to a church in London to receive the communion on Palm Sunday, but the doors were shut, there being none to officiate. The cries of the people reached the court; the secretary wrote to the archbishop to supply the churches, and release the prisoners; but his grace was inexorable, and had rather the people should have no sermons or sacraments than have them without the surplice and cap. He acquainted the secretary in a letter, "that when the queen put him upon what he had done, he told her that these precise folks would offer their goods and bodies to prison rather than relent; and her highness then willed him to imprison them.* He confessed that there were many parishes unserved; that he underwent many hard speeches, and much resistance from the people, but nothing more than was to be expected. That he had sent his chaplains into the city to serve in some of the great parishes, but they could not administer the sacrament, because the officers of the parish had provided neither surplice nor wafer-bread. That on Palm Sunday, one of his chaplains desiring to administer the sacrament to some that desired it, the table was made ready, but while he was reading the chapter of the passion, one of the parishioners drew from the table both the cup and the wafer-bread, because the bread was not common; and so the people were disappointed, and his chaplain derided. That divers church-wardens would provide neither surplice nor wafer-bread. He acquainted the secretary, farther, that he had talked with several of the new preachers, who were movers of sedition and disorder, that he had commanded them silence, and had put some into prison. That on Maunday-Thursday he had many of the Bishop of London's parishioners, church-wardens, and others, before him; but that he was fully tired, for some ministers would not obey their suspensions, but preached in defiance of them. Some church-wardens would not provide the church furniture, and others opposed and disturbed those that were sent to officiate in the prescribed apparel. He then calls upon the secretary to spirit up [Grindal], bishop of London, to his duty; and assures him that he had spoken to him to no purpose; that he was younger, and nearer the city, and had vacant priests in his church, who might supply the places of the deprived ministers; he therefore bewailed that he should be put upon the oversight of the parishes of London, which was another man's charge; and that the burden should be laid on his neck when other men drew back.** The truth is, Grindal was weary of the unpleasant work, and having a real concern to promote the preaching of the Word of God, he could not act against the ministers otherwise than as he was pushed forward; and

* Life of Parker, p. 194. App., p. 69.

† Life of Parker, p. 218, 219.

* Life of Parker, p. 228.

† Ibid., p. 229.

when the eyes of his superiors were turned another way, he would relax again. When the secretary and archbishop sent to him to provide for his charge and fill up the vacant pulpits, he told them it was impossible, there being no preachers; all he could do was to supply the churches by turns, which was far from stopping the murmurs of the people.

This was the sad condition of the city of London, the very bread of life being taken from the people, for the sake of a few trifling ceremonies;* and if it was thus in the city, how much worse must it be in those distant counties where her majesty's injunctions were rigidly executed! And yet, with all this rigour, it was not in the power of the queen and her bishops to reconcile the clergy and common people to the habits. The queen herself was in earnest, and her archbishop went into the most servile measures to fulfil the commands of his royal mistress; the high-commission was furious, but the council were backward to countenance their proceedings.

All applications to the queen and her commissioners being ineffectual, the suspended ministers thought it their duty to lay their case before the world; accordingly, they published a small treatise in this year [1566], in vindication of their conduct, entitled "A Declaration of the Doings of those Ministers of God's Word and Sacraments in the City of London which have refused to wear the upper Apparel and ministering Garments of the Pope's Church." In this book they show "that neither the prophets in the Old Testament, nor the apostles in the New, were distinguished by their garments; that the linen garment was peculiar to the priesthood of Aaron, and had a signification of something to be fulfilled in Christ and his Church. That a distinction of garments in the Christian Church did not generally obtain till long after the rising of antichrist; for the whole clergy of Ravenna, writing to the Emperor Carolus Calvus, in the year of our Lord 876, say, We are distinguished from the laity not by our clothes, but by our doctrines; not by our habits, but our conversation. That the surplice, or white linen garment, came from the Egyptians

* "The fact that so large a proportion of the first Reformers, and those confessedly among the most learned, zealous, and devout of their day, were attached to the peculiarities of the Puritans, should shame the intemperate and ignorant partisans who refer to them in anger and contempt. In libelling the Puritans, they asperse the men who exerted themselves most diligently in laying the foundation of their church, and were ever foremost to endure the loss of liberty and life on behalf of a common Protestantism. The most eminent churchmen of the day were favourable to the alterations proposed by the Puritans, and were only prevented from seeking their introduction into the offices of the Church by the opposition and threats of the queen. Had it not been for her influence, Puritanism would have triumphed in the Church, and a purer reformation than was consonant with her views have been, in consequence, effected. 'This arbitrary monarch had a leaning towards Rome in almost everything but the doctrine of papal supremacy. To the real presence she was understood to have no objection; the celibacy of the clergy she decidedly approved; the gorgeous rites of the ancient form of worship she admired, and in her own chapel retained.'—*Dr. Price's Hist. Nonconformity*, vol. i., p. 163; also *London Quarterly*, June, 1827, p. 31.—C.

into the Jewish Church; and that Pope Sylvester, about the year 320, was the first that appointed the sacrament to be administered in a white linen garment; giving this reason for it, because the body of Christ was buried in a white linen cloth. They represent how all these garments had been abused to idolatry, sorcery, and all kinds of conjurations; for, say they, the popish priests can perform none of their pretended consecrations of holy water, transubstantiation of the body of Christ, conjurations of the devil out of places or persons possessed, without a surplice, or an albe, or some hallowed stole. They argue against the habits as an offence to weak Christians, an encouragement to ignorant and obstinate papists, and as an affection to return to their communion. That at best they were but human appointments, and came within the apostle's reproof, Col., ii., 20, 22: 'Why as though living in the world are ye subject to ordinances, after the commandments and doctrines of men? which all are to perish with the using. Touch not, taste not, handle not.' That, supposing the garments were indifferent (which they did not grant), yet they ought not to be imposed, because it was an infringement of the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free. Lastly, they call in the suffrages of foreign divines, who all condemned the habits, though they were not willing to hazard the Reformation in its infancy for them. Even Bishop Ridley, who contended so zealously for the habits, when Dr. Brooks, at his degradation, would have persuaded him to put on the surplice with the rest of the massing garments, absolutely refused, saying, 'If you put the surplice upon me, it shall be against my will.' And when they forced it upon him, he inveighed against the apparel, as foolish and abominable."

At the end of the book is a prayer, in which are these words: "Are not the relics of Romish idolatry stoutly retained! Are we not bereaved of some of our pastors, who by word and example sought to free thy flock from these offences! Ah, good Lord! these are now by power put down from pastoral care; they are forbid to feed us; their voice we cannot hear. This is our great discomfort; this is the joy and triumph of antichrist; and, which is more heavy, the increase of this misery is of some threatened, of the wicked hoped for, and of us feared, as thy judgments against us for our sins." At the conclusion is the Lord's Prayer and Creed, after this manner: "In thy name, O Christ our Captain, we ask these things, and pray unto thee, O Heavenly Father, saying, Our Father," &c. After this, "O Lord, increase our faith, whereof we make confession, I believe in God the Father Almighty," &c. And in the end is this sentence: "Arise, O Lord, and let thine enemies be confounded."*

Other pamphlets of the same kind were published in defence of the suspended ministers, which the bishops appointed their chaplains to answer. Mr. Strype is of opinion that the archbishop himself published an answer to their declaration; but whoever be the author, he is a man of a bad spirit and abusive language:† the ministers printed a reply, entitled "An Answer for the time to the examination put in print with the

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

† Pierce's Vindication, p. 62.

author's name, pretending to maintain the apparel prescribed, against the declaration of the ministers of London:" it answers the adversary paragraph by paragraph, with good temper and judgment. But the bishops printed some new testimonies of foreign divines, without their consent, with a collection of tracts of obedience to the magistrate, and Melancthon's exposition of Rom., xiii., 1, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers:" from whence they conclude that, because things are barely tolerable, though offensive, dangerous, and, in their own opinions, to be removed out of the Church as soon as an opportunity shall offer, yet, in the mean time, they may be imposed under the penalties of suspension, deprivation, and imprisonment, from a mistaken interpretation of the apostle's words, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers."

The Puritans replied to all these attempts of their adversaries; their tracts were eagerly sought after, and had a wide spread among the people; upon which the commissioners had recourse to their last remedy, which was the farther restraint of the press. They complained to the council that, notwithstanding the queen's injunctions, the differences in the Church were kept open by the printing and publishing seditious libels; and hereupon procured the following decree of the Star Chamber, viz:

1. "That no person shall print or publish any book against the queen's injunctions, ordinances, or letters patent, set forth or to be set forth, or against the meaning of them.*

2. "That such offenders should forfeit all their books and copies, and suffer three months' imprisonment, and never practise the art of printing any more.

3. "That no person shall sell, bind, or stitch such books, upon pain of twenty shillings for every book.

4. "That all forfeited books should be brought to Stationers' Hall, and half the money forfeited to be reserved for the queen, the rest for the informer, and the books to be destroyed or made waste-paper.

5. "That the wardens of the company may, from time to time, search all suspected places, and open all packs, dry fats, &c., wherein paper or foreign books may be contained; and enter all warehouses where they have reasonable suspicion, and seize all books and pamphlets against the queen's ordinances, and bring the offender before the ecclesiastical commissioners.

6. "All stationers, booksellers, and merchants trading in books shall enter into recognisances of reasonable sums of money to observe the premises, or pay the forfeitures."

This was signed by eight of the privy council, and by the Bishops of Canterbury and London, with five more of the ecclesiastical commission, and published June 29th, 1566, in the eighth year of the queen's reign.†

* Life of Parker, p. 221.

† Ibid., p. 222.

It is a just remark of a modern writer here, that, without entering into the controversy between the bishops and the Puritans, we may at least venture to affirm that the former did no credit to their cause by this arbitrary restraint of the press. This is an expedient utterly incompatible with the very notion of a free state, and, therefore, ever to be detested by the friends of liberty. And it is an expedient which can never be of any service to the cause of truth, what-

The Puritans being thus foreclosed, and shut out of the Church by sequestrations, imprisonments, the taking away of their licenses to preach, and the restraint of the press, most of them were at a loss how to behave, being unwilling to separate from the Church where the Word and sacraments were truly administered, though defiled with some popish superstitions; of the number were Dr. Humphreys, Sampson, Fox the martyrologist, Lever, Whittingham, Johnson, and others, who continued preaching up and down, as they had opportunity and could be dispensed with for the habits, though they were excluded all parochial preferment.

But there were great numbers of the common people who abhorred the habits as much as the ministers, and would not frequent the churches where they were used, thinking it as unlawful to countenance such superstitions with their presence as if they themselves were to put on the garments. These were distressed where to hear; some stayed without the church till service was over, and the minister was entering upon his prayer before sermon; others flocked after Father Coverdale, who preached without the habits; but, being turned out of his church at St. Magnus, London Bridge, they were obliged to send to his house on Saturdays to know where they might hear him the next day: the government took umbrage at this, insomuch that the good old man was obliged to tell his friends that he durst not inform them any more of his preaching, for fear of offending his superiors. At length, after having waited about eight weeks to see if the queen would have compassion on them, several of the deprived ministers had a solemn consultation with their friends, in which, after prayer, and a serious debate about the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the established Church, they came to this agreement: that, since they could not have the Word of God preached, nor the sacraments administered without idolatrous gear (as they called it), and since there had been a separate congregation in London, and another at Geneva, in Queen Mary's time, which used a book and order of preaching, administration of sacraments, and discipline, that the great Mr. Calvin had approved of, and which was free from the superstitions of the English service; that, therefore, it was their duty, in their present circumstances, to break off from the public churches, and to assemble, as they had opportunity, in private houses, or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against the light of their consciences.* Had the use of habits and a few ceremonies been left discretionary, both ministers and people had been easy; but it was the compelling these things by law, as they told the archbishop, that made them separate.

It was debated among them whether they should use as much of the common prayer and service of the Church as was not offensive, or resolve at once, since they were cut off from the Church of England, to set up the purest and best form of worship most consonant to the Holy Scriptures and to the practice of the foreign Reformers; the latter of these was con-

ever it may to error, superstition, and tyranny.—*British Biography*, vol. iii., p. 25.—C.

* Life of Parker, p. 241.

cluded upon, and, accordingly, they laid aside the English liturgy, and made use of the Geneva service-book.

Here was the era or date of the separation, a most unhappy event, says Mr. Strype, whereby "people of the same country, of the same religion, and of the same judgment in doctrine, parted communions; one part being obliged to go aside into secret houses and chambers, to serve God by themselves, which begat strangeness between neighbours, Christians, and Protestants." And not only strangeness, but unspeakable mischiefs to the nation in this and the following reigns. The breach might easily have been made up at first, but it widened by degrees; the passions of the contending parties increased, till the fire, which for some years was burning under ground, broke out into a civil war, and, with unspeakable fury, destroyed the constitution both of Church and State.

I leave the reader to judge at whose door the beginnings of these sorrows are to be laid, each party casting the blame on the other. The Conformists charged the deprived ministers with disobedience to the queen, and obstinacy, preciseness, and with breaking the peace of the Church for matters of no consequence to salvation. The ministers, on the other hand, thought it cruel usage to be turned out of the Church for things which their adversaries acknowledged to be of mere indifference; whereas they took it upon their consciences, and were ready to aver, in the most solemn manner, that they deemed them unlawful. They complied as far as they could with the establishment while they were within it, by using as much of the liturgy as was not offensive, and by taking the oath of supremacy; they were as dutiful subjects to the queen as the bishops, and declared themselves ready to obey their sovereign in all things lawful; and when they could not obey, patiently to suffer her displeasure. After all this, to impute the behaviour of the Nonconformists to obstinacy and peevishness was very uncharitable.* What could move them to part with their livings, or support them under the loss, but the testimony of a good conscience? when they could not but be sensible their nonconformity would be followed with poverty and disgrace, with the loss of their characters and usefulness in the Church; and with numberless unforeseen calamities to themselves and families, unless it should please God, in his all-wise

* "Schism, in fact, is a thing bad in itself, bad in its very nature; separation may be good or bad, according to circumstances. A schismatic is an epithet of criminality; it indicates the personal character of the individual, and it describes that character as bad. A separatist is merely a name of circumstance: in itself it is neither bad nor good; it indicates nothing as to the personal character of the individual, it merely describes his position in relation to others. Schism can exist, as we have seen, where there is no separation, and separation itself is not necessarily schism; not necessarily so, for while it may be occasioned by crime, it may be occasioned by virtue; it may result, in those who depart from intolerance attempted, or intolerance sustained, from the pride of faction, or the predominance of principle; attachment to party or attachment to truth. A schismatic, in short, *must* be a sinner, on whichever side he stands; a separatist *may* be more sinned against than sinning."—*Dissent not Schism*. By the Rev. Thomas Binney.—C.

Vol. I.—O

providence, to soften the queen's heart in their favour.

In Scotland all things were in confusion. The young queen, Mary, after the death of her husband, Francis II., returned into her own country, August 21st, 1561, upon ill terms with Queen Elizabeth, who could not brook her assuming the arms of England, and putting in her claim to the crown, on the pretence of her bastardy, which most of the popish powers maintained, because she was born during the life of Queen Katharine, whose marriage had been declared valid by the pope. Elizabeth offered her a safe conduct if she would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, but she chose rather to run all risks than submit. Mary was a bigoted papist, and her juvenile amours and follies soon entangled her government and lost her crown. As soon as she arrived in Scotland, she had the mortification to see the whole nation turned Protestant, and the Reformation established by laws so secure and strict, that only herself was allowed the liberty of mass in her own chapel, and that without pomp or ostentation. The Protestants of Scotland, by the preaching of Mr. Knox and others, having imbibed the strongest aversion to popery, were for removing at the greatest distance from its superstitions. The General Assembly petitioned her majesty to ratify the acts of Parliament for abolishing the mass, and for obliging all her subjects to frequent the reformed worship. But she replied that she saw no impiety in the mass, and was determined not to quit the religion in which she was educated, being satisfied it was founded on the Word of God. To which the General Assembly answered a little coarsely, that Turkism stood upon as good ground as popery; and then required her, in the name of the eternal God, to inform herself better, by frequenting sermons and conferring with learned men; but her majesty gave no heed to their counsels.

In the year 1564, the queen married Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, who was joined with her in the government. By him she was brought to bed of a son, June the 15th, 1566, afterward James I., king of England; and while she was with child of him she received a fright by her husband's coming into her chamber with his servants and putting to death her favourite, David Rizzio, an Italian musician, who was sitting with her at table. This was thought to have such an influence upon the prince that was born of her, that he never loved the sight of a sword. Soon after this the king himself was found murdered in a garden, the house in which the murder was committed being blown up with gunpowder to prevent the discovery. Upon the king's death the Earl of Bothwell became the queen's favourite, and, as soon as he had obtained a divorce from his legal wife, she took him into her marriage-bed, to her very great infamy, and the regret of the whole Scots nation, who took up arms to revenge the late king's murder, and dissolve the present incestuous marriage. When the two armies were ready to engage, Bothwell fled to Dunbar, and the queen, being apprehensive her soldiers would not fight in such an infamous cause, surrendered herself to the confederates, who shut her up in the castle of Loch Leven, and obliged her to resign the crown to her young son, under the

regency of the Earl of Murray. From hence she made her escape into England in the year 1568, where she was detained prisoner by Queen Elizabeth almost eighteen years, and then put to death. Bothwell turned pirate, and being taken by the Danes, was shut up for ten years in a noisome prison in Denmark, till he lost his senses and died mad.*

The Earl of Murray being regent of Scotland, convened a parliament and assembly at Edinburgh, in which the pope's authority was again discharged, and the act of Parliament of the year 1560, for renouncing the jurisdiction of the court of Rome, was confirmed, and all acts passed in former reigns for the support of popish idolatry were annulled. The new confession of faith was ratified, and the Protestant ministers, and those of their communion, declared to be the true and only kirk within that realm. The examination and admission of ministers is declared to be only in the power and disposition of the Church, with a saving clause for lay-patrons. By another act, the kings at their coronation, for the future, are to take an oath to maintain the reformed religion then professed; and by another, none but such as profess the reformed religion are capable of being judges or proctors, or of practising in any of the courts of justice, except those who held offices hereditary, or for life.

The General Assembly declared their approbation of the discipline of the Reformed Churches of Geneva and Switzerland; and for a parity among ministers, in opposition to the claim of the bishops, as a superior order. All Church affairs were managed by provincial, classical, and national assemblies; but these acts of the General Assembly not being confirmed by Parliament, episcopal government was not legally abolished, but tacitly suspended till the king came of age. However, the General Assembly showed their power of the keys at this time, by deposing the Bishop of Orkney for marrying the queen to Bothwell, who was supposed to have murdered the late king, and by making the Countess of Argyle do penance for assisting at the ceremony.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE SEPARATION OF THE PROTESTANT NON-CONFORMISTS TO THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

THOUGH all the Puritans of these times would have remained within the Church, might they have been indulged in the habits and a few ceremonies, yet they were far from being satisfied with the hierarchy. They had other objections besides those for which they were deprived, which they laboured incessantly throughout the whole course of this reign to remove. I will set them before the reader in one view, that he may form a complete judgment of the whole controversy.

First. They complained of the bishops affecting to be thought a superior order to presbyters, and claiming the sole right of ordination, and the use of the keys, or the sole exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. They disliked the tem-

poral dignities and baronies annexed to their office, and their engaging in secular employments and trusts, as tending to exalt them too much above their brethren, and not so agreeable to their characters as ministers of Christ, nor consistent with the due discharge of their spiritual function.

Secondly. They excepted to the titles and offices of archdeacons, deans, chapters, and other officials belonging to cathedrals, as having no foundation in Scripture or primitive antiquity, but intrenching upon the privileges of the presbyters of the several diocesses.

Thirdly. They complained of the exorbitant power and jurisdiction of the bishops and their chancellors in their spiritual courts, as derived from the canon law of the pope, and not from the Word of God or the statute law of the land. They complained of their fining, imprisoning, depriving, and putting men to excessive charges for small offences; and that the highest censures, such as excommunication and absolution, were in the hands of laymen, and not in the spiritual officers of the Church.

Fourthly. They lamented the want of a godly discipline, and were uneasy at the promiscuous and general access of all persons to the Lord's table. The Church being described in her articles as a congregation of faithful persons, they thought it necessary that a power should be lodged somewhere, to inquire into the qualifications of such as desired to be of her communion.

Fifthly. Though they did not dispute the lawfulness of set forms of prayer, provided a due liberty was allowed for prayers of their own composure before and after sermon, yet they disliked some things in the public liturgy established by law; as the frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer; the interruption of the prayers by the frequent responses of the people, which in some places seem to be little better than vain repetitions, and are practised in no other Protestant Church in the world. They excepted to some passages in the offices of marriage and burial, &c., which they very unwillingly complied with; as, in the office of marriage, "With my body I thee worship;" and in the office of burial, "In sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life," to be pronounced over the worst of men, unless in a very few excepted cases.

Sixthly. They disliked the reading of the apocryphal books in the Church, while some parts of canonical Scripture were omitted; and though they did not disapprove the homilies, they thought that no man ought to be ordained a minister in the Church who was incapable of preaching and expounding the Scriptures. One of their great complaints, therefore, throughout the course of this reign was, that there were so many dumb ministers, pluralists, and non-residents; and that presentations to benefices were in the hands of the queen, bishops, or lay-patrons, when they ought to arise from the election of the people.

Seventhly. They disapproved of the observation of sundry of the Church festivals or holydays, as having no foundation in Scripture or primitive antiquity. We have no example, say they, in the Old or New Testament, of any days appointed in commemoration of saints; to ob-

* Rapin, p. 357.

serve the fast in Lent of Friday and Saturday, &c., is unlawful and superstitious, as also buying and selling on the Lord's Day.

Eighthly. They disallowed of the Cathedral mode of worship; of singing their prayers, and of the antiphone, or chanting the psalms by turns, which the ecclesiastical commissioners in King Edward VI.'s time advised the laying aside. Nor did they approve of musical instruments, as trumpets, organs, &c., which were not in use in the Church for above twelve hundred years after Christ.

Ninthly. They scrupled conformity to certain rites and ceremonies which were enjoined by the rubric, or the queen's injunctions; as,

1. To the sign of the cross in baptism, which is no part of the institution as recorded in Scripture; and though it was usual for Christians, in the earlier ages, to cross themselves, or make a cross in the air upon some occasions, yet there is no express mention of its being used in baptism till about the fifth century. Besides, it having been abused to superstition by the Church of Rome, and been had in such reverence by some Protestants, that baptism itself has been thought imperfect without it, they apprehend it ought to be laid aside. They also disallowed of baptism by midwives, or other women, in cases of sickness; and of the manner of churching women, which looked to them too much like the Jewish purification.

2. They excepted to the use of godfathers and godmothers, to the exclusion of parents from being sureties for the education of their own children. If parents were dead, or in a distant country, they were as much for sponsors to undertake for the education of the child as their adversaries; but when the education of children is by the laws of God and nature intrusted to parents, who are bound to form them to virtue and piety, they apprehended it very unjustifiable to release them totally from that promise, and deliver up the child to a stranger, as was then the constant practice, and is since enjoined by the twenty-ninth canon, which says, "No parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as godfather to his own child." In giving names to children, it was their opinion that heathenish names should be avoided, as not so fit for Christians; and also the names of God and Christ, and angels, and the peculiar offices of the Mediator. They also disliked the godfathers answering in the name of the child, and not in their own.

3. They disapproved the custom of confirming children as soon as they could repeat the Lord's Prayer and their Catechism, by which they had a right to come to the sacrament, without any other qualification; this might be done by children of five or six years old. They were also dissatisfied with that part of the office where the bishop, laying his hand upon the children, prays that God would by this sign certify them of his favour and goodness, which seems to impute a sacramental efficacy to the imposition of his hands.

4. They excepted against the injunction of kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which they apprehended not so agreeable to the example of Christ and his apostles, who gave it to his disciples rather in a posture of feasting than of adoration. Besides, it has no founda-

tion in antiquity for many hundred years after Christ; and having since been grossly abused by the papists to idolatry, in their worshipping the host, it ought, say they, to be laid aside; and if it should be allowed that the posture was indifferent, yet it ought not to be imposed and made a necessary term as communion; nor did they approve of either of the sacraments being administered in private; no, not in cases of danger.

5. To bowing at the name of Jesus, grounded upon a false interpretation of that passage of Scripture, "At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow;" as if greater external reverence was required to that name than to the person of our blessed Saviour, under the titles of Lord, Saviour, Christ, Immanuel, &c., and yet upon this mistake was founded the injunction of the queen and the eighteenth canon, which says, "When, in time of Divine service, the name of Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present." But the Puritans maintained that all the names of God and Christ were to be had in equal reverence, and therefore it was beside all reason to bow the knee, or uncover the head, only at the name of Jesus.

6. To the ring in marriage. This they sometimes complied with, but wished it altered. It is derived from the papists, who make marriage a sacrament, and the ring a sort of sacred sign or symbol. The words in the liturgy are, "Then shall they again loose their hands, and the man shall give unto the woman a ring, laying the same upon the book; and the priest, taking the ring, shall deliver it to the man, to put it on the fourth finger of the woman's left hand; and the man holding the ring there, and taught by the priest, shall say, 'With this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow,' in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." They also disallowed the forbidding of marriage at certain times of the year, and then licensing it for money, say they, is more intolerable. Nor is it lawful to grant licenses that some may marry without the knowledge of the congregation, who ought to be acquainted with it, lest there should be any secret lets or hinderances.

7. To the wearing of the surplice, and other ceremonies to be used in Divine service; concerning which the Church says, in the preface to her Liturgy, that though they were devised by men, yet they are reserved for decency, order, and edification. And, again, they are apt to stir up the dull mind of man to the remembrance of his duty to God by some notable and special signification, whereby he might be edified. But the Puritans saw no decency in the vestments; nay, they thought them a disgrace to the Reformation, and, in the present circumstances, absolutely unlawful, because they had been defiled with superstition and idolatry, and because many pretended Protestants placed a kind of holiness in them. Besides, the wearing them gave countenance to popery, and looked as if we were fond of being thought a branch of that communion which we had so justly renounced. But, suppose them to be indifferent, they gave great offence to weak minds, and therefore ought not to be imposed, when there was

no foundation for the use of them in Scripture or primitive antiquity.

These things, say they, every one should endeavour to reform in his place : ministers by the Word, magistrates by their authority, according to the Word of God, and the people by prayer.

There was no difference in points of doctrine between the Puritans and Conformists :* so that if we add but one article more, we have the chief head of controversy between the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters at that day ; and this is the natural right that every man has to judge for himself, and make profession of that religion he apprehends most agreeable to truth, as far as it does not affect the peace and safety of the government he lives under, without being determined by the prejudices of education, the laws of the civil magistrate, or the decrees of councils, churches, or synods.† This principle would effectually put an end to all impositions ; and unless it be allowed, I am afraid our separation from the Church of Rome can hardly be justified. "The Bible," says Mr. Chillingworth, "and that only, is the religion of Protestants ; and every one, by making use of the helps and assistances that God has put into his hands, must learn and understand it for himself as well as he can."

It will appear hereafter what sort of discipline the Puritans would have introduced ; but these were the objections that hindered their compliance with the present establishment, and for which they were content to suffer the loss of all things. Those who remained within the Church became itinerant preachers, lecturers, or chaplains. The chief leaders of the separation, ac-

* This was, undoubtedly, true with respect to the majority ; but this history has furnished different instances of objections in point of doctrine. The established sentiments concerning the Trinity and the person of Christ, though they did not form the grounds of that separation of which our author writes, were yet called in question, and, as we have seen in the note, p. 61, were by no means universally received. But it would not have been surprising if, in that early period of the Reformation, there had been a perfect acquiescence in every doctrinal principle that did not appear to have been peculiar to the system of popery ; for the progress of the mind and of inquiry is necessarily gradual. The gross corruptions of popery were at first sufficient to occupy and fill the thoughts of the generality. A kind of sacred awe spread itself over questions connected with the character and nature of God and his Christ, which would deter many from a close and free examination of them. And ceremonies and habits, being more obvious to the senses, continually coming into use and practice, and being enforced with severity, the questions relative to them more easily engaged attention, were more level to the decision of common understandings, and became immediately interesting. In this state of things there was little room and less inclination to push inquiries on matters of speculation.—Ed.

† Bishop Warburton is displeased with Mr. Neal for speaking of the natural right every man has to judge for himself as one of the heads of controversy between the Puritans and Conformists, when, his lordship adds, "his whole history shows that this was a truth unknown to either party." It is true that neither party had clear, full, and extensive views on this point, nor were disposed to grant the consequences arising from it. But each in a degree admitted it, and acted upon it. And the Puritans, it appears, by p. 109 of this edition, rested their vindication, in part, upon this principle.—Ed.

ording to Mr. Fuller, were the Reverend Mr. Colman, Mr. Button, Mr. Halingham, Mr. Benson, Mr. White, Mr. Rowland, and Mr. Hawkins, all benefited within the diocese of London. These had their followers of the laity, who forsok their parish churches, and assembled with the deprived ministers in woods and private houses, to worship God without the habits and ceremonies of the Church.

The queen, being informed of their proceedings, sent to her commissioners to take effectual measures to keep the laity to their parish churches, and to let them know that, if they frequented any separate conventicles, or broke through the ecclesiastical laws, they should for the first offence be deprived of their freedom of the city of London, and, after that, abide what farther punishment she should direct. This was a vast stretch of the prerogative,* there being no law, as yet, to disfranchise any man for not coming to church.

But, notwithstanding this threatening message, they went on with their assemblies, and on the 19th of June, 1567, agreed to have a sermon and a communion at Plumbers' Hall, which they hired for that day, under pretence of a wedding ; but here the sheriffs of London detected and broke them up, when they were assembled to the number of about one hundred ; most of them were taken into custody, and some sent to the Compter, and next day seven or eight of the chief were brought before the Bishop of London, Dean Goodman, Mr. Archdeacon Watts, and Sir Roger Martin, lord-mayor of London.† The bishop charged them with absenting from their parish churches, and with setting up separate assemblies for prayer and preaching, and ministering the sacrament. He told them that by these proceedings they condemned the Church of England, which was well reformed according to the Word of God, and those martyrs who had shed their blood for it. To which one of them replied, in the name of the rest, that they condemned them not, but only stood for the truth of God's Word. Then the bishop asked the ancientest of them, Mr. John Smith, what he could answer ; who replied "that they thanked God for the Reformation ; that as long as they could hear the Word of God preached without idolatrous gear about it, they never assembled in private houses ; but when it came to this point, that all their preachers were displaced who would not subscribe to the apparel, so that they could hear none of them in the church, for the space of seven or eight weeks, except Father Coverdale, they began to consult what to do ; and remembering there had been a congregation of Protestants in the city of London in Queen Mary's days, and another of English exiles at Geneva, that used a book framed by them there, they resolved to meet privately together and use the said book." And, finally, Mr. Smith offered, in the name of the rest, to yield and do penance at St. Paul's Cross, if the bishop, and the commissioners with him, could prove that book, or anything else that they held, by the Word of God.

The bishop told him they could not prove the book, but that was no sufficient answer for

* Which, adds Dr. Warner, "plainly showed Elizabeth to be the true daughter of Henry."

† Life of Grindal, p. 242. Life of Parker, p. 342.

his not going to church.* To which Mr. Smith replied, that "he would as soon go to mass as to some churches, and particularly to his own parish church, for the minister that officiated there was a very papist." Others said the same of other parish priests. The bishop asked if they accused any of them by name; upon which one of them presently named Mr. Bedel, who was there present, but the bishop would not inquire into the accusation.

The Dean of Westminster, who was one of the ecclesiastical commission, charged them with derogating from the queen's authority of appointing indifferent things in God's worship. To which one of them answered, that "it lay not in the authority of a prince, nor the liberty of a Christian man, to use and defend that which appertained to papistry, idolatry, and the pope's canon law." Another said that "these things were preferred before the Word of God and the ordinances of Christ." The bishop asked them what was preferred: one of them answered boldly, "that which was upon the bishop's head, and upon his back; their copes and surplices, and canon laws." Another said "that he thought both prince and people ought to obey the Word of God." To which the bishop yielded, except in things that were indifferent, which God had neither commanded nor forbidden; in these he asserted that princes had authority to order and command. Whereupon several of them cried out, "Prove that; where find you that?" But the bishop would not enter into the debate, alleging the judgment of the learned Bullinger; to which Mr. Smith replied, that perhaps they could show Bullinger against Bullinger in the affair of the habits.

The bishop asked them whether they would be determined by the Church of Geneva. Mr. Smith replied, "that they revered the learned in Geneva, and in other places, but did not build their faith and religion upon them." The bishop produced the following passage out of one of Beza's letters against them: "that against the bishops and princes' will they should exercise their office, they [the ministers of Geneva] did much the more tremble at it." "Mark," says the bishop, "how the learned Beza trembles at your case." Whereupon one of them said they knew the letter well enough, and that it made nothing against them, but rather against the prince and the bishops. Beza and his learned brethren trembled at their case in proceeding to such extremities with men as to drive them, against their wills, to that which they did not care to mention. Their words are these: "We hope that her royal majesty, and so many men of dignity and goodness, will endeavour that care may rather be taken of so many pious and learned brethren, that so great an evil should happen, to wit, that the pastors should be forced, against their consciences, to do that which is evil, and so to involve themselves in other men's sins, or to give over; for we more dread that third thing, viz., to exercise their ministry contrary to the will of her majesty and the bishops, for causes which, though we hold our peace, may well enough be understood."† How the bishop could think this was levelled against the Nonconformists is hard to understand.

To go on with the examination. One of the

prisoners said, that "before they compelled the ceremonies, so that none might officiate without them, all was quiet." Another (viz., Mr. Hawkins) produced a passage out of Melancthon, that "when the opinion of holiness or necessity is put unto things indifferent, they darken the light of the Gospel." The bishop replied "that the ceremonies and habits were not commanded of necessity." To which Hawkins rejoined that they had made them matters of necessity, as many a poor man had felt to his cost, who had been discharged of his living for nonconformity. When the bishop had occasionally observed that he had formerly said mass, but was sorry for it, one of them answered, he went still in the habit of a mass-priest. To which he replied, that he had rather minister without a cope and surplice, but for order's sake and obedience to the queen. When some of the commissioners urged them with the Reformation of King Edward, one said that "they never went so far in his time as to make a law that none should preach or minister without the garments." Sundry other expressions of warmth passed on both sides; at length one of them delivered to Justice Harris their book of order [the Geneva book], and challenged any of the commissioners to disprove it by the Word of God, and they would give over. The bishop said they reproved it not, but they liked not their separate assemblies to trouble the common quiet of the realm against the queen's will. But the others insisted on their superior regards to the Word of God. In conclusion, the prisoners, not yielding to the bishop, were sent to Bridewell, where they, with their brethren and sundry women, were kept in durance above a year: at length, their patience and constancy having been sufficiently tried, an order was sent from the lords of the council to release them,* with an admonition to behave themselves better for the future.† Accordingly, twenty-four men and seven women were discharged.‡ Whether these severities were justifiable by the laws of God or the land, I leave with the reader.

There was a spirit of uncommon zeal in these people to suffer all extremities for the cause in which they were engaged. In one of their letters, directed to all the brethren that believed in Christ, the writer, who was but a layman, says, "The reason why we will not hear our parish ministers is, because they will not stand forth and defend the Gospel against the leavings of popery, for fear of loss of goods, or punishment of body, or danger of imprisonment, or else for fear of men more than God." He then calls up their courage: "Awake, O ye cold and lukewarm preachers, out of sleep; gird up yourselves with the truth; come forth and put your necks [to the yoke], and think with Peter that persecution is no strange thing; for which of the prophets were not persecuted as well as Christ and his apostles; not for evil doing, but

* This was done at the motion and counsel of Bishop Grindal.—Ed. † Grindal's Life, p. 135.

‡ The names of the men were John Smith, John Roper, Robert Tod, Robert Hawkins, James Ireland, William Nickson, Walter Hynkesman, Thomas Rowland, George Waddy, William Turner, John Nashe, James Aderton, William Wight, Thomas Lydford, Richard Langton, Alexander Lacy, John Leonard, Roger Hawksworth, Robert Sparrow, Richard King, Christopher Colman, John Benson, John Bolton, Robert Gates.

* Pierce, p. 42. † Life of Grindal, Records, No. 16.

for preaching God's Word, and for rebuking the world of sin, and for their faith in Jesus Christ? This is the ordinance of God, and this is the highway to heaven, by corporeal death to eternal life, as Christ saith, John, v. : Let us never fear death, that is killed [conquered] by Christ, but believe in him and live forever. 'There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ.' 'O death! where is thy sting? thanks be to God that has given us the victory.' Let us not, then, dissemble, as some do, to save their pigs, but be valiant for the truth. I doubt not but all they who believe the truth, and will obey it, will consider the cause;* and the Lord, for his Christ's sake, make Ephraim and Manasses to agree, that we may all with one heart and mind unfeignedly seek God's glory, and the edification of his people, that we may live in all godly peace, unity, and concord! This grant, O Lord, for Christ Jesus' sake, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all praise, glory, and honour, forever and ever."

Another, in a letter to Bishop Grindal, occasioned by his lordship's discourse to the prisoner at his examination before him, December 19, begins thus: "Pleaseth your wisdom, my duty remembered, &c., being grieved at certain words spoken by you, and at your extreme dealing with us of late, I am bold to utter my grief in this manner. You said, if discipline did not tend to peace and unity, it were better refused; whereas our Saviour Christ commandeth discipline as one part of the Gospel, most necessary for the Church's peace and order; the apostles practised it, and Mr. Calvin and other learned men call it the sinews of the Church that keep the members together; and Beza says, where discipline is wanting, there will be a licentious life and a school of wickedness. Secondly, you seemed to be offended with a late exercise of prayer and fasting, saying that you had not heard of any exercise of this kind without public authority; to which the example of the Ninevites plainly answers, who proclaimed a fast before they acquainted the king with it; nor did the king blame his subjects for going before him in well-doing, but approved it by doing the like. Thirdly, you said you would never ask God mercy for using the apparel,† and should appear before him with a better conscience than we; whereas you said in a sermon, as many can witness, that you was sorry, for that you knew you should offend many godly consciences by wearing this apparel; requiring your auditory to have patience for a time, for that you did but use them for a time, to the end you might the sooner abolish them; and now you displace, banish, persecute, and imprison such as will not wear nor consent thereunto, and, at the same time, say you fear not to appear before God for so doing. But if the Corinthians, for eating meat to the offence of their brethren, are said to sin against Christ, how much more do you, who not only retain the remnants of antichrist, but compel others to do the same? Better were it for you to leave your lordly dignity, not given you by Christ, and to suffer affliction for the truth of the Gospel, than, by enjoying thereof, to become a persecutor of your brethren. Consider, I pray you, if throughout the whole Scriptures you can find one that

was first a persecutor, and after was persecuted for the truth, that ever fell to persecuting again and repented. I desire you, in the bowels of Christ, to consider your own case, who, by your own confession, was once a persecutor, and have since been persecuted, whether displacing, banishing, and imprisoning God's children more straitly than felons, heretics, or traitors, be persecuting again or no? They that make the best of it say you buffet your brethren, which, if the master of the house find you so doing, you know your reward. I desire you, therefore, in the bowels of Christ, not to restrain us of the liberty of our consciences, but be a means to enlarge our liberty in the truth and sincerity of the Gospel; and use your interest that all the remnants of antichrist may be abolished, with every plant that our heavenly Father has not planted. Signed, Yours in the Lord to command, William White, who joineth with you in every speck of truth, but utterly detesteth whole antichrist, head, body, and tail, never to join with you, or any, in the least joint thereof; nor in any ordinance of man, contrary to the Word of God, by his grace unto the Church."

But neither the arguments nor sufferings of the Puritans, nor their great and undissembled piety, had an influence upon the commissioners, who had their spies in all suspected places to prevent their religious assemblies; and gave out strict orders that no clergyman should be permitted to preach in any of the pulpits of London without a license from the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London.

The persecution of the Protestants in France and the Low Countries was hot and terrible about this time. The King of France broke through all his edicts for the free exercise of the reformed religion; he banished their ministers, and much blood was spilt in their religious wars. In the Netherlands, the Duke d'Alva breathed out nothing but blood and slaughter, putting multitudes to death for religion. This occasioned great numbers to fly into England, which multiplied the Dutch churches in Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, Southampton, London, Southwark, and elsewhere. The queen, for their encouragement, allowed them the liberty of their own mode of worship, and as they brought their manufactures over with them, they proved very beneficial to the trade and commerce of the nation.

Even in England the hearts of all good men were ready to fail, for fear of the return of popish idolatry; the queen being suddenly seized with a severe fit of sickness this summer [1568], which brought her to the very point of death, and the presumptive heir, Mary, late Queen of Scots, being a bigoted papist. The queen, together with her bodily distemper, was under great terror of mind for her sins, and for not discharging the duty of her high station as she ought: she said she had forgotten her God! to whom she had made many vows, and been unthankful to him. Prayers were composed, and publicly read in all churches for her majesty's recovery, in which they petitioned that God would heal her soul, and cure her mind as well as her body. The papists were never more sanguine in their expectations, nor the Reformation in greater danger, than now; and yet Bridewell and other prisons were full of Puritans, as

* MS., p. 42.

† MS., p. 22.

appears by a manuscript letter of Mr. Thomas Lever, now before me, dated December 5, 1568, in which he endeavours to comfort the prisoners, and declares that, though the popish garments and ceremonies were not unclean in themselves,* yet he was determined for himself, by God's grace, never to wear the square cap and surplice, because they tended neither to decency nor edification, but to offence, dissension, and division in the Church of Christ; nor would he kneel at the communion, because it was a symbolizing with popery, and looked too much like the adoration of the host. But at length it pleased Almighty God to dissipate for the present the clouds that hung over the Reformation, by the queen's recovery.

This year† was published the Bible in folio, called the Bishops' Bible, with a preface by Archbishop Parker. It was only Cranmer's translation revised and corrected by several bishops and learned men, whose names may be seen in the Records of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. The design was to set aside the Geneva translation, which had given offence. In the beginning, before the Book of Genesis, is a map of the land of Canaan; before the New Testament is inserted a map of the places mentioned in the four evangelists, and the journeys of Christ and his apostles. There are various cuts dispersed through the book, and several genealogical and chronological tables with the arms of divers noblemen, particularly those of Cranmer and Parker. There are also some references and marginal notes for the explication of difficult passages.‡ This was the Bible that was read in the churches till the last translation of King James I. took place.

But there was another storm gathering abroad, which threatened the Reformation all over Europe, most of the popish princes having entered into a league to extirpate it out of the world: the principal confederates were, the pope, the emperor, the Kings of Spain, France, and Portugal, with the Duke of Savoy, and some lesser princes: their agreement was, to endeavour, by force of arms, to depose all Protestant kings or potentates, and to place Catholics in their room; and to displace, banish, and condemn to death all well-wishers and assistants of the clergy of Luther and Calvin, while the pope was to thunder out his anathemas against the Queen of England, to interdict the kingdom, and to absolve her subjects from their allegiance. In prosecution of this league, war was already begun in France, Holland, and in several parts of Germany, with unheard-of cruelties against the reformed. Under these difficulties, the Protestant princes of Germany entered into a league for their common defence, and invited the Queen of England to accede to it. Her majesty sent Sir Henry Killigrew over to the elector palatine with a handsome excuse, and, at the same time, ordered her ambassador in France to offer her mediation between that king and his Protestant subjects; but the confederacy was not to be broken by treaties; upon which her majesty, by way of self-defence, and to ward off the storm from her own kingdom, assisted the confederate Protestants of France and Holland with men and money. This was

the second time the queen had supported them in their religious wars against their natural kings. The foreign popish princes reproached her for it, and her majesty's ministers had much ado to reconcile it to the court doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance.

At home the papists were in motion, having vast expectations, from certain prophecies, that the queen should not reign above twelve years: their numbers were formidable; and such was their latitude, that it was not easy to bring them within the verge of the laws. In Lancashire the Common Prayer Book was laid aside, churches were shut up, and the mass celebrated openly. The queen sent down commissioners of inquiry, but all they could do was to bind some of the principal gentlemen to their good behaviour in recognisances of one hundred marks.* Two of the colleges of Oxford, viz., New College and Corpus Christi, were so overrun with papists that the Bishop of Winchester, their visitor, was forced to break open the gates of the college, and send for the ecclesiastical commission to reduce them to order.† Great numbers of papists harboured in the inns of court, and in several other places of public resort, expecting, with impatience, the death of the queen, and the succession of the presumptive heir, Mary, late queen of Scotland.

Towards the latter end of the year, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with their friends, to the number of four thousand, broke out into open rebellion; their pretence was, to restore the popish religion, and deliver the Queen of Scots. In the city of Durham they tore the Bible and Common Prayer Book to pieces, and restored the mass in all places wherever they came; but hearing of the advance of the queen's army, under the Earl of Suffolk, they fled northward, and mouldered away, without standing a battle; the Earl of Northumberland was taken in Scotland, and executed at York, with many of his confederates; but the Earl of Westmoreland escaped into Flanders, and died in poverty. No sooner was this rebellion over, but the Lord Dacres excited another on the borders of Scotland; but after a small skirmish with the Governor of Berwick, he was defeated, and fled, and the rabble were pardoned. There was a general commotion among the papists in all parts of the kingdom, who would have united their forces if the northern rebels had maintained their ground.

To give new life to the Catholic cause, the pope published a bull, excommunicating the queen, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance. In this bull he calls her majesty a usurper, and a vassal of iniquity; and having given some instances of her aversion to the Catholic religion, he declares "her a heretic, and an encourager of heretics, and anathematizes all that adhere to her. He deprives her of her royal crown and dignity, and absolves all her subjects from all obligations of fidelity and obedience.‡ He involves all those in the same sentence of excommunication who presume to obey her orders, commands, or laws for the future, and excites all foreign potentates to take up arms against her." This alarmed the administration, and put them upon their guard;

* MS., p. 18. † Strype's Ann., vol. i., p. 623.
‡ Strype's Ann., p. 216.

* Strype's Ann., p. 541. † Grindal's Life, p. 133.
‡ Collyer, p. 523.

but it quickly appeared that the pope's thunderbolts had lost their terror, for the Roman Catholic princes not being forward to encourage the Court of Rome's pretended power of excommunicating princes, continued their correspondence with the queen; and her own Roman Catholic subjects remained pretty quiet, though from this time they separated openly from the Church. But the queen took hold of the opportunity to require all justices of peace, and other officers in commission, throughout all the counties in England, to subscribe their names to an instrument, professing their conformity and obedience to the act of uniformity in religion, and for due resorting to their parish churches to hear common prayer. This affected Puritans as well as papists. The gentlemen of the Inns of Court were also cited before the ecclesiastical commission, and examined about their resorting to church and receiving the sacrament, of which most of them were very negligent. This raised a clamour, as if the queen intended to ransack into men's consciences; in answer to which she published a declaration that she had no such intention; "that she did not inquire into the sentiments of people's mind, but only required an external conformity to the laws; and that all that came to the Church and observed her injunctions, should be deemed good subjects." So that if men would be hypocrites, her majesty would leave them to God; but if they would not conform, they must suffer the law.

When the next Parliament met, they passed a law making it high treason to declare the queen to be a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper; to publish or put in use the pope's bulls; to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, or to receive absolution by them: * the concealing or not discovering offenders against this act is misprision of treason. A protestation was likewise drawn up, to be taken by all reputed papists, in these words: "I do profess and confess before God that Queen Elizabeth, my sovereign lady, now reigning in England, is rightfully, and ought to be and continue, queen, and lawfully beareth the imperial crown of these realms, notwithstanding any act or sentence that any pope or bishop has done or given, or can do or give, and that if any pope or other say or judge to the contrary, whether he say it as pope, or howsoever, he erreth and affirmeth, holdeth and teacheth, error." And that the Puritans might not escape without some note of disloyalty, another protestation was drawn up for them; † in which they profess before God that "they believe in their consciences that Queen Elizabeth is and ought to be the lawful queen of England, notwithstanding any act or sentence that any church, synod, consistory, or ecclesiastical assembly hath done or given, or can give; and that if any say or judge the contrary, in what respect soever he saith it, he erreth and affirmeth, holdeth and teacheth, error and falsehood."

There was no manner of occasion for this last protestation; for in the midst of these commotions the Puritans continued the queen's faithful and dutiful subjects, and served her majesty as chaplains in her armies and navy, though they were not admitted into the churches.

* Eliz., cap. i.

† Life of Parker, p. 224.

conspiracies of the Roman Catholics should have alienated the queen's heart from them, and prevailed with her majesty to yield something for the sake of a firmer union among her Protestant subjects; but instead of this, the edge of the laws that were made against popish recusants was turned against Protestant Non-conformists, which, instead of bringing them into the Church, like all other methods of severity, drove them farther from it.

This year [1570] died Mr. Andrew Kingsmill, born in Hampshire, and educated in All-Souls College, Oxon, of which he was elected fellow in 1558. He had such a strong memory, that he could readily rehearse in the Greek language all St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and other portions of Scripture, *memoriter*. He was a most pious and religious person, undervaluing all worldly profit in comparison of the assurance of his salvation. In the year 1563, there were only three preachers in the university, of whom Kingsmill was one; but after some time, when conformity was pressed, and Sampson deprived of his deanery, he withdrew from the kingdom, resolving to live in one of the best reformed churches for doctrine and discipline, the better to prepare himself for the service of the Church; * accordingly, he lived three years at Geneva; from thence he removed to Lausanne, where he died this year, in the prime of his days, leaving behind him an excellent pattern of piety, devotion, and all manner of virtue.

The rigorous execution of the penal laws made business for the civilians: many were cited into the spiritual courts, and after long attendance, and great charges, were suspended or deprived; the pursuivant, or messenger of the court, was paid by the mile; the fees were exorbitant, which the prisoner must satisfy before he is discharged; the method of proceeding was dilatory and vexatious, though they seldom called any witnesses to support the charge, but usually tendered the defendant an oath, to answer the interrogatories of the court; and if he refused the oath, they examined him without it, and convicted him upon his own confession; if the prisoner was dismissed, he was almost ruined with the costs, and bound in a recognisance to appear again whensoever the court should require him. We shall meet with many sad examples of such proceedings in the latter part of this reign. The honest Puritans made conscience of not denying anything they were charged with if it was true, though they might certainly have put the accusers on proof of the charge: nay, most of them thought themselves bound to confess the truth, and bear a public testimony to it before the civil magistrate, though it was made use of to their disadvantage. †

* Wood's Athen. Ox., vol. i., p. 125, 126.

† I have an example of this now before me. The Reverend Mr. Axton, minister of Morton Corbet in Leicestershire, was cited into the bishop's court three several times this year, and examined upon the reasons of his refusing the apparel, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the sacrament, which he debated with the bishop and his officers with a decent freedom and courage. At the close of the debate the bishop said,

Bish. Now, Mr. Axton, I would know of you what you think of the calling of the bishops of England?

The controversy with the Church, which had hitherto been chiefly confined to the habits, to

Axt. I may fall into danger by answering this question.

Bish. I may compel you to answer upon your oath.

Axt. But I may choose whether I will answer upon oath or not. I am not bound to bring myself into danger; but because I am persuaded it will redound to God's glory, I will speak, be the consequence what it will; and I trust in the Holy Spirit that I shall be willing to die in defence of the truth.

Bish. Well, what do you think of my calling?

Axt. You are not lawfully called to be a bishop, according to the Word of God.

Bish. I thought so; but why?

Axt. For three causes: 1. Because you were not ordained by the consent of the eldership.

Bish. But I had the hands of three or four bishops.

Axt. But that is not the eldership. St. Paul speaks of, *Tim.*, iv., 14.

Bish. By what eldership were you ordained? Was it by a bishop?

Axt. I had, indeed, the laying on of the hands of one of the bishops of England, but that was the least part of my calling.

Bish. What calling had you more?

Axt. I having exercised and expounded the Word several times in an ordinary assembly of ten ministers; they joined in prayer, and, being required to speak their consciences in the presence of God, declared, upon the trial they had of me, that they were persuaded I might become a profitable labourer in the house of God; after which I received the laying on of the hands of the bishop.

Bish. But you had not the laying on of the hands of those preachers.

Axt. No; I had the substance, but I wanted the accident, wherein I beseech the Lord to be merciful to me; for the laying on of hands, as it is the Word, so it is agreeable with the mighty action of ordaining the ministers of God.

Bish. Well, then, your ordination is imperfect as well as mine. What is your second reason?

Axt. Because you are not ordained bishop over any one flock; nay, you are not a pastor over any one congregation, contrary to 1 *Pet.*, v., 2, "Feed the flock;" and to *Acts*, xiv., 23, from whence it is manifest that there should be bishops and elders through every congregation.

Bish. What is a congregation?

Axt. Not a whole diocess, but such a number of people as ordinarily assemble in one place to hear the Word of God.

Bish. What if you had a parish six or seven miles long, where many could not come to hear once in a quarter of a year?

Axt. I would not be pastor over such a flock.

Bish. What is your third reason?

Axt. Because you are not chosen by the people; *Acts*, xiv., 23: "And they ordained elders by election in every church," *χειροτονήσαντες*, "by the lifting up of hands."

B's Chanc. How come you to be parson of Mor-ton Corbet?

Axt. I am no parson.

Chanc. Are you, then, vicar?

Axt. No; I am no vicar. I abhor those names as antichristian; I am pastor of the congregation there.

Chanc. Are you neither parson nor vicar? How hold you your living?

Axt. I receive these temporal things of the people, because I, being their pastor, do minister to their spiritual things.

Chanc. If you are neither parson nor vicar, you must reap no profit.

Axt. Do you mean good faith in that you say?

Chanc. Yea, if you will be neither parson nor vicar, there is good cause why another should.

Bish. You must understand that all livings in the Church are given to ministers as parsons and vicars,

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the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord's Supper, began now to open into several more

and not as pastors and ministers. How were you chosen pastor?

Axt. By the free election of the people and leave of the patron: after I had preached about six weeks by way of probation, I was chosen by one consent of them all, a sermon being preached by one of my brethren, setting forth the mutual duties of pastor and people.

Bish. May the bishops of England ordain ministers?

Axt. You ought not to do it in the matter ye do; that is, without the consent of the eldership, without sufficient proof of their qualifications, and without ordaining them to a particular congregation.

Bish. Well, Mr. Axt. you must yield somewhat to me, and I will yield somewhat to you; I will not trouble you for the cross in baptism; and if you will wear the surplice but sometimes, it shall suffice.

Axt. I can't consent to wear the surplice: it is against my conscience; I trust, by the help of God, I shall never put on that sleeve, which is a mark of the beast.

Bish. Will you leave your flock for the surplice?

Axt. Nay, will you persecute me from my flock for a surplice? I love my flock in Jesus Christ, and had rather have my right arm cut off than be removed from them.

Bish. Well, I will not deprive you this time.

Axt. I beseech you consider what you do in removing me from my flock, seeing I am not come in at the window, or by simony, but according to the institution of Jesus Christ.

On the 22d of November following Mr. Axt. appeared again, and was examined touching organs, music in churches, and obedience to the queen's laws, &c.

Bish. You, in refusing the surplice, are disloyal to the queen, and show a contempt of her laws.

Axt. You do me great injury in charging me with disloyalty; and especially when you call me and my brethren traitors, and say that we are more troublesome subjects than the papists.

Bish. I say still the papists are afraid to stir, but you are presumptuous, and disquiet the state more than they.

Axt. If I, or any that fear God, speak the truth, doth this disquiet the state? The papists have for twelve years been plotting treason against the queen and the Gospel, and yet this doth not grieve you. But I protest in the presence of God, and of you all, that I am a true and faithful subject to her majesty; also I do pray daily both publicly and privately for her majesty's safety, and for her long and prosperous reign, and for the overthrow of all her enemies, and especially the papists. I do profess myself an enemy to her enemies, and a friend to her friends; therefore, if you have any conscience, cease to charge me with disloyalty to my prince.

Bish. Inasmuch as you refuse to wear the surplice, which she has commanded, you do, in effect, deny her to be supreme governess in all causes, ecclesiastical and temporal.

Axt. I admit her majesty's supremacy so far as, if there be any error in the governors of the Church, she has power to reform it; but I do not admit her to be an ecclesiastical elder, or church-governor.

Bish. Yes; but she is, and hath full power and authority all manner of ways; indeed, she doth not administer the sacraments and preach, but leaveth those things to us. But if she were a man, as she is a woman, why might she not preach the Word of God as well as we?

Axt. May she, if she were a man, preach the Word of God? Then she may also administer the sacraments.

Bish. This does not follow, for you know Paul preached, and yet did not baptize.

Axt. Paul confesses that he did baptize, though he was sent especially to preach.

considerable branches, by the lectures of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Cartwright, B.D., fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Lady Margaret's professor, a courageous man, a popular preacher, a profound scholar, and master of an elegant Latin style; he was in high esteem in the university, his lectures being frequented by vast crowds of scholars; and when he preached at St. Mary's, they were forced to take down the windows. Beza says of him, that he thought there was not a more learned man under the sun. This divine, in his lectures, disputed against certain blemishes of the English hierarchy, and particularly against these six, which he subscribed with his own hand.*

"The names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished, as having no foundation in Scripture. The offices of the lawful ministers of the Church, viz., bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to the apostolical institution; the bishops to preach the Word of God and pray, and deacons to take care of the poor. The government of the Church ought not to be intrusted with bishops' chancellors, or the officials of archdeacons; but every church should be governed by its own minister and presbyters. Ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have the charge of a certain flock. Nobody should ask, or stand as a candidate, for the ministry. Bishops should not be created by civil authority, but ought to be fairly chosen by the Church."

These propositions are said to be untrue, dangerous, and tending to the ruin of learning and religion; they were, therefore, sent to Secretary Cecil, chancellor of the university, who advised the vice-chancellor to silence the author, or oblige him to recant. Cartwright challenged Dr. Whitgift, who preached against him, to a public disputation, which he refused unless he had the queen's license; and Whitgift offered a

Bish. Did not Moses teach the people? and yet he was their civil governor.

Axt. Moses's calling was extraordinary. Remember the King of Judah, how he would have sacrificed in the temple of God. Take heed how you confound those offices which God has distinguished.

Bish. You see how he runneth.

Bickley. You speak very confidently and rashly.

Bish. This is his arrogant spirit.—*MS.*, p. 55, 56.

Thus the dispute broke off, and the good man, notwithstanding all his supplications, was deprived of his living, and driven to seek his bread in another country, though the bishop owned he was a divine of good learning, a ready memory, and well qualified for the pulpit.

One sees here the difficulties the Puritans laboured under in their ordinations; they apprehended the election of the people, and the examination of presbyters, with the imposition of their hands, necessary to the call of a minister; but this, if it were done in England without a bishop, would hardly entitle them to preach in the Church, or give them a legal title to the profits of their livings; therefore, after they had passed the former trials, they applied to the bishop for the imposition of his hands; but others, being dissatisfied with the ordination of a single person not rightly called, as they thought, to the office of a bishop, went beyond sea, and were ordained by the presbyteries of foreign churches; for though the English Puritans had their synods and presbyteries, yet it is remarkable that they never ordained a single person to the ministry.

* *Strype's Ann.*, vol. i., p. 628, 629. *Life of Parker*, p. 312.

private debate by writing, which the other declined, as answering no valuable purpose.

Other dangerous and seditious propositions, as they were called, were collected out of Cartwright's lectures, and sent to court by Dr. Whitgift, to incense the queen and chancellor against him; as,

1. "In reforming the Church, it is necessary to reduce all things to the apostolical institution.

2. "No man ought to be admitted into the ministry but who is capable of preaching.

3. "None but such a minister of the Word ought to pray publicly in the Church, or administer the sacraments.

4. "Popish ordinations are not valid.

5. "Only canonical Scripture ought to be read publicly in the Church.

6. "The public liturgy should be so framed that there be no private praying or reading in the Church, but that all the people attend to the prayers of the minister.

7. "The care of burying the dead does not belong more to the ministerial office than to the rest of the Church.

8. "Equal reverence is due to all canonical Scripture, and to all the names of God; there is, therefore, no reason why the people should stand at the reading of the Gospel, or bow at the name of Jesus.

9. "It is as lawful to sit at the Lord's table as to kneel or stand.

10. "The Lord's Supper ought not to be administered in private; nor should baptism be administered by women or lay-persons.

11. "The sign of the cross in baptism is superstitious.

12. "It is reasonable and proper that the parent should offer his own child to baptism, making a confession of that faith he intends to educate it in, without being obliged to answer in the child's name, I will, I will not, I believe, &c.; nor ought it to be allowed that women, or persons under age, should be sponsors.

13. "In giving names to children, it is convenient to avoid paganism, as well as the names and offices of Christ, angels, &c.

14. "It is papistical to forbid marriages at certain times of the year; and to give licenses in those times is intolerable.

15. "Private marriages, that is, such as are not published before the congregation, are highly inconvenient.

16. "The observation of Lent, and fasting on Fridays and Saturdays, is superstitious.

17. "The observation of festivals is unlawful.

18. "Trading, or keeping markets on the Lord's Day, is unlawful.

19. "In ordaining of the ministers, the pronouncing those words, 'Receive thou the Holy Ghost,' is both ridiculous and wicked.

20. "Kings and bishops should not be anointed."

These were Cartwright's dangerous doctrines, which he touched occasionally in his lectures, but with no design to create discord, as appears by a testimonial sent to the secretary of state in his favour, signed by fifteen considerable names in the university, in which they declare that they had heard his lectures, and that "he never touched upon the controversy of the habits; and, though he had advanced some propositions with regard to the ministry, according

to which he wished things might be regulated, he did it with all imaginable caution and modesty.* Other letters were written in his favour, signed by twenty names or upward, of whom some were afterward bishops, but it was resolved to make him an example. Cartwright himself sent an elegant Latin letter to the secretary, in which he declares that he waived all occasions of speaking concerning the habits, but owns he had taught that our ministry declined from the ministry of the apostolical Church in some points, according to which he wished it might be modelled; however, that he did this with all imaginable caution, as almost the whole university would witness, if they might be allowed. He prayed the secretary to hear and judge the cause himself, which was so far from novelty, that it was as venerable for its antiquity as the apostolic age; but, though the secretary was convinced† that his behaviour was free from arrogance, or an intention to cause trouble, and that only as a public reader in the university he had given notes of the difference between the ministry in the times of the apostles and the present ministry of the Church of England, yet he left him to the mercy of his enemies, who poured upon him all the infamy and disgrace their power would admit. They first denied him his degree of doctor in divinity, then forbade his reading public lectures, and at last deprived him of his fellowship, and expelled him the university. A short and compendious way of confuting an adversary!

Mr. Cartwright being now out of all employment, travelled beyond sea, and settled a correspondence with the most celebrated divines in the Protestant universities of Europe. While he was abroad he was chosen minister to the English merchants at Antwerp, and afterward at Middleburgh, where he continued two years with little or no profit to himself; and then returning to England, being earnestly solicited thereunto by letters from Mr. Deering, Fulk, Wiburne, Fox, and Lever, we shall hear more of the sufferings of this eminent divine for his nonconformity.‡

This year [1570] Grindal, bishop of London, being translated to York, Sandys, bishop of Worcester, was removed to London; in his primary visitation, January 10, he charged his clergy, 1. To keep strictly to the Book of Common Prayer. 2. Not to preach without a license. 3. To wear the apparel, that is, the square cap and scholar's gown, and in Divine service, the surplice. 4. Not to admit any of other parishes to their communion. He also ordered all clerks' tolerations to be called in; by which it appears that some few of the Nonconformists had been tolerated, or dispensed with hitherto, but now this was at an end.§ However, the Puritans encouraged one another, by conversation and letters, to steadfastness in opposition to the corruptions of the Church, and not to fear the resentments of their adversaries.

There was a spirit in the Parliament, which was convened April 2, 1571, to attempt something in favour of the Puritans, upon whom the bishops bore harder every day than other. Mr.

Strickland, an ancient gentleman, offered a bill for a farther reformation in the Church, April 6, and introduced it with a speech, proving that the Common Prayer Book, with some superstitious remains of popery in the Church, might easily be altered without any danger to religion. He enforced it with a second speech, April 13, upon which the treasurer of the queen's household stood up, and said, "All matters of ceremonies were to be referred to the queen, and for them to meddle with the royal prerogative was not convenient." Her majesty was so displeased with Mr. Strickland's motion, that she sent for him before the council, and forbade him the Parliament House, which alarmed the members, and occasioned so many warm speeches, that she thought fit to restore him on the 20th of April. This was a bold stroke at the freedom of parliaments, and carrying the prerogative to its utmost length. But Mr. Strickland moved, farther, that a confession of faith should be published and confirmed by Parliament, as it was in other Protestant countries; and that a committee might be appointed to confer with the bishops on his head. The committee drew up certain articles, according to those which passed the convocation of 1562, but left out others. The archbishop asked them why they left out the article for homilies, and for the consecrating of bishops, and some others relating to the hierarchy. Mr. Peter Wentworth replied, because they had not yet examined how far they were agreeable to the Word of God, having confined themselves chiefly to doctrines. The archbishop replied, Surely you will refer yourselves wholly to us the bishops in these things? To which Mr. Wentworth replied, warmly, "No, by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list, for we will make you none." So the articles relating to discipline were waived, and an act was passed confirming all the doctrinal articles agreed upon in the synod of 1562.

The act is entitled, "For reformation of disorders in the ministers of the Church,"* "and enjoins all that have any ecclesiastical livings to declare their assent before the bishop of the diocese to all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in the book imprinted and entitled 'Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the archbishops and bishops, &c., and the whole clergy, in the convocation of 1562, for avoiding diversity of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion,' and to subscribe them; which was to be testified by the bishop of the diocese, under his seal; which testimonial he was to read publicly with the said articles, as the confession of his faith, in his church on Sunday, in the time of Divine service, or else to be deprived. If any clergyman maintained any doctrine repugnant to the said articles, the bishop might deprive him. None were to be admitted to any benefice with cure except he was a deacon of the age of twenty-three years, and would subscribe and declare his unfeigned assent to the articles above mentioned. Nor might any administer the sacraments under twenty-four years of age."

It appears from the words of this statute, that

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 2.

† Pierce's Vindication, p. 77.

‡ Clarke's Life of Cartwright, p. 18.

§ Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 29.

* 13 Eliz., cap. xii.

those articles of the Church which relate to its discipline were not designed to be the terms of ministerial conformity; and if the queen and the bishops had governed themselves accordingly, the separation had been stifled in its infancy, for there was hardly a Puritan in England that refused subscription to the doctrinal articles: if all the thirty-nine articles had been established, there had been no need of the following clause, "Which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments." And yet, notwithstanding this act, many that held benefices and ecclesiastical preferments, and that offered to conform to the statute, were deprived in the following part of this reign; which was owing to the bishops' servile compliance with the prerogative, and pressing subscription to more than the law required.*

It deserves farther to be taken notice of, that by a clause in this act, the Parliament admits of ordination by presbyters without a bishop; which was afterward disallowed by the bishops in this reign, as well as at the restoration of King Charles II., when the Church was deprived of great numbers of learned and useful preachers, who scrupled the matter of reordination, as they would at this time, if it had been insisted on. Many of the present clergy had been exiles for religion, and had been ordained abroad, according to the custom of foreign churches, but would not be ordained, any more than those of the popish communion; therefore, to put an end to all disputes, the statute includes both; the words are these: "That every person under the degree of a bishop that doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's Word and sacraments, by reason of any form of institution, consecration, or ordering, than the form set forth in Parliament in the time of the late King Edward VI., or now used in the reign of our most sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, shall, before Christmas next, declare his assent, and subscribe the articles aforesaid." The meaning of which clause, says Mr. Strype, is undoubtedly to comprehend papists, and likewise such as received their orders in some of the foreign Reformed Churches, when they were in exile under Queen Mary.†

It is probable that the controverted clause of the twentieth article, "The Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith," was not among the articles of 1562, as has been shown under that year; though it might be (according to Laud and Heylin) inserted in the convocation-book of 1571; but what has this to do with the act of Parliament, which refers to a book printed nine years before? Besides, it is absurd to charge the Puritans with striking out the clause as Archbishop Laud has done, they having no share in the government of the Church at this time, nor interest to obtain the least abatement in their favour; nor does it appear that they disapproved the clause under proper regulations: one might rather suppose that the queen should take umbrage at it as an invasion of her prerogative, and that, therefore, some zealous churchman, finding the articles defective upon the head of the Church's authority, might insert it privately, to avoid the danger of a præmunire.

But, after all, subscription to the doctrinal

articles of the Church only has been reckoned a very great grievance by many pious and learned divines, both in Church and out of it; for it is next to impossible to frame thirty-six propositions in any human words, to which ten thousand clergymen can give their hearty assent and consent. Some that agree to the doctrine itself may dissent from the words and phrases by which it is expressed; and others that agree to the capital doctrines of Christianity, may have some doubts about the deeper and more abstruse points of speculation. It would be hard to deprive a man of his living, and shut him out from all usefulness in the Church, because he doubts of the local descent of Christ into hell; or whether the best actions of men before their conversion have the nature of sins;* or that everything in the three creeds, commonly called the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture, and are therefore to be believed and received.† Wise and good men may have different sentiments upon the doctrine of the decrees, which are a depth which no man can fathom. These, and some other things, have galled the consciences of the clergy, and driven them to evasions destructive to morality and the peace of their own minds. Some have subscribed them as articles of peace, contrary to the very title, which says they "are for avoiding the diversity of opinions." Others have tortured the words to a meaning contrary to the known sense of the compilers. Some subscribe them with a secret reserve, as far as they are agreeable to the Word of God; and so they may subscribe the Council of Trent, or even Mohammed's Alcoran. Others subscribe them, not as doctrines which they believe, but as doctrines that they will not openly contradict and oppose; and others, I am informed, put no sense upon the articles at all, but only subscribed them as a test of their obedience to their superiors, who require this of them as the legal way to preferment in the Church. How hard must it be for men of learning and probity to submit to these shifts! when no kinds of subscriptions can be a barrier against ignorant or dishonest minds. Of what advantage is uniformity of profession without an agreement in principles? If the fundamental articles of our faith were drawn up in the language of Holy Scripture; or if those who were appointed to examine into the learning and other qualifications of ministers were to be judges of their orthodox confessions of faith, it would answer a better purpose than subscription to human creeds and articles. Though the Commons were forbid to concern themselves with the discipline of the Church, they ventured to present an address to the queen,‡ complaining "that, for lack of true discipline in the Church, great numbers are admitted ministers that are infamous in their lives and conversations; and among those that are of ability, their gifts in many places are useless, by reason of pluralities and non-residency, whereby infinite numbers of your majesty's subjects are like to perish for lack of knowledge. By means of this, together with the common blaspheming of the Lord's name, the most wicked licentiousness of life, the abuse of excommunication, the commutation of penance, the great

* Strype's Ann., vol. ii., p. 72. † Ibid., p. 71.

* Art. 13. † Art. 8. ‡ MS., p. 92.

numbers of atheists, schismatics daily springing up, and the increase of papists, the Protestant religion is in imminent danger; wherefore, in regard first and principally to the glory of God, and next in discharge of our bounden duty to your majesty, besides being moved with pity towards so many thousands of your majesty's subjects, daily in danger of being lost for want of the food of the Word, and true discipline, we, the commons in this present Parliament assembled, are humbly bold to open the griefs, and to seek the salving of the sores of our country, and to beseech your majesty, seeing the same is of so great importance, if the Parliament at this time may not be so long continued as that, by good and godly laws, provision may be made for supply and reformation of these great and grievous wants and abuses, that yet, by such other means as to your majesty's wisdom shall seem meet, a perfect redress of the same may be had; by which the number of your majesty's faithful subjects will be increased, popery will be destroyed, the glory of God will be promoted, and your majesty's renown will be recommended to all posterity." But the queen broke up the Parliament without taking any notice of the supplication.

The convocation which sat with this Parliament assembled April 3d, 1571, when the Reverend Mr. Gilbert Alcock presented a supplication to them in behalf of the deprived ministers, praying their interest with the queen for a redress of their grievances: * "If a godly minister," says he, "omit but the least ceremony for conscience' sake, he is immediately indicted, deprived, cast into prison, and his goods wasted and destroyed; he is kept from his wife and children, and at last excommunicated. We therefore beseech your fatherhoods to pity our case, and take from us these stumbling-blocks." But the convocation were of another spirit, and, instead of removing their burdens, increased them by framing certain new canons of discipline against the Puritans; as, that the bishops should call in all their licenses for preaching, and give out new ones to those who were best qualified; † and among the qualifications, they insist, not only upon subscription to the doctrines of the Church enjoined by Parliament, but upon subscription to the Common Prayer Book and ordinal for the consecration of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, as containing nothing contrary to the Word of God. And they declare that all such preachers as do not subscribe, or that disturb people's minds with contrary doctrine, shall be excommunicated. But as these canons never had the sanction of the broad seal, surely the enforcing them upon the Puritans was a stretch of power hardly to be justified. Bishop Grindal confessed they had not the force of a law, and might possibly involve them in a præmunire; and yet the bishops urged them upon the clergy of their several diocesses. They cancelled all the licenses of preachers, and insisted peremptorily on the subscription above mentioned.

The complaints of the ministers, under these hardships, reached the ears of the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who was pleased to order the learned Zanchy, professor of divinity in the University of Heidelberg, to write to the Queen

of England in their behalf, beseeching her majesty not to insist upon subscriptions, or upon wearing the habits, which gave such offence to great numbers of the clergy, and was like to make a schism in the Church.* The letter was enclosed to Bishop Grindal, who, when he had read it, would not so much as deliver it to the queen, for fear of disobliging her majesty, whose resolution was to put an end to all distinctions in the Church, by pressing the Act of Uniformity. Instead, therefore, of relaxing to the Puritans, orders were sent to all church-wardens "not to suffer any to read, pray, preach, or minister the sacraments, in any churches, chapels, or private places, without a new license from the queen, or the archbishop, or bishop of the diocess, to be dated since May, 1571." The more resolved Puritans were therefore reduced to the necessity of assembling in private, or of laying down their ministry.

Though all the bishops were obliged to go into these measures of the court, yet some were so sensible of the want of discipline and of preaching the Word, that they permitted their clergy to enter into associations for the promoting of both. The ministers of the town of Northampton, with the consent and approbation of Dr. Scambler, their bishop, the mayor of the town, and the justices of the county, agreed upon the following regulations for worship and discipline: †

"That singing and playing of organs in the choir shall be put down, and common prayer read in the body of the church, with a psalm before and after sermon. That every Tuesday and Thursday there shall be a lecture from nine to ten in the morning, in the chief church of the town, beginning with the confession in the Book of Common Prayer, and ending with prayer and a confession of faith. Every Sunday and holyday shall be a sermon after morning prayer, with a psalm before and after. Service shall be ended in every parish church by nine in the morning every Sunday and holydays, to the end that people may resort to the sermon in the chief church, except they have a sermon in their own. None shall walk abroad, or sit idly in the streets, in time of Divine service. The youth shall every Sunday evening be examined in a portion of Calvin's Catechism, which the reader shall expound for an hour. There shall be a general communion once a quarter in every parish, with a sermon. A fortnight before each communion, the minister, with the church-wardens, shall go from house to house, to take the names of the communicants and examine into their lives; and the party that is not in charity with his neighbour shall be put from the communion. After the communion, the minister shall visit every house, to understand who have not received the communion, and why. Every communion-day each parish shall have two communions, one beginning at five in the morning, with a sermon of an hour, and ending at eight, for servants; the other, from nine to twelve, for masters and dames. The manner of the communion shall be according to the order of the queen's book, saving that the people, being in their confession upon their knees, shall rise up from their pews, and so pass to the communion-table,

* MS., p. 92.

† Sparrow, p. 223.

* Strype's Ann., vol. ii., p. 97.

† Ibid.

where they shall receive the sacrament in companies, and then return to their pews, the minister reading in the pulpit. The communion-table shall stand in the body of the church, according to the book, at the upper end of the middle aisle, having three ministers, one in the middle to deliver the bread, the other two at each end for the cup, the ministers often calling upon the people to remember the poor. The communion to end with a psalm. Excessive ringing of bells on the Lord's Day is prohibited; and carrying of the bell before corpses in the streets, and bidding prayers for the dead, which was used till within these two years, is restrained."

Here was a sort of association, or voluntary discipline, introduced, independent of the queen's injunctions or canons of the Church; and this was what the Puritans were contending for, and would gladly have acquiesced in, if it might have been established by a law.

Besides these attempts for discipline, the clergy, with leave of their bishop, encouraged religious exercises among themselves, for the interpretation of some texts of Scripture, one speaking to it orderly after another; these were called prophesyings from the apostolical direction, 1 Cor., xiv., 31, "Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted." They also conferred among themselves touching sound doctrine and good life and manners.

The regulations or orders for these exercises in Northampton were these:

"That every minister, at his first allowance to be of this exercise, shall by subscription declare his consent in Christ's true religion with his brethren, and submit to the discipline and order of the same. The names of all the members shall be written in a table, three of whom shall be concerned at each exercise: the first, beginning and ending with prayer, shall explain his text, and confute foolish interpretations, and then make a practical reflection, but not dilate to a commonplace. Those that speak after may add anything they think the other has omitted tending to explain the text; but may not repeat what has been said, nor oppose their predecessor, unless he has spoken contrary to the Scriptures. The exercise to continue from nine to eleven; the first speaker to end in three quarters of an hour, the second and third not to exceed each one quarter of an hour; one of the moderators always to conclude. After the exercise is over, and the auditors dismissed, the president shall call the learned brethren to him to give him their judgment of the performances, when it shall be lawful for any of the brethren to oppose their objections against them in writing, which shall be answered before the next exercise. If any break orders, the president shall command him, in the name of the eternal God, to be silent; and after the exercise, he shall be reprimanded. When the exercise is finished, the next speaker shall be appointed, and his text given him."

The confession of faith which the members of these prophesyings signed at their admission was to the following purpose:

"That they believed the Word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament, to be a perfect rule of faith and manners; that it ought

to be read and known by all people; and that the authority of it exceeds all authority, not of the pope only, but of the Church also, and of councils, fathers, men, and angels.

"They condemn, as a tyrannous yoke, whatsoever men have set up of their own invention to make articles of faith, and the binding men's consciences by their laws and institutes; in sum, all those manners and fashions of serving God which men have brought in without the authority of the Word for the warrant thereof, though recommended by custom, by unwritten traditions, or any other names whatsoever; of which sort are the pope's supremacy, purgatory, transubstantiation, man's merits, free-will, justification by works, praying in an unknown tongue, and distinction of meats, apparel, and days, and, briefly, all the ceremonies and whole order of papistry, which they call the hierarchy, which are a devilish confusion, established, as it were, in spite of God, and to the reproach of religion.

"And we content ourselves," say they, "with the simplicity of this pure Word of God, and doctrine thereof, a summary of which is in the Apostles' Creed; resolving to try and examine, and also to judge all other doctrines whatsoever by this pure Word, as by a certain rule and perfect touchstone. And to this Word of God we humbly submit ourselves and all our doings, willing and ready to be judged, reformed, or farther instructed thereby, in all points of religion."

Mr. Strype calls this a well-minded and religiously-disposed combination of both bishop, magistrates, and people. It was designed to stir up an emulation in the clergy to study the Scriptures, that they may be more capable of instructing the people in Christian knowledge; and though men of loose principles censured it, yet the ecclesiastical commissioners, who had a special letter from the queen to inquire into novelties, and were acquainted with the scheme above mentioned, gave them, as yet, neither check nor disturbance; but when her majesty was informed that they were nurseries of Puritanism, and tended to promote alterations in the government of the Church, she quickly suppressed them, as will be seen in its proper place.

This year [1571] put a period to the life of the eminent John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, author of the famous Apology for the Church of England. He was born in Devonshire, 1522, and educated in Christ Church College, Oxon, where he proceeded M.A. 1544. In King Edward's reign he was a zealous promoter of the Reformation; but, not having the courage of a martyr, he yielded to some things against his conscience in the reign of Queen Mary, for which he asked pardon of God and the Church among the exiles in Germany, where he continued a confessor of the Gospel till Queen Elizabeth's accession, when he returned home, and was preferred to the Bishopric of Salisbury in 1559. He was one of the most learned men among the Reformers, a Calvinist in doctrine, but for absolute obedience to his sovereign in all things of an indifferent nature, which led him not only to comply with all the queen's injunctions about the habits when he did not approve them, but to bear hard upon the consciences of his brethren who were not satisfied to comply. He published several treatises in his lifetime, and others were printed after his death;

but that which gained him greatest reputation was his Apology, which was translated into the foreign languages, and ordered to be chained in all the churches in England.* He was a truly pious man, and died in a comfortable frame of mind. Some of his last words were, "I have not so lived that I am ashamed to die; neither am I afraid to die, for we have a gracious Lord. There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness. Christ is my righteousness. Lord, let thy servant depart in peace;" which he did at Monkton Farley, September 23, 1571, in the fiftieth year of his age, and lies buried in the middle of the choir of the Cathedral of Salisbury.

In the same year died the Rev. Mr. David Whitehead, a great scholar, and a most excellent professor of divinity. He was educated at Oxford, and was chaplain to Queen Anne Bulen, and one of the four divines nominated by Archbishop Cranmer to bishoprics in Ireland. In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign he went into voluntary exile, and resided at Frankfurt, where he answered the objections of Dr. Horn concerning Church discipline and worship. Upon his return into England he was chosen one of the disputants against the popish bishops, and showed himself so profound a divine, that the queen, out of her high esteem for him, offered him the archbishopric of Canterbury; but he refused it from Puritanical principles, and would accept of no preferment in the Church as it then stood: he excused himself to the queen by saying he could live plentifully on the Gospel without any preferment; and, accordingly, did so: he went up and down like an apostle, preaching the Word where it was wanted; and spent his life in celibacy, which gained him the higher esteem with the queen, who had no great affection for married priests. He died this year, in a good old age,† but in what church or chapel he was buried I know not.

Our archbishop was very busy this summer, with the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, in harassing the Puritans; for which purpose he summoned before him the principal clergy of both provinces who were disaffected to the uniformity established by law, and acquainted them that, if they intended to continue their ministry, they must take out new licenses, and subscribe the articles, framed according to a new act of Parliament, for reforming certain disorders in ministers; otherwise they might resign quietly or be deprived. He took in the bishops above mentioned to countenance his proceedings, but Grindal declared he would not be concerned if his grace proceeded to suspension and deprivation: upon which Parker wrote back that "he thought it high time to set about it; and, however the world may judge, he would serve God and his

prince, and put her laws in execution; that Grindal was too timorous, there being no danger of a præmunire; that the queen was content the late book of articles (though it had not the broad seal) should be prosecuted; and in case it should hereafter be repealed, there was no fear of a præmunire, but only of a fine at her pleasure, which he was persuaded her majesty, out of love to the Church, would not levy: but Grindal being now at York, wisely declined the affair."*

In the month of June the archbishop cited the chief Puritans about London to Lambeth, † viz., Messrs. Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Wyburn, Goff, Percival, Deering, Field, Browne, Johnson, and others. These divines, being willing to live peaceably, offered to subscribe the articles of religion as far as concerned the doctrine and sacraments only, and the Book of Common Prayer as far as it tended to edification, it being acknowledged on all hands that there were some imperfections in it; but they prayed, with respect to the apparel, that neither party might condemn the other, but that those that wore them, and those that did not, might live in unity and concord. How reasonable soever this was, the archbishop told them peremptorily that they must come up to the queen's injunctions or be deprived.‡ Goodman was also required to renounce a book that he had written many years ago, when he was an exile, against the government of women, which he refused, and was therefore suspended. Mr. Strype says that he was at length brought to a revocation of it, and signed a protestation before the commissioners at Lambeth, April 23, 1571, concerning his dutiful obedience to the queen's majesty's person and her lawful government.§ Lever quietly resigned his prebend in the Church of Durham. Browne being domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, his patron undertook to screen him; but the archbishop sent him word that no place within her majesty's dominions was exempt from the jurisdiction of the commissioners, and, therefore, if his grace did not forthwith send up his chaplain, they should be forced to use other methods. This was that Robert Browne who afterward gave name to that denomination of dissenters called Brownists; but his family and relations covered him for the present. Johnson was domestic chaplain to the Lord-keeper Bacon, at Goramby, where he used to preach and administer the sacrament in his family: he had also some place at St. Alban's, and was fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He appeared before the commissioners in July, but, refusing to subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer as agreeable to the Word of God, he was suspended, though he assured them he used the book, and thought, for charity's sake, it might be suffered till God should grant a time of more perfect reformation; that he would wear the apparel, though he judged it neither expedient nor for edification; and that he was willing to subscribe all the doctrinal articles of the Church, according to the late act of Parliament; but the commissioners insisting peremptorily upon an absolute subscription, as above, he was suspended, and resigned his prebend in the Church

* This book was originally written in Latin, but, for the use of the generality of the people, it was translated into English, with remarkable accuracy, by Anne, Lady Bacon, the second of the four learned daughters of Sir Anthony Coke. Such was the esteem in which it was held, that there was a design of its being joined to the thirty-nine articles, and of causing it to be deposited not only in all cathedrals and collegiate churches, but also in private houses. It promoted the Reformation from popery more than any other publication of that period.—*The New Annual Register for 1789, History of Knowledge*, p. 19.—Ed.

† Ath. Ox., vol. i., p. 135, 136. Pierce's Vindic., p. 45, 46.

* Life of Grindal, p. 166.

† MS., p. 117.

‡ Life of Parker, p. 326, 327. § An. Ref., vol. ii., p. 95.

of Norwich; but about two years after he fell into farther troubles, which cost him his life.

The learned Beza [in 1572] wrote to the bishops not to be the instruments of such severities; and being informed that a Parliament was shortly to be called, in which a consultation was to be had concerning the establishing of religion, he excited the lord-treasurer to endeavour some reformation of discipline: "For I will not dissemble," says he, "that not a few complain of divers things wanting in the Church; and when I say not a few, I do not mean that worst sort whom nothing pleases but what is perfect and absolute in all respects; but I understand godly men, learned men, and some that are best affected to God's Church, and lovers of their nation. I look upon the reformation of discipline as of great importance to the peace and welfare of the nation, and the strengthening of the Reformation; and therefore there is nothing the queen's majesty and her council should sooner think of than this, however great and difficult the work might be, especially since the English nation affords so many divines of prudence, learning, and judgment in these affairs; if they, together with the bishops, to whom, indeed, especially, but not alone, this care belongs, would deliberate hereupon, I doubt not but such things would follow whence other nations would take example."

Thus did this learned divine intercede for the recovery of discipline and the ease of tender and scrupulous consciences. But this was more than our archbishop thanked him for, says Mr. Strype, after he had taken so much pains in pressing the Act of Uniformity.*

The Parliament met May 8, 1572; the lord-keeper opened it with a speech, in which he recommended to the houses, in the queen's name, "to see that the laws relating to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church were put in due execution; and that, if any farther laws were wanting, they should consider of them; and so, says his lordship, *gladius gladium juvabit*, the civil sword will support the ecclesiastical, as beforetime has been used."† But the Parliament, seeing the ill use the queen and bishops made of their spiritual power, instead of framing new laws to enforce the ceremonies, ordered two bills to be brought in to regulate them; in one of which the hardships that the Puritans complained of were redressed.‡ The bills passed smoothly through the Commons, and were referred to a select committee of both houses, which alarmed the bishops, and gave the queen such offence, that two days after she sent to acquaint the Commons, by their speaker, that it was her pleasure that no bills concerning religion should henceforth be received, unless the same should be first considered and approved by the bishops or clergy in convocation; and farther, her majesty commanded them to deliver up the two bills last read in the house, touching rights and ceremonies.§ This was a

* Life of Parker, p. 344.

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 125. D'Ew's Journal, p. 207.

‡ Life of Parker, p. 394.

§ In the face of this full and positive evidence of the temper and measures of the queen, Bishop Mad-dox talks of the great favour and indulgence shown to the Puritans in the year 1572; and refers us to Strype, in his life of Whitgift, saying "that they were as gently treated as might be; no kind of broth-

erly persuasion omitted towards them; and most of them as yet kept their livings, though one or two were displaced." In this connexion he quotes, also, a letter of Fox, the martyrologist, to her majesty, "exalting her in his praises for her regard and gracious answer to a petition of certain divines concerning the habits."—*Vindication*, p. 173. This letter, Mr. Neal observes, was written in 1564, several years before that part of her reign wherein she thought fit to inflict severe punishments upon the Dissenters. Besides, whatever weight is due to Mr. Fox's praises, or to Mr. Strype's representation, though the Puritans had some intervals of ease, some tokens of royal indulgence and favour, her reign, and their situation under it, are not surely to be characterized by a few intervals of ease, and by partial indulgences; but by the spirit of the laws framed against them, and by the great leading measures and the general tenour of her government. The first Christians are generally understood to have suffered ten severe persecutions under the Roman emperors: "but it is not to be supposed that persecution was always violent and uninterrupted; there might be some abatements of those troubles, and some seasons of rest and peace. In the reigns of Adrian and Titus Antoninus, there were some edicts, or rescripts, which were favourable to them, though during those very reigns many Christians still suffered in almost every part of the empire."—*Lardner's Works*, vol. viii., p. 311, 342, 8vo. So as to the period before us, the question is, Did the Puritans enjoy liberty and security under the reign of Queen Elizabeth; or was their situation the reverse of enjoying these blessings? If it were the latter (and the particulars of this long detail will show what was the case), then the leading features of her government were intolerance and persecution.—*Ed.*

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 127, 128.

† *Ibid.*, p. 12.

In the mean time, the late act of the thirteenth of Elizabeth for subscribing the articles was put in execution all over England, together with the queen's injunctions; and according to Mr. Strype's computation, one hundred clergymen were deprived this year for refusing to subscribe.* The University of Cambridge was a nest of Puritans; many of the graduates were disaffected to the discipline of the Church, as particularly Mr. Browning, Mr. Brown, of Trinity College, Mr. Millain, of Christ's, Mr. Charke, of Peterhouse, Mr. Deering, of Christ's College, and several in St. John's College, who, being men of learning, had a great number of followers; but Dr. Whitgift, the vice-chancellor, watched them narrowly, and kept them under. The Reverend Mr. Charke, in one of his sermons at St. Mary's, had said that "there ought to be a parity among the ministers in the Church; and that the hierarchial orders of archbishops, patriarchs, metropolitans, &c., were introduced into the Church by Satan." For which he was summoned before the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, and refusing to recant, was expelled the university. Charke wrote a handsome Latin apology to Lord Burleigh, their present chancellor, in which he confesses that it was his opinion that the Church of England might be brought nearer to the apostolic character or likeness; but that this must not be said either in the pulpit or desk, under the severest penalties. The chancellor, knowing him to be a good scholar, and in consideration that he had been hardly dealt with, interceded for him, but to no purpose. Mr. Browning, Mr. Deering, and others, met with the like usage. Mr. Deering was a man of good learning, and made a chief figure in the university; he was also reader at St. Paul's, London, and a most popular preacher; but being an enemy to the superior order of bishops, he fell into the hands of the commissioners, and was silenced.

The Puritans finding it in vain to hope for a reformation from the queen or bishops, resolved for the future to apply to Parliament, and stand by the Constitution; for this purpose they made interest among the members, and compiled a treatise, setting forth their chief grievances in one view; it was drawn up by the Reverend Mr. Field, minister of Aldermary, London, assisted by Mr. Wilcox, and was revised by several of the brethren. It was entitled, An Admonition to the Parliament; with Beza's letter to the Earl of Leicester, and Gualter's to Bishop Parkhurst for reformation of church discipline, annexed. It contains the platform of a church; the manner of electing ministers; their several duties, and their equality in government. It then exposes the corruptions of the hierarchy, and the proceedings of the bishops, with some severity of language. When Mr. Pearson, the archbishop's chaplain, taxed the authors with this in prison, Mr. Field replied, "This concerns me; the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament use such vehemency; we have used gentle words too long, which have done no good; the wound grows desperate, and wants a corrosive; it is no time to blanch or sew pillars under men's elbows, but God knoweth we meant to touch no man's person, but their places and abuses." The admonition concludes

with a petition to the houses that a discipline more consonant to the Word of God, and agreeing with the foreign Reformed churches, may be established by law. The authors themselves, viz., the Reverend Mr. Field and Wilcox, presented it to the house, for which they were sent for into custody, and by the influence of the bishops committed to Newgate, October 2, 1572.* Upon this, the book already printed was suffered to go abroad, and had three or four editions within the compass of two years, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the bishops to find out the press.†

The imprisonment of the two ministers occasioned the drawing up a Second Admonition, by Mr. Cartwright,‡ lately returned from beyond sea, with an humble petition to the two houses for relief against the subscription required by the ecclesiastical commissioners, which they represent had no foundation in law, but was an act of sovereignty in the crown, and was against the peace of their consciences, many having lost their places and livings for not complying; they therefore beseech their honours to take a view of the causes of their non-subscribing, that it might appear they were not disobedient to the Church of God, or to their sovereign; and they most humbly entreat for the removal and abolishing of such corruptions and abuses in the Church as withheld their compliance. "The matters," say they, "contained in the Admonition, how true soever they be, have found small favour; the persons that are thought to have made it are laid up in no worse prison than Newgate; the men that set upon them are no worse than bishops; the name that goeth of them is no better than rebels; and great words there are that their danger will yet prove greater. Well, whatsoever is said or done against them, that is not the matter; but the equity of the cause, that is the matter; and yet this we will say, that the state showeth not itself upright if it suffers them to be molested for that which was spoken only by way of admonition to the Parliament, which was to consider of it and receive or reject it, without farther matter to the authors, except it contained some wilful maintenance of treason or rebellion, which it cannot be proved to do."§ Two other pamphlets were published on this occasion, one entitled "An Exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly with their Brethren." The other, "An Exhortation to the Bishops and Clergy to answer a little Book that was published last Parliament; and an Exhortation to other Brethren to judge of it by God's Word, till they saw it answered."

The prisoners themselves drew up an elegant Latin apology to the lord-treasurer, Burleigh, in which they confess their writing the Admonition, but that they attempted not to correct or change anything in the hierarchy of themselves, but referred all to the Parliament, hoping by this means that all differences might be composed in a legal way, and the corruptions which

* MS., p. 119, 135. † Life of Parker, p. 347.

‡ He was at the head (observes Mr. Neal in his Review) of a new generation of Puritans, of warmer spirits, who opened the controversy with the Church into other branches, and struck at some of the main principles of the hierarchy.—ED.

§ Pierce's Vindication, p. 85.

* Strype's Annals, p. 187.

the most learned foreign divines complained of might be removed, to the preventing any schism or separation in the Church.* However, the treasurer had not courage to intermeddle with an affair which might embroil him with the queen, or, at least, with her ecclesiastical commissioners, though it was well enough known he had a good will to the cause. But the commissioners, not content with the severity of the law, sported themselves in an arbitrary manner with the miseries of their fellow-creatures; detained them in prison beyond the time limited by the statute, as appears by their humble supplication to the Earl of Leicester, representing "that they had been condemned, according to the Act of Uniformity, to a year's imprisonment, which they had now suffered patiently in the common jail of Newgate, besides four months' close imprisonment before their conviction, which they apprehended to be contrary to law; that by this means they and their poor wives and children were utterly impoverished; their health very much impaired by the unwholesome savour of the place and the cold weather; and that they were likely to suffer yet greater extremities: they therefore humbly beseech his lordship, for the tender mercies of God, and in consideration of their poor wives and children, to be a means to the most honourable privy council, that they may be enlarged; or, if that could not be obtained, that they might be confined in a more wholesome prison." They preferred another petition of the same nature to the lords of the council; and a third was sent in the names of their wives and children. They also wrote a confession of their faith, dated from Newgate, December 4, 1572, with a preface, in which they complain of the reproaches and calumnies of their adversaries: because (say they) we would have bishops unlorded, according to God's Word, therefore it is said we seek the overthrow of civil magistrates; because we say all bishops and ministers are equal, and, therefore, may not exercise their sovereignty over one another, therefore they say, when they have brought this in among the bishops, we shall be for levelling the nobility of the land. Because we find fault with the regimen of the Church as drawn from the pope, therefore they say we design the ruin of the state. Because we say the ministry must not be a bare reading ministry, but that every minister must be learned, able to preach, to refute gainsayers, to comfort, to rebuke, and to do all the duties of a shepherd, a watchman, and a steward, therefore they bear the world in hand that we condemn the reading of the Holy Scriptures in churches. Because we are afraid of joining with the Church in all her rites and ceremonies, therefore we are branded with the odious names of Donatists, Anabaptists, Arians, Ariens, Hinckfeldians, Puritans," &c.†

The confession itself is orthodox, according to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, and must give a general satisfaction to them who read it; it is written by the authors of the first admonition to the Parliament, to testify their persuasion in the faith, against the uncharitable surmises of Dr. Whitgift, uttered in his answer to their Admonition, in defence

both of themselves and their fautors, and is subscribed Johannes Fieldus.†

* I have the whole before me, but shall only transcribe a few passages relating to the present controversy.

"We hold and believe that we ought to keep inviolably that kind of government that is left us in the Gospel. That the office of a pastor is to preach the Word and administer the sacraments, and, therefore, that bare readers, or single sayers, are no more fit for pastors than women or children that can read well; yet we deny not the reading of the Scriptures in all congregations, but this is not a part of the minister's office.

"We think it unlawful to withdraw from the Church where the Word is truly preached, the sacrament sincerely ministered, and true ecclesiastical discipline exercised. We are not for an unspotted Church on earth, and, therefore, though the Church of England has many faults, we would not willingly withdraw from it; and yet we believe that God's children, when they are threatened with persecution, and the church doors are shut against them, may draw themselves into private assemblies, separating from cursed idolatry and pestilent popery, though the laws of princes are against it; and whosoever refuseth to be subject to these congregations separating themselves, resisteth the ordinances of God.

"We affirm that the Church of God is a company or congregation of the faithful, called and gathered out of the world by the preaching of the Gospel, united in the true faith, and resolving to form their lives, government, order, and ceremonies according to the Word of God.

"We hold that there ought to be joined to the pastors of the Church, elders and deacons, for the bridling of vices and providing for the poor; that no pastor ought to usurp dominion over another, nor any church exercise lordship or rule over another.

"We believe that the pastor should be chosen by the congregation, and being chosen, should be confirmed in his vocation by the elders, with public prayer and imposition of hands.

"Concerning ceremonies, we hold that they ought to be few, and such as have no show of evil, but manifestly tend to decency and good order. We reject, therefore, all the popish ceremonies and apparel. We hold that churches may differ in order and ceremonies, and yet keep the unity of the faith; and, therefore, we condemn not other Churches that have ceremonies different from ours. Concerning public worship, we hold that there ought to be places appointed for this purpose, and that there may be a prescript form of prayer and service in the known tongue, because all have not the gift of prayer, but we would not have it patched out of the pope's portuises; but be the form of prayer never so good, we affirm that ministers may not think themselves discharged when they have said it over, for they are not sent to say service, but to preach deliverance through Christ: preaching, therefore, must not be thrust out of doors for reading. Neither ought the minister so to be tied to a prescript form that at all times he must be bound of necessity to use it; for who can draw a form of prayer necessary for all times, and fit for all congregations? We deny not but it is well that there be various manners of prayers, but we must take heed that they be not long and tedious; wherefore preaching, as it is the chief part of a minister's office, so all other things must give place to it.

"Concerning singing of psalms, we allow of the people's joining with one voice in a plain tune, but not of tossing the psalms from one side to the other, with the intermingling of organs.

"Touching holydays, we say that religion is tied to no time, nor is one day more holy than another; but because time must be had to hear the Word of God, and to administer the holy sacraments, therefore we keep the Lord's Day as we are commanded, but without all Jewish superstition. We think that those feast-days of Christ, as of his birth, circum-

The authors of this confession lay in prison a considerable time, for though the inhabitants of Aldermary, London, presented two supplications for the enlargement of their valuable pastor, and learned and faithful preacher, as they called Mr. Field, and though some great friends interceded for them, they could not obtain their release. The archbishop sent his chaplain to confer with them in prison after they had been there three months, for which they were thankful. The conference began with a suitable prayer, which Mr. Field made, and was carried on with such decency as moved the chaplain's compassion; but nothing would prevail with the inexorable commissioners to release them till they had suffered the extremity of the law, and paid their fees, though the keeper gave it under his hand that they were so poor as not to have money to pay for their lodgings or victuals.

To return to the Admonition, which consisted of twenty-three chapters, under the following titles:

- Chap. I. Whether Christ forbiddeth rule or superiority to ministers.
- II. Of the authority of the Church in things indifferent.
- III. Of the election of ministers.
- IV. Of ministers having no pastoral charge; and of ceremonies used in ordering ministers.
- V. Of the residence of the pastors.
- VI. Of ministers that cannot preach, and of licenses to preach.
- VII. Of the apparel of ministers.
- VIII. Of archbishops, metropolitans, bishops, archdeacons, &c.
- IX. Of the communion-book.
- X. Of holydays.
- XI. What kind of preaching is most effectual.
- XII. Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.
- XIII. Of reading the Scriptures.
- XIV. Of ministering and preaching by deacons.
- XV. Of matters touching the communion.
- XVI. Of matters touching baptism.

cision, passover, resurrection, and ascension, &c., may by Christian liberty be kept, because they are only devoted to Christ, to whom all days and times belong. But days dedicated to saints, with fasts on their eves, we utterly dislike, though we approve of the reverend memory of the saints, as examples to be propounded to the people in sermons; and of public and private fasts, as the circumstances of nations or private persons require."

The confession concludes with an article concerning the office of the civil magistrate: "We hold that Christians may bear offices; that magistrates may put offenders to death lawfully; that they may wage war, and require a lawful oath of the subject; that subjects are bound to obey all their just and lawful commands; to pray for them, to give them all honour; to call them by their lawful titles; and to be ready with their bodies and goods, lives, and all that they have, to serve them with bodily service; yea, all these things we must do, though they be infidels, and obtain their dominion either by inheritance, by election, by conquest, or otherwise. On the other hand, it is the magistrates' duty to provide for the public peace and quiet of their subjects; and to set forth Christ's pure religion, by advancing the preaching of the Gospel, and rooting out all superstition and idolatry."—*MS.*, p. 131.

- XVII. Of seniors, or government by elders.
- XVIII. Of certain matters concerning discipline of the Church.
- XIX. Of deacons and widows.
- XX. Of the authority of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters.
- XXI. Of subscribing the communion-book.
- XXII. Of cathedral churches.
- XXIII. Of civil officers in ecclesiastical persons.

These were the chief heads of complaint; which the Puritans having laid before the world, the bishops thought themselves obliged to answer. Dr. John Whitgift, master of Trinity College and vice-chancellor of Cambridge, was appointed to this work, which he performed with great labour and study, and dedicated it to the Church of England. His method was unexceptionable, the whole text of the Admonition being set down in paragraphs, and under each paragraph the doctor's answer.* Before it was printed, it was revised and corrected by Archbishop Parker, Dr. Cooper, bishop of Lincoln, and Pern, bishop of Ely; so that in this book, says Mr. Strype, may be seen all the arguments for and against the hierarchy, drawn to the best advantage.

Dr. Whitgift's book was answered by Mr. Cartwright, whose performance was called a master-piece in its kind, and had the approbation of great numbers in the University of Cambridge, as well as foreign divines. Whitgift replied again to Cartwright, and had the thanks of the bishops and the queen, who, as a reward for his excellent and learned pains, made him Dean of Lincoln; while Cartwright, to avoid the rigour of the commissioners, was forced to abscond in friends' houses, and at length retire into banishment.

But it was impossible for these divines to settle the controversy, because they were not agreed upon one and the same standard or rule of judgment. Mr. Cartwright maintained that "the Holy Scriptures were not only a standard of doctrine, but of discipline and government; and that the Church of Christ, in all ages, was to be regulated by them." He was, therefore, for consulting his Bible only, and for reducing all things as near as possible to the apostolical standard. Dr. Whitgift went upon a different principle, and maintained "that, though the Holy Scriptures were a perfect rule of faith, they were not designed as a standard of church discipline or government; but that this was changeable, and might be accommodated to the civil government we live under; that the apostolical government was adapted to the Church in its infancy, and under persecution, but was to be enlarged and altered as the Church grew to maturity, and had the civil magistrate on its side." The doctor, therefore, instead of reducing the external policy of the Church to Scripture, takes into his standard the *first four centuries after Christ*; and those customs that he can trace up thither, he thinks proper to be retained, because the Church was then in its mature state, and not yet under the power of antichrist.

The reader will judge of these principles for himself. One is ready to think that *the nearer we can come to the apostolical practice the better, and the less our religion is encumbered with*

* Life of Whitgift, p. 42.

rites and ceremonies of later invention, the more it must resemble the simplicity that is in Christ. If our blessed Saviour had designed that his worship should be set off with pomp and grandeur, and a multitude of ceremonies, he would have told us so, and, it may be, have settled them, as was done for the Church of the Jews; but nothing of this appearing, his followers should be cautious of inserting human commandments or traditions into the religion of Christ, lest they cast a reflection upon his kingly office.

The dispute between Whitgift and Cartwright was managed with some sharpness; the latter thought he had reason to complain of the hardships himself and his brethren suffered; and Whitgift having the government on his side, thought he stood upon higher ground, and might assume a superior air. When Cartwright and his friends pleaded for indulgence because they were brethren, the doctor replies, "What signifies their being brethren? Anabaptists, Arians, and other heretics, would be accounted brethren; their haughty spirits will not suffer them to see their error; they deserve as great punishment as papists, because both conspire against the Church. If they are shut up in Newgate, it is a meet reward for their disorderly doings; for ignorance may not excuse libels against a private man, much less when they slander the whole Church." How would the doctor have liked this language in the mouth of a papist sixteen years before? But this has been the method of warm and zealous disputants; the knots they cannot untie with their fingers, they would fain cut asunder with the sword.

Thus Dr. Whitgift routed his adversary; he had already deprived him of his professor's chair, and of his degree of D.D.; and being now Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, he got him expelled from the University upon the following pretence: Mr. Cartwright, being senior fellow of his college, was only in deacon's orders; the doctor being informed of this, and that the statute requiring such to take upon them the order of priesthood might be interpreted to priests' orders, concluded he was perjured;* upon which he summoned the heads of the colleges together, and declared that Mr. Cartwright had broken his oath, and, without any farther admonition, pushed his interest among the masters, to rid the college of a man whose popularity was too great for his ambition, inasmuch that he declared he would not establish order in the University while a person of his principles was among them. After this, he wrote to the archbishop, September 21, 1572, and begged his grace to watch at court, that Cartwright might get no advantage against him, for (says he) he is flatly perjured, and it is God's just judgment that he should be so punished, for not being a full minister. A very mean and pitiful triumph!

The queen, also, and her commissioners, brandished their swords against Cartwright and his followers. Her majesty, by proclamation, called in the Admonition, commanding all her subjects who had any in their possession to bring them to the bishop of the diocess, and not to sell them, upon pain of imprisonment; upon which Mr. Stroud, the publisher, brought in thirty-four, and his wife burned the rest that

were unsold. This Mr. Stroud was the suspended minister of Cranbrook, an excellent preacher, and universally beloved; but being reduced to poverty, he was forced to condescend to the low offices of correcting the press, and of publishing books for a livelihood.* When he appeared before the Bishop of London upon this occasion, his lordship reproached him for laying down the ministry, though Parker had actually deprived him, and forbid him to preach six years before.

The bishops were no less careful to crush the favourers of the Admonition; for when Mr. Wake, of Christ Church, had declared in favour of it, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, the Bishop of London sent for him next morning into custody; but he made his escape. Mr. Crick, chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, having also commended the book in a sermon at the same place, the archbishop sent a special messenger to apprehend him; and though he escaped for the present, he afterward fell into the hands of the commissioners, and was deprived.† The like misfortune befell Dr. Aldrich, an eminent divine and dignitary of the Church, with many others; notwithstanding which, Dr. Sandys, bishop of London, in his letter to the treasurer, calls for farther help: "The city," says he, "will never be quiet till these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cartwright, and others, be far removed from the city; the people resort to them, as in popery they were wont to run on pilgrimages; if these idols, who are honoured as saints, were removed from hence, their honour would fall into the dust, and they would be taken for blocks, as they are. A sharp letter from her majesty would cut the courage of these men. Good my lords, for the love you bear to the Church of Christ, resist the tumultuous enterprises of these new-fangled fellows." These were the weapons with which the doctor's answer to the Admonition were enforced; so that we may fairly conclude, with Fuller the historian, "that if Cartwright had the better of his adversary in learning, Whitgift had more power to back his arguments; and by this he not only kept the field, but gained the victory."

On the other hand, it is certain vast numbers of the clergy, both in London and the two universities, had a high opinion of Cartwright's writings; he had many admirers, and, if we may believe his adversaries, wanted not for presents and gratuities: many hands were procured in approbation and commendation of his reply to Whitgift, and some said they would defend it to death.‡ In short, though Whitgift's writings might be of use to confirm those who had already conformed, they made no converts among the Puritans, but rather confirmed them in their former sentiments.

To pursue this controversy to the end: in the year 1573, Dr. Whitgift published his defence against Cartwright's reply,§ in which he states the difference between them thus: "The question is not whether many things mentioned in your platform of discipline were fitly used in the apostles' time, or may now be well used in sundry Reformed Churches; this is not denied;

* MS., p. 195.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 53. Life of Parker, p. 428.

‡ Life of Parker, p. 427.

§ Whitgift's Life, p. 56.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 46.

but whether, when there is a settled order in doctrine and government established by law, it may stand with godly and Christian wisdom to attempt so great alteration as this platform must needs bring in, with disobedience to the prince and laws, and unquietness of the Church, and offence of many consciences." If this were the whole question, surely it might stand with the wisdom of the Legislature in settled times to make some concessions in favour of pious and devout men; nor can it be inconsistent with godly and Christian wisdom for subjects to attempt it by lawful and peaceable methods.

Two years after [1575] Mr. Cartwright published a second reply to Whitgift's defence; it consisted of two parts; the first was entitled "The Second Reply of T. C. against Dr. Whitgift's Second Answer touching the Church Discipline;" with these two sentences of Scripture in the title-page: "For Zion's sake I will not hold my tongue; for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, till the righteousness thereof break forth as the light," &c.; "Ye are the Lord's remembrancers: keep not silence," Isa., lxii., 6, 7. It is dedicated to the Church of England, and all that love the truth in it. In his preface he answers divers personal matters between the doctor and himself: he remembers him of his illegal depriving him of his fellowship, and pronouncing him perjured. He says he never opened his lips for the divinity chair, as he had falsely charged him; that he had never desired the degree of a doctor, but by the advice of more than a dozen learned ministers, who, considering his office of divinity reader, thought he ought to assume the title. He added, that he never refused a private conference with him [Whitgift], but that he offered it, and the other refused it, saying he was incorrigible; indeed, he did refuse private conference by writing, having had experience of his adversary's unfaithfulness, and because he thought that the doctrine he had taught openly should be defended openly. Whitgift charged him that, after he was expelled the college, he went up and down doing no good, but living at other men's tables.* How ungenerous was this, after the doctor had taken away his adversary's bread, and stopped his mouth that he might not preach, to reproach him with doing no good, and being beholden to his friends for a dinner! Cartwright owned that he was poor; that he had no wife nor house of his own; and that it was with small delight that he lived upon his friends, but that he still did what little good he could in instructing their children. Whitgift charged his adversary farther with want of learning, though he had filled the divinity chair with vast reputation, and had been styled by Beza Sol, the very sun of England; he taxed him with making extracts of other men's notes, and that he had scarce read one of the ancient authors he had quoted. To which Cartwright modestly replied, that as to great reading, he would let it pass; for if Whitgift had read all the fathers, and he scarce one, it would easily appear to the learned world by their writings; but that it was sufficiently known that he had hunted him with more hounds than one.

The strength of his reply lies in reducing the policy of the Church as near as possible to the standard of Scripture, for when Dr. Whitgift al-

* Whitgift's Life, p. 64.

leged some of the fathers of the fourth and fifth century on his side, Cartwright replied, "that forasmuch as the father's have erred, and that corruptions crept early into the Church, therefore they ought to have no farther credit than their authority is warranted by the Word of God and good reason; to press their bare authority without relation to this, is to bring an intolerable tyranny into the Church of God."

The second part of Cartwright's reply was not published till two years forward, when he was fled out of the kingdom;* it is entitled "The Rest of the Second Reply of Thomas Cartwright against Master Doctor Whitgift's Answer touching the Church Discipline, imprinted 1577," in which he shows that church government by an eldership is by Divine appointment, and of perpetual obligation. He then considers the defects of the Church of England, and treats of the power of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters, of ecclesiastical persons bearing civil offices, and of the habits. He apologizes for going through with the controversy at such a distance of time, but he thought it of importance, and that it need not be ashamed of the light. Speaking of his own poverty, disgrace, and banishment for appearing in this cause, he says, "It were an intolerable delicacy if he could not give up a little ease and commodity for that whereunto his life was due if it had been asked; or that he would grudge to dwell in another corner of the world for that cause for which he ought to be ready altogether to depart out of it." But he was sensible he strove against the stream, and that his work might be thought unseasonable, his adversary being now advanced so much above him; for this year Whitgift was made a bishop, when poor Cartwright was little better than a wandering beggar.†

Thus ended the controversy between these two champions: so that Fuller, Heylin, and Collyer must be mistaken when they say Whitgift kept the field and carried off a complete victory, when Cartwright had certainly the last word. But, whoever had the better of the argument, Whitgift got the most by it, and, when he was advanced to the pinnacle of church preferment, acted an ungenerous part towards his adversary, for many years prosecuting him with continual vexations and imprisonments, and pointing all his church-artillery against him, not suffering him so much as to defend the common cause of Christianity against the papists, when he was called to it; however, at length, being wearied out with the importunities of great men, or growing more temperate in his old age, he suffered him to govern a small hospital in Warwick, given him by the Earl of Leicester, where this great and good man's hairs came down with sorrow to the grave.‡

* Strype's Ann. † Ibid.

‡ "Sir George Paule, the panegyrist rather than the biographer of Whitgift, has attempted to discredit Cartwright by impugning his motives. In the year 1564, on the occasion of Elizabeth's visit to the university, Cartwright, as one of the most learned of that body, was chosen, with others, to dispute before her. Paule represents him as mortified by the neglect with which the queen treated him, and as proceeding immediately to Geneva, 'that he might the better feed his humour.' 'Mr. Cartwright,' he says, 'immediately after her majesty's neglect of him, began to wade into diverse opinions, as that of the discipline,

To return: Notwithstanding all this opposition from the queen and her commissioners, the Puritans gained ground; and, though the press was restrained, they galled their adversaries with pamphlets, which were privately dispersed both in city and country. Parker employed all his emissaries to discover their printing presses, but to no purpose; whereupon he complained to the treasurer in these words: "I understand throughout all the realm," says he, "how the matter is taken; the Puritans are justified, and we judged to be extreme persecutors; I have observed this for seven years; if the sincerity of the Gospel should end in such judgments, I fear the council will be overthrown. The Puritans slander us with books and libels, lying they care not how deep, and yet the more they write the more they are applauded and comforted."* The scholars of Cambridge were generally with the Puritans, but the masters and heads of colleges were against them; so that many who ventured to preach for the discipline were deprived of their fellowships and expelled the university, or obliged to a public retraction.

There being no farther prospect of a public reformation by the Legislature, some of the leading Puritans agreed to attempt it in a more

and to kick against her ecclesiastical government.—*Life of Whitgift*, 10. Heylin, *Hist. of Reformation*, 164, and Collier, *Ecclesiastical Hist.*, ii., 492, have retailed this slander, in which unworthy conduct they have been followed by several modern writers. Fuller mentions the charge with evident marks of distrust. 'We find one great scholar,' he remarks, 'much discontented, if my author may be believed, namely, Mr. Thomas Cartwright. He and Thomas Preston were appointed two of the four disputants in the Philosophy Act before the queen. Cartwright had dealt most with the muses, Preston with the graces, adorning his learning with comely carriage, graceful gesture, and pleasing pronunciation. Cartwright disputed like a great, Preston like a genteel, scholar, being a handsome man; and the queen, upon parity of deserts, always preferred properness of person in conferring her favours.' And he adds, 'Mr. Cartwright's followers credit not the relation. Adding, moreover, that the queen did highly commend, though not reward him.'—*Hist. of the University of Cambridge*, 139. Cartwright's general character is sufficient to discredit this account. But its inaccuracy is rendered more apparent by the fact that his visit to Geneva, which Paule represents as the consequence of his disgust at the queen's neglect, and as the source of those opinions for which he was deprived of his professorship, did not take place till after his expulsion from the university. Strype exonerates Cartwright, alleging that, 'by the relation of the queen's reception at Cambridge (now in the hands of a learned member of that university), there appears no clear ground for any such discontent. For the queen is said there to have approved them all; only that Preston pleased her most, and was made her scholar, with the settlement of a yearly honorary salary on him.'—*Annals*, i., ii., 107. His elevation to the divinity chair, in 1563, is ample evidence of the estimation in which he was held by the university, and would have sufficed to calm his spirit had it been perturbed by such emotions as his enemies were forward in attributing to him. It was due to the memory of this eminent man to vindicate him from so foul an aspersion. But what must we think of those modern libellers who, passing over the admission of Strype, and the mistrust of Fuller, retail the venom of Paule, Heylin, and Collier?—*Clarke's Lives of Thirty-two Divines*, p. 17. *Dr. Price's Hist. Noncon.*, vol. i., p. 215.—C. * *Life of Parker*, p. 389.

private way; for this purpose they erected a presbytery in Wandsworth, a village five miles from the city, conveniently situated for the London brethren, as standing on the banks of the River Thames. The heads of the association were Mr. Field, lecturer of Wandsworth, Mr. Smith of Mitcham, Mr. Crane of Roehampton, Messrs. Wilcox, Standen, Jackson, Bonham, Saintloe, and Edmonds, to whom afterward were joined Messrs. Travers, Chake, Barber, Gardiner, Crook, Egerton, and a number of very considerable laymen. On the 20th of November eleven elders were chosen, and their offices described in a register entitled "The Orders of Wandsworth." This was the first Presbyterian Church in England. All imaginable care was taken to keep their proceedings secret, but the bishop's eye was upon them, who gave immediate intelligence to the high commission, upon which the queen issued out a proclamation for putting the Act of Uniformity in execution; but, though the commissioners knew of the presbytery, they could not discover the members of it, nor prevent others being erected in neighbouring counties.

While the queen and bishops were defending the outworks of the Church against the Puritans, and bracing up the building with articles, canons, injunctions, and penal laws, enforced by the sword of the civil magistrate, the papists were sapping the very foundation; for upon publishing the pope's bull of excommunication against the queen, great numbers deserted the public worship, and resorted to private conventicles to hear mass, while others who kept their stations in the Church were secretly undermining it. "There were at this time," says a learned writer,* "certain ministers of the Church that were papists, who subscribed and observed the orders of the Church, wore a side-gown, a square cap, a cope, and surplice. They would run into corners, and say to the people, Believe not this new doctrine; it is naught, it will not long endure; although I use order among them outwardly, my heart is not with them, but with the mother-church of Rome. No, no, we do not preach, nor yet teach openly; though we read their new-devised homilies for a colour to satisfy the time for a season." In Yorkshire they went openly to mass, and were so numerous that the Protestants stood in awe of them. In London there was a great resort to the Portugal ambassador's chapel; and when the sheriff, by order of the Bishop of London, sent his officers to take some of them into custody, the queen was displeased, and ordered them immediately to be released.

Sad was the state of religion, says Mr. Strype, at this time: "the substantial things being lost in contending for externals; the churchmen heaped up many benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none, neglecting their cures.† Many of them alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases and advowsons to their wives and children. Among the laity there was little devotion; the Lord's Day greatly profaned, and little observed; the common prayers not frequented; some lived without any service of God at all; many were mere heathens and atheists; the queen's own court a harbour for

* Strype's Ann., p. 98. † Life of Parker, p. 395.

epicures and atheists, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish; which things make good men fear some sad judgments impending over the nation." The governors of the Church expressed no concern for suppressing vice and encouraging virtue; there were no citations into the Commons for immoralities; but the bishops were every day shutting the mouths of the most pious, useful, and industrious preachers in the nation, at a time when the queen was sick of the smallpox and troubled with fainting fits, and the whole Reformation depended upon the single thread of her life.

This precarious state of religion was the more terrible because of the Parisian massacre, which happened this very summer [1572], on the 24th of August, being Bartholomew Day, when great numbers of Protestants having been invited to Paris, on pretence of doing honour to the King of Navarre's marriage to the king's sister, ten thousand were massacred in one night, and twenty thousand more in other parts of the kingdom, within the compass of a few weeks, by his majesty's commission; no distinction being made between lords, gentlemen, justices, lawyers, scholars, physicians, and the meanest of the people;* they spared neither women, maids, children in the cradle, nor infants in their mother's womb. Many who escaped fled to Geneva and Switzerland, and great numbers into England, to save their lives. The Protestant princes of Germany were awakened with this butchery; and the queen put the coasts into a posture of defence, but made no concessions for uniting her Protestant subjects among themselves.†

This year died the reverend and learned Mr. John Knox, the apostle and chief Reformer of the Kirk of Scotland. This divine came into England in the reign of King Edward VI., and was appointed one of the itinerant preachers for the year 1552; he was afterward offered a parochial living in London, but refused it; upon King Edward's death he retired beyond sea, and became preacher to the English exiles at Frankfort, till he was artfully spirited away by the contrivance of Mr. Cox, now bishop of Ely, for not reading the English service. He afterward preached to the English at Geneva; and upon the breaking up of that congregation in the year 1559, he returned to Scotland, and was a great instrument in the hand of Providence for the reformation of that kirk. He was a son of thunder, and feared not the face of any man in the cause of religion, which betrayed him sometimes into too coarse treatment of his superiors.‡ However, he had the respect of all the Protestant nobility and gentry of his country; and after a life of great service and labour, he died comfortably in the midst of his friends, in the sixty-seventh year of his age,§ being greatly supported in his last hours from the sev-

* Strype's Ann., p. 160.

† Edinburgh Review, No. 87.

‡ It has been justly observed, "that though the praise of sincerity and piety cannot be denied him, it is to be regretted that those virtues were accompanied with a narrow and bigoted turn of mind. In the time of John Knox, the having suffered persecution did not hinder men from exercising persecution when it was in their power."—*The New Annual Register* for 1789. *History of Knowledge*, p. 31.

§ Life of Parker, p. 366.

enteenth chapter of St. John, and 1 Cor., xv., both which he ordered to be frequently read to him: his body was attended to the grave with great solemnity and honour.

The queen being incensed against the Puritans for their late applications to Parliament, reprimanded the bishops for not suppressing them, resolving to bend all the powers of the crown that way. Accordingly, commissioners were appointed under the great seal,* in every shire, to put in execution the penal laws by way of oyer and terminer, and the queen published a proclamation in the month of October, declaring her royal pleasure that all offenders against the Act of Uniformity should be severely punished. Letters were also sent from the lords of the council to the bishops, dated November 7th, 1573, to enforce her majesty's proclamation,† in which, after having reproached them with holding their courts only to get money, or for such like purposes, they now require them in her majesty's name, either by themselves, which is most fit, or by their archdeacons, personally to visit and see that the habits, with all the queen's injunctions, be exactly and uniformly observed in every church of their diocese, and to punish all refusers according to the ecclesiastical laws. The lord-treasurer, also, made a long speech before the commissioners in the Star Chamber,‡ in which, by the queen's order, "he charged the bishops with neglect, in not enforcing her majesty's proclamation: he said the queen could not satisfy her conscience without crushing the Puritans; for she thought none of her subjects worthy of her protection that favoured innovations, or that directly or indirectly countenanced the alteration of anything established in the Church; that by too much lenity some might be apt to think the exceptions of these novelists against the ceremonies were reasonable and well founded, or but trifling matters of disputation; but the queen was resolved that her orders and injunctions should not be contemned; that the public rule should be inviolably observed; and that there should be an absolute obedience, because the safety of her government depended upon it." The treasurer, therefore, as some other member, proposed in council that all ministers throughout the kingdom should be bound in a bond of £200 to conform in all things to the Act of Uniformity, and in case of default, their names to be returned into the exchequer by the bishop, and the bond to be sued.§ If this project had taken place, it would have ruined half the clergy of the kingdom.

Another occasion of these extraordinary pro-

* Life of Parker, p. 447, 479. Strype's Annals, vol. ii., 260. † Life of Parker, App., vol. ii., 454.

‡ Life of Parker, p. 456, 458.

The letter from the lords of the council, and the speech of the lord-treasurer, are alleged by Bishop Maddox as convincing proofs of the mild conduct of the bishops. How far his conclusion is justly drawn; whether it prove anything more than that the zeal and activity of the bishops did not keep pace with the wishes of the court, the reader will judge from the facts Mr. Neal's History has exhibited. But, however this evidence may exculpate the bishops, it certainly impeaches the lenity of the queen, and is a direct proof of the severity, the unyielding severity, of her government.—Ed.

§ Strype's Ann., p. 260; vol. ii., p. 288. Life of Grindal, p. 185.

ceedings of the court is said to arise from the accidental madness of one Peter Birchet, of the Middle Temple, who had the name of a Puritan, but was disordered in his senses; this man came out of the Temple in his gown, October 14, 1573, about eleven in the morning, and seeing Mr. Fitzgerald, lieutenant of the pensioners, Sir William Winter, and Mr. Hawkins, officers of the queen's navy, riding through the Strand, with their servants on foot, came up to them, and suddenly struck Hawkins with a dagger through the right arm into the body, about the arm hole, and immediately ran into the Bell Inn, where he was taken, and, upon examination, being asked whether he knew Mr. Hawkins, he answered he took him for Mr. Hatton, captain of the guards, and one of the privy chamber, whom he was moved to kill by the Spirit of God, by which he should do God and his country acceptable service, because he was an enemy of God's Word, and a maintainer of papistry. In which opinion he persevered, without any signs of repentance, till, for fear of being burned for heresy, he recanted before Dr. Sandys, bishop of London, and the rest of the commissioners. The queen asked her two chief-justices and attorney-general what corporeal punishment the villain might undergo for his offence; it was proposed to put him to death as a felon, because a premeditated attempt with an intention of killing had been so punished by King Edward II., though the party wounded did not die; but the judges did not apprehend this to be law. It was then moved that the queen, by virtue of her prerogative, should put him to death by martial law; and, accordingly, a warrant was made out under the great seal for his execution, though the fact was committed in time of peace. This made some of the council hesitate, apprehending it might prove a very bad precedent. At length the poor creature put an end to the dispute himself, for on the 10th of November, in the afternoon, he killed his keeper Longworth with one blow, striking him with a billet on the hinder part of the head, as he was looking upon a book in the prison window of the Tower; for this crime he was next day indicted and arraigned at the King's Bench, where he confessed the fact, saying that Longworth, in his imagination, was Hatton: there he received judgment for murder, and the next day, November 12, had his right hand first cut off at the place in the Strand where he struck Hawkins, and was then immediately hanged on a gibbet erected purposely between eight and nine of the clock in the morning, and continued hanging there for three days. The poor man talked very wildly, and was by fits downright mad, so that if he had been shut up in Bedlam after his first attempt, as he ought to have been, all farther mischief had been prevented.* However, it was very unreasonable to lay this to the charge of the Puritans, and to take occasion from hence to spread a general persecution over the whole kingdom; but the queen was for laying hold of all opportunities to suppress a number of conscientious men whom, she would often say, she hated more than the papists.†

The commissioners, being thus pushed forward from above, sent letters to the bishops, exhorting them to command their archdeacons,

and other ecclesiastical officers, to give it in charge to their clergy and questmen to present the names and surnames of all Nonconformists in their several parishes, before the first week in Lent.* A letter of this sort was sent, among others, by the old Bishop of Norwich to his chancellor, dated from Ludham, January 30, 1573. This was very unacceptable work to a man who was dropping into his grave; † but he gave orders as he was commanded; and many ministers of his diocese being returned unconformable, were suspended from reading common prayer and administering the sacraments, but allowed still to catechise youth; ‡ several of whom offered to preach to some congregations as the bishops should appoint, of which his lordship wrote to the archbishop, but his grace refused to set them on work, and continue their parts in the public exercises or prophesyings, for which the bishop was severely reprimanded, and threatened by the commissioners with the queen's high displeasure; whereupon he allowed his chancellor to silence them totally, though it was against his judgment; for, in his letter to a gentleman on this occasion, he writes: "—I was obliged to restrain them, unless I would willingly procure my own danger. Therefore, let not this matter seem strange to you, for the matter was of importance, and touched me so near, that I could do no less if I would avoid extreme danger."§ But, after all, his lordship being suspected of remissness, Parker directed a special commission to commissaries of his own appointing, to visit his diocese parochially; which they did, and reported that some ministers were absent, and so could not be examined; other churches had no surplices, but the ministers said they would wear them when provided; but that there were about three hundred Nonconformists whom they had suspended, one of whom, as the good old bishop wrote, was godly and learned, and had done much good.||

The heads of the Puritans, being debarred the liberty of preaching and printing, challenged their adversaries to a public disputation; this had been allowed the Protestants in Queen Mary's reign, and the papists at the accession of Queen Elizabeth; but the queen and council would not now admit that what was established by law should be exposed to question, and referred to the hazard of a dispute. Instead, therefore, of a conference, they took a shorter way, by summoning the disputants before the ecclesiastical commission, to answer to sundry articles exhibited against them, and, among others, to this, Whether the Common Prayer Book is every part of it grounded upon Holy Scripture! an honour hardly to be allowed to any human composure; and for not answering to the satisfaction of the commissioners, Mr. Wyburn, Johnson, Brown, Field, Wilcox, Sparrow, and King were deprived, and the last four committed to Newgate,¶ from whence two of them had been but lately released. They were told, far-

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 261.

† Life of Parker, p. 159, 246, 251, 252, 449.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 261, 262. Life of Parker, p. 336.

§ Life of Parker, p. 246, 259, 449, 451, 452, 479.

¶ Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 109, 261–263, 343.

|| Life of Parker, p. 336.

¶ Ibid., p. 413.

ther, that if they did not comply in a short time, they should be banished, though there was no law for inflicting such punishment.

Mr. Cartwright was summoned among the rest, but wisely got out of the way, upon which the commissioners issued out the following order: "To all mayors, bailiffs, sheriffs, constables, headboroughs, and all others the queen's officers, to be aiding and assisting to the bearer [their messenger] with the best means they can devise, to apprehend one Thomas Cartwright, student in divinity, wheresoever he be within the realm, and to bring him up to London with a sufficient guard, to appear before us, her majesty's commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, for his misdemeanors in matters of religion: * December 15th, 1573. Signed by John Rivers, mayor; Edwin, bishop of London; Alex. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's; Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster; together with the attorney-general, recorder, master of the rolls, and master of the requests." But Mr. Cartwright lay concealed among his friends till an opportunity offered of leaving the kingdom.

The Reverend Mr. Deering, reader of St. Paul's, was also suspended for some trifling words spoken against the hierarchy in conversation; and in order to his restoration, was obliged to subscribe four articles, viz., to the supremacy; to the thirty-nine articles; to the Book of Common Prayer; and that the Word and sacraments are rightly administered in the Church of England; which he did, with some few exceptions. The commissioners then examined him upon fifteen or twenty articles more, of which these were some:

"Whether we be tied by God's Word to the order and use of the apostles, and of the primitive Church, in all things? Whether nothing may be in the Church concerning ceremonies or regimen but only that which Christ himself has commanded in his word? Whether every particular parish church, of necessity and by order of God's Word, ought to have their pastors, elders, and deacons chosen by the people, and they only to have the whole government of the Church in ecclesiastical matters? Whether there should be an equality among the ministers of this realm, as well concerning government and discipline as the ministration of the Word and sacraments? Whether the patrimony of the Church, as glebelands and tithes, &c., ought to be taken from them? Whether the present ministers of the Church of England are true ministers, and their administrations effectual? Whether it be more agreeable to God's Word, and more for the profit of the Church, to use a form of common prayer; or that every minister pray publicly, as his own spirit shall direct him? Whether the children of papists ought to be rebaptized? Whether an ecclesiastical person may have more livings than one? Whether a minister of Christ may exercise a civil function?†"

The rest of the articles, making in all above twenty, were about the obligation of the judicial law of Moses, and the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. To all which Mr. Deering gave wise and modest answers, yielding as much as his principles and the nature of things would admit; but being called,

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 282.

† Pierce's Vindication, p. 80, 81.

as it were, before an inquisition, as he thought himself not bound to be his own accuser, so he prayed their honours that what he had said might not be interpreted to his prejudice; yet the commissioners ungenerously took advantage of his answers, and deprived him of his lecture.

Mr. Deering appealed from the commissioners to the council, who were pleased to restore him, which galled the archbishop, as appears by his letter to one of the commissioners, dated July 6th, 1573, in which are these words: "We have sent you certain articles taken out of Cartwright's book, by the council propounded to Mr. Deering, with his answers to the same; and also a copy of the council's letter to Mr. Deering, to restore him to his former reading and preaching, notwithstanding our advices never required thereunto. These proceedings puff them up with pride, make the people hate us, and magnify them with great triumphing, that her majesty and her privy council have good liking of this new building; but we are persuaded that her majesty has no liking thereof, howsoever the matter be favoured by others."

Mr. Deering was a learned, pious, and peaceable Nonconformist; his printed sermons are polite and nervous. In his letter to the Lord-treasurer Burleigh, on this occasion, he offered to show, before any body of learned men, the difference between the bishops of the primitive Church and those of the present Church of England, in the following particulars: Bishops and ministers then were in one degree; now they are divers. There were then many bishops in one town; now there is but one in a whole country. No bishop's authority was more than in one city, but now it is in many shires. Bishops then used no bodily punishments; now they imprison, fine, &c. The primitive bishops could not excommunicate or absolve merely by their own authority; now they may. Then, without consent of presbyters, they could make no ministers; now they do. They could confirm no children in other parishes; they do now in many shires. They had then but one living; now they have divers. They had neither officials, commissaries, nor chancellors. They dealt in no civil government by any established authority.* They had no right to alienate any parsonage, or let it in lease. Then they had a church where they served the cure, as those we call parish priests, though they were metropolitans or archbishops; so that Ambrose, St. Austin, and others, who lived as late as the fourth or fifth century, and were called bishops, had very little agreement with ours. But for this our archbishop never left him till he was silenced again and deprived.

On the 29th of January, 1573, the Reverend Mr. Arthur Wake, parson of Great-Willing, value £100 a year; Eusebius Paget, parson of Owd, £100 a year; Thurston Mosely, parson of Hardington, £40 a year; George Gilderd, parson of Collingtrowge, and William Dawson, parson of Weston-Favel, one hundred marks (all in the diocese of Peterborough, of which Dr. Scambler was Bishop, and James Ellis, LL.D., chancellor), were first suspended for three weeks, and then deprived of their livings. They were all preachers; four of them were licensed by the university as learned and religious di-

* Collyer's Church History, p. 543.

vines, and three of them had been moderators in the exercises. The reasons of their deprivation were not for errors in doctrine or depravity of life, but for not subscribing two forms of the commissioners' devising, one called *forma promissionis*, the other *forma objuracionis*. In the *forma promissionis* they swear and subscribe "to use the service and Common Prayer Book, and the public form of administration of sacraments, and no other; that they will serve in their cures according to the rites, orders, forms, and ceremonies prescribed; and that they will not hereafter preach or speak anything tending to the derogation of the said book, or any part thereof, remaining authorized by the laws and statutes of this realm." In the *forma objuracionis* they subscribe and protest upon oath "that the book of consecration of archbishops and bishops, and of the ordering of deacons, set forth in the time of King Edward VI., and confirmed by authority of Parliament, doth contain in it all things necessary for such consecration and ordering, having in it nothing that is either superstitious or ungodly, according to their judgment; and, therefore, that they which be consecrated and ordered according to the same book be duly, orderly, and lawfully ordained and consecrated, and that they do acknowledge their duty and obedience to their ordinary and diocesan as to a lawful magistrate under the queen's majesty, so set forth as the laws and statutes do require; which obedience they do promise, according as the laws shall bind them to perform. In testimony whereof they do hereunto subscribe their names.*"

The ministers offered to use the Book of Common Prayer, and no other, and not to preach against the same before the meeting of the next Parliament; but apprehending the oath and subscription to be contrary to the laws of God and the realm, they appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who denied their appeal.† Hereupon they presented a supplication to the queen, and another to the Parliament, but could not be heard, though their case was most compassionate, for they had wives and large families of children, which were now reduced to poverty and want, so that (as they say in their supplication), if God in his providence does not help, they must beg.

In the room of the deprived ministers, certain outlandish men succeeded who could hardly read so as to be understood; the people were left untaught; instead of having two sermons every Lord's Day, there was now but one in a quarter of a year, and for the most part not that. The parishioners signed petitions to the bishop for their former preachers, but to no purpose; they must swear and subscribe, or be buried in silence.

On the 20th of September, 1573, the Rev. Mr. Robert Johnson, already mentioned, some time domestic chaplain to the Lord-keeper Bacon, now parson of St. Clement's, near Temple Bar, was tried at Westminster Hall for Nonconformity;‡ it was alleged against him that he married without the ring, and that he had baptized without the cross. Mr. Pierce§ says he was also accused of a misdemeanor, because, when once he was administering the sacrament, the wine fall-

ing short, he sent for more, but did not consecrate it afresh, accounting the former consecration sufficient for what was to be applied to the same use; but nothing of this kind appears in his two indictments which are now before me, with the names of all the witnesses; but for the other offences, viz., for omitting these words in the office of baptism, "I receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token," &c., and for omitting these words in the marrying of Leonard Morris and Agnes Miles, "With this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow, in the name of the Father," &c., and for refusing to subscribe, he was shut up in close prison for seven weeks, till he died in great poverty and want.

The forms of subscription varied in the several dioceses, though the usual subscription and protestation for such clergymen as were cited before the commissioners for Nonconformity* was this: "I promise unfeignedly by these presents, and subscribe with my hand, that I will teach the Word of God soberly, sincerely, and truly, according to the doctrine established by law, without moving unnecessary contentions; and that I will never suffer any person to use my license of preaching, by raising out the name or abusing the seal; and that I will deliver up my license, being so required by that authority from whence I had it.

"I acknowledge the book of articles agreed on in the synod of 1563, and confirmed by the queen, to be sound and agreeable to the Word of God. That the queen's majesty is supreme governor of the Church of England next under Christ, as well in ecclesiastical as in civil causes. That in the Book of Common Prayer there is nothing evil, or repugnant to the Word of God, and that it may be well used in this our Christian Church of England. That as the public preaching of the Word in the Church of England is sound and sincere, so the public order of administration of sacraments is consonant to the Word of God. And whereas I have in public prayer and administration of sacraments neglected and omitted the order by public authority set down, following my own fancy in altering, adding, or omitting of the same, not using such rites as by law and order are appointed, I acknowledge my fault therein, and am sorry for it, and humbly pray pardon for that disorder. And here I do submit myself to the order and rites set down; and I do promise that I will from henceforth, in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, use and observe the same. The which I do presently and willingly testify with the subscription of mine own hand."

But this not reaching the laity, many of whom deserted their own parish churches and went to hear the Nonconformists, the commissioners framed the following subscription for such of them as should be presented as defaulters:

"I acknowledge the queen's majesty to be chief governor of the Church of England under Christ. That in the Book of Common Prayer there is nothing repugnant to the Word of God. That as the public preaching in this Church of England is sound, so the public administration of the sacraments is consonant to the Word of

* MS., p. 198.

† MS., p. 202.

‡ MS., p. 199.

§ Vindicat., p. 83.

* MS., p. 200.

God. And whereas I have absented myself from my parish church, and have refused to join with the congregation in public prayer, and in receiving the sacrament, according to the public order set down, and my duty in that behalf, I am right sorry for it, and pray that this my fault may be pardoned; and do promise that from henceforth I will frequent my parish church, and join with the congregation there, as well in prayer as in the administration of the sacraments, according to such order as by public authority is set down and established; and to witness this my promise, I do hereunto willingly subscribe my name.”*

The officers of the spiritual courts planted their spies in all suspected parishes to make observation of those who came not to church, and caused them to be summoned into the commons, where they were punished at pleasure. The keepers were charged to take notice of such as came to visit the prisoners or bring them relief; and, upon notice given, spies were set upon them to bring them into trouble. Complaints have been made of their rude language to the bishops and the rest of the commissioners; and it is possible that their lordly behaviour and arbitrary proceedings might sometimes make their passions overflow. “Oppression will make a wise man mad.” But I have the examinations of several before me, in which nothing of this kind appears. On the other hand, it is certain the conduct of the commissioners was high and imperious; their under officers were ravenous, and greedy of gain; the fees of the court were exorbitant,† so that if an honest Puritan fell into their hands, he was sure to be half ruined before he got out, though he was cleared of the accusation.‡

* MS., p. 201.

† MS., p. 176.

‡ The commissioners treated those that came before them neither like men nor Christians, as will appear, among many others, by the following examination of Mr. White, a substantial citizen of London, January 18, 1573, who had been fined, and tossed from one prison to another, contrary to law and justice, only for not frequenting his parish church. His examiners were, the lord-chief-justice, the master of the rolls, the master of the requests, Mr. Gerard, the dean of Westminster, the sheriff of London, and the clerk of the peace. After sundry others had been despatched, Mr. White was brought before them, whom his lordship accosted after this manner:

L. C. J. Who is this?

White. White, an't please your honour.

L. C. J. White, as black as the devil.

White. Not so, my lord; one of God's children.

L. C. J. Why will you not come to your parish church?

White. My lord, I did use to frequent my parish church before my troubles, and procured several godly men to preach there, as well as in other places of preaching and prayer; and since my troubles I have not frequented any private assemblies, but, as I have had leave and liberty, have gone to my parish church; and therefore those that presented me, have done it out of malice; for if any of these things can be proved against me simply, or that I hold all things in common, your lordship may dismiss me from hence to the gallows.

Mr. Ger. You have not usually frequented your own parish church.

White. I allow I have more used other places, where I was better edified.

Mr. Ger. Then your presentment is in part true?

White. Not, an't please you, for I am presented for not coming at all to my parish church.

Notwithstanding the dangers already mentioned, “people resorted to the suffering Puri-

Mr. Ger. Will you, then, come to prayers when there is no sermon?

White. I would avoid those things that are an offence to me and others, and disturb the peace of the Church; however, I crave the liberty of a subject, and if I do not publicly frequent both preaching, prayer, and the sacraments, deal with me accordingly.

Dean of West. What fault find you in the common prayer?

White. Let them answer to whom it appertains; for being in prison almost a year about these matters, I was, upon a statute relating to that book, indicted, and before I came to liberty almost outlawed, as your worship, Mr. Gerard, knows.

Mast. Req. What Scripture have you to ground your conscience against these garments?

White. The whole Scriptures are for destroying idolatri, and everything that belongs to it.

Mast. Req. These things never served to idolatri.

White. Though! they are the same which heretofore were used to that purpose.

Mast. Req. Where is the place where these are forbidden?

White. In Deuteronomy, and other places, the Israelites are commanded, not only to destroy the altars, groves, and images, with all thereto belonging, but also to abolish the very names; and God by Isaiah commandeth not to pollute ourselves with the garments of the image, but to cast it away as a menstruous clout.

Mast. Rolls. These are no part of idolatri, but are commanded by the prince for civil order; and if you will not be ordered, you show yourself disobedient to the laws.

White. I would not willingly disobey any law, only I would avoid those things that are not warranted by the Word of God.

Mast. Req. These things are commanded by act of Parliament, and in disobeying the laws of your country you disobey God.

White. I do it not of contempt, but of conscience; in all other things I am an obedient subject.

L. C. J. Thou art a contemptuous fellow, and wilt obey no laws.

White. Not so, my lord: I do and will obey laws; and therefore refusing but a ceremony out of conscience, and not refusing the penalty for the same, I rest still a true subject.

L. C. J. The queen's majesty was overseen not to make you of her council, to make laws and orders for religion.

White. Not so, my lord; I am to obey laws warranted by God's Word.

L. C. J. Do the queen's laws command anything against God's Word?

White. I do not so say, my lord.

L. C. J. Yes, marry do you, and there I will hold you.

White. Only God and his laws are absolutely perfect; all men and their laws may err.

L. C. J. This is one of Shaw's darlings; I tell thee what, I will not say anything of affection, for I know thee not, saving by this occasion; thou art the wickedest and most contemptuous person that has come before me since I sat in this commission.

White. Not so, my lord; my conscience witnesseth otherwise.

Mast. Req. What if the queen should command to wear a gray frieze gown, would you come to church then?

White. That were more tolerable than that God's ministers should wear the habit of his enemies.

L. C. J. How if she should command to wear a fool's coat and a cock's comb?

White. That were very unseemly, my lord, for God's ministers.

Dean of West. You will not, then, be obedient to the queen's commands?

White. I would only avoid those things that have

tans in prison, as in popery they were wont to run on pilgrimage (they are the Bishop of Lon-

no warrant in the Word of God, that are neither decent nor edifying, but flatly the contrary, and are condemned by the foreign Reformed Churches.

L. C. J. You would have no laws.

White. If there were no laws, I would live a Christian and do no wrong; if I received any, so it were.

L. C. J. Thou art a rebel.

White. Not so, my lord: a true subject.

L. C. J. Yea, I swear by God, thou art a very rebel; for thou wouldst draw thy sword, and lift up thy hand against thy prince, if time served.

White. My lord, I thank God my heart standeth right towards God and my prince; and God will not condemn, though your honour hath so judged.

L. C. J. Take him away.

White. I would speak a word which I am sure will offend, and yet I must speak it; I heard the name of God taken in vain; if I had done it, it had been a greater offence than that which I stand here for.

Mr. Ger. White, White, you don't behave yourself well.

White. I pray your worship show me wherein, and I will beg pardon and amend it.

L. C. J. I may swear in a matter of charity.

White. There is no such occasion; but because it is bruited that at my last being before you I denied the supremacy of my prince, I desire your honours and worships, with all that be present, to bear witness that I acknowledge her majesty the chief governor, next under Christ, over all persons and causes within her dominions, and to this I will subscribe. I acknowledge the book of articles, and the Book of Common Prayer, as far as they agree with the Word of God. I acknowledge the substance of the doctrine and sacraments of the Church to be sound and sincere; and so I do of rites and orders, as far as they agree with the Word of God.

Dean of West. You will not, then, allow that all things in the Book of Common Prayer are taken out of the Word of God?

White. Though they should be so, yet, being done by man, I cannot give them the same warrant as to the writings of the Holy Ghost.

L. C. J. Take him away.

White. I would to the Lord Jesus that my two years' imprisonment might be a means of having these matters fairly decided by the Word of God, and the judgment of other Reformed Churches.

L. C. J. You shall be committed, I warrant you.

White. Pray, my lord, let me have justice; I am unjustly committed; I desire a copy of my presentment.

L. C. J. You shall have your head from your shoulders; have him to the Gatehouse.

White. I pray you to commit me to some prison in London, that I may be near my house.

L. C. J. No, sir, you shall go thither.

White. I have paid fines and fees in other prisons; send me not where I shall pay them over again.

L. C. J. Yes, marry shall you: this is your glory.

White. I desire no such glory.

L. C. J. It will cost you twenty pounds, I warrant you, before you come out.

White. God's will be done.

These severities against zealous Protestants of pious and sober lives raised the compassion of the common people, and brought them over to their interests. "It was a great grief to the archbishop," says Mr. Strype, "and to other good bishops, to see persons going off from the first establishment of the Protestant religion among us, making as if the service-book was unlawful, and the ecclesiastical state anti-Christian; and labouring to set up another government and discipline—" But who drove them to these extremities? Why were not a few amendments in the liturgy yielded to at first, whereby conscientious men might have been made easy; or liberty given them to worship God in their own way?

Some aldermen and several wealthy citizens gave them great and stout countenances, and persuaded others to do the like."

Separate communions were established, where the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered privately, after the manner of the foreign Reformed Churches; and those who joined with them, according to Archbishop Parker, signed the following protestation:

"Being thoroughly persuaded in my conscience, by the working and by the Word of the Almighty, that these relics of antichrist are abominable before the Lord our God; and, also, for that by the power, mercy, strength, and goodness of the Lord our God only, I am escaped from the filthiness and pollution of these detestable traditions, through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and, last of all, inasmuch as by the working also of the Lord Jesus his Holy Spirit, I have joined in prayer and hearing God's Word with those that have not yielded to this idolatrous trash, notwithstanding the danger for not coming to my parish church, &c. Therefore I come not back again to the preaching of them that have received the marks of the Romish beast.

"Because of God's commandment to go forward to perfection.—Heb., vi., 1; 2 Cor., vii., 1; Psalm lxxxiv., 1; Ephes., iv., 15. Also to avoid them.—Rom., xvi., 17; Ephes., v., 11; 1 Thess., v., 22.

"Because they are an abomination before the Lord our God.—Deut., xxvii., 25, 26, and xiii., 17; Ezek., xiv., 6.

"I will not beautify with my presence those filthy rags, which bring the heavenly Word of the Eternal our Lord God into bondage, subjection, and slavery.

"Because I would not communicate with other men's sins.—John, ii., 9-11; 1 Cor., vi., 17. Touch no unclean thing, &c.—Sirach, xiii., 1.

"They give offence both to preacher and hearers.—Rom., xvi., 17; Luke, xvii., 1.

"They glad and strengthen the papists in their errors, and grieve the godly.—Ezek., xiii., 21, 22. [Note this 21st verse.]

"They do persecute our Saviour Jesus Christ in his members.—Acts, ix., 4, 5; 2 Cor., i., 5. Also they reject and despise our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.—Luke, x., 16. Moreover, those labourers who, at the prayer of the faithful, the Lord hath sent forth into his harvest, they refuse, and also reject.—Matt., ix., 38.

"These popish garments are now become very idols indeed, because they are exalted above the Word of the Almighty.

"I come not to them because they should be ashamed, and so leave their idolatrous garments, &c.—2 Thess., iii., 14. If any man obey not our sayings, note him.

"Moreover, I have now joined myself to the Church of Christ, wherein I have yielded myself subject to the discipline of God's Word, as I promised at my baptism, which, if I should now again forsake, and join myself with their traditions, I should forsake the union wherein I am knit to the body of Christ, and join myself to the discipline of antichrist; for in the Church of the traditionaries there is no other discipline than that which has been maintained by the an-

ti-Christian Pope of Rome, whereby the Church of God has always been afflicted, and is until this day, for the which cause I refuse them.

"God give us grace still to strive in suffering under the cross, that the blessed Word of our God may only rule and have the highest place, to cast down strongholds, to destroy or overthrow policy or imaginations, and every high thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God, and to bring into captivity or subjection every thought to the obedience of Christ.—2 Cor., x., 4, 5. That the Name and Word of the Eternal our Lord God may be exalted, and magnified above all things.—Psalm viii., 2. Finis."*

To this protestation the congregation did severally swear, and then resolved the communion for the ratification of their assent, if we may believe the relation of Archbishop Parker, who wrote this last paragraph with his own hand; though his grace had not always the best information, nor was sufficiently careful to distinguish between subscribing and swearing.

Sundry Nonconformists, who were willing to be at ease, and avoid the hazard of persecution, took shelter in the French and Dutch churches, and joined themselves to their communion: there were not many of this sort, because they understood not their language. But the queen and council had their eye upon them, and resolved to drive them from this shelter; for this purpose a letter was written from the council-board to the ministers and elders of the Dutch Church in London, bearing date April, 1573, in which they say "that they were not ignorant, that from the beginning of the Christian religion various churches had various and divers rites and ceremonies; that in their service and devotions some stood, some kneeled, and others lay prostrate, and yet the piety and religion was the same, if they directed their prayers to the true God, without impiety and superstition. They added, farther, that they contemned not their rites; nay, that they approved their ceremonies as fit and convenient for them, and that state whence they sprang. They expected, therefore, that their congregation should not despise the customs of the English Church, nor do anything that might create a suspicion of disturbing its peace; and, in particular, that they should not receive into their communion any of this realm that offered to join with them, and leave the customs and practice of their native country, lest the queen should be moved to banish them out of the kingdom."†

Endeavours had been used to bring these churches under the jurisdiction or superintendance of the bishop of the diocese for the time being; but they pleaded their charter, and that Grindal, while Bishop of London, was their superintendent only by their own consent; however, a quarrel happening some time after in the Dutch Church at Norwich, the queen's commissioners interposed; and because the elders refused to own their jurisdiction, they banished all their three ministers; which struck such a terror into those of London, that when they received the council's letter they were perfectly submissive, and after returning thanks for their own liberties, they promised to expel all such out of their church, and for the future not to receive any English who from such principles

should separate themselves from the customs of their own country.*

Gualter, Bullinger, and other foreign divines, again this year addressed the bishops their correspondents for moderation, but nothing could be obtained; only Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, lamented the case, and wished to God that all the English people would follow the Church of Zurich, as the most absolute pattern. "The papists," says he, "lift up their crests, while Protestants walk about the streets dejected and sorrowful; for at this time there are not a few preachers that have laid down their cures of souls, and left them to fools and idiots, and that for this reason, because they would not use the linen garment called a surplice. New and severe edicts are lately published here against such as refuse to observe our ceremonies: pray God give a good issue, and have mercy upon all the churches of Christ."

The prophesyings of the clergy, begun in the year 1571, had by this time [1574] spread into the diocesses of York, Chester, Durham, and Ely; the Bishop of London set them up in several parts of his diocese, as did most of the other bishops. The clergy were divided into classes, or associations, under a moderator appointed by the bishop; their meetings were once a fortnight; the people were present at the sermon; and after they were dismissed, the members of the association, whose names were subscribed in a book, censured the performance. These exercises were of great service to expose the errors of popery, and spread the knowledge of the Scriptures among the people.

But the queen was told by the archbishop that they were no better than seminaries of Puritanism;‡ that the more averse the people were to popery, the more they were in danger of nonconformity; that these exercises tended to popularity, and made the people so inquisitive that they would not submit to the orders of their superiors, as they ought. It was said farther, that some of the ministers disused the habits, and discoursed on church discipline; and that others were too forward to show their abilities, to the discouragement of honest men of lower capacities; and that all this was notorious in the diocese of Norwich. Hereupon the queen gave the archbishop private orders to put them down everywhere, and to begin with Norwich; his grace, accordingly, wrote to Matchet, one of the chaplains in that diocese, requiring him to repair to his ordinary, and show him how the queen had willed him to suppress those vain prophesyings; and that thereupon he should require the said ordinary, in her majesty's name, immediately to discharge them from any farther such doings.

This was very unacceptable news to the good old bishop, who, taking hold of the word *vain*, wrote to the archbishop, desiring to be resolved whether he meant thereby the abuse, or some vain speeches used in some of these conferences; or, in general, the whole order of those exercises; of which he freely declared his own approbation, saying "that they had, and still did bring, singular benefit to the Church of God, as well in the clergy as in the laity, and

* Life of Parker, p. 435.

† Ibid., p. 364.

* Strype's Ann., vol. ii., p. 284.

† Life of Parker, p. 461.

were right necessary exercises to be continued, so the same were not abused, as, indeed, they had not been, unless in one or two places at the most; whereof after he had knowledge he wrote an earnest letter to his chancellor, that such persons as were over-busy speakers should be put to silence, unless they would subscribe to the articles of conformity in religion, or else promise not to intermeddle with any matter established and commanded by her majesty; which was performed accordingly, since which time he had not heard but all things had succeeded quietly without offence to any."

The archbishop was vexed at this letter, and wrote back to his chaplain "that it was one of his old griefs, that this bishop had shown his letter to his friends, who had eluded its true meaning, by standing upon the word *vain*. It is pity, says he, that we should show any vanity in our obedience." In the mean time, the Bishop of Norwich applied to the privy council, who knew nothing of this affair; but were surprised at the archbishop's order, and gave his lordship instruction to uphold the prophesyings. Their letter was as follows:

"*Salutem in Christo*. Whereas, we understand that there are certain good exercises of prophesyings and expounding of Scriptures in Norfolk, as, namely, at Holt-town and other places, whereby both speakers and hearers do profit much in the knowledge of the Word of God. And whereas, some not well minded towards true religion, and the knowledge of God, speak evil and slanderously of these exercises, as commonly they used to do against the sincere preaching of God's holy Word; these are to require your lordship, that so long as the truth is godly and reverently uttered in their prophesyings, and that no seditious, heretical, or schismatical doctrine, tending to the disturbance of the peace of the Church, can be proved to be taught or maintained in the same; that so good a help and means to further true religion may not be hindered and stayed, but may proceed and go forward to God's glory, and the edifying of the people. Thus, not doubting of your forwardness herein, your office and calling dutifully requiring the same at your hands, we bid your lordship right heartily farewell.*

"Your lordship's loving friends,

"T. SMITH, EDWIN, bp. London,

"W.A. MILDMAY, FRAN. KNOLLYS.

"From London, this 6th of May, 1574."

The archbishop was surprised to see his orders countermanded by the privy council; but his grace took no notice of it to them, only acquainting the queen with it; by whose direction he wrote again to the bishop, that whereas he understood he had received letters from the council to continue the prophesyings, contrary to the queen's express command, he desired to know what warrant they had given him for their proceedings; upon this the Bishop of Norwich wrote back to the Bishop of London, who was one of those who had signed the letter, for advice; but his lordship and the council were afraid to meddle any farther.

Parker, being thus supported by the queen, wrote again to Norwich, commanding the bishop peremptorily to obey the queen's orders, upon

pain of her majesty's high displeasure; and advised him not to be led by fantastical folk, nor take such young men into his counsels, who, when they had brought him into danger, could not bring him out of it. Of my care I have for you and the diocess (says the archbishop) I write thus much.*

Upon this the good old bishop submitted, and wrote to his chancellor from Ludham, June the 7th, "Whereas, by the receipt of my Lord of Canterbury's letter, I am commanded by him, in the queen her majesty's name, that the prophesyings throughout my diocess should be suppressed, these are therefore to will you that, as conveniently as you may, you give notice to every of my commissaries that they in their several circuits may suppress the same. And so I leave you to God." Thus were these religious exercises suppressed in one diocess, which was but the prologue to their downfall over the whole kingdom.

But his lordship did not long survive this distinguishing mark of the archbishop's displeasure, for towards the latter end of the year he departed this life, to the great loss of his diocess, and of the whole Church of England.

John Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, was born at Guildford, in Surrey, 1511, and educated in Merton College, Oxon. He had been domestic chaplain to Queen Katharine Parr, tutor to Bishop Jewel, and rector of the rich parsonage of Clive; all which he forsook in the reign of Queen Mary, and was an exile at Zurich, in Switzerland, where he was so delighted with the order and discipline of that church, that he would often wish the Church of England were modelled according to it. He was an open favourer of the Puritans, and never entered willingly into any methods of severity against them. "I find," says he, in one of his letters to Archbishop Parker, "that rough and severe methods do the least good, and that the contrary has won over divers; and therefore I choose to go in this way, rather than with others to overrule by rigour and extremity."† He would willingly have allowed a liberty of officiating in the Church to such as could not conform to the ceremonies, but by command from above he was forced sometimes to obey his superiors, contrary to his judgment. The bishop was a zealous Protestant, and a great enemy to popery; a learned divine, a faithful pastor, a diligent and constant preacher, and an example to his flock in righteousness, in faith, in love, in peace, in word, and in purity. He was exceeding hospitable, and kept a table for the poor; and was universally beloved, honoured, and esteemed by his whole diocess. This character is given him, says Mr. Strype, by one that knew him well, Thomas Becon, a native of Norfolk, and of known eminence in those days. He was made Bishop of Norwich, 1560, and died of the stone this year [1574], in the sixty-third year of his age.

Sundry well-disposed people in the parishes of Balsham in Cambridgeshire, and of Strethall in Essex, met together on holydays, and at other times, after they had done work, to read the Scriptures, and to confirm one another in the Christian faith and practice; but as soon as the commissioners were informed of these assem-

* Life of Parker, p. 460, 461.

* Life of Parker, p. 462. Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 323.

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 343.

blies, the parsons of the parishes were sent for, and ordered to suppress them; though the honest people declared themselves conformable to the orders of the Church, and that they met together after dinner, or after supper, upon holydays only, for their own and their families' instruction, for the reformation of vice, and for a farther acquaintance with the Word of God. The occasion of their assemblies we have in their own words: "For that heretofore," say they, "we have at divers times spent and consumed our holydays vainly, in drinking at the alehouse, and playing at cards, tables, dice, and other vain pastimes, not meet for us and such of our calling and degree, for the which we have been often blamed of our parson: we thought it better to bestow the time in soberly and godly reading the Scriptures, only for the purposes aforesaid, and no other. We do not favour or maintain any of the opinions of the Anabaptists, Puritans, papists, or libertines, but would be glad to learn our duty towards God, our prince, and magistrates, towards our neighbours and our families, in such sort as becomes good, and faithful, and obedient subjects; and it is our greatest and only desire to live, follow, and perform the same accordingly, as God shall give us grace." But our archbishop had rather these poor people should be drinking and gaming at an alehouse than engaged in a religious assembly not appointed by public authority.*

The Rev. Mr. Sampson, late dean of Christ Church, Oxon, was this year struck with the dead palsy on one side, which made him resign his lecture in the church at Whittington College, which he had held to this time, and for which he had £10 a year: it was in the gift of the cloth-workers' company, to whom he recommended Mr. Deering for his successor; but Deering being silenced for nonconformity, the archbishop utterly refused him, which Sampson complained of in a letter to the treasurer, saying, "that though my Lord of Canterbury liked not to take pains in the congregation himself, yet should he not forbid others who were both able and willing; that he could find no fault with Mr. Deering's doctrine or manner of life; and that this was no great promotion."† He therefore humbly desired, that if the cloth-workers chose him, that his lordship would use his interest with the archbishop not to refuse him; but his grace was inflexible, and so the business miscarried.

This Mr. Sampson was a most exact man in his principles and morals; and, having suffered the loss of all things for a good conscience, he took the liberty to write freely to his superiors upon proper occasions; and, among others, to Grindal, archbishop of York, who had been his companion in exile, though now advanced to the dignity of a lord-archbishop. Sampson, in one of his letters, put him in mind of his former low condition, and cautioned him against being too much exalted with his high title. Grindal told him he did not value the title of a lord, but that his great care was to discharge his function faithfully until the great day of the Lord. Sampson replied, "that if he, whom worldly policy had made a lord, kept the humility of an humble brother and minister of the Gospel, he was a phoenix; but his port, his train of waiting-

men in the streets, his gentlemen-ushers going before him with bare heads, and his family full of idle serving-men, looked very lordly." He adds, "that his own and his brethren's revenues should not be laid out in maintaining a parcel of lazy, idle servants, but rather upon these, who were labourers in the harvest of the Lord Jesus. That whereas the archbishop had called them Puritans, it was a name unjustly imposed on brethren with whose doctrine and life none could find fault; if by Puritans such were meant as, following Novatus, dissembled themselves to be teachers, and wished the ceremonies might be observed, while they hated the customs of the ancient Church, then might a number of churchmen be called Puritans; and he prayed God to purge them and make them more pure." And whereas the archbishop in his letter had pitied his complaints of poverty and lameness, he said "he complained of nothing; if he should complain of the former, it would be before he had need; but when he had need he would complain to those to whom he might complain. Concerning his lameness, he was so far from complaining of that, that he humbly thanked God for it; and these chains he would choose to carry before the clogs and cares of a bishopric."* Such was the plain dealing of this confessor to one of the highest dignitaries in the Church.

Parker's zeal against the Puritans betrayed him sometimes into great inconveniences; like a true inquisitor, he listened to every idle story of his scouts, and sent it presently to the queen or council; and the older he grew the more did his jealousies prevail. In the month of June, one of his servants acquainted him that there was a design of the Puritans against the life of the lord-treasurer and his own; and that the chief conspirator was one Undertree, encouraged by the great Earl of Leicester: the old archbishop was almost frightened out of his wits at the news, as appears by the following passage in his letter to the treasurer: "This horrible conspiracy," says he, "has so astonished me, that my will and memory are quite gone; I would I were dead before I see with my corporeal eyes that which is now brought to a full ripeness." He then prays that the detector of this conspiracy may be protected and honourably considered, and the conspirators punished with the utmost severity, otherwise the end would be worse than the beginning. And, that he might not seem to express all his concern for his own safety, he tells the treasurer that it was for his sake and the queen's that he was so jealous, "for he feared that when rogues attempted to destroy those that were so near her majesty's person, they would at last make the same attempt upon her too; and that even some that lay in her bosom [Leicester], when opportunity served, would sting her." The archbishop sent out his scouts to apprehend the conspirators that his steward had named, who pretended a secret correspondence with Undertree; and among others who were taken into custody were the Rev. Mr. Bonham, Brown, and Stonden, divines of great name among the Puritans: Stonden had been one of the preachers to the queen's army, when the Earl of Warwick was sent against the northern rebels. Many persons of honour were

* Life of Parker, p. 473.

† Ibid., p. 478.

* Life of Parker, p. 469.

† Ibid., p. 466.

also accused, as the Earls of Bedford, Leicester, and others. But when Undertree came to be examined before the council, the whole appeared to be a sham between Undertree and the archbishop's steward, to disgrace the Puritans, and punish them as enemies to the State as well as the Church. So early was the vile practice of fathering sham plots upon the Puritans begun, which was repeated so often in the next age! Undertree had forged letters in the names of Bonham, Stonden, and others; as appeared to a demonstration when they were produced before the council, for they were all written with one hand. When he was examined about his accomplices he would accuse nobody, but took the whole upon himself: so that their honours wrote immediately to the archbishop to discharge his prisoners.* But, which is a little unaccountable, neither Undertree nor the archbishop's steward received any punishment.

His grace's reputation suffered by this plot; all impartial men cried out against him for shutting up men of character and reputation in prison upon such idle reports. The Puritans and their friends reflected upon his honour and honesty; and in particular the Bishop of London and Dr. Chatterton, master of Queen's College, Cambridge, whom in his wrath he called a chattering, and in his letter to Grindal, archbishop of York, said "that he cared not three chips for aught that could be proved as to his allegiance, he doing it so secretly, faithfully, and prudently, as he did, and would do the same again if he knew no more than he did at that time." The Earl of Leicester could not but resent his ill-usage of him, which he had an opportunity to repay had he been so minded, the archbishop having executed an act of justice [as he called it] upon a person in the late plot after he had received a letter from court forbidding him to do it, which was not very consistent with his allegiance. But the archbishop braved out his conduct against everybody, after his own brethren the bishops, and all the world, had abandoned him. He told the lord-treasurer "that he cared not for Leicester, though he was informed he took council with the Precisians to undo him; that though he had written to the earl, and to another Puritan courtier, it was not in way of submission, as some of the crew reported and took it.† That the earl had peaceably written again to him, dissembling his malice like a right courtier; but he, notwithstanding, knew what was purposed against him, and for religion's sake he took it." This was the spirit and language of our archbishop!

One of the last public acts in which his grace was employed was visiting the diocese of Winchester, and, in particular, the Isle of Wight, in 1575; and here he made use of such methods of severity, says Mr. Strype, as made him talked against all over the country. This island was a place of resort for foreign Protestants and seafaring men of all countries, which occasioned the habits and ceremonies not to be so strictly observed as in other places, their trade and commerce requiring a latitude: when the archbishop came thither with his retinue, he gave himself no trouble about the welfare of the island, but turned out all those ministers who refused the habits, and shut up their

churches. This was so great a concern to the inhabitants that they sent up their complaints to the Earl of Leicester, who made such a report to the queen of the archbishop's proceedings that her majesty immediately gave order that things should return to their former channel;* and when his grace came to court after his visitation, her majesty received him coldly, and declared her displeasure against his unseasonable severities. The Bishop of Winchester also complained that the clergy of his diocese had been sifted in an unmerciful manner; all which, instead of softening this prelate, drew from him the following angry letter to the lord-treasurer, wherein he complains "of the strong interest the Puritans had at court, and of the inconstancy of some of the bishops; that several of that order lay by and did little, while others endeavoured to undermine him. That the queen was almost the only person that stood firm to the Church; but if the Precisians had the advantage, her majesty would be undone. That he was not so much concerned for the cap, tippet, surplice, wafer-bread, and such like ceremonies, as for the authority of the laws that enjoined them. The queen, indeed, had told him that he had the supreme government ecclesiastical, but, upon experiment, he found it very much hampered and embarrassed. Before God," says he, "I fear that her highness's authority is not regarded; and if public laws are once disregarded, the government must sink at once."†

There was but one corner of the British dominions that our archbishop's arm could not reach, viz., the isles of Guernsey and Jersey; these had been a receptacle for the French refugees from the Parisian massacre, and, lying upon the coasts of France, the inhabitants were chiefly of that nation, and were allowed the use of the Geneva or French discipline by the lords of the council. An order of the states of France had been formerly obtained to separate them from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constance in Normandy, but no form of discipline having been settled by law since the Reformation, Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Snape were invited to assist the ministers in framing a proper discipline for their churches; this fell out happily for Cartwright, who, being forced to abandon his native country, made this the place of his retreat. The two divines being arrived, one was made titular pastor of Mount Orgueil, in the isle of Jersey; and the other of Castle Cornet, in Guernsey. The representatives of the several churches being assembled at St. Peter's Port, in Guernsey, they communicated to them a draught of discipline, which was debated and accommodated to the use of those islands, and finally settled the year following, as appears by the title of it, which is this: "The ecclesiastical discipline observed and practised by the churches of Jersey and Guernsey, after the reformation of the same, by the ministers, elders, and deacons of the isles of Guernsey and Jersey, Sark and Alderney, confirmed by the authority, and in the presence, of the governors of the same isles, in a synod holden in Guernsey, June 28, 1576; and afterward received by the said ministers and elders."

* Life of Parker, p. 421.

† Ibid., Appendix, No. 99.

* Life of Parker, p. 466.

† Ibid., p. 477.

and confirmed by the said governors in a synod holden in Jersey the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 17th days of October, 1577." The book consists of twenty chapters, and each chapter of several articles, which were constantly observed in these islands till the latter end of the reign of King James I., when the liturgy of the Church of England supplanted it.*

Though the papists were the queen's most dangerous enemies, her majesty had a peculiar tenderness for them; † she frequently released them out of prison, and connived at their religious assemblies, of which there were above five hundred in England at this time: many of the queen's subjects resorted to the Portugal ambassador's house in Charter House yard, where mass was publicly celebrated; and because the sheriffs and recorder of London disturbed them, they were committed to the Fleet by the queen's express command. At the same time, they were practising against the queen's life; and that their religion might not die with the present age, seminaries were erected and endowed, in several parts of Europe, for the education of English youth, and for providing a succession of missionaries to be sent into England for the propagation of their faith. The first of these was erected when the kingdom was excommunicated; after which many others were founded, to the unspeakable prejudice of the Protestant religion. To set them before the reader in one view: colleges were erected at the following places:

The 1st at Douay, 1569, by Philip, king of Spain.

2d at Rome, 1579, by Pope Gregory XIII.

3d at Valladolid, 1589, by the King of Spain.

4th at Seville, 1593, by the same.

5th at St. Omer's, 1596, by the same.

6th at Madrid, 1606, by Joseph Creswel, Jesuit.

7th at Louvain, 1606, by Philip III. of Spain.

8th at Liege, 1616, by the archbishop of that country.

9th at Ghent, 1624, by Philip IV.

The popish nobility and gentry sent over their children to these colleges for education; ‡ and it is incredible what a mass of money was collected in England for their maintenance, by their provincials, sub-provincials, assistants, agents, coadjutors, familiars, &c., out of the estates of such Catholics as were possessed of abbey-lands; the pope dispensing with their holding them on these considerations. The oath taken by every student at his admission was this:

"Having resolved to offer myself wholly up to Divine service, as much as I may, to fulfil the end for which this our college was founded, I promise and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am prepared from mine heart, with the assistance of Divine grace, in due time to receive holy orders, and to return into England, to convert the souls of my countrymen and kindred, when and as often as it shall seem good to the superior of this college."

The number of students educated in these colleges may be collected from hence; that whereas, according to Saunders, an eminent popish writer,* there were but thirty old priests remaining in England this year [1575], the two colleges of Douay and Rome alone, in a very few years, sent over three hundred; and it is not to be doubted but there was a like proportion from the rest.

About this time began to appear the *family of love*, which derived its pedigree from one Henry Nicholas, a Dutchman. † By their confession of faith published this year, it appears that they were high enthusiasts; that they allegorized the doctrines of revelation, and, under a pretence of attaining to spiritual perfection, adopted some odd and whimsical opinions, while they grew too lax in their morals, being in their principles something akin to the Quietists of the Church of Rome, and the Quakers among ourselves. They had their private assemblies for devotion, for which they tasted of the severities of the government.

But the weight of the penal laws fell heaviest upon some of the German Anabaptists, who refused to join with the Dutch or English churches. There were two sorts of Anabaptists that sprung up with the Reformation in Germany; one was of those who differed only about the subject and mode of baptism, whether it should be administered to infants, or in any other manner than by dipping the whole body under water. But others who bore that name were mere enthusiasts, men of fierce and barbarous tempers, who broke out into a general revolt, and raised the war called the Rustic war. They had an unintelligible way of talking of religion, which they usually turned into allegory; and these being joined in the common name of Anabaptists, brought the others under an ill character. Twenty-seven of them were apprehended in a private house without Aldersgate-bars, on Easter Day, 1575, where they were assembled for worship: of these, four recanted the following errors: (1.) That Christ took not flesh of the substance of the Virgin. (2.) That infants born of faithful parents ought to be rebaptized. (3.) That no Christian man ought to be a magistrate. (4.) That it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath. But others refusing to abjure, eleven of them, all Dutchmen, were condemned in the consistory of St. Paul's to be burned, nine of whom were banished, and two suffered the extremity of the fire in Smithfield, July 22, 1575, viz. John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort. Thus the writ *de hæretico*

* De Schismat. Aug. p. 365.

† This is an error: the founder of the Familists was David George, of Delft. He fled from Holland, and settled at Basil, and took the name of John of Bridges; he affirmed that he was the true David, sent from God, who should restore the kingdom again to Israel. He was the author of several works; his chief production is entitled "*The Wonder Book*." His history was written by his son-in-law, Nicholas Blesdyke, and was published at Daventry, 1633. His doctrines are set down in 30 articles. He died August 16, 1556. He had promised his disciples that he should not die, or, if he did, he should rise again.

Henry Nicholas, or, as he is often called, Henry of Amsterdam, then maintained the same doctrines.

For very curious particulars respecting this delusion the reader is referred to *Ephraim Pagitt's Hæresiology*, 1646.—C.

* Heylin's *Aërius Redivivus*, p. 276.

† *Strype's Annals*, p. 329, 410, 622. *Life of Parker*, p. 352-354. Appendix, p. 47.

‡ Fuller, b. ix., p. 92.

comburendo, which had hung up only *in terrorem* for seventeen years, was taken down, and put in execution upon these unhappy men. The Dutch congregation interceded earnestly for their lives; as did Mr. Fox, the martyrologist, in an elegant Latin letter to the queen,* but she was immovable; so distant was her majesty from the tender spirit of her brother, King Edward.†

* "To roast the living bodies of unhappy men," he says, "who err rather through blindness of judgment than perverseness of will, in fire and flames, raging with pitch and brimstone, is a hard-hearted thing, and more agreeable to the practice of the Romanists than the custom of the Gospellers. I do not speak these things because I am pleased with their wickedness, or favour thus the errors of any men; but, seeing I myself am a man, I must favour the life of man; not that he should err, but that he might repent. Wherefore, if I may be so bold, I humbly beg of your royal highness, for the sake of Christ, who was consecrated to suffer for the lives of many, this favour at my request, which even the Divine clemency would engage you to, that if it may be (and what cannot your authority do in such cases?), these unhappy men may be spared. There are excommunications and imprisonments; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment; burning of the hand, whipping, or even slavery. This one thing I most earnestly beg, that the piles and flames of Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not be revived. But, if I may not obtain this, I pray with the greatest earnestness, that out of your great pity, you would grant us a month or two, in which we may try whether the Lord will grant that they may turn from their dangerous errors, lest, with the destruction of their bodies, their souls be in danger of eternal ruin."

"All his topics," says Sir James Mackintosh, referring to this letter, "are not, indeed, consistent with the true principles of religious liberty. But they were more likely to soften the antipathy of his contemporaries, and to win the assent of his sovereign, than bolder propositions; they form a wide step towards liberty of conscience. Had the excellent writer possessed the power of showing mercy, and once tasted the sweetness of exercising it towards deluded fanatics, he must doubtless have been attracted to the practice of unbounded toleration."—*Hist. of Eng.*, iii., 170. *Dr. Price's Hist. of Nonconformity*, vol. 1., p. 295.—C.

† The remarks of that valuable historian, Gerard Brandt, on these cruel proceedings, are so just and liberal that they deserve to be laid before the reader. "This severity," says he, "which was not the first that had been practised in England since the Reformation, appeared to many Protestants, who were still under the cross in Flanders and Brabant, both strange and incredible. They lamented that those who not long before had been persecuted themselves were now harassing others for the sake of their religion, and offering violence, with fire and sword, to the consciences of other men, though they had before taught, and that with great truth, 'that it did not belong to any mortal man to lord it over the consciences of others. That faith was the gift of God, and not to be implanted in the minds of men by any external force, but by the Word of God, and illumination of the Holy Spirit; that heresy was not a carnal, but spiritual crime, and to be punished by God alone; that error and falsehood were not to be overcome with violence, but truth; that the obligation which the children of God lie under is not to put others to death for the faith, but to die themselves in bearing witness to the truth. Lastly, that the shedding of blood for the sake of religion is a mark of antichrist, who thereby sets himself in the judgment-seat of God, assuming to himself the dominion over conscience, which belongs to none but God only.'" See Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low*

A little before the burning of these heretics, Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life: he was born at Norwich, 1504, and educated in Bene't College, Cambridge. In the reign of King Edward VI.* he married, and was, therefore, obliged to live privately under Queen Mary. Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession, he was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury; and how he managed in that high station may be collected from the foregoing history. He wrote a book entitled *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, which shows him to have had some skill in ecclesiastical antiquity; but he was a severe churchman, of a rough and uncourtly temper, and of high and arbitrary principles, both in church and state; a slave to the prerogative and the supremacy, and a bitter enemy to the Puritans, whom he persecuted to the length of his power, and beyond the limits of the law. His religion consisted in a servile obedience to the queen's injunctions, and in regulating the public service of the church; but his grace had too little regard for public virtue,† his entertainments and feastings being chiefly on the Lord's day: nor do we read, among his episcopal qualities, of his diligent preaching or pious example.‡

Countries, quoted in Mr. Lindsey's *Second Address to the Youth of the Two Universities*, p. 230, &c., or *La Roche's Abridgment of Brandt*, p. 168.—Ed.

* In this reign he was initiated into the exercise of power and measures of persecution; for in the year 1551 he was put into a commission, with thirty other persons, for correcting and punishing Anabaptists.—*British Biography*, vol. iii., p. 4.—Ed.

† Life of Parker, p. 524.

‡ "As primate of the Church of England, he committed a capital error in not availing himself of the influence of his station to heal the divisions which early ensued. It was in his power greatly to have diminished, if not entirely to have prevented them. But the rigidity of Parker's temper aggravated the wound he should have healed, and thus entailed on his successors the necessity of measures whose cruelty has stamped them with indelible infamy. Mistrusting the stability of his church, he was perpetually alarmed for its safety, and unscrupulously employed in its support every means which force or fraud could supply. The least deviation from the ordinary routine of religious services awakened his suspicions and fears. The simplest and most fervent piety failed to secure his complacency, unless it were clothed in the habiliments which authority had sanctioned, and expressed itself in language borrowed from the offices of his church. That men were advancing in conformity to God, and in benevolence towards their species, failed to interest his mind, if the slightest taint of Puritanism were suspected, or the least irregularity in religious services were known.

"Placed in a station of commanding influence, he prostituted his power to the support of the queen's prerogative and the maintenance of ecclesiastical uniformity. To this he sacrificed the higher purposes of his vocation, and set an example of servility in the state, and of despotism in the Church, which Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud fatally imitated. He had refused submission to the pope, yet he claimed it from others, and enforced the demand with a hard-heartedness which penury and weeping innocence could not move. Nor can it be justly pleaded in his defence that his course was shaped by the commands of the queen and her council. In a few instances this might have been the case, but in general it was otherwise. He was Elizabeth's principal adviser in ecclesiastical affairs. She relied on his churchmanship, and found him ever ready to execute her severest edicts. He rarely, if ever, manifested sorrow when employed as the minister of her wrath; though his joy knew no bounds when he

Fuller calls him a Parker indeed, careful to keep the fences and shut the gates of discipline against all such night-stealers as would invade the same; and, indeed, this was his chief excellence. He was a considerable benefactor to Bene't College, the place of his education, where he ordered his MS. papers to be deposited, which have been of considerable service to the writers of the English Reformation.* He died of the stone on the 17th of May, 1575, in the seventy-second year of his age, and was interred in Lambeth Chapel the 6th of June following, where his body rested till the end of the civil wars; when Colonel Scot, having purchased that palace for a mansion-house, took down the monument, and buried the bones, says Mr. Strype,† in a stinking dunghill, where they remained till some years after the Restoration, when they were decently reposed near the place where the monument had stood, which was now again erected to his memory.‡

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER TO THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL.

DR. EDMUND GRINDAL, archbishop of York, succeeded Parker in the see of Canterbury, and was confirmed February 15, 1575-6. He was a divine of moderate principles, and moved no faster in courses of severity against the Puritans than his superiors obliged him, being a friend to their preachings and prophesyings. Sandys was translated from London to York, and Aylmer was advanced to the see of London. This last was one of the exiles, and had been a favourer of Puritanism; for in his book against Knox, entitled "An Harbour of Faithful Subjects," he

was sanctioned by her authority to execute the persecuting code which he had mainly contributed to form. 'On the review of his whole behaviour,' says Mr. Hallam, 'he must be reckoned, and always has been reckoned, the most severe disciplinarian of Elizabeth's first hierarchy, though more violent men came afterward.' Yet it is due to the memory of Parker to observe, that the errors of his administration, serious and criminal as they were, sprung naturally out of the system he represented. The Reformed Church of England was unsound at heart. It had its origin *in force*; it was shaped and moulded by human laws, and could only be maintained by the exercise of an authority unsanctioned by the Word of God. It was based on principles subversive of human rights, and could not fail its supporters in measures which reason condemns, and which revelation represents as destructive of those graces with which God seeks to embellish the human soul. His name will be handed down to the latest posterity as a persecutor of the saints of God."—*Dr. Price's Hist. Nonconf.*, vol. i., p. 291-3.—C.

* It should be added, that literature was indebted to him for editions of our best ancient historians: Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Thomas Walsingham, and Asser's Life of King Alfred. It should also, says Mr. Granger, be remembered, to his honour, that he was the first founder of the Society of Antiquaries in England.—Ed.

† Life of Parker, p. 499.

‡ As a balance to this, the bodies of nineteen or twenty Puritan divines were dug up in Westminster Abbey, and thrown into a pit in the yard: Dr. Trap, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Strong, &c. See, in Strype, what a pompous funeral Parker had ordered for himself.—Ed.

declaims against the wealth and splendour of the bishops, and speaks with vehemence against their lordly dignities and civil authority. In the convocation of 1562, when the question about the habits was debated, he withdrew, and would not be concerned in the affair; but, upon his advancement to the episcopal order, he became a new convert, and a cruel persecutor of the Puritans. He was a little man, of a quick spirit, and of no extraordinary character.

The Parliament being now sitting, a bill was brought into the House of Lords to a bill such as did not come to church and receive the sacrament, with the payment of certain sums of money, but it was thought proper to drop it for the present.

The convocation was busy in framing articles touching the admitting able and fit persons to the ministry, and establishing good order in the Church.* Thirteen of them were published with the queen's license, though they had not the broad seal; but the other two, for marrying at all times of the year, and for private baptism by a lawful minister, in cases of necessity, her majesty would not countenance. One of the articles makes void all licenses for preaching, dated before the 8th of February, 1575, but provides that such as should be thought meet for that office should be readmitted without difficulty or charge. This had been practised once and again in Parker's time, and was now renewed, that by disqualifying the whole body of the clergy, they might clear the Church of all the Nonconformists at once; and if all the bishops had been equally severe in renewing their licenses, the Church would have been destitute of all preaching, for the body of the conforming clergy were so ignorant and illiterate that many who had cure of souls were incapable of preaching, or even of reading to the edification of the hearers; being obliged by law only to read the service and administer the sacrament in person once in half a year, on forfeiture of five pounds to the poor.

The Nonconformist ministers, under the character of curates or lecturers, supplied the defects of these idle drones for a small recompense from the incumbent and the voluntary contribution of the parish, and by their warm and affectionate preaching gained the hearts of the people; they resided upon their curacies, and went from house to house visiting their parishioners and instructing their children; they also inspected their lives and manners, and, according to the apostolical direction, reproved, rebuked, and exhorted them with all long-suffering and doctrine, as long as they could keep their licenses. Thus most of the Puritan ministers remained as yet within the Church, and their followers attended upon the Word and sacraments in such places where there were sober and orthodox preachers.

But still they continued their associations and private assemblies for recovering the discipline of the Church to a more primitive standard; this was a grievance to the queen and court bishops, who were determined against all innovations of this kind. Strange, that men should confess in their public service every first day of Lent, "that there was a godly discipline in the primitive Church; that this dis-

* Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 194.

cipline is not exercised at present in the Church of England, but that it is much to be wished that it were restored," and yet never attempt to restore it, but set themselves with violence and oppression to crush all endeavours that way! For the reader will observe that this was one chief occasion of the sufferings of the Puritans in the following part of this reign.

Some of the ministers of Northampton and Warwickshire, in one of their associated meetings, agreed upon certain rules of discipline in their several parishes, but, as soon as they began to practice them, the court took the alarm, and sent letters to the new archbishop to suppress them.* His grace accordingly sent to the bishops of these diocesses to see things reduced to their former channel, and, if need were, to send for assistance from himself or the ecclesiastical commissioners; accordingly, Mr. Paget and Mr. Oxenbridge, the two heads of the association, were taken into custody and sent up to London.

Some time after there was another assembly at Mr. Knewstubb's church, at Cockfield in Suffolk, where sixty clergymen of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire met together to confer of the Common Prayer Book, and come to some agreement as to what might be tolerated and what was necessary to be refused. They consulted also about apparel, holydays, fastings, injunctions, &c.† From thence they adjourned to Cambridge, at the time of the next commencement, and from thence to London, where they hoped to be concealed by the general resort of the people to Parliament; in these assemblies they came to the following conclusions, which were drawn up in an elegant Latin style by Mr. Cartwright and Travers, and given to the ministers for their direction in their several parishes.

Concerning Ministers.

"Let no man, though he be a university man, offer himself to the ministry; nor let any man take upon him an uncertain and vague ministry, though it be offered unto him.

"But such as are called by some church, let him impart it to the classis or conference of which they are members, or to some greater church assemblies; and if the called be approved, let them be commended by letters to the bishop, that they may be ordained ministers by him.

"Those ceremonies in the Book of Common Prayer which, being taken from popery, are in controversy, ought to be omitted, if it may be done without danger of being put from the ministry; but if there be imminent danger of being deprived, then let the matter be communicated to the classis in which that church is, to be determined by them.

"If subscription to the articles and Book of Common Prayer shall be again urged, it is thought that the book of articles may be subscribed, according to the stat. 13 Eliz., that is, 'to such only as contain the sum of the Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments.' But neither the Common Prayer Book nor the rest of the articles may be allowed; no, though a man should be deprived of his ministry for refusing it.

Concerning Church-wardens.

"It seems that church-wardens and collectors for the poor may be thus turned into elders and deacons.

"Let the Church have warning of the time of election, and of the ordinance of the realm, fifteen days beforehand; but especially of Christ's ordinance, touching appointing of watchmen and overseers in his Church, who are to take care that no offence or scandal arise in the Church; and if any such happen, that it be duly abolished.

Of Collectors for the Poor, or Deacons.

"Touching deacons of both sorts, viz., men and women, the Church shall be admonished what is required by the apostle; and that they are not to choose men of custom or course, or for their riches, but for their faith, zeal, and integrity; and that the Church is to pray, in the mean time, to be so directed that they may choose them that are meet.

"Let the names of those that are thus chosen be published by the next Lord's Day, and after that, their duties to the Church and the Church's duty towards them; then let them be received into their office with the general prayers of the whole Church.

Of Classes.

"The brethren are to be requested to ordain a distribution of all the churches, according to the rules set down in the synodical discipline, touching classical, provincial, comital, and assemblies for the whole kingdom.

"The classes are to be required to keep acts of memorable matters, and to deliver them to the comital assembly, and from thence to the provincial assembly.

"They are to deal earnestly with patrons, to present fit men whosoever any Church falls void in their classis.

"The comital assemblies are to be admonished to make collections for the relief of the poor, and of scholars, but especially for the relief of such ministers as are deprived for not subscribing the articles tendered by the bishops; also for the relief of Scots ministers, and others; and for other profitable and necessary uses.

"Provincial synods must continually foresee in due time to appoint the keeping of their next provincial synods; and for the sending of chosen persons with certain instructions to the national synod, to be holden whensoever the Parliament for the kingdom shall be called, at some certain time every year."

The design of these conclusions was to introduce a reformation into the Church without a separation. The chief debate in their assemblies was, how far this or the other conclusion might consist with the peace of the Church, and be moulded into a consistency with episcopacy. They ordained no ministers; and, though they maintained the choice of the people to be the essential call to the pastoral charge, yet most of them admitted of ordination and induction by the bishop only, as the officer appointed by law, that the minister might be enabled to demand his legal dues from the parish.

In the room of that pacific prelate, Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, the queen nominated Dr. Freke, a divine of a quite different spirit, who,

* Life of Grindal, p. 215. † Fuller, b. ix., p. 135.

in his primary visitation made, sad havoc among the Puritan ministers. Among others that were suspended in that diocese were Mr. John More, Mr. Richard Crick, Mr. George Leeds, Mr. Thomas Roberts, and Mr. Richard Dowe, all ministers in or near the city of Norwich; they addressed the queen and council for relief, but were told that her majesty was fully bent to remove all those that would not be persuaded to conform to established orders. The Reverend Mr. Gawton, minister of Goring in the same diocese, being charged with not wearing the surplice, nor observing the order of the queen's book, he confessed the former, but said that in other things he was conformable, though he did not keep exactly to the rubric.* When the bishop charged him with holding divers errors, he answered, "We are here not above half a dozen unconformable ministers in this city [Norwich]; and if you will confer with us by learning, we will yield up our very lives if we are not able to prove the doctrines we hold to be consonant to the Word of God." After his suspension he sent his lordship a bold letter, in which he maintained that Christ was the only lawgiver in his Church. "If any king or prince in the world ordain or allow other officers than Christ has allowed, we will," says he, "rather lay down our necks on the block than consent thereunto; wherefore do not object to us so often the name of our prince, for you use it as a cloak to cover your cursed enterprises. Have you not thrust out those who preached the lively Word faithfully and sincerely? Have you not plucked out those preachers where God set them in? And do you think that this plea will excuse you before the high Judge, 'I did but execute the law!'"

Mr. Harvey, another minister of the same city, was cited before the bishop, May 13th, for preaching against the hierarchy of bishops and their ecclesiastical officers; and at a court held at St. George's Church he was suspended from his ministry, with Mr. Vincent Goodwin and John Mapes.

Mr. Rockrey, B.D. of Queen's College, Cambridge, a person of great learning and merit, was expelled the university for nonconformity to the habits.† Lord Burleigh, the chancellor, got him restored and dispensed with for a year, at the end of which the master of his college admonished him three times to conform himself to the custom of the university in the habits, which he refusing, was finally discharged, as an example to keep others to their duty.

About the same time, Mr. Richard Greenham, minister of Drayton, was suspended,‡ a man of a most excellent spirit, who, though he would not subscribe or conform to the habits, avoided speaking of them, that he might not give offence; and whoever reads his letter to Cox, bishop of Ely, will wonder what sort of men they must be who could bear hard on so peaceable a divine.

Some time before the death of Archbishop Parker, Mr. Stroud, the suspended minister of Cranbrook, returned to his parish church; but being represented to the present archbishop as a disturber of the peace, he was forbid to continue his accustomed exercises in the Church,

and commanded to leave the country; but the good man was so universally beloved that the whole county of Kent almost signed petitions to the archbishop for his continuance among them.

"We know, most reverend father," say they, "that Mr. Stroud has been several times beaten and whipped with the untrue reports of slanderous tongues, and accused of crimes whereof he has most clearly acquitted himself to the satisfaction of others. Every one of us, for the most part, most gracious lord, hath heard him preach Christ truly, and rebuke sin boldly, and hath seen him hitherto apply to his calling faithfully, and live among us peaceably; so that not only by his diligent doctrine our youth has been informed, and ourselves confirmed in true religion and learning, but also by his honest conversation and example we are daily allured to a Christian life, and the exercises of charity; and no one of us, reverend father, hath hitherto heard from his own mouth, or by credible relation from others, that he has publicly in his sermons, or privately in conversation, taught unsound doctrine, or opposed the discipline, about which great controversy, alas! is now maintained; yea, he has given faithful promise to forbear the handling any questions concerning the policy of the Church, and we think in our consciences he has hitherto performed it. In consideration whereof, and that our country may not be deprived of so diligent a labourer in the Lord's harvest; nor that the enemies of God's truth, the papists, may find matter of joy and comfort; nor the man himself, in receiving a kind of condemnation without examination, be thus wounded at the heart and discouraged: we most humbly beseech your grace, for the poor man's sake, for your own sake, and the Lord's sake, either to take judicial knowledge of his cause, to the end he may be confronted with his adversaries; or else, of your great wisdom and goodness, to restore him to his liberty, of preaching the Gospel among us. And we, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c."

This petition was signed by nineteen or twenty hands; another was signed by twenty-four ministers; and a third by George Ely, vicar of Tenderden, and twenty-one parishioners; Thomas Bathurst, Sen., minister of Staplehurst, and nine parishioners; William Walter, of Fritenden, and fourteen of his parishioners; Antony Francis, minister of Lamberhurst, and four parishioners; Alexander Love, minister of Rolenden, and eighteen parishioners; Christopher Vinebrook, minister of Helcorne, and nine parishioners; William Vicar, of Tysherst, and ten parishioners; Matthew Wolton, curate of Beneden, and eleven parishioners; William Cocks, minister of Marden, and thirteen parishioners; William Hopkinson, minister of Saleherst, and eight parishioners.*

Such a reputation had this good man among all who had any taste for true piety and zeal for the Protestant religion! He was a peaceable divine, and by the threatening of Aylmer, bishop of London, had been prevailed with to subscribe with some reserve, for the support of a molested family; and yet he was continually molested and vexed in the spiritual courts.

Two eminent divines of Puritan principles

* MS., p. 253. Strype's Annals, p. 448.

† MS., p. 265. ‡ Pierce's Vindication, p. 97.

* MS., p. 196.

died this year: one was James Pilkington, B.D., and Bishop of Durham; he was descended from a considerable family near Bolton in Lancashire, and was educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he was master. In the reign of Queen Mary he was an exile, and confessor for the Gospel; upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth he was nominated to the See of Durham, being esteemed a learned man and a profound divine; but could hardly be prevailed with to accept it on account of the habits, to which he expressed a very great dislike; he was always a very great friend and favourer of the Nonconformists, as appears by his letters, and a truly pious and Christian bishop.* He died in peace at his house, Bishop's Auckland, January 23, 1575-6, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; Dr. Humphreys, and Mr. Fox the martyrologist, adorning his tomb with their funeral verses.

The other was Mr. Edward Deering, a Nonconformist divine, of whom mention has been made already; he was born of an ancient and worthy family in Kent, and bred fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge; a pious and painful preacher, says Fuller,† but disaffected to bishops and ceremonies; he was a learned man and a fine orator, but in one of his sermons before the queen he took the liberty to say, that when her majesty was under persecution her motto was *Tanquam ovis*; but now it might be, *Tanquam indomita juvenca*, as an untamed heifer.‡ For which he was forbid preaching at court for the future, and lost all his preferments in the Church.§

Archbishop Grindal had endeavoured to regulate the prophesyings, and cover them from the objections of the court, by enjoining the ministers to observe decency and order, by forbidding them to meddle with politics and church government, and by prohibiting all Nonconformist ministers and laymen from being speakers. The other bishops, also, in their several diocesses, published [in 1577] the following regulations:

That the exercises should be only in such churches as the bishop, under his hand and seal, should appoint.

That the archdeacon, or some other grave divine appointed and allowed by the bishop, should be moderator.

That a list of the names of those that are thought fit to be speakers in course be made and allowed of by the bishop; and the bishop to appoint such part of Scripture they shall treat of.

That those ministers that are judged not fit to speak publicly be assigned some other task by the moderator, for the increase of their learning.

* Ath. Ox., i., 590. † Fuller, b. ix., p. 109.

‡ Life of Parker, p. 380.

§ Strype, in his Life of Parker, says that Deering was disliked of the bishops, because he would tell them of their swearing and covetousness, yet, he adds, that he was given to *tell lies*. This looks like slander.

Dr. Sampson, who knew him well, gives him an exalted character as a man and a Christian, and Granger, in his Biographical History, vol. i., p. 215, observes, "The happy death of this truly religious man was suitable to the purity and integrity of his life."—See *Brook's Lives of the Puritans*, vol. i., p. 193-211. *Strype's Parker*, p. 381-429.—C.

Ante omnia, that no lay-person be admitted to speak publicly in the exercises.

That if any man glance at affairs of state, the moderator shall immediately silence him, and give notice to the bishop.

If any man inveighs against the laws concerning rites and ceremonies, and discipline established, he shall immediately be silenced, and not be admitted to speak any more till he has given satisfaction to the auditory, and obtained a new admission and approbation of the bishop. And

No suspended or deprived ministers shall be suffered to be speakers, except they shall first conform to the public order and discipline of the Church, by subscription and daily practice.

But the queen was resolved to suppress them; and having sent for the archbishop, told him she was informed that the rites and ceremonies of the Church were not duly observed in these prophesyings; that persons not lawfully called to be ministers exercised in them; that the assemblies themselves were illegal, not being allowed by public authority; that the laity neglected their secular affairs by repairing to these meetings, which filled their heads with notions, and might occasion disputes and seditions in the state; that it was good for the Church to have but few preachers, three or four in a county being sufficient.* She farther declared her dislike of the number of these exercises, and therefore commanded him peremptorily to put them down. Letters of this tenour were sent to all the bishops in England.†

* MS., p. 203.

† The copy of her majesty's letter to the Bishop of London, with his lordship's order thereupon, being before me, I shall impart it to the reader.

"*Salutem in Christo.*

"Having received from the queen's majesty letters of strait commandment touching the reformation of certain disorders and innovations within my diocese, the tenour whereof I have inserted, as followeth:

"ELIZABETH.

"Right Reverend Father in God,

"We greet you well. We hear, to our great grief, that in sundry parts of our realm there are no small number of persons presuming to be preachers and teachers in the Church, though neither lawfully thereunto called, nor yet meet for the same; who, contrary to our laws established for the public Divine service of Almighty God, and the administration of his holy sacraments within this Church of England, do daily devise, imagine, propound, and put in execution, sundry new rites and forms in the Church, as well by the inordinate preaching, reading, and ministering the sacraments, as by unlawfully procuring of assemblies, and great numbers of our people, out of their ordinary parishes, and from places far distant; and that also of some of our subjects of good callings (though therein not well advised), to be hearers of their disputations and new-devised opinions upon points of divinity, far unmeet for vulgar people; which manner of ministrations they in some places term prophesyings, and in some other places exercises; by means of which assemblies, great numbers of our people, especially of the vulgar sort (meet to be otherwise occupied with some honest labour for their living), are brought to idleness, seduced, and in manners schismatically divided among themselves into variety of dangerous opinions, not only in towns and parishes, but even some families are manifestly thereby encouraged to the violation of our laws, and to the breach of common orders, and not smally to the offence of all our quiet subjects, that desire to live and serve God according to the uniform orders

Most of the bishops complied readily with the queen's letter, and put down the prophesying; but some did it with reluctance, and purely in obedience to the royal command, as appears by the following letter of the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry to his archdeacon:

"*Salutem in Christo.*

"Whereas the queen has been informed of some matters handled and abused in the exercise at Coventry, and thereupon hath written to me a strait charge to inhibit the said exercise; these are therefore to will and require you, and, nevertheless, in her majesty's name to charge you, to forbear and stay yourselves from that

established in the Church, whereby these [exercises] cannot but be dangerous to be suffered. Wherefore, considering it should be the duty of bishops, being the principal ordinary officers in the Church of God (as you are one), to see these disorders against the honour of God and the quietness of the Church reformed, and that by the increase of these, through sufferance, great danger may arise, even to the decrease of Christian faith, whereof we are by God appointed the defender; besides the other inconveniences, to the disturbance of our peaceable government.

"We, therefore, according to the authority which we have, do charge and command you, as bishop of that diocese, with all manner of diligence to take order throughout your diocese, as well in all places exempt or otherwise, that no manner of public or Divine service, nor other form of ministration of the holy sacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies, be in any sort used in the Church, but directly according to the order established by our laws: neither that any manner of person be suffered in your diocese to teach, preach, read, or exercise, any function in the Church but such as shall be lawfully approved and licensed, as persons able by their knowledge, and conformable to the ministrations in the rites and ceremonies of this Church of England. And where there shall not be sufficient able persons for learning in any cure to preach and instruct their cures as are requisite, then shall you limit the curates to read the public homilies, according to the injunctions heretofore by us given for like cause.

"And furthermore, considering the great abuses that have been in sundry places of our realm, by reason of the aforesaid assemblies called exercises; and for that these are not, nor have been appointed or warranted by us or our laws, we will and straightly charge you that you do cause the same forthwith to cease, and not to be used; but if any shall attempt to continue or renew the same, we will you not only to commit them to prison, as maintainers of disorders, but also to advertise us or our council of the names and qualities of them, and of their maintainers and abettors; that thereupon, for better example, their punishment may be made more sharp, for their reformation. And in these things we charge you to be so careful and vigilant, as by your negligence (if we shall hear of any person attempting to offend in the premises without your correction or information to us), we be not forced to make some example in reforming of you according to your deserts. Given under our signet, at our manor of Greenwich, the 7th of May, 1577, and in the nineteenth year of our reign."
—*M.S.*, p. 283.

"Therefore I will and straightly charge you, in her majesty's name, that, immediately upon the receipt hereof, you do diligently and carefully put in execution, in every point, all such things as therein be contained, throughout and in every place within your whole archdeaconry; so that at my visitation, which, God willing, shall be shortly, sufficient account may be given of that your doing and diligence in that behalf accordingly. Fail you not so to do, as you will answer the contrary, at your peril.

"Your loving brother,

"JOHN LONDON."

exercise till it shall please God we may either by earnest prayer or humble petition obtain the full use thereof, with her good pleasure and full authority; and, in the mean time, so to use the heavenly and most comfortable gift of preaching, that you may seek and set forth Jesus Christ and his kingdom without contempt and contumeliousness of the state and laws, under which we ought to live in unity and peace; which I beseech God grant unto you and me, and all that look for the coming of our Saviour Christ, to whose direction I commit you, this 18th of June, 1577.*

"Your loving friend and brother in Christ,

"THOMAS COV. and LITCHF.

"To my very loving friend and brother in Christ, Thomas Lever, archdeacon of Cov., or, in his absence, to the censors of the exercise there."

But our archbishop could not go this length; he who had complied with all the queen's injunctions, and with the severities of the ecclesiastical commissioners against the Puritans hitherto, is now distressed in conscience, and constrained to disobey the commands of his royal mistress in an affair of much less consequence than others he had formerly complied with. Instead, therefore, of giving directions to his archdeacons to execute the queen's commands, he writes a long and earnest letter to her majesty, dated December 10, 1576, to inform her of the necessity and usefulness of preaching, and of the subserviency of the exercises to this purpose:

"With regard to preaching, nothing is more evident from Scripture," says his grace, "than that it was a great blessing to have the Gospel preached, and to have plenty of labourers sent into the Lord's harvest. That this was the ordinary means of salvation, and that hereby men were taught their duty to God and their civil governors. That, though reading the homilies was good, yet it was not comparable to preaching, which might be suited to the diversity of times, places, and hearers, and be delivered with more efficacy and affection. That homilies were devised only to supply the want of preachers, and were, by the statute of King Edward VI., to give place to sermons whensoever they might be had. He hoped, therefore, her majesty would not discountenance an ordinance so useful, and of Divine appointment.

"For the second point, concerning the exercises, he apprehended them profitable to the Church; and it was not his judgment only, but that of most of the bishops, as London, Winton, Bath and Wells, Litchfield, Gloucester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exon, and St. David's, who had signified to him by letter, that by means of these exercises the clergy were now better versed in the Scripture than heretofore; that they had made them studious and diligent; and that nothing had beat down popery like them. He affirms that they are legal, forasmuch as, by the canons and constitutions of the Church now in force, every bishop has authority to appoint such exercises, for inferior ministers to increase their knowledge in the Scriptures, as to him shall seem most expedient."† Towards the close of this letter his grace declares himself

* *M.S.*, p. 284.

† *Ibid.*, p. 245.

willing to resign his province, if it should be her majesty's pleasure, and then makes these two requests: "(1.) That your majesty would refer ecclesiastical matters to the bishops and divines of the realm, according to the practice of the first Christian emperors. And (2.) That when your majesty deals in matters of faith and religion, you would not pronounce so peremptorily as you may do in civil matters; but remember that in God's cause, his will, and not the will of any earthly creature, is to take place. It is the antichristian voice of the pope, 'Sic volo sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas.'" He then puts her in mind that, though she was a great and mighty princess, she was nevertheless a mortal creature, and accountable to God; and concludes with a declaration, that whereas before there were not three able preachers, now there were thirty fit to preach at Paul's Cross, forty or fifty besides able to instruct their own cures. That therefore he could not, without offence of the majesty of God, send out injunctions for suppressing the exercises.

The queen was so inflamed with this letter, that she determined to make an example of the honest archbishop, as a terror to the whole bench: she would not suffer her commands to be disputed by the primate of all England, but by an order from the Star Chamber confined him immediately to his house, and sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function for six months. This was a high display of the supremacy, when the head of the Church, being a woman, without consulting the bishops or any of the clergy in convocation assembled, shall pronounce so peremptorily in a matter purely respecting religion; and for noncompliance tie up the hands of her archbishop, who is the first mover under the prince in all ecclesiastical affairs.

Before the expiration of the six months, which was in December, Grindal was advised to make his submission, which he did so far as to acknowledge the queen's mildness and gentleness in his restraint, and to promise obedience for the future; but he could not be persuaded to retract his opinion, and confess his sorrow for what was past; there was, therefore, some talk of depriving him, which being thought too severe, his sequestration was still continued till about a year before his death; however, his grace never recovered the queen's favour. Thus ended the prophesyings, or religious exercises of the clergy, a useful institution for promoting Christian knowledge and piety, at a time when both were at a very low ebb in the nation. The queen put them down for no other reason but chiefly because they enlightened the people's minds in the Scriptures, and encouraged their inquiries after truth; her majesty being always of opinion that knowledge and learning in the laity would only endanger their peaceable submission to her absolute will and pleasure.

This year put an end to the life of that eminent divine, Mr. Thomas Lever, a great favourite of Queen Elizabeth till he refused the habits. He was Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the reign of King Edward VI., and was reckoned one of the most eloquent preachers in those times. He had a true zeal for the Protestant religion, and was an exile for it all the reign of Queen Mary. Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession he might have had the highest preferment in the

Church, but could not accept it upon the terms of subscription and wearing the habits; he was therefore suspended by the ecclesiastical commissioners; till his great name and singular merit, reflecting an odium upon those who had deprived the Church of his labours, and exposed him a second time to poverty and want after his exile, he was at length dispensed with, and made Archdeacon of Coe, and master of Sherburne Hospital, near Durham, where he spent the remainder of his days in great reputation and usefulness. He was a resolute Nonconformist, and wrote letters to encourage the deprived ministers to stand by their principles, and wait patiently for a farther reformation. He was buried in the chapel of his own hospital, having this plain inscription on a flat marble stone over his grave: "Thomas Lever, preacher to King Edward VI." Had he lived a little longer he had been persecuted by the new bishop, as his brother Whittingham was; but God took him away from the evil to come. He died in July, 1577, and was succeeded in the hospital by his brother Ralph Lever.*

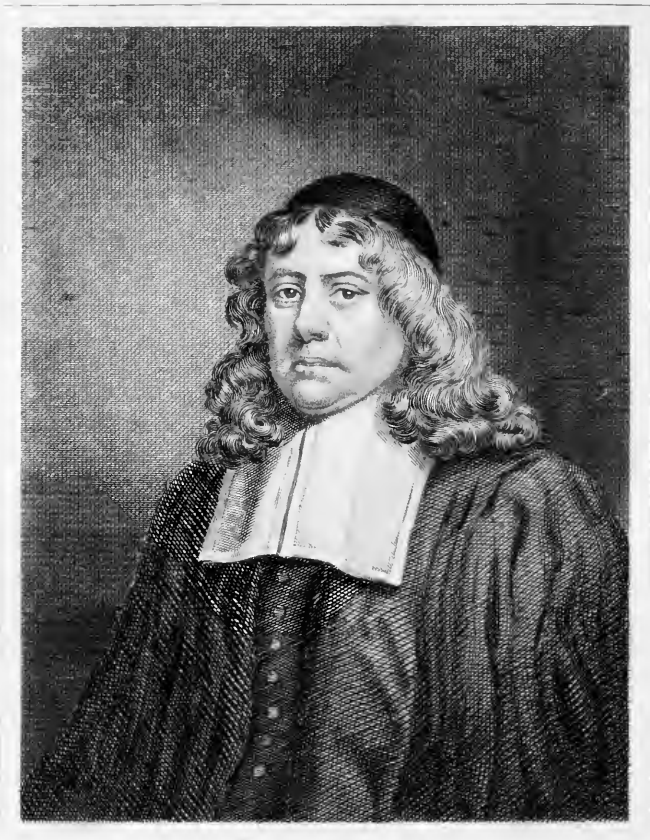
Mr. Cartwright, upon his return from the Isle of Guernsey, was chosen preacher to one of the English factories at Antwerp: these factories submitted to the discipline of the Dutch Churches among whom they lived, and their ministers became members of their consistories. While Cartwright was here, many of the English, who were not satisfied with the terms of conformity, or the English manner of giving orders, went over thither, and were ordained by the presbyters of those churches; nay, some who had received deacons' orders in the Church of England chose to be made full ministers by the foreign consistories; among these were Mr. Cartwright, Fenner, Ashton, and Travers.† Travers was bachelor of divinity in the University of Cambridge before he left England, and was ordained at Antwerp, May 14, 1578. The copy of his testimonials‡ is to this effect:

"Forasmuch as it is just and reasonable that such as are received into the number of the ministers of God's Word should have a testimonial of their vocation, we declare that, having called together a synod of twelve ministers of God's Word, and almost the same number of elders, at Antwerp, on May 8th, 1578, our very learned, pious, and excellent brother, the Rev. Dr. Gualter Travers was, by the unanimous votes and ardent desires of all present, received and instituted into the ministry of God's Holy Word, and confirmed according to our accustomed manner, with prayer and imposition of hands; and the next day after the Sabbath having preached before a full congregation of English, at the request of the ministers, he was acknowl-

* Fuller says that "whatever preferments in the Church he pleased courted his acceptance."—*Worthies*, part ii., p. 284. Strype denominates him "a man of distinguished eminence for piety, learning, and preaching the Gospel."—*Strype's Parker*, p. 211. He was the intimate friend of Bernard Gilpin. His spirit as a genuine Reformer rested upon his posterity, and I find Henry Lever, his grandson, and Robert Lever, his great-grandson, were among the ejected ministers in 1662. His writings are very valuable, but exceedingly scarce. They are chiefly sermons, and a commentary on the Lord's Prayer.—C.

† Strype's Ann., vol. ii., p. 524.

‡ Fuller, b. ix., p. 214.



Engraved by G. Kneller from an Original painted in 1694.

REV. JOHN OWEN, D.D.

edged and received most affectionately by the whole Church. That Almighty God would prosper the ministry of this our reverend brother among the English, and attend it with great success, is our most earnest prayer, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Given at Antwerp, May 14, 1578, and signed

"JOANNES TAFFINUS, V.D.M.,
"LÖGELERIUS VILERIUS, V.D.M.,
"JOANNES HOCHLEUS, V.D.M."

Pilkington, late bishop of Durham, was succeeded by Dr. Barnes, bishop of Carlisle, a prelate of severer principles than his predecessor; who, having in vain attempted to reduce the clergy of his diocese to an absolute conformity, complained to his metropolitan of the lax government of his predecessor, and of the numbers of Nonconformists whom he could not reduce to the established orders of the Church. Upon this, Sandys, the new archbishop of York, resolved to visit his whole province, and to begin with Durham, where Dean Whittingham was the principal man under the bishop; he was a divine of great learning, and of long standing in the Church, but not ordained according to the form of the English service-book. The accusation against him was branched out into thirty-five articles and forty-nine interrogatories, the chief whereof was his Geneva ordination.* The dean, instead of answering the charge, stood by the rights of the Church of Durham, and denied the archbishop's power of visitation, upon which his grace was pleased to excommunicate him; but Whittingham appealed to the queen, who directed a commission to the archbishop, to the lord-president of the council in the north, and to the Dean of York, to hear and determine the validity of his ordination, and to inquire into the other misdemeanors contained in the articles. The president of the north was a favourer of the Puritans, and Dr. Hutton, dean of York, was of Whittingham's principles, and boldly averred "that the dean was ordained in a better sort than even the archbishop himself;" so that the commission came to nothing. But Sandys, vexed at the disappointment, and at the calling in question his right of visitation, obtained another commission directed to himself, the Bishop of Durham, the lord-president, the chancellor of the diocese, and some others whom he could depend upon, to visit the Church of Durham. The chief design was to deprive Whittingham as a layman; when the dean appeared before the commissioners, he produced a certificate under the hands of eight persons, for the manner of his ordination, in these words: "It pleased God, by the suffrages of the whole congregation [at Geneva], orderly to choose Mr. W. Whittingham unto the office of preaching the Word of God and ministering the sacraments; and he was admitted minister, and so published, with such other ceremonies as here are used and accustomed."† It was objected, that here was no mention of a bishop or superintendent, nor of any external solemnities, nor so much as of imposition of hands. The dean replied, there was mention in general of the ceremonies of that church, and he was able to prove his vocation to be the same that all the ministers of Geneva had; upon which the lord-president

rose up and said that he could not, in conscience, agree to deprive him for that cause only; for (says he) it will be ill taken by all the godly and learned, both at home and abroad, that we should allow of the popish massing priests in our ministry, and disallow of ministers made in a Reformed Church; whereupon the commission was adjourned *synodie*. These proceedings of the archbishop against the dean were invidious, and lost him his esteem both in city and country. The calling his ordination in question was expressly contrary to the statute 13 Eliz., by which, says Mr. Strype, the ordination of foreign Reformed Churches was declared valid; and those that had no other orders were made of like capacity with others, to enjoy any place of ministry within England.

But the death of Mr. Whittingham, which happened about six months after, put an end to this and all his other troubles. He was born in the city of Chester, 1524, and educated in Brasenose College, Oxon; he was afterward translated to Christ Church, when it was founded by King Henry VIII., being reckoned one of the best scholars in the university; in the year 1550 he travelled into France, Germany, and Italy, and returned about the latter end of King Edward VI. In the reign of Queen Mary he was with the exiles at Frankfort, and upon the division there, went with part of the congregation to Geneva, and became their minister. He had a great share in translating the Geneva Bible, and the Psalms in metre, as appears by the first letter of his name [W] over many of them. Upon his return home he was preferred to the deanery of Durham, 1563, by the interest of the Earl of Leicester, where he spent the remainder of his life. He did good service, says the Oxford historian,* against the popish rebels in the north, and in repelling the Archbishop of York from visiting the Church of Durham; but he was at best but a lukewarm Conformist, an enemy to the habits, and a promoter of the Geneva doctrine and discipline. However, he was a truly pious and religious man, an excellent preacher, and an ornament to religion. He died while the cause of his deprivation, for not being ordained according to the rites of the English Church, was depending, June 10, 1579, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.†

We have mentioned the Bishop of Norwich's severity in his primary visitation; his lordship went on still in the same method, not without some marks of unfair designs;‡ for the incumbent of Sprowton being suspected to be of the Family of Love, his lordship deprived him, and immediately begged the living for his son-in-law, Mr. Maplesdon, who was already archdeacon of Suffolk.§ He showed no mercy to his suspended clergy, though they offered to subscribe as far as the laws of the realm required. At length they petitioned their metropolitan, Grindal, who, though in disgrace, licensed them to preach throughout the whole diocese of Norwich, *durante bene placito*, provided they did not preach against the established orders of the

* Ath. Ox., vol. i., p. 154.

† Some of his versions are still used in the Church. Those which are from his pen have W. W. annexed. The 119th Psalm is one of them. — Wood's *Athena*, vol. i., p. 62, 36, 153.—C.

‡ Strype's Ann., vol. ii., p. 234. § MS., p. 286.

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 481. † Ibid., p. 523.
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Church, nor move contentions about ceremonies; but still they were deprived of their livings.

The Reverend Mr. Lawrence, an admired preacher, and incumbent of a parish in Suffolk, was suspended by the same bishop for not complying with the rites and ceremonies of the Church.* Mr. Calthorp, a gentleman of quality in the county, applied to the lord-treasurer in his behalf; and the treasurer wrote to the bishop requesting him to take off his sequestration; but his lordship replied, that what he had done was by virtue of the queen's letter to him, requiring him to allow of no ministers but such as were perfectly conformable. Mr. Calthorp replied, and urged the great want the Church had of such good men as Mr. Lawrence, for whose fitness for this work he would undertake the chief gentlemen of credit in the county should certify; but his sequestration was still continued. The like severities were used in most other diocesses.

The Bishop of London† came not behind the chief of his brethren the bishops, in his persecuting zeal against the Puritans; he gave out orders for apparitors and other officers to go from church to church, in time of Divine service, to observe the conformity of the minister, and to make report to her majesty's commissioners. As this prelate had no compassion in his nature, he had little or no regard to the laws of his country, or the cries of the people after the Word of God.‡

Great was the scarcity of preachers about England at this time; in the large and populous town of Northampton there was not one, nor had been for a considerable time, though the people applied to the bishop of the diocess by most humble supplication for the bread of life. In the county of Cornwall there were one hundred and forty clergymen, not one of which was capable of preaching a sermon, and most of them were pluralists and non-residents. Even the city of London was in a lamentable case, as appears by their petition to the Parliament which met this winter, in which are these words: "May it please you, therefore, for the tender mercies of God, to understand the woful estate of many thousands of souls dwelling in deep darkness, and in the shadow of death, in this famous and populous city of London; a place, in respect to others, accounted as the morning star, or, rather, as the sun in its brightness, because of the Gospel, supposed to shine gloriously and abundantly in the same; but being near looked into, will be found sorely eclipsed and darkened through the dim cloud of unlearned

ministers, whereof there be no small number. There are in this city a great number of churches, but the one half of them at the least are utterly unfurnished of preaching ministers, and are pestered with candlesticks not of gold, but of clay, unworthy to have the Lord's light set in them, with watchmen that have no eyes, and clouds that have no water; in the other half, partly by means of non-residents, which are very many, partly through the poverty of many meanly qualified, there is scarcely the tenth man that makes conscience to wait upon his charge, whereby the Lord's Sabbath is oftentimes wholly neglected, and for the most part miserably mangled; ignorance increaseth, and wickedness comes upon us like an armed man. As sheep, therefore, going astray, we humbly, on our knees, beseech this honourable assembly, in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, to become humble suiters to her majesty, that we may have guides; as hungry men bound to abide by our empty rackstaves, we do beg of you to be means that the bread of life may be brought home to us; that the sower may come into the fallow ground; that the pipes of water may be brought into our assemblies; that there may be food and refreshing for us, our poor wives, and forlorn children: so shall the Lord have his due honour; you shall discharge good duty to her majesty; many languishing souls shall be comforted; atheism and heresy banished; her majesty have more faithful subjects, and you more hearty prayers for your prosperity in this life, and full happiness in the life to come, through Jesus Christ our alone Saviour. Amen."*

In the supplication of the people of Cornwall, it is said,† "We are above the number of fourscore and ten thousand souls, which, for the want of the Word of God, are in extreme misery and ready to perish, and this neither for want of maintenance nor place; for besides the impropriations in our shire, we allow yearly above £9200, and have one hundred and sixty churches, the greatest part of which are supplied by men who are guilty of the grossest sins; some fornicators, some adulterers, some felons, bearing the marks in their hands for the said offence; some drunkards, gamblers on the Sabbath-day, &c. We have many non-residents who preach but once a quarter, so that, between meal and meal, the silly sheep may starve. We have some ministers who labour painfully and faithfully in the Lord's husbandry; but these men are not suffered to attend their callings, because the mouths of papists, infidels, and filthy livers are open against them, and the ears of those who are called lords over them, are sooner open to their accusations, though it be but for ceremonies, than to the others' answers. Nor is it safe for us to go and hear them; for, though our own fountains are dried up, yet, if we seek for the waters of life elsewhere, we are cited into the spiritual courts, reviled, and threatened with excommunication. Therefore, from far we come, beseeching this honourable house to dispossess these dumb dogs and ravenous wolves, and appoint us faithful ministers, who may peaceably preach the Word of God, and not be disquieted by every apparitor, registrar, official, commissioner, chancellor, &c., upon every light occasion—"

* Strype's Ann., p. 285.

† This Bishop Warburton censures as "an untair charge which runs through the History. The exacting conformity of the ministry of any church by the governors of that church is no persecution." This is a strange sentiment to come from the pen of a Protestant prelate. There was no persecution, then, in the reign of Queen Mary. It was no persecution when the Jewish sanhedrim agreed "that, if any man did confess that Jesus was the Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue." It was no persecution when the Parliament imposed the Scots Covenant.—Ed.

‡ He declared that he would surely and severely punish those who would not comply with the Act of Uniformity, or "I will lie," said he, "in the dust for it."—Strype.—Ed.

The ground of this scarcity was no other than the severity of the high-commission, and the narrow terms of conformity. Most of the old incumbents, says Dr. Keltridge,* are disguised papists, fitter to sport with the timbrel and pipe than to take into their hands the book of the Lord; and yet there was a rising generation of valuable preachers ready for the ministry, if they might have been encouraged; for in a supplication of some of the students at Cambridge to the Parliament about this time, they acknowledge that there were plenty of able and well-furnished men among them, but that they could not get into places upon equal conditions; but unlearned men, nay, the scum of the people, were preferred before them, so that, in this great want of labourers, we (say they) stand idle in the market-place all the day, being urged with subscriptions before the bishops to approve the Romish hierarchy, and all the effects of that government to be agreeable to the Word of God, which, with no safety of conscience we can accord unto. They then offer a conference or disputation, as the queen and Parliament shall agree, to put an amicable end to these differences, that the Church may recover some discipline, that simony and perjury may be banished, and that all that are willing to promote the salvation of souls may be employed; but the queen and bishops were against it.

All the public conversation at this time ran upon the queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, a French papist, which was thought to be as good as concluded; the Protestant part of the nation were displeased with it, and some warm divines expressed their dark apprehensions in the pulpit. The Puritans in general made a loud protest against the match, as dreading the consequences of a Protestant body being under a popish head. Mr. John Stubbs, a student of Lincoln's Inn, whose sister Mr. Cartwright had married, a gentleman of excellent parts, published a treatise this summer, entitled "The Gaping Gulf, wherein England will be swallowed up with the French Marriage;" wherewith the queen was so incensed that she immediately issued out a proclamation to suppress the book, and to apprehend the author and printer. At the same time, the lords of the council wrote circular letters to the clergy to remove all surmises about the danger of the Reformation in case the match should take place, assuring them the queen would suffer no alterations in religion by any treaty with the duke, and forbidding them in their sermons or discourses to meddle with such high matters. Mr. Stubbs, the author, Singleton, the printer, and Page, the disperser, of the above-mentioned book, were apprehended, and sentenced to have their right hands cut off, by virtue of a law made in Queen Mary's reign against the authors and dispersers of seditious writings: the printer was pardoned but Mr. Stubbs and Page were brought to a scaffold erected in the market-place at Westminster, where, with a terrible formality, their right hands were cut off, by driving a cleaver through the wrist with a mallet; † but I re-

member (says Camden, being present) that, as soon as Stubbs's right hand was cut off, he pulled off his hat with his left, and said with a loud voice, God save the queen, to the amazement of the spectators, who stood silent, either out of horror of the punishment, or pity to the man, or hatred to the match. Mr. Stubbs proved afterward a faithful subject to her majesty, and a valiant commander in the wars of Ireland.

At the beginning of the next session of Parliament, which was January 10, 1580, the Commons voted "that as many of their members as conveniently could, should, on the Sunday fortnight, assemble and meet together in the Temple Church, there to have preaching, and to join together in prayer, with humiliation and fasting, for the assistance of God's Spirit in all their consultations during this Parliament; and for the preservation of the queen's majesty, and her realms."* The house was so cautious as not to name their preachers, for fear they might be thought Puritanical, but referred it to such of her majesty's privy council as were members of the house. There was nothing in this vote contrary to law or unbecoming the wisdom of Parliament; but the queen was no sooner acquainted with it, than she sent word by Sir Christopher Hatton, her vice-chamberlain, that "she did much admire at so great a rashness in that house as to put in execution such an innovation, without her privy and pleasure first made known to them." Upon which it was moved by the courtiers that "the house should acknowledge their offence and contempt, and humbly crave forgiveness, with a full purpose to forbear committing the like for the future;" which was voted accordingly. A mean and abject spirit in the representative body of the nation!

Her majesty having forbid her Parliament to appoint times for fasting and prayer, took hold of the opportunity, and gave the like injunctions to her clergy; some of whom, after the putting down of the prophesyings, had ventured to agree upon days of private fasting and prayer for the queen and Church, and for exhorting the people to repentance and reformation of life, at such times and places where they could obtain a pulpit. All the Puritans, and the more devout part of the conforming clergy, fell in with these appointments: sometimes there was one at Leicester; sometimes at Coventry and at Stamford, and in other places, where six or seven neighbouring ministers joined together in these exercises; but as soon as the queen was acquainted with them, she sent a warm message to the archbishop to suppress them, as being set up by private persons, without authority, in defiance of the laws, and of her prerogative. †

Mr. Prowd, the Puritan minister of Burton upon Dunmore, complains, in a melancholy letter to Lord Burleigh, of the sad state of religion, by suppressing the exercises; and by forbidding the meeting of a few ministers and Christians, to pray for the preservation of the Protestant religion, in this dangerous crisis of the queen's marrying with a papist. He doubted whether his lordship dealt so plainly with her majesty as his knowledge of these things required, and

* Life of Aylmer, p. 32.

† "This," says Bishop Warburton, "was infinitely more cruel than all the years under Charles I., whether we consider the punishment, the crime, or the man."—ED.

* Heylin, p. 287.

† Heylin's *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 286.

begs him to interpose. But the queen was determined against all prayers except what herself should appoint.

We have already taken notice of the petitions and supplications to Parliament from London, Cornwall, and some other places, for redress of grievances; but the house was so intimidated by the queen's spirited behaviour, that they durst not interpose, any farther than, in conjunction with some of the bishops, to petition her majesty, as head of the Church, to redress them. The queen promised to take order about it, with all convenient speed; putting them in mind, at the same time, that all motions for reformation in religion ought to arise from none but herself.

But her majesty's sentiments differed from the Parliament's; her greatest grief was the increase of Puritans and Nonconformists, and therefore, instead of easing them, she girt the laws closer about them, in order to bring them to an exact conformity. Information being given that some who had livings in the Church, and preached weekly, did not administer the sacrament to their parishioners in their own persons, her majesty commanded her bishops, in their visitations, to inquire after such half-conformists as disjoined one part of their function from the other, and to compel them by ecclesiastical censures to perform the whole at least twice a year. The Puritan ministers being dissatisfied with the promiscuous access of all persons to the communion, and with several passages in the office for the Lord's Supper, some of them used to provide a qualified clergyman to administer the ordinance in their room; but this was now made a handle for their ejection: inquisition was made, and those who, after admonition, would not conform to the queen's pleasure, were sent for before the commissioners, and deprived.

Though the springs of discipline moved but slowly in the diocese of Canterbury, because the metropolitan, who is the first mover in ecclesiastical causes under the queen, was suspended and in disgrace, yet the sufferings of the Puritans were not lessened; the other bishops, who were in the high commission, doubled their diligence; the Rev. Mr. Nash was in the Marshalsea, Mr. Drewet in Newgate, and several others were shut up in the prisons in and about London. Those that were at liberty had nothing to do, for they might not preach in public without full conformity; nor assemble in private to mourn over their own and the nation's sins, without the danger of a prison.

This exasperated their spirits, and put them upon writing satirical pamphlets* against their adversaries; in some of which there are severe expressions against the unpreaching clergy, calling them (in the language of Scripture) dumb dogs, because they took no pains for the instruction of their parishioners; the authors glanced at the severity of the laws, at the pride and ambition of the bishops, at the illegal proceedings of the high commission, and at the unjustifiable rigours of the queen's government; which her

* Bishop Warburton censures Mr. Neal for not speaking in much severer terms of these pamphlets. But he should have adverted to our author's grave censure of them in chap. viii., and have recollected that "the writers on the Church-side came not behind their adversaries in buffoonery and ridicule." These were the weapons of the age.—Ed.

majesty being informed of, procured a statute this very Parliament* [1580], by which it is enacted, that "if any person or persons, forty days after the end of this season, shall devise, or write, or print, or set forth, any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing, containing any false, seditious, or slanderous matter to the defamation of the queen's majesty, or to the encouraging, stirring, or moving of any insurrection or rebellion within this realm, or any of the dominions to the same belonging; or if any person or persons shall procure such books, rhymes, or ballads to be written, printed, or published (the said offence not being within the compass of treason, by virtue of any former statute), that then the said offenders, upon sufficient proof by two witnesses, shall suffer death and loss of goods, as in case of felony." This statute was to continue in force only during the life of the present queen; but within that compass of time, sundry of the Puritans were put to death by virtue of it.

In the same session of Parliament, another severe law was made, which, like a two-edged sword, cut down both papists and Puritans; it was entitled An Act to retain the Queen's Subjects in their due Obedience:† "by which it is made treason for any priest or Jesuit to seduce any of the queen's subjects from the established to the Romish religion. If any shall reconcile themselves to that religion, they shall be guilty of treason; and to harbour such above twenty days, is misprision of treason. If any one shall say mass, he shall forfeit two hundred marks, and suffer a year's imprisonment; and they that are present at hearing mass shall forfeit one hundred marks, and a year's imprisonment." But that the act might be more extensive, and comprehend Protestant Nonconformists as well as papists, it is farther enacted "that all persons that do not come to church or chapel, or other place where common prayer is said, according to the Act of Uniformity, shall forfeit twenty pounds per month to the queen, being thereof lawfully convicted, and suffer imprisonment till paid. Those that are absent for twelve months shall, upon certificate made thereof into the King's Bench, besides their former fine, be bound with two sufficient sureties, in a bond of two hundred pounds, for their good behaviour. Every schoolmaster that does not come to common prayer shall forfeit ten pounds a month, be disabled from teaching school, and suffer a year's imprisonment." This was making merchandise of the souls of men, says a reverend author;‡ for it is a sad case to sell men a license to do that which the receivers of their money conceive to be unlawful. Besides, the fine was unmerciful; by the Act of Uniformity, it was twelve pence a Sunday for not coming to church, but now £20 a month; so that the meaner people had nothing to expect but to rot in jails, which made the officers unwilling to apprehend them. Thus the queen and her parliament tacked the Puritans to the papists, and subjected them to the same penal laws, as if they had been equal enemies to her person and government, and to the Protestant religion. A precedent followed by several parliaments in the succeeding reigns.

The convocation did nothing but present an

* 23 Eliz., cap. ii.

† 23 Eliz., cap. i.

‡ Fuller, b. ix., p. 131.

humble petition to the queen to take off the archbishop's sequestration, which her majesty was not pleased to grant.

This summer, Aylmer, bishop of London, held a visitation of his clergy, at the convocation house of St. Paul's, and obliged them to subscribe the following articles: 1. Exactly to keep to the Book of Common Prayer and sacraments. 2. To wear the surplice in all their ministrations. 3. Not add or diminish anything in reading Divine service. He then made the following inquiries: 1. Whether all that had cure of souls administered the sacraments in person? 2. Whether they observed the ceremonies to be used in baptism and marriage? 3. Whether the youth were catechised? 4. Whether their ministers read the homilies? 5. Whether any of them called others that did not preach by ill names, as dumb dogs? Those who did not subscribe, and answer the interrogatories to his lordship's satisfaction, were immediately suspended and silenced.

But these violent measures, instead of reconciling the Puritans to the Church, drove them farther from it. Men who act upon principles* will not easily be beaten from them with the artillery of canons, injunctions, subscriptions, fines, imprisonments, &c., much less will they esteem a church that fights with such weapons. Multitudes were by these methods carried off to a total separation, and so far prejudiced as not to allow the Church of England to be a true church, nor her ministers true ministers; they renounced all communion with her, not only in the prayers and ceremonies, but in hearing the Word and the sacraments. These were the people called Brownists,† from one Robert Brown, a preacher in the diocese of Norwich, descended of an ancient and honourable family in Rutlandshire, and nearly related to the Lord-treasurer Cecil; he was educated in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and preached sometimes in Benet Church, where the vehemence of his delivery gained him reputation with the people. He was first a schoolmaster, then a lecturer at Islington; but being a fiery, hotheaded young man, he went about the countries inveighing against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church, and exhorting the people by no means to comply with them. He was first taken notice of by the Bishop of Norwich, who committed him to the custody of the sheriff of the county in the year 1580, but, upon acknowledgment of his offence, he was released. In the year 1582, he published a book called "The Life and Manners of true Christians; to which is prefixed a Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any; and of the Wickedness of those Preachers who will not reform themselves and

their Charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them." For this he was sent for again into custody, and upon examination confessed himself the author, but denied that he was acquainted with the publication, of the book; whereupon he was dismissed a second time, at the intercession of the lord-treasurer, and sent home to his father, with whom he continued four years; after which he travelled up and down the countries in company with his assistant, Richard Harrison, preaching against bishops, ceremonies, ecclesiastical courts, ordaining of ministers, &c., for which, as he afterward boasted, he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noonday. At length he gathered a separate congregation of his own principles; but the queen and her bishops watching them narrowly, they were quickly forced to leave the kingdom. Several of his friends embarked with their effects for Holland; and having obtained leave of the magistrate to worship God in their own way, settled at Middleburgh, in Zealand. Here Mr. Brown formed a church according to his own model: but when this handful of people were delivered from the bishops their oppressors, they crumbled into parties among themselves, insomuch that Brown, being weary of his office, returned to England in the year 1589, and having renounced his principles of separation, became rector of a church in Northamptonshire: here he lived an idle and dissolute life, according to Fuller,* far from that Sabbatarian strictness that his followers aspired after. He had a wife, with whom he did not live for many years, and a church in which he never preached; at length, being poor and proud, and very passionate, he struck the constable of his parish for demanding a rate of him; and being beloved by nobody, the officer summoned him before Sir Roland St. John, a neighbouring justice of peace, who committed him to Northampton jail; the decrepit old man, not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a feather-bed in a cart, where he fell sick and died, in the year 1630, and in the eighty-first year of his age.

The revolt of Mr. Brown broke up his congregation at Middleburgh, but was far from destroying the seeds of separation that he had sown in several parts of England; his followers increased, and made a considerable figure towards the latter end of this reign; and because some of his principles were adopted and improved by a considerable body of Puritans in the next age, I shall here give an account of them.

The Brownists did not differ from the Church of England in any articles of faith, but were very rigid and narrow in points of discipline. They denied the Church of England to be a true church, and her ministers to be rightly ordained. They maintained the discipline of the Church of England to be popish and antichristian, and all her ordinances and sacraments invalid. Hence they forbade their people to join with them in prayer, in hearing, or in any part of public worship; nay, they not only renounced communion with the Church of England, but with all other Reformed churches, except such as should be of their own model.

* To do so is highly virtuous and praiseworthy. It is the support of integrity, and constitutes excellence of character: yet, in this instance, Bishop Warburton could allow himself to degrade and make a jest of it. "It is just the same," says he, "with men who act upon passion and prejudice, for the poet says truly,

"Obstacity's ne'er so stiff
As when 'tis in a wrong belief."—Ed.

† With them commenced the third period of Puritanism. The increasing severity of the bishops inflamed, instead of subduing, the spirits of the Non-conformists, and drove them to a greater distance from the establishment.—Ed.

They apprehended, according to Scripture, that every church ought to be confined within the limits of a single congregation, and that the government should be democratical. When a church was to be gathered, such as desired to be members made a confession of their faith in presence of each other, and signed a covenant obliging themselves to walk together in the order of the Gospel, according to certain rules and agreements therein contained.

The whole power of admitting and excluding members, with the deciding of all controversies, was in the brotherhood. Their church officers, for preaching the Word and taking care of the poor, were chosen from among themselves, and separated to their several offices by fasting and prayer and imposition of the hands of some of the brethren. They did not allow the priesthood to be a distinct order, or to give a man an indelible character; but, as the vote of the brotherhood made him an officer, and gave him authority to preach and administer the sacraments among them, so the same power could discharge him from office, and reduce him to the state of a private member.

When the number of communicants was larger than could meet in one place, the church divided, and chose new officers from among themselves as before, living together as sister churches, and giving each other the right hand of fellowship, or the privilege of communion with either. One church might not exercise jurisdiction and authority over another, but each might give the other counsel, advice, or admonition, if they walked disorderly, or abandoned the capital truths of religion; and if the offending church did not receive the admonition, the others were to withdraw, and publicly disown them as a Church of Christ. The powers of their church officers were confined within the narrow limits of their own society; the pastor of one church might not administer the sacrament of baptism or the Lord's Supper to any but those of his own communion and their immediate children. They declared against all prescribed forms of prayer. Any lay-brother had the liberty of prophesying, or giving a word of exhortation, in their church assemblies; and it was usual, after sermon, for some of the members to ask questions, and confer with each other upon the doctrines that had been delivered; but as for church censures, they were for an entire separation of the ecclesiastical and civil sword. In short, every church or society of Christians meeting in one place was, according to the Brownists, a body corporate, having full power within itself to admit and exclude members, to choose and ordain officers, and, when the good of the society required it, to depose them, without being accountable to classes, convocations, synods, councils, or any jurisdiction whatsoever.

Some of their reasons for withdrawing from the Church are not easily answered; they alleged that the laws of the realm and the queen's injunctions had made several unwarrantable additions to the institutions of Christ. That there were several gross errors in the Church service. That these additions and errors were imposed and made necessary to communion. That if persecution for conscience' sake was the mark of a false church, they could

not believe the Church of England to be a true one. They apprehend, farther, that the constitution of the hierarchy was too bad to be mended, that the very pillars of it were rotten, and that the structure must be begun anew. Since, therefore, all Christians are obliged to preserve the ordinances of Christ pure and undefiled, they resolved to lay a new foundation, and keep as near as they could to the primitive pattern, though it were with the hazard of all that was dear to them in the world.

This scheme of the Brownists seems to be formed upon the practice of the apostolical churches before the gifts of inspiration and prophecy were ceased, and is therefore hardly practicable in these latter ages, wherein the infirmities and passions of private persons too often take the place of their gifts and graces. Accordingly, they were involved in frequent quarrels and divisions; but their chief crime was their uncharitableness, in unchurching the whole Christian world, and breaking of all manner of communion in hearing the Word, in public prayer, and in the administration of the sacraments, not only with the Church of England, but with all foreign Reformed churches, which, though less pure, ought certainly to be owned as churches of Christ.

The heads of the Brownists were, Mr. Brown himself, and his companion Mr. Harrison, together with Mr. Tyler, Copping, Thacker, and others, who were now in prison for spreading his books; the last two being afterward put to death for it. The Bishop of Norwich used them cruelly, and was highly displeased with those that showed them any countenance. When the prisoner above mentioned, with Mr. Handson and some others, complained to the justices, at their quarter-sessions, of their long and illegal imprisonment, their worships were pleased to move the bishops in their favour, with which his lordship was so dissatisfied that he drew up twelve articles of impeachment against the justices themselves, and caused them to be summoned before the queen and council to answer for their misdemeanors.* In the articles they are charged with countenancing Copping, Tyler, and other disorderly clergymen. They are accused of contempt of his lordship's jurisdiction, in refusing to admit divers ministers whom he had ordained, because they were ignorant, and could only read; and for removing one Wood from his living on the same account. Sir Robert Jermin and Sir John Higham, knights, and Robert Ashfield and Thomas Badley, esquires, gentlemen of Suffolk and Norfolk, and of the number of the aforesaid justices, gave in their answer to the bishop's articles in the name of the rest, in which, after asserting their own conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the Church, they very justly tax his lordship with cruelty in keeping men so many years in prison without bringing them to trial, according to law; and are ashamed that a bishop of the Church of England should be a patron of ignorance and an enemy to the preaching the Word of God. Upon this the justices were dismissed. But though the lord-treasurer, Lord North, Sir Robert Jermin, and others, wrote to the bishop that Mr. Handson, who

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii., p. 20.

was a learned and useful preacher, might have a license granted him, the angry prelate declared peremptorily that he never should have one, unless he would acknowledge his fault, and enter into bonds for his good behaviour for the future.

While the bishops were driving the Puritans out of the pulpits, the nobility and gentry received them into their houses as chaplains and tutors to their children, not merely out of compassion, but from a sense of their real worth and usefulness; for they were men of undissembled piety and devotion; mighty in the Scriptures; zealous for the Protestant religion; of exemplary lives; far remote from the liberties and fashionable vices of the times; and indefatigably diligent in instructing those committed to their care. Here they were covered from their oppressors; they preached in the family, and catechised the children; which, without all question, had a considerable influence upon the next generation.

The papists were now very active all over the country: swarms of Jesuits came over from the seminaries abroad, in defiance of the law,* and spread their books of devotion and controversy among the common people; they had their private conventicles almost in every market-town in England; in the northern counties they were more numerous than the Protestants. This put the government upon inquiring after the priests; many of whom were apprehended, and three were executed, viz., Edmund Champion, a learned and subtle Jesuit, educated in Cambridge, where he continued till the year 1569, when he travelled to Rome and entered himself into the society of Jesus, 1573. Some years after he came into England, and travelled the countries to propagate the Catholic faith. Being apprehended, he was put on the rack to discover the gentlemen who harboured him, and afterward was hanged, drawn, and quartered, when he was but forty-one years of age. The other two that suffered with him were Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Bryant. These were executed for an example, but the rest were spared, because the queen's match with the Duke of Anjou was still depending. However, the Protestants in the Netherlands being in distress, the queen assisted them with men and money, for which they delivered into her majesty's hands the most important fortresses of their country, which she garrisoned with English. She also sent relief to the French Protestants who were at war with their natural prince, and ordered a collection all over England for the relief of the city of Geneva, besieged by the Duke of Savoy: measures which were hardly consistent with her own principles of government; but, as Rapin observes,† Queen Elizabeth's zeal for the Prot-

estant religion was always subordinate to her private interest.

About this time [1582] the queen granted a commission of concealments to some of her hungry courtiers, by which they were empowered to inquire into the titles of Church lands and livings; all forfeitures, concealments, or lands for which the parish could not produce a legal title, were given to them: the articles of inquiry seemed to be levelled against the Puritans, but, through their sides, they must have made sad havoc with the patrimony of the Church.* They were such as these: What right have you to your parsonage? How came you into it? Who ordained you? and at what age were you ordained? Have you a license? Were you married under the hands of two justices of the peace? Do you read the whole service? Do you use all the rites, ceremonies, and ornaments appointed by the queen's injunctions? Have you publicly read the articles, and subscribed them? The church-wardens of every parish had also twenty-four interrogatories administered to them upon oath concerning their parson and their church lands; all with a design to sequester them into the hands of the queen's gentlemen-pensioners. This awakened the bishops, who fell upon their knees before the queen, and entreated her majesty, if she had any regard for the Church, to supersede the commission; which she did, though, it is well enough known, the queen had no scruple of conscience about plundering the Church of its revenues.

To return to the Puritans. The Rev. Robert Wright, domestic chaplain to the late Lord Rich, of Rochford, in Essex, fell into the hands of the Bishop of London last year [1581]; he was a learned man, and had lived fourteen years in the University of Cambridge; but being dissatisfied with episcopal ordination, went over to Antwerp, and was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery of that place. Upon his return home, Lord Rich took him into his family at Rochford, in the hundreds of Essex, where he preached constantly in his lordship's chapel, and nowhere else, because he could obtain no license from the bishop. He was an admired preacher, and universally beloved by the clergy of the county for his great seriousness and piety. While his lordship was alive he protected him from danger, but his noble patron was no sooner dead than the Bishop of London laid hands on him, and confined him in the Gatehouse, for saying that to keep the queen's birthday as a holyday was to make her an idol. When the good man had been shut up from his family and friends several months, he petitioned the bishop to be brought to his trial, or admitted to bail. But all the answer his lordship returned was, that "he deserved to lie in prison seven years." This usage, together with Mr. Wright's open and undisguised honesty and piety, moved the compassion of his keeper, inasmuch that, his poor wife being in childbed and distress, he gave him leave, with the private allowance of the secretary of state, to make her a visit at Rochford upon his parole; but it happened that Dr. Ford, the civilian, meeting him upon the road, acquainted the bishop with his escape,

* Bishop Warburton asks here, "Were the Jesuits more faulty in acting in defiance of the laws than the Puritans?" and replies, "I think not. They had both the same plea, conscience, and both the same provocation, persecution." This is candid and pertinent, as far as it applies to the religious principles of each: but certainly the spirit and views of these parties were very different; the former was engaged, once and again, in plots against the life and government of the queen; the loyalty of the other was, notwithstanding all their sufferings, unimpeached.—Ed.

† Vol. viii., p. 475.

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii., p. 114.

† Id. *ibid.*, p. 123.

who thereupon fell into a violent passion, and sending immediately for the keeper, demanded to see his prisoner. The keeper pleaded the great compassion of the case; but the bishop threatened to complain of him to the queen, and have him turned out. Mr. Wright being informed of the keeper's danger, returned immediately to his prison, and wrote to the lord-treasurer on his behalf. "Oh! my lord," says he, "I most humbly crave your lordship's favour, that I may be delivered from such unpitiful minds; and especially that your lordship will stand a good lord to my keeper, that he may not be discouraged from favouring those that profess true religion." Upon this the keeper was pardoned.

But the bishop resolved to take full satisfaction of the prisoner: accordingly, he sent for him before the commissioners, and examined him upon articles concerning the Book of Common Prayer; concerning rites and ceremonies; concerning prayer for the queen and the Church; and concerning the established form of ordaining ministers. He was charged with preaching without a license, and with being no better than a mere layman. To which he made the following answers: "That he thought the Book of Common Prayer, in the main, good and godly, but could not answer for every particular. That as to rites and ceremonies, he thought his resorting to churches where they were used was a sufficient proof that he allowed them. That he prayed for the queen, and for all ministers of God's Word, and, consequently, for archbishops and bishops, &c. That he was but a private chaplain, and knew no law that required a license for such a place." But he could not yield himself to be a mere layman, having preached seven years in the university with license; and since that time having been regularly ordained, by the laying on of the hands of the presbyters at Antwerp. The bishop having charged him with saying that the election of ministers ought to be by their flocks, he owned it, and supposed it not to be an error; and added, farther, that in his opinion every minister was a bishop, though not a lord-bishop; and that his lordship of London must be of the same opinion, because, when he rebuked Mr. White for striking one of his parishioners, he alleged that text that a "bishop must be no striker:" which had been impertinent, if Mr. White, being only a minister, had not been a bishop. When his lordship charged him with saying there were no lawful ministers in the Church of England, he replied,* "I will be content to be condemned, if I bring not two hundred witnesses for my discharge of this accusation. I do as certainly believe that there are lawful ministers in England as that there is a sun in the sky. In Essex, I can bring twenty godly ministers, all preachers, who will testify that they love me, and have cause to think that I love and reverence them. I preached seven years in the University of Cambridge with approbation, and have a testimonial to produce under the hands and seals of the master and fellows of Christ College, being all ministers at that time, of my good behaviour." However, all he could say was to no purpose: the bishop would not allow his orders, and therefore pro-

nounced him a layman, and incapable of holding any living in the Church.

The Lord Rich, and divers honourable knights and gentlemen in Essex, had petitioned the Bishop of London for a license, that Mr. Wright might preach publicly in any place within his diocese; but his lordship always refused it, because he was no minister, that is, had only been ordained among the foreign churches. But this was certainly contrary to law; for the statute 13 Eliz., cap. xii., admits the ministration of those who had only been ordained according to the manner of the Scots, or other foreign churches; there were some scores, if not hundreds of them, now in the Church; and the Archbishop of Canterbury at this very time commanded Dr. Aubrey, his vicar-general, to license Mr. John Morrison, a Scots divine, who had had no other ordination than what he received from a Scots presbytery, to preach over his whole province. The words of the license are as follows: "Since you, the aforesaid John Morrison, about five years past, in the town of Garret, in the county of Lothian, of the kingdom of Scotland, were admitted and ordained to sacred orders and the holy ministry, by the imposition of hands, according to the laudable form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland; and since the congregation of that county of Lothian is conformable to the orthodox faith, and sincere religion now received in this realm of England, and established by public authority: we, therefore, as much as lies in us, and as by right we may, approving and ratifying the form of your ordination and preferment done in such manner aforesaid, grant unto you a license and faculty, with the consent and express command of the most reverend father in Christ, the Lord Edmund, by the Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, to us signified, that in such orders by you taken, you may and have power in any convenient places in and throughout the whole province of Canterbury, to celebrate Divine offices, to minister the sacraments, &c., as much as in us lies; and we may *de jure*, and as far as the laws of the kingdom do allow." This license was dated April 6, 1582, and is as full a testimonial to the validity of presbyterial ordination as can be desired. But the other notion was growing into fashion; all orders of men are for assuming some peculiar characters and powers to themselves; the bishop will be a distinct and superior order to presbyters; and no man must be a minister of Christ but on whom they lay their hands.*

The behaviour of the Bishop of London towards the Puritans moved the compassion of some of the conforming clergy; the Rev. Mr. Wilkin, rector of Danbury, in Essex, in a letter to the lord-treasurer, writes thus: "As some might be thought over-earnest about trifles, so,

* Here Bishop Warburton remarks, "The Puritans were even with them; and to the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, opposed the *jus divinum* of presbytery, which was the making each other antichristian." His lordship goes into this conclusion too hastily, and applies it without, nay, against authority, to the Puritans: they never required such as had been episcopally ordained to be reordained; but, in the height of their power, declared, "We hold ordination by a bishop to be for substance valid, and not to be disclaimed by any that have received it."—See our author, vol. iii.—Ed.

on the other hand, there had been too severe and sharp punishment for the same. Though I myself think reverently of the Book of Common Prayer, yet surely it is a reverence due only to the sacred writings of Holy Scripture to say the authors of them erred in nothing, and to none other books of men, of what learning soever. I have seen the letters of the bishops to Bullinger and Gualter, when I was at Zurich in the year 1567, in which they declare that they had no hand in passing the book, and had no other choice but to leave their places to papists or accept them as they were; but they professed and promised never to urge their brethren to those things; and also, when opportunity should serve, to seek reformation." How different was the practice of these prelates from their former professions!

But not only the clergy, but the whole country also, exclaimed against the bishops for their high proceedings; the justices of peace of the county of Suffolk were so moved, that, notwithstanding his lordship's late citation of them before the council, they wrote again to their honours, praying them to interpose in behalf of the injuries that were offered to divers godly ministers. The words of their supplication are worth remembering, because they discover the cruelty of the commissioners, who made no distinction between the vilest of criminals and conscientious ministers: "The painful ministers of the Word," say they, "are marshalled with the malefactors, presented, indicted, arraigned, and condemned for matters, as we presume, of very slender moment: some for leaving the holidays unbidden; some for singing the psalm *Nunc Dimittis* in the morning; some for turning the questions in baptism concerning faith from the infants to the godfathers, which is but *you for thou*; some for leaving out the cross in baptism; some for leaving out the ring in marriage. A most pitiful thing it is to see the back of the law turned to the adversary [the papists], and the edge with all sharpness laid upon the sound and true-hearted subject.*

"We grant order to be the rule of the Spirit of God, and desire uniformity in all the duties of the Church, according to the proportion of faith; but if these weak ceremonies are so indifferent as to be left to the discretion of ministers, we think it (under correction) very hard to have them go under so hard handling, to the utter discredit of their whole ministry and the profession of truth."

"We serve her majesty and the country [as magistrates and justices of the peace] according to law; we reverence the law and lawmaker; when the law speaks, we keep silence; when it commandeth, we obey. By law we proceed against all offenders; we touch none that the law spareth, and spare none that the law toucheth; we allow not of papists; of the Family of Love; of Anabaptists, or Brownists. No, we punish all these.†

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii., p. 183, 184.

† Bishop Maddox observes the expressions in Strype are stronger. "We allow not of the papists, their subtleties and hypocrisies; we allow not of the Family of Love, an egg of the same nest; we allow not of the Anabaptists and their communion: we allow not of Brown, the overthrower of Church and commonwealth: we abhor all these; no, (we) pun-

"And yet we are christened with the odious name of Puritans; a term compounded of the heresies above mentioned, which we disclaim. The papists pretend to be pure and immaculate; the Family of Love cannot sin, they being deified (as they say) in God. But we groan under the burden of our sins, and confess them to God, and, at the same time, we labour to keep ourselves and our profession unblameable; this is our Puritanism; a name given to such magistrates, and ministers, and others, that have a strict eye upon their juggling.

"We think ourselves bound in duty to unfold these matters to your lordships; and if you shall please to call us to the truth of them, it is the thing we most desire."

This supplication produced a letter from the council to the judges of the assize, commanding them not to give ear to malicious informers against peaceful and faithful ministers, nor to match them at the bar with rogues, felons, or papists, but to put a difference in the face of the world between those of another faith and they who differ only about ceremonies, and yet diligently and soundly preach true religion. The judges were struck with this letter, and the Bishop of London, with his attendants, returned from his visitation full of discontent. Indeed, his lordship had made himself so many enemies that he grew weary of his bishopric, and petitioned the queen to exchange it for that of Ely; that he might retire and be out of the way; but her majesty refused his request.

Notwithstanding these slight appearances in favour of the Puritans two ministers of the Brownist persuasion were condemned and put to death this summer for nonconformity, viz., Mr. Elias Thacker, hanged at St. Edmundsbury, June 4th, and Mr. John Copping two days after, June 6th, 1583. Their indictments were for spreading certain books seditiously penned by Robert Brown against the Book of Common Prayer established by the laws of this realm. The sedition charged upon Brown's book was, that it subverted the constitution of the Church, and acknowledged her majesty's supremacy civilly, but not otherwise, as appears by the report which the judges sent to court, viz., "That the prisoners, instead of acknowledging her majesty's supremacy in all causes, would allow it only in civil.* This the judges took hold of to aggravate their offence to the queen, after they had passed sentence upon them on the late statute of the 23d Eliz. against spreading seditious libels, and for refusing the oath of supremacy. Mr. Copping had suffered a long and illegal imprisonment from the bishop of his diocese; his wife being brought to bed while he was under confinement, he was charged with not suffering his child to be baptized; to which he answered, that his conscience could not admit it to be done with godfathers and godmothers, and he could get no preacher to do it without. He was accused, farther, with saying the queen was perjured, because she had sworn to set forth God's glory directly as by the Scriptures are appointed, and did not; but these were only circumstances to support the grand

ish all these." This, we must own with his lordship, was not the language of real and consistent friends to liberty of conscience.—Ed.

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii., p. 186.

charge of sedition in spreading Brown's book. However, it seemed a little hard* to hang men for spreading a seditious book, at a time when the author of that very book [Brown] was pardoned and set at liberty. Both the prisoners died by their principles; for though Dr. Still, the archbishop's chaplain, and others, travelled and conferred with them, yet at the very hour of their death they remained immovable; they were both sound in the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, and of unblemished lives.† One Wilsford, a layman, should have suffered with them, but upon conference with Secretary Wilson, who told him the queen's supremacy might be understood only of her majesty's civil power over ecclesiastical persons, he took the oath and was discharged.

While the bishops were thus harassing honest and conscientious ministers for scrupling the ceremonies of the Church, practical religion was at a very low ebb; the fashionable vices of the times were, profane swearing, drunkenness, revelling, gaming, and profanation of the Lord's Day; yet there was no discipline for these offenders, nor do I find any such cited into the spiritual courts, or shut up in prisons. If men came to their parish churches, and approved of the habits and ceremonies, other offences were overlooked, and the court was easy. At Paris Gardens, in Southwark, there were public sports on the Lord's Day for the entertainment of great numbers of people who resorted thither; but on the 13th of January, being Sunday, it happened that one of the scaffolds, being crowded with people, fell down, by which accident some were killed and a great many wounded. This was thought to be a judgment from heaven; for the lord-mayor, in the account he gives of it to the treasurer, says "that it gives great occasion to acknowledge the hand of God for such abuse of the Sabbath day, and moveth me in conscience to give order for redress of such contempt of God's service; adding, that for this purpose he had treated with some justices of peace in Surrey, who expressed a very good zeal, but alleged want of commission, which he referred to the consideration of his lordship."‡ But the court paid no regard to such remonstrances, and the queen had her ends in encouraging the sports, pastimes, and revellings of the people on Sundays and holydays.

This year died the famous northern apostle, Mr. Bernard Gilpin, minister of Houghton, in the bishopric of Durham. He was born at Kentmere, in Westmoreland, 1517, of an ancient and honourable family, and was entered into Queen's College, Oxford, in the year 1533.

* Bishop Warburton imputes it to party and prejudice in Mr. Neal that he doth not point out the difference in this case, which his lordship states to be the same as between "the dispensers of poison hanged for going on obstinately in mischief, and of him who compounded the poison, but was, on his repentance, pardoned." But no such distinction existed, and his lordship lost sight of the real state of the case. Brown did not renounce his principles till seven years after he was committed to prison for publishing his book, and was dismissed, not on his repentance, but at the intercession of the lord-treasurer. So far from repenting, he went up and down inveighing against bishops, &c., and gathered a separate congregation on his own principles.—See our author, p. 268.—Ed.

† Strype's Ann., vol. ii., p. 532, 533.

‡ Id. ibid.

He continued a papist all the reign of King Henry VIII., but was converted by the lectures of Peter Martyr, in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI.* He was remarkably honest and open to conviction, but did not separate from the Romish communion till he was persuaded the pope was antichrist. Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of Durham, was his uncle by the mother's side, by whose encouragement he travelled to Paris, Louvaine, and other parts, being still for the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, though not for transubstantiation. Returning home in the days of Queen Mary, his uncle placed him first in the rectory of Essington, and afterward at Houghton, a large parish containing fourteen villages; here he laboured in the work of the ministry, and was often exposed to danger, but constantly preserved by his uncle, Bishop Tonsal, who was averse to burning men for religion. Miserable and heathenish was the condition of these northern counties at this time with respect to religion! Mr. Gilpin beheld it with tears of compassion, and resolved, at his own expense, to visit the desolate churches of Northumberland and the parts adjoining, called Riddesdale and Tindale, once every year, to preach the Gospel and distribute to the necessities of the poor, which he continued till his death; this gained him the veneration of all ranks of people in those parts; but though he had such a powerful screen as Bishop Tonsal, yet the fame of his doctrine, which was Lutheran, reaching the ears of Bonner, he sent for him to London; the reverend man ordered his servant to prepare him a long shirt, expecting to be burned, but before he came to London Queen Mary died. Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Gilpin, having a fair estate of his own, erected a grammar-school, and allowed maintenance for a master and usher; himself choosing out of the school such as he liked best for his own private instruction. Many learned men, who afterward adorned the Church by their labours and uprightness of life, were educated by him in his domestic academy. Many gentlemen's sons resorted to him, some of whom were boarded in the town, and others in his own house; besides, he took many poor men's sons under his care, giving them meat, drink, clothes, and education.

In the year 1560 he was offered the bishopric of Carlisle, and was urged to accept it by the Earl of Bedford, Bishop Sandys, and others, with the most powerful motives; but he desired to be excused, and in that resolution remained immovable; his reasons were taken from the largeness of the diocesses, which were too great for the inspection of one person; for he was so strongly possessed of the duty of bishops, and of the charge of souls that was committed to them, that he could never be persuaded to keep two livings, over both of which

* In 1552 Gilpin was appointed to preach before King Edward, at Greenwich, and in his discourse he censured the avarice of the clergy and the corruptions of the Church with great freedom. His address to the king, the clergy, and magistrates, is one of the boldest and most honest remonstrances in behalf of truth to be found in the annals of the English hierarchy. This sermon, the only one he ever published, is to be found in Carleton and Gilpin's "Life of Bernard Gilpin."—C.

he could not have a personal inspection, and perform all the offices of a pastor; he added, farther, that he had so many friends and relatives in those parts to gratify or connive at, that he could not continue an honest man and be their bishop. But though Mr. Gilpin would not be a bishop, he supplied the place of one, by preaching, by hospitality, by erecting schools, by taking care of the poor, and providing for destitute churches; in all which he was countenanced and encouraged by the learned and reverend James Pilkington, then bishop of Durham, by whom he was excused from subscriptions, habits, and a strict observance of ceremonies, it being his fixed opinion that no human invention should take place in the Church, instead of a Divine institution. After Bishop Pilkington's death, Dr. Barnes was chosen his successor, who was disgusted at Mr. Gilpin's popularity, and gave him trouble: once, when he was setting out upon his annual visitation to Riddesdale and Tindale, the bishop summoned him to preach before him, which he excused in the handsomest manner he could, and went his progress; but upon his return he found himself suspended, for contempt, from all ecclesiastical employments. The bishop afterward sent for him again on a sudden, and commanded him to preach, but then he pleaded his suspension, and his not being provided; the bishop immediately took off his suspension, and would not excuse his preaching, upon which he went into the pulpit, and discoursed upon the high charge of a Christian bishop; and having exposed the corruptions of the clergy, he boldly addressed himself to his lordship in these words: "Let not your lordship say, These crimes have been committed without my knowledge, for whatsoever you yourself do in person, or suffer through your connivance to be done by others, it is wholly your own; therefore, in the presence of God, angels, and men, I pronounce your fatherhood to be the author of all these evils; and I and this whole congregation will be a witness in the day of judgment, that these things have come to your ears." All men thought the bishop would have deprived Mr. Gilpin for his freedom as soon as he came out of the pulpit, but, by the good providence of God, it had quite a different effect; the bishop thanked him for his faithful reproof, and after this suffered him to go on with his annual progress, giving him no farther disturbance. At length, his lean body being quite worn out with labour and travail, and feeling the approaches of death, he commanded the poor to be called together, and took a solemn leave of them; afterward he did the like by his relatives and friends; then giving himself up to God, he took his bed about the end of February, and died March 4, 1583, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. He was a heavenly man, endued with a large and generous soul, of a tall stature of body, with a Roman nose; his clothes were neat and plain, for he was frugal in his own dress, though very bountiful to others. His doors were always open for the entertainment of strangers. He boarded in his own house twenty-four scholars, most of whom were upon charity. He kept a table for the poor every Lord's Day, from Michaelmas to Easter, and expended £500 for a free school for their children. Upon the whole, he was a

pious, devout, and open-hearted divine; a conscientious Nonconformist, but against separation. He was accounted a saint by his very enemies, if he had any such, being full of faith and good works; and was at last put into his grave as a shock of corn fully ripe.*

The same year died Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, born at Cupland, in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1519, and educated in Cambridge. He was a famous preacher in King Edward's days, and was nominated by him to a bishopric when he was only thirty-three years of age; but that king dying soon after, he went into exile, and imbibed the principles of a farther reformation than had as yet obtained in England. Upon Queen Elizabeth's accession he returned to England, and was advanced, first to the See of London, and then to York and Canterbury, though he could hardly persuade himself for some time to wear the habits and comply with the ceremonies of the Church; nor did he ever heartily approve them, yet thought it better to support the Reformation on that foot than hazard it back into the hands of the papists.† He was of a mild and moderate temper, easy of access, and affable even in his highest exaltation. He is blamed by some for his gentle usage of the Puritans, though he used them worse than he would have done if he had been left to himself. About a year or two after his promotion to the See of Canterbury, he lost the queen's favour on the account of the prophesyings, and was suspended for some years, during which time many Puritan ministers took shelter in the counties of Kent and Surrey, &c., which made more work for his successor. The good old archbishop being blind and broken-hearted, the queen took off his sequestration about a year before his death, and sent to acquaint him that if he would resign he should have her favour and an honourable pension, which he promised to accept within six months; but Whitgift, who was designed for his successor, refusing to enter upon the see while Grindal lived, he made a shift to hold it till his death, which happened July 6th, 1583, in the sixty-third year of his age. Camden calls him a religious and grave divine. Hollingshead says he was so studious that his book was his bride, and his study his bridechamber, in which he spent his eyesight, his strength, and his health. He was certainly a learned and venerable prelate, and had a high esteem for the name and doctrines of Calvin, with whom, and with the German divines, he held a constant correspondence. His high stations did not make him proud; but if we may believe his successor in the See of York, Archbishop Sandys, he must be tainted with avarice (as most of the queen's bishops were), because, within two months after he was translated to Canterbury, he gave to his kinsmen and servants, and sold for round sums of money to himself, six score leases and patents, even then when they were thought not to be good in law.‡ But, upon the whole, he was one of the best of Queen Elizabeth's bish-

* "The worth and labours of this excellent man," it was observed in the New Annual Register for 1789, "have been amply displayed in the present century, by the elegant pen of one of his own name and family."—Ed. † Grindal's Life, p. 295.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ult., Suppl., p. 21.

ops. He lies buried in the chancel of the Church at Croydon, where his effigy is to be seen at length in his doctor's robes, and in a praying posture.*

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL TO THE SPANISH INVASION IN 1588.

UPON the death of Grindal, Dr. John Whitgift, bishop of Worcester, was translated to the See of Canterbury, and confirmed September 23d, 1583. He had distinguished himself in the controversy against the Puritans,† and was therefore thought the most proper person to reduce their numbers. Upon his advancement, the queen charged him "to restore the discipline of the Church, and the uniformity established by law, which (says her majesty), through the connivance of some prelates, the obstinacy of the Puritans, and the power of some noblemen, is run out of square." Accordingly, the very first week his grace published the following articles, and sent them to the bishops of his province, for their direction in the government of their several diocesses:

"That all preaching, catechising, and praying, in any private family, where any are present besides the family, be utterly extinguished. ‡ That none do preach or catechise, except also he will read the whole service, and administer the sacraments four times a year. That all preachers, and others in ecclesiastical orders, do at all times wear the habits prescribed. That none be admitted to preach unless he be ordained according to the manner of the Church of England. That none be admitted to preach, or execute any part of the ecclesiastical function, unless he subscribe the three following articles: 1st, To the queen's supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical and civil within her majesty's dominions. 2dly, To the Book of Common Prayer, and of the ordination of priests and deacons, as containing nothing contrary to the Word of God; and that they will use it in all their public ministrations, and no other. 3dly, To the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, agreed upon in the synod of 1562, and afterward confirm-

* This prelate is the Algrind of Spencer, which is the anagram of his name. The French Protestants were very much indebted to his influence and activity in obtaining for them a settlement in England, in their own method of worship. This was the beginning of the Walloon Church, situated in Threadneedle-street, London, which has ever since been appropriated to the use of the French nation.—*British Biography*, vol. iii., p. 161. *Granger's Biographical History*, vol. ii., p. 204, note, 8vo.—Ed.

† "It is seldom good policy," says Mr. Hallam, when referring to Whitgift's elevation, "to confer such eminent stations in the Church on the gladiators of theological controversy; who, from vanity and resentment, as well as the course of their studies, will always be prone to exaggerate the importance of the disputes wherein they have been engaged, and to turn whatever authority the laws or the influence of their place may give them against their adversaries. This was fully illustrated by the conduct of Archbishop Whitgift, whose elevation the wisest of Elizabeth's counsellors had ample reason to regret."—*Hallam's Constitutional Hist.*, vol. i., p. 269.—C.

‡ Life of Whitgift, p. 118.

ed by Parliament."* And with what severity his grace enforced these articles will be seen presently.

It is easy to observe that they were all levelled at the Puritans; but the most disinterested civil lawyers of these times were of opinion that his grace had no legal authority to impose those, or any other articles, upon the clergy, without the broad seal; and that all his proceedings upon them were an abuse of the royal prerogative, contrary to the laws of the land, and, consequently, so many acts of oppression upon the subject. Their reasons were,

1. Because the statute of the twenty-fifth Henry VIII., chap. 20, expressly prohibits "the whole body of the clergy, or any one of them, to put in use any constitutions or canons already made, or hereafter to be made, except they be made in convocation assembled by the king's writ, his royal assent being also had thereunto, on pain of fine and imprisonment."

2. Because, by the statute of the 1st of Eliz., chap. iii., "all such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, pre-eminences, spiritual or ecclesiastical power and authority, which hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be, executed or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for reformation of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, and enormities, are forever united to the imperial crown of these realms." Whence it follows that all power is taken from the bishops except that of governing their diocesses according to the laws of the land, or according to any farther injunctions they may receive from the crown under the broad seal.

3. Because some of the archbishop's articles were directly contrary to the statute laws of the realm, which the queen herself has not power to alter or dispense with. By the 13th Eliz., chap. xii., the subscription of the clergy is limited to those articles of the Church which relate to the doctrines of faith and administration of the sacraments only; whereas the bishop enjoined them to subscribe the whole thirty-nine. And, by the preamble of the same statute, all ordinations in the times of popery, or after the manner of foreign Reformed Churches, are admitted to be valid, so that such may enjoy any ecclesiastical preferment in the Church; but the archbishop says [art. 4th] "that none shall be admitted to preach unless he be ordained according to the manner of the Church of England." Upon these accounts, if the queen had fallen out with him, he might have incurred the guilt of a præmunire.

To these arguments it was replied by his grace's lawyers,

1. That, by the canon law, the archbishop has power to make laws for the well-governement of the Church, so far as they do not encounter the peace of the Church and quietness of the realm. To which it was answered, this might be true in times of popery, but the case was very much altered since the Reformation, because now the archbishops' and bishops' authority is derived from the person of the queen only; for the late Queen Mary having surrendered back all ecclesiastical jurisdiction into the hands of the pope, the present queen, upon her accession, had no jurisdiction resident in

her person till the statute of recognisance, 1st of Eliz., by which the archbishops and bishops of this realm, being exempted from the jurisdiction of the pope, are made subject to the queen, to govern her people in ecclesiastical causes, as her other subjects govern the same (according to their places) in civil causes;* so that the clergy are no more to be called the archbishops' or bishops' children, but the queen's liege people, and are to be governed by them according to the laws, which laws are such canons, constitutions, and synodals provincial, as were in force before the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII., and are not contrary nor repugnant to the laws and customs of the realm, nor derogatory to her majesty's prerogative royal; and, therefore, all canons made before the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII., giving to the archbishops or bishops an unlimited power over the clergy, as derived from the See of Rome, are utterly void, such canons being directly against the laws and customs of the realm, which do not admit of any subject executing a law but by authority from the prince; and they are derogatory to her majesty's prerogative royal, because hereby some of her subjects might claim an unlimited power over her other subjects, independent of the crown, and, by their private authority, command or forbid what they please. Since, then, the archbishop's articles were framed by his own private authority, they cannot be justified by any of the canons now in force. And as for the peace of the Church and quiet of the realm, they were so far from promoting them, that they were like to throw both into confusion.

2. It was said that the queen, as head of the Church, had power to publish articles and injunctions for reducing the clergy to uniformity, and that the archbishop had the queen's license and consent for what he did. But the queen herself had no authority to publish articles and injunctions in opposition to the laws; and as for her majesty's permission and consent, it could be no warrant to the archbishop except it had been under the great seal. And if the archbishop had no legal authority to command, the clergy were not obliged to obey; the oath of canonical obedience does not bind in this case, because it is limited to *licitis et honestis*, things lawful and honest; whereas the present articles being against law, they were enforced by no legal authority, and were such as the ministers could not honestly consent to.

Notwithstanding these objections, the archbishop, in his primary metropolitical visitation, insisted, peremptorily, that all who enjoyed any office or benefice in the Church should subscribe the three articles above mentioned; the second of which he knew the Puritans would refuse: accordingly, there were suspended for not subscribing—

In the county of Norfolk,	64	ministers.
“ “ Suffolk,	60	“
“ “ Sussex, about	30	“
“ “ Essex,	38	“
“ “ Kent,	19 or 20	“
“ “ Lincolnshire,	21	“

In all, 233

* MS., p. 661.

All whose names are now before me; besides great numbers in the diocess of Peterborough, in the city of London, and proportionable in other counties; some of whom were dignitaries in the Church, and most of them graduates in the university; of these some were allowed time, but forty-nine were absolutely deprived at once.*

Among the suspended ministers his grace showed some particular favour to those of Sussex, at the intercession of some great persons; for after a long dispute and many arguments before himself at Lambeth, he accepted of the subscription of six or seven, with their own explication of the rubrics, and with declaration that their subscription was not to be understood in any other sense than as far as the books were agreeable to the Word of God, and to the substance of religion established in the Church of England, and to the analogy of faith; and that it did not extend to anything not expressed in the said books.† Of all which the archbishop allowed them an authentic copy in writing, dated December 6th, 1583, and ordered his chancellor to send letters to Chichester that the rest of the suspended ministers in that county might be indulged the same favour.

Many good and pious men strained their consciences on this occasion; some subscribed the articles with this protestation in open court, “as far as they are agreeable to the Word of God;” and others *dempto secundo*, that is, taking away the second. Many, upon better consideration, repented their subscribing in this manner, and would have raised out their names, but it was not permitted. Some, who were allured to subscribe with the promises of favour and better preferment, were neglected and forgotten, and troubled in the commissaries' court as much as before.‡ The court took no notice of their protestations or reserves; they wanted nothing but their hands, and when they had got them, they were all listed under the same colours, and published to the world as absolute subscribers.

The body of the inferior clergy wished and prayed for some amendments in the service-book, to make their brethren easy. “I am sure,” says a learned divine of these times, “that this good would come of it. (1.) It would please Almighty God. (2.) The learned ministers would be more firmly united against the papists. (3.) The good ministers and good subjects, whereof many are now at Weeping-cross, would be cheered; and many able students encouraged to take upon them the ministry. And (4.) Hereby the papists, and more careless sort of professors, would be more easily won to religion. If any object that excellent men were publishers of the Book of Prayer, and that it would be some disgrace to the Church to alter it, I answer, 1st, That though worthy men are to be accounted of, yet their oversights in matters of religion are not to be honoured by subscriptions. 2dly, The reformation of the service-book can be no disgrace to us nor them, for men's second thoughts are wiser than their first; and the papists, in the late times of Pius V., reformed our Lady's Psalter. To conclude, if amendments to the book

* MS., p. 436.

† MS., p. 323, 405. Life of Whitgift, p. 129.

‡ Fenner's Answer to Dr. Bridges, p. 119, 120.

be inconvenient, it must be either in regard of Protestants or papists; it cannot be in regard of Protestants, for very great numbers of them pray heartily to God for it. And if it be in regard of the papists, we are not to mind them; for they, whose captains say that we have neither church, nor sacraments, nor ministers, nor queen in England, are not greatly to be regarded of us.*

But Whitgift was to be influenced by no such arguments; he was against all alterations in the Liturgy, for this general reason, lest the Church should be thought to have maintained an error: which is surprising to come from the mouth of a Protestant bishop, who had so lately separated from the infallible Church of Rome. His grace's arguments for subscription to his articles are no less remarkable. 1st, If you do not subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer, you do in effect say, there is no true service of God, nor administration of sacraments, in the land. 2dly, If you do not subscribe the Book of Ordination of Priests, &c., then our calling must be unlawful, and we have no true ministry nor church in England. 3dly, If you do not subscribe the Book of the Thirty-nine Articles, you deny true doctrine to be established among us, which is the main note of a true church.† Could an honest man, and a great scholar, be in earnest with this reasoning? Might not the Puritans dislike some things in the service-book, without invalidating the whole? Did not his grace know that they offered to subscribe to the use of the service-book, as far as they could apprehend it consonant to truth, though they could not give it under their hands that there was nothing in it contrary to the Word of God, nor promise to use the whole, without the least variation, in their public ministry? But, according to the archbishop's logic, the Church must be infallible or no church at all. The Liturgy must be perfect in every phrase and sentence, or it is no true service of God; and every article of the Church must be agreeable to Scripture, or they contain no true doctrine at all. He told the ministers that all who did not subscribe his articles were schismatics; that they had separated themselves from the Church; and declared pre-emptorily that they should be turned out of it.

This conduct of the archbishop was exposed in a pamphlet entitled, "The Practice of Prelates,"† which says that none ever used good ministers so severely since the Reformation as he; that his severe proceedings were against the judgment of many of his brethren the bishops, and that the devil, the common enemy of mankind, had certainly a hand in it. For who of the ministers, says this writer, have been tumultuous or unpeaceable? Have they not striven for peace in their ministry, in their writings, and by their example; and sought for their discipline only by lawful and dutiful means? Why, then, should the archbishop tyrannise over his fellow-ministers, and starve many thousand souls, by depriving all who refuse subscription? Why should he lay such stress upon popish opinions, and upon a hierarchy that never obtained till the approach of antichrist!

Loud were the cries of these poor sufferers and their distressed families to Heaven for mercy, as well as to their superiors on earth! Their temptations were strong; for as men, they were moved with compassion for their wives and little ones, and as faithful ministers of Christ, they were desirous to be useful, and to preserve the testimony of a good conscience. Some, through frailty, were overcome and submitted, but most of them cast themselves and families upon the providence of God, having written to the queen, to the archbishop, and to the lords of the council, and, after some time, to the Parliament, for a friendly conference or a public disputation, when, and where, and before whom they pleased, though without success.*

The supplication of the Norfolk ministers to the lords of the council, signed with twenty hands;† the supplication of the Lincolnshire ministers, with twenty-one hands; the supplication of the Essex ministers, with twenty-seven hands; the supplication of the Oxfordshire ministers, with — hands; the supplication of the ministers of Kent, with seventeen hands, are now before me; besides the supplication of the London ministers, and of those of the diocese of Ely and Cambridgeshire, representing in most moving language their unhappy circumstances: "We commend," they say, "to your honours' compassion our poor families, but much more do we commend our doubtful, fearful, and distressed consciences, together with the cries of our poor people, who are hungering after the Word, and are now as sheep having no shepherd. We have applied to the archbishop, but can get no relief; we therefore humbly beg it at your honours' hands."‡ They declare their readiness to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the Church, according to the stat. 13 Eliz., cap. xii., and to the other articles, as far as they are not repugnant to the Word of

* In the year 1583 one John Lewis, for denying the deity of Christ, was burned at Norwich. Many of the popish persuasion, under the charge of treason, were executed in different places. But, notwithstanding these severities, "her majesty," says Fuller, "was most merciful unto many popish malefactors whose lives stood forfeited to the law in the rigour thereof. Seventy, who had been condemned, by one act of grace were pardoned and sent beyond sea."—*Church History*, b. ix., p. 169, 170.—Ed.

† "We dare not yield to these ceremonies," say several of the Norfolk ministers, in a supplication which they presented to the council, "because, so far from edifying and building up the Church, they have rent it asunder, and torn it in pieces, to its great misery and ruin, as God knoweth; although her majesty be incensed against us, as if we would obey no laws, we take the Lord of heaven and earth to witness that we acknowledge, from the bottom of our hearts, her majesty to be our lawful queen, placed over us by God for our good; and we give God our most humble and hearty thanks for her happy government, and, both in public and private, we constantly pray for her prosperity. We renounce all foreign power, and acknowledge her majesty's supremacy to be lawful and just. We detest all error and heresy. Yet we desire that her majesty will not think us disobedient, seeing we suffer ourselves to be displaced rather than yield to some things required. Our bodies, and goods, and all we have, are in her majesty's hands; only our souls we reserve to our God, who alone is able to save us or condemn us."—*MS.*, p. 253.

‡ *MS.*, p. 328, 330, &c.

* *MS.*, p. 156. † *Life of Whitgift*, p. 125.

‡ *Life of Whitgift*, p. 122.

God. And they promise farther, if they may be dispensed with as to subscription, that they will make no disturbance in the Church, nor separate from it.

The Kentish ministers, in their supplication to the lords of the council, professed their reverence for the established Church,* and their esteem for the Book of Common Prayer, so far as that they saw no necessity of separating from the unity of the Church on that account: that they believed the Word preached, and the sacraments administered according to authority, touching the substance, to be lawful. They promised to show themselves obedient to the queen in all causes ecclesiastical and civil; but then they added, that there were many things that needed reformation, which therefore they could not honestly set their hands to.† They conclude with praying for indulgence, and subscribe themselves their honours' daily and faithful orators, the ministers of Kent suspended from the execution of their ministry.

The London ministers applied to the convocation, and fifteen of them offered to subscribe to the queen's supremacy, to the use of the Common Prayer Book, and to the doctrinal articles of the Church, if they might be restored; but then add, "We dare not say there is nothing in the three books repugnant to the Word of God, till we are otherwise enlightened; and therefore humbly pray our brethren in convocation to be a means to the queen and Parliament that we may not be pressed to an absolute subscription, but be suffered to go on in the quiet discharge of the duties of our calling, as we have done heretofore, to the honour of Almighty God, and the edification of his Church. We protest, before God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, that if by any means, by doing that which is not wicked, we might continue still our labours in the Gospel, we would gladly and willingly do anything that might procure that blessing, esteeming it more than all the riches in the world; but if we cannot be suffered to continue in our places and callings, we beseech the Lord to show greater mercy to those by whom this affliction shall be brought upon us, and upon the people committed to our charge, for whom we will not cease to pray, that the good work which the Lord has begun by our labours may still be advanced, to that day when the Lord shall give them and us comfort one in another, and in his presence everlasting happiness and eternal glory."‡ This petition was presented to the convocation, in the first sessions of the next Parliament, in the name of the ministers of London that had refused to subscribe the articles lately enforced upon them; with an humble request to have their doubts satisfied by conference, or any other way.

Among the suspended ministers of London was the learned and virtuous Mr. Barber, who preached four times a week at Bow Church: his parishioners, to the number of one hundred

* This has been considered, by Bishop Warburton, as inconsistent with calling the "established Church an hierarchy, that never obtained till the approach of antichrist." But the charge of inconsistency does not lie against the Kentish ministers who speak above, unless it be proved that they were the authors of the pamphlet entitled "The Practice of Prelates," which contains the other sentiments.—Ed.

† MS., p. 326.

‡ MS., p. 595, 632.

and twenty, signed a petition to the lord-mayor and court of aldermen for his release, but that court could not obtain it.* March 4, 1584, the learned Mr. Field and Mr. Egerton were suspended. Mr. Field had been often in bonds for nonconformity; he was minister of Aldermary, and had admitted an assembly of ministers at his house, among whom were some Scots divines, who, being disaffected to the hierarchy, the assembly was declared an unlawful conventicle, and Mr. Field was suspended from his ministry for entertaining them; but the rest were deprived for not subscribing.

Many gentlemen of reputation both in city and country appeared for the suspended ministers, as well out of regard to their poor families as for the sake of religion, it being impossible to supply so many vacancies as were made in the Church upon this occasion. The gentlemen of Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Kent interceded with the archbishop, alleging that it was very hard to deal with men so severely for a few rites and ceremonies, when they were neither heretics nor schismatics, and when the country wanted their useful preaching. The parishioners of the several places from whence the ministers were ejected signed petitions to the lord-treasurer, and others of the queen's council, beseeching them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that their ministers, being of an upright and holy conversation, and diligent preachers of the Word of God, might be restored, or otherwise (their livings being only of small value) their souls would be in danger of perishing for lack of knowledge.†

The inhabitants of Malden in Essex sent up a complaint to the council, "that since their ministers had been taken from them, for not subscribing to certain articles neither confirmed by the law of God nor of the land, they had none left but such as they could prove unfit for that office, being altogether ignorant, having been either popish priests or shiftless men, thrust in upon the ministry when they knew not else how to live; men of occupation, serving-men, and the basest of all sorts; and which is most lamentable, as they are men of no gifts, so they are of no common honesty, but rioters, dicers, drunkards, &c., and of offensive lives. These are the men," say they, "that are supported, whose reports and suggestions against others are readily received and admitted; by reason of which, multitudes of papists, heretics, and other enemies to God and the queen, are increased, and we ourselves in danger of being insulted. We therefore humbly beseech your honours, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to be a means of restoring our godly and faithful ministers; so shall we and many thousands of her majesty's subjects continue our daily supplications to Almighty God," &c.

The petition of the inhabitants of Norwich, signed with one hundred and seventy-six hands, and many letters and supplications from the most populous towns in England, to the same purpose, are now before me. But these appeals of the Puritans and their friends did them no service; for the watchful archbishop, whose eyes were about him, wrote to the council to put them in mind, "that the cause of the Puritans did not lie before them; that he wondered at the pre-

* MS., p. 460, 568, &c.

† Ibid., p. 457.

sumption of the ministers, to bring his doings in question before their lordships; and at their proud spirit, to dare to offer to dispute before so great a body against the religion established by law, and against a book so painfully penned, and confirmed by the highest authority." He then adds, "that it was not for him to sit in his place, if every curate in his diocess must dispute with him; nor could he do his duty to the queen, if he might not proceed without interruption; but if they would help him, he should soon bring them to comply."* As to the gentlemen who petitioned for their minister†, he told them to their faces that he would not suffer their factious ministers, unless they would subscribe; that no church ought to suffer its laudable rites to be neglected; that though the ministers were not heretics, they were schismatics, because they raised a contention in the Church about things not necessary to salvation. And as for lack of preaching, if the gentlemen or parishioners would let him dispose of their livings, he would take care to provide them with able men. Thus this great prelate, who had complied with the popish religion,‡ and kept his place in the university through all the reign of Queen Mary, was resolved to bear down all opposition, and to display his sovereign power against those whose consciences were not as flexible as his own.

But not content with his episcopal jurisdiction, his grace solicited the queen for a new ecclesiastical commission, and gave her majesty these weighty reasons for it, among others. Because the Puritans continue the ecclesiastical censures. Because the commission may order a search for seditious books, and examine the writers or publishers upon oath, which a bishop cannot. Because the ecclesiastical commission can punish by fines, which are very commodious to the government; or by imprisonment, which will strike more terror into the Puritans. Because a notorious fault cannot be notoriously punished but by the commission. Because the whole ecclesiastical law is but a carcass without a soul, unless it be quickened by the commission.§

The queen, who was already disposed to methods of severity, easily gave way to the archbishop's arguments, and ordered a new high commission to be prepared, which she put the great seal to, in the month of December, 1583, and the twenty-sixth year of her reign.||

* Life of Whitgift, p. 127.

† Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 4.

‡ Bishop Maddox here censures Mr. Neal, and says that the reverse was true. The fact, from all his biographers, appears to be, that on the expectation of a visitation of the university, in Queen Mary's reign, to suppress heresy, and to oblige such as were qualified to take the first tonsure, Whitgift, foreseeing his danger, and fearing not only an expulsion, but for his life, particularly because he could not comply with this requisition, would have gone abroad; but Dr. Pearn encouraged and persuaded him to stay, bidding him to keep his own counsel, and not utter his opinion, and engaging to conceal him without incurring any danger to his conscience in this visitation. He continued, therefore, in the college throughout this reign. But it is not to be conceived but that he must have preserved an outward conformity to the public and usual services of the Church.—Ed.

§ Life of Whitgift, p. 134.

|| There had been five high commissions before

The Court of High Commission was so called, because it claimed a larger jurisdiction and

this, in most of which the powers of the commissioners had been enlarged; but, forasmuch as the court was now almost at its height, I will give the reader an abstract of their commission from an attested copy, under the hand and seal of Abraham Hartwell, a notary public, at the special request and command of the archbishop himself, dated January 7th, 1583-4.

The preamble recites the act of the first of the queen, commonly called the act for "restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction of the state ecclesiastical and civil, and the abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same;" and another of the same year, "for uniformity of common prayer and service of the Church and administration of the sacrament;" and a third of the fifth of the queen, entitled "An Act of Assurance of the Queen's Powers over all States," &c.; and a fourth of the thirteenth Eliz., entitled "An Act for reforming certain Disorders touching Ministers of the Church," as the foundation of her ecclesiastical jurisdiction and power. Her majesty then names forty-four commissioners, whereof twelve were bishops; some were privy-councillors, lawyers, and officers of state, as Sir Francis Knollys, treasurer of the household, Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, Sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Ralph Sadler, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir Gilbert Gerard, master of the rolls, Sir Robert Manhood, lord-chief-baron of the exchequer, Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower of London, John Popham, Esq., attorney-general, Thomas Egerton, Esq., solicitor-general; the rest were deans, archdeacons, and civilians. Her majesty then proceeds:

"We, earnestly minding to have the above-mentioned laws put in execution, and putting special trust and confidence in your wisdoms and discretions, have authorized and appointed you to be our commissioners; and do give full power and authority to you, or any three of you, whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury, or one of the bishops mentioned in the commission, or Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Gilbert Gerard, or some of the civilians, to be one, to inquire from time to time during our pleasure, as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as also by witnesses, and all other means and ways you can devise; of all offences, contempts, misdemeanors, &c., done and committed contrary to the tenour of the said several acts and statutes; and also to inquire of all heretical opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours or talks, slanderous words and sayings, &c., contrary to the aforesaid laws, or any others, ordained for the maintenance of religion in this realm, together with their abettors, counselors, or coadjutors.

"And farther, we do give full power to you, or any three of you, whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury, or one of the bishops mentioned in the commission, to be one, to hear and determine concerning the premises, and to order, correct, reform, and punish all persons dwelling in places exempt or not exempt, that wilfully and obstinately absent from church, or Divine service established by law, by the censures of the Church, or any other lawful ways and means, by the Act of Uniformity, or any laws ecclesiastical of this realm limited and appointed; and to take order of your discretions, that the penalties and forfeitures limited by the said Act of Uniformity against the offenders in that behalf may be duly levied, according to the forms prescribed in the said act, to the use of us and the poor, upon the goods, lands, and tenements of such offenders, by way of distress, according to the true meaning and limitation of the statute.

"And we do farther empower you, or any three of you, during our pleasure, to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms, &c., which may lawfully be reformed or restrained by censures ecclesiastical, deprivation, or otherwise, according to the power

higher powers than the ordinary courts of the bishops; its jurisdiction extended over the whole kingdom, and was the same, in a manner, with that which had been vested in the single person of Lord Cromwell, vicar-general to King Henry VIII., though now put into commission. The

and authority limited and appointed by the laws, ordinances, and statutes of this realm.

"And we do hereby farther empower you, or any three of you, to call before you such persons as have ecclesiastical livings, and to deprive such of them as willfully and advisedly maintain any doctrine contrary to such articles of religion of the synod of 1562 which only concern the confession of the true faith and doctrine of the sacraments, and will not revoke the same.

"And we do farther empower you, or any three of you, to punish all incests, adulteries, fornications, outrages, misbehaviours, and disorders in marriage; and all grievous offences punishable by the ecclesiastical laws, according to the tenour of the laws in that behalf, and according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions, commanding you, or any three of you, to devise all such lawful ways and means for the searching out the premises as by you shall be thought necessary; and upon due proof thereof had, by confession of the party, or lawful witnesses, or by any other due means, to order and award such punishment, by fine, imprisonment, censures of the Church, or by all or any of the said ways, as to your wisdom and discretions shall appear most meet and convenient.

"And farther we do empower you, or any three of you, to call before you all persons suspected of any of the premises, and to proceed against them, as the quality of the offence and suspicion shall require, to examine them on their corporeal oaths, for the better trial and opening of the truth; and if any persons are obstinate and disobedient, either in not appearing at your command, or not obeying your orders and decrees, then to punish them by excommunication, or other censures ecclesiastical, or by fine, according to your discretions; or to commit the said offenders to ward, there to remain till he or they shall be by you, or three of you, enlarged or delivered; and shall pay such costs and expenses of suit as the cause shall require, and you, in justice, shall think reasonable.

"And farther, we give full power and authority to you, or three of you as aforesaid, to command all our sheriffs, justices, and other officers by your letters, to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, such persons as you shall think meet to be convened before you; and to take such bond as you shall think fit for their personal appearance; and in case of refusal, to commit them to safe custody, till you shall give order for their enlargement; and, farther, to take such securities for their performance of your decrees as you shall think reasonable. And, farther, you shall keep a register of your decrees, and of your fines, and appoint receivers, messengers, and other officers, with such salaries as you shall think fit; the receiver to certify into the exchequer, every Easter and Michaelmas term, an account of the fines taxed and received, under the hands of three of the commissioners.

"And we do farther empower you, or any six of you, whereof some to be bishops, to examine, alter, review, and amend the statutes of colleges, cathedrals, grammar-schools, and other public foundations, and to present them to us to be confirmed.

"And we do farther empower you to tender the oath of supremacy to all ministers, and others committable by act of Parliament, and to certify the names of such as refuse it into the King's Bench.

"And, lastly, we do appoint a seal for your office, having a crown and a rose over it, and the letter E before and R after the same; and round about the seal these words, 'Sigil. commiss. regie maj. ad causas ecclesiasticas.'"

court was erected upon the authority of the acts mentioned in the preamble, and therefore its powers must be limited by those statutes; but the counsel for Mr. Cawdrey, whose case was argued before all the judges in Trinity term, 1591, questioned whether the court had any foundation at all in law; it being doubtful whether the queen could delegate her ecclesiastical authority, or the commissaries act by virtue of such delegation.

But admitting the court to be legal, it will appear that both the queen and her commissioners exceeded the powers granted them by law; for it was not the intendment of the act of supremacy to vest any new powers in the crown, but only to restore those which were supposed to be its ancient and natural right. Nor do the acts above recited authorize the queen to dispense with the laws of the realm, or act contrary to them; or to set aside the ordinary legal courts of proceeding in other courts of judicature, by indictments, witnesses, and a jury of twelve men; nor do they empower her to levy fines, and inflict what corporeal punishments she pleases upon offenders; but in all criminal cases, where the precise punishment is not determined by the statute, her commissioners were to be directed and governed by the common law of the land.

Yet, contrary to the proceedings in other courts, and to the essential freedom of the English Constitution, the queen empowered her commissioners to "inquire into all misdemeanors, not only by the oaths of twelve men, and witnesses, but by all other means and ways they could devise;" that is, by inquisition, by the rack, by torture, or by any ways and means that forty-four sovereign judges should devise. Surely this should have been limited to ways and means warranted by the laws and customs of the realm.

Farther, her majesty empowers her "commissioners to examine such persons as they suspected upon their corporeal oaths, for the better trial and opening of the truth, and to punish those that refused the oath by fine or imprisonment, according to their discretion." This refers to the oath *ex officio mero*, and was not in the first five commissions.

It was said in behalf of this oath, by Dr. Aubrey,* that though it was not warrantable by the letter of the statute of the 1st of Elizabeth, yet the canon law being in force before the making of that statute, and the commission warranting the commissioners to proceed according to the law ecclesiastical, they might lawfully administer it according to ancient custom.† To which it was answered, "that such an oath was never allowed by any canon of the Church, or general council, for a thousand years after Christ; that when it was used against the primitive Christians, the pagan emperors countermanded it; that it was against the pope's law in the decretals, which admits of such an inquisition only in cases of heresy; nor was it ever used in England till the reign of King Henry IV., and then it was enforced as law only by a haughty archbishop, without consent of the commons of England, till the 25th of Henry VIII., when it was

* And nine others, learned civilians; and most of them, Strype says, judges in the civil and ecclesiastical courts.—Ed.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 340.

utterly abrogated. This pretended law was again revived by Queen Mary, but repealed again by the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, and so remained.* Besides, as this purging men by oath has no foundation in the law of the land, it is undoubtedly contrary to the law of nature and nations, where this is a received maxim, *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*: No man is bound to accuse himself. The queen, therefore, had no power to authorize her commissioners to set up an inquisition, and administer an oath to the suspected person, to answer all questions the court should put to him, and to convict him upon those answers; or, if they could confront his declarations, to punish him as perjured.

If any persons disobeyed the orders and decrees of the court, by not appearing at their summons, &c., the commissioners were empowered to punish them by fine or imprisonment, at their discretions. This also was contrary to law, for the body of a subject is to be dealt with, *secundum legem terræ*, according to the law of the land, as Magna Charta and the law saith. The clerk felon in the bishop's prison is the king's prisoner, and not the bishop's, and therefore by the 1st of Henry VII., cap. iv., "the bishop of the diocese is empowered to imprison such priests, or other religious persons within his jurisdiction, as shall by examination, and other lawful proofs requisite by the law of the Church, be convicted of fornication, incest, or any fleshly incontinency, and there to detain them for such time as shall be thought by their discretions convenient, according to the quality of the offence; and that none of the said archbishops or bishops shall be chargeable with an action of false imprisonment for so doing.† Which plainly implies, that a bishop cannot by law commit a man to prison, except in the cases above mentioned; and that in all others, the law remains in force as before. If, then, the queen, by her ecclesiastical commission, could not dispense with the laws of the land, it is evident that the long and arbitrary imprisonments of the Puritan clergy, before they had been legally convicted, and all their confinements afterward, beyond the time limited by the statutes, were so many acts of oppression; and every acting bishop or commissioner was liable to be sued in an action of false imprisonment.

The law says no man shall be fined *ultra tenementum*, beyond his estate or ability. But the fines raised by this court, in the two next reigns, were so exorbitant, that no man was secure in his property or estate; though, according to Lord Clarendon, their power of levying fines at all was very doubtful. Some for speaking an unmannerly word, or writing what the court was pleased to construe a libel, were fined from £500 to £10,000, and perpetual imprisonment; some had their ears cut off, and their noses slit, after they had been exposed several days in the pillory; and many families were driven into banishment; till, in process of time, the court became such a general nuisance, that it was dissolved by Parliament, with a clause that no such court should be erected for the future.

Farther, the commission gives no authority to the court to frame articles and oblige the clergy to subscribe them. It empowers them to reform all errors, heresies, and schisms which may

lawfully be reformed, according to the power and authority limited and appointed by the laws and statutes of the realm. But there never was a clause in any of the commissions empowering them to enforce subscription to articles of their own devising.* Therefore, their doing this without a special ratification under the great seal was no doubt a usurpation of the supremacy, and brought them within the compass of a præmunire, according to the statutes of 25 Henry VIII., cap. xx., and 1 Eliz., cap. iii.

Lastly: Though all spiritual courts (and, consequently, high commission) are and ought to be subject to prohibitions from the supreme courts of law, yet the commissioners would seldom or never admit them, and at length terrified the judges from granting them: so that, upon the whole, their proceedings were for the most part contrary to the act of submission of the clergy, contrary to the statute laws of the realm, and no better than a spiritual inquisition.†

If a clergyman omitted any of the ceremonies of the Church in his public ministrations, or if a parishioner bore an ill-will to his minister, he might inform the commissioners by letter that he was a suspected person; upon which a pursuivant or messenger was sent to his house with a citation.‡

The pursuivant who brought them up had thirty-three shillings and fourpence for forty-one miles, being about nine or ten pence a mile. Upon their appearing before the commissioners, they were committed prisoners to the Clink Prison seven weeks before they were called to their trial. When the prisoners were brought to the bar, the court immediately tendered them the oath to answer all questions to the best of their knowledge, by which they were obliged not only to accuse themselves, but frequently to

* MS., p. 573.

† In this view it was considered by the Lord-treasurer Burleigh. "According to my simple judgment," says he, in a letter to the archbishop, "this kind of proceeding is too much savouring the Romish inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offenders than reform any."—*Fuller's Church History*, b. ix., p. 155. Mr. Hume stigmatizes this court not only as a real inquisition, but attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that horrid tribunal.—Ed.

‡ The citation was to the following effect:

"We will and command you, and every of you, in her majesty's name, by virtue of her high commission for causes ecclesiastical, to us and others directed, that you, and every of you, do make your personal appearance before us, or others her majesty's commissioners in that behalf appointed, in the consistory within the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London [or at Lambeth], the seventh day next after the sight hereof, if we or other our colleagues shall then happen to sit in commission, or else at our next sitting there, then next immediately following; and that after your appearance there made, you, and every of you, shall attend, and not depart without our special license; willing and commanding you, to whom these our letters shall first be delivered, to show the same, and give intimation and knowledge thereof, to the others nominated upon the endorsement hereof, as you, and every of you, will answer to the contrary at your perils. Given at London, the 16th of May, 1584.

John Cant.

Gabriel Goodman.

John London.

Endorsed,
To Ezekias Morley, }
Robert Pamnet, and } of Ridgwell in Essex."
William Bigge, }

* Life of Whitgift, p. 393, 394.

† Life of Aylmer, p. 145.

bring their relations and friends into trouble. The party to be examined was not to be acquainted with the interrogatories beforehand, nor to have a copy of his answers, which were lodged with the secretary of the court, against the day of his trial. If the commissioners could not convict him upon his own confession, then they examined their witnesses, but never cleared him upon his own oath. If they could not reach the prisoner by their ordinary jurisdiction as bishops, they would then sit as ecclesiastical commissioners. If they could not convict him upon any statute, then they had recourse to their old obsolete law ecclesiastical; so that the prisoner seldom knew by what law he was to be tried, or how to prepare for his defence. Sometimes men were obliged to a long attendance, and at other times condemned in haste, without any trial. The Rev. Mr. Brayne, a Cambridge minister, being sent for to Lambeth, made his appearance before the archbishop and two other commissioners, on Saturday, in the afternoon, and being commanded to answer the interrogatories of the court upon oath, he refused, unless he might first see them, and write down his answers with his own hand, which his grace refusing, immediately gave him his canonical admonitions, once, twice, and thrice, and caused him to be registered for contempt, and suspended.*

Let the reader carefully peruse the twenty-four articles themselves, which the archbishop framed for the service of the court, and then judge whether it were possible for an honest man to answer them upon oath without exposing himself to the mercy of his adversaries. †

* Life of Whitgift, p. 163.

† The articles were these that follow :

1. Imprimis. "Objicimus, ponimus, et articulamus, i. e., We object, put, and article to you, that you are a deacon or minister, and priest admitted; declare by whom and what time you were ordered; and likewise, that your ordering was according to the book in that behalf by the law of this land provided. Et objicimus conjunctim de omni et divisim de quolibet, i. e., 'And we object to you the whole of this article taken together, and every branch of it separately.'

2. Item. "Objicimus, ponimus, et articulamus, That you deem and judge such your ordering, admission, and calling into your ministry, to be lawful, and not repugnant to the Word of God. Et objicimus ut supra, i. e., 'And we object as before.'

3. Item. "Objicimus, ponimus, &c. That you have sworn, as well at the time of your ordering as institution, duty and allegiance to the queen's majesty, and canonical obedience to your ordinary and his successors, and to the metropolitan and his successors, or to some of them. Et objicimus ut supra.

4. Item. "Objicimus, &c. That by a statute or act of Parliament made in the first year of the queen's majesty that now is, one virtuous and godly book, entitled The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, &c., was authorized and established to stand and be from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist then next ensuing, in full force and effect, according to the said statute, and so yet remaineth. Et obj. ut supra.

5. Item. "Obj., That by the said statute all ministers within her majesty's dominions, ever since the said feast, have been, and are bound to say and use, a certain form of morning and evening prayer called in the act matins, even-song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments; and all other common and open prayer in such order and form as is mentioned in the same book, and none other, nor otherwise. Et obj. ut supra.

When the Lord-treasurer Burleigh had read them over, and seen the execution they had

6. Item. "Obj., That in the said statute her majesty, the lords temporal, and all the commons, in that Parliament assembled, do in God's name earnestly charge and require all the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves, to the uttermost of their knowledge, that the due and true execution of the said act might be had throughout their diocese and charge, as they would answer it before Almighty God. Et obj. ut supra.

7. Item. "Obj. ponimus, &c. That you deem and judge the said whole book to be a godly and a virtuous book, agreeable, or at least not repugnant, to the Word of God; 'if not, we require and command you to declare wherein, and in what points.' Et objicimus ut supra.

8. Item. "Obj., That for the space of these three years, two years, one year, half a year; three, two, or one month last past, you have at the time of communion, and at all or some other times in your ministry, used and worn only your ordinary apparel, and not the surplice, as is required. 'Declare how long, how often, and for what cause, consideration, or intent you have so done, or refused so to do.' Et obj. ut supra.

9. Item. "Obj., That within the time aforesaid you have baptized divers, or at least one infant, and have not used the sign of the cross in the forehead, with the words prescribed to be used in the said Book of Common Prayer. 'Declare how many you have so baptized, and for what cause, consideration, and intent.' Et obj. ut supra.

10. Item. "Obj., &c., That within the time aforesaid you have been sent unto, and required divers times, or at least once, to baptize children, or some one child being weak, and have refused, neglected, or at least so long deferred the same, till the child or children died without the sacrament of baptism. 'Declare whose child, when, and for what consideration.' Et obj. ut supra.

11. Item. "Obj., &c., That within the time aforesaid you have celebrated matrimony otherwise than the book prescribes, and without a ring, and have refused at such times to call for the ring, and to use such words in that behalf as the book appoints, and particularly those words, 'that by matrimony is signified the spiritual marriage and unity between Christ and his Church.' 'Declare the circumstances of time, person, and place, and for what cause, intent, and consideration.' Et obj. ut supra.

12. Item. "Obj., &c., That you have within the time aforesaid neglected, or refused to use, the form of thanksgiving for women, or some one woman after childbirth, according to the said book. 'Declare the like circumstances thereof, and for what intent, cause, or consideration you have so done, or refused so to do.' Et obj. ut supra.

13. Item. "Objicimus, &c., That you within the time aforesaid baptized divers infants, or at the least one, otherwise and in other manner than the said book prescribeth, and not used the interrogatories to the godfathers and godmothers in the name of the infant, as the said book requireth. 'Declare the like circumstances thereof, or for what cause, intent, or consideration you have so done, or refused so to do.' Et objicimus ut supra.

14. Item. "We do object, that you have within the time aforesaid used any other form of litany, in divers or some points, from the said book; or that you have often, or once, wholly refused to use the said litany. 'Declare the like circumstances thereof, or for what cause, intent, or consideration you have so done, or refused so to do.'

15. Item. "We do object, &c., That you have within the time aforesaid refused and omitted to read divers lessons prescribed by the said book, and have divers times either not read any lessons at all, or read others in their places. 'Declare the like circumstance thereof, and for what intent, cause, or

done upon the clergy, he wrote his grace the following letter :

consideration you have so done or refused.' Et obj. ut supra.

16. Item. "Objicimus, That within the time aforesaid you have either not used at all, or else used another manner of common prayer or service at burial, from that which the said book prescribeth, and have refused there to use these words, We commit earth to earth, in sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life. 'Declare the like circumstances thereof, and for what intent, cause, or consideration you have so done or refused so to do.' Et obj. ut supra.

17. Item. "Objicimus, &c., That within the time aforesaid you have advisedly, and of set purpose, not only omitted and refused to use the aforesaid parts, or some of them, of the said book, but also some other parts of the said Book of Common Prayer, as being persuaded that in such points it is repugnant to the Word of God. 'Declare what other parts of the said book you have refused to use, for what intent, cause, or consideration.' Et obj. ut supra.

18. Item. "Objic., &c., That within the time aforesaid you have at the communion, and in other parts of your ministration, advisedly added unto, diminished, and taken from, altered, and transposed, manifoldly at your own pleasure, sundry parts of the said Book of Common Prayer. 'Declare the circumstances of time and place, and for what intent, cause, and consideration.' Et obj. ut supra.

19. Item. "Objic., That within the time aforesaid you have advisedly, and of set purpose, preached, taught, declared, set down, or published by writing, public or private speech, matter against the said Book of Common Prayer, or of something therein contained, as being repugnant to the Word of God, or not convenient to be used in the Church; or something have written or uttered tending to the depraving, despising, or defacing of some things contained in the said book. 'Declare what, and the like circumstances thereof, and for what cause or consideration you have so done.' Et obj. ut supra.

20. Item. "Objicimus, &c., That you at this present do continue all or some of your former opinions against the said book, and have a settled purpose to continue hereafter such additions, diminutions, alterations, and transpositions, or some of them, as you heretofore unlawfully have used in your public ministration; and that you have used private conferences, and assembled, or been present, at conventicles, for the maintenance of their doings herein, and for the animating and encouraging of others to continue in the like disposition in this behalf that you are of. 'Declare the like circumstances, and for what intent, cause, and consideration.' Et obj. ut supra.

21. Item. "Objicimus, &c., That you have been heretofore noted, defamed, presented, or detected publicly, to have been faulty in all and singular the premises, and of every or some of them; and that you have been divers and sundry times, or once at the least, admonished by your ordinary, or other ecclesiastical magistrate, to reform the same, and to observe the form and order of the Book of Common Prayer, which you have refused, or defer to do. 'Declare the like circumstances thereof.' Et obj. ut supra.

22. Item. "That for the testification hereafter of your unity with the Church of England, and your conformity to laws established, you have been required simply and absolutely to subscribe with your hand, (1.) That her majesty, under God, hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realm, dominions, and countries, of what estate either ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be; and that none other foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within her majesty's said realms, dominions, or countries. (2.) That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering bish-

"It may please your grace,

"I am sorry to trouble you so oft as I do, but I am more troubled myself, not only with many private petitions of sundry ministers, recommended for persons of credit and peaceable in their ministry, who are greatly troubled by your grace, and your colleagues in commission; but I am also daily charged by counsellors and public persons with neglect of my duty, in not staying your grace's vehement proceedings against ministers, whereby papists are greatly encouraged, and the queen's safety endangered.* I have read over your twenty-four articles, found in a Romish style, of great length and curiosity, to examine all manner of ministers in this time, without distinction of persons, to be executed *ex officio mero*. And I find them so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests. I know your caonists can defend these with all their patercules; but surely, under correction, this judicial and canonical sifting poor ministers is not to edify or reform. And in charity I think they ought not to answer all these nice points, except they were notorious papists or heretics. I write with the testimony of a good conscience. I desire the peace and unity of the Church. I favour no sensual and wilful recusant; but I conclude, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring of the Romish Inquisition, and is a device rather to seek for offenders than to reform any. It is not charitable to send poor ministers to your common registrar, to answer upon so many articles at one instant, without a copy of the articles or their answers. I pray your grace bear with this one (perchance) fault, that I have willed the ministers not to answer these articles except their consciences may suffer them.

"July 15, 1584.

W. CÆCL."

This excellent letter was so far from softening the archbishop, that, two days after, he returned his lordship a long answer, vindicating his interrogatories, from the practice of the

ops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that the same may be lawfully used; and that you who do subscribe will use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, and none other. (3.) That you allow the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, and set forth by her majesty's authority; and do believe all the articles therein contained to be agreeable to the Word of God. 'Declare by whom, and how often, which hitherto you have advisedly refused to perform, and so yet do persist.' Et obj. ut supra.

23. Item. "That you have taken upon you to preach, read, or expound the Scriptures, as well in public places as in private houses, not being licensed by your ordinary, nor any other magistrate having authority by the laws of this land so to license you. 'Declare the like circumstances hereof.' Et obj. ut supra.

24. Item. "Quod præmissa omnia et singularia, &c., i. e., 'That all and singular the premises,' &c.

Could the wit of man invent anything more like an inquisition! Here are interrogatories enough to entangle all the honest men in the kingdom, and bring them into danger.

* Life of Whitgift, b. iv., Rec. No. 4.

Star Chamber, the Court of Marches, and other places.* The treasurer found it was to no purpose to contend, and therefore replied in a short but smart letter, in which he tells him "that

* "Whitgift replied to the lord-treasurer, alleging that he had uniformly acquainted him with his proceedings, and had acted on his advice. 'Touching the twenty-four articles,' he says, 'which your lordship seemeth so much to dislike, as written in a *Romish style, smelling of the Romish Inquisition, &c.*, I cannot but greatly marvel at your lordship's vehement speeches against them (I hope without cause), seeing it is the ordinary course in other courts likewise; as in the Star Chamber, the Court of the Marches, and other places. And (without offence be it spoken) I think these articles to be more tolerable, and better agreeing with the rule of justice and charity, and less captious, than those in other courts. . . . For my own part,' he adds, 'I neither do nor have done anything in this matter, which I do not think myself in duty and conscience bound to do; which her majesty hath not with earnest charge committed unto me; and the which I am well able to justify, to be most requisite for this State and Church; whereof, next to her majesty, though most unworthy, or, at the least, most unhappy, the chief care is committed to me; which I may not neglect, whatsoever come upon me therefor. I never esteem the honour of the place (which is to me *gravissimum onus*), nor the largeness of the revenues (for the which I am not yet one penny the richer), nor any other worldly thing, I thank God, in the respect of the doing of my duty. Neither do I fear the displeasure of man, nor regard the wicked tongues of the uncharitable, which call me tyrant, pope, papist, knave, and lay to my charge things which I never did, nor thought upon.'

"The archbishop expresses his deep concern at the lord-treasurer's dissatisfaction with his proceedings. 'God knoweth,' he said, 'how desirous I have been, from time to time, to satisfy your lordship in all things, and to have my doings approved by you. For which cause, since my coming to this place, I did nothing of importance without your advice. I have risen up early and sat up late, to write unto you such objections and answers as are used on either side. I have not done the like to any man. And shall I now say that I have lost my labour? Or shall my just dealing with two of the most disordered ministers in a whole diocese (the obstinacy and contempt of whom, especially of one of them, yourself would not bear in any subjected to your authority) cause you so to think and speak of my doings and of myself? No man living should have made me believe it. My lord, an old friend is better than a new. And I trust your lordship will not so lightly cast off your old friends for any of these new-fangled and factious *sectaries*; whose endeavour is to make division where-soever they come, and separate old and assured friends. . . . Your lordship seemeth to burden me with *wilfulness, &c.* I think you are not so persuaded of me; I appeal therein to your own conscience. There is a difference betwixt *wilfulness* and *constancy*. I have taken upon me the defence of the *religion* and *rites* of this *church*; the execution of the laws concerning the same; the appeasing of the *sects* and *schisms* therein; the reducing the ministers thereof to uniformity and due obedience. Herein I intend to be constant; which also my place, my person, my duty, the laws, her majesty, and the goodness of the cause requireth of me; and wherein your lordship and others (all things considered) ought, as I take it, to assist and help me. It is more than strange that a man in my place, dealing by so good warrant as I do, should be so hardly used, and for not yielding be counted wilful. But *Vincit qui patitur*, overcomes. And if my friends herein forsake me, I trust God will not, nor her majesty, who have laid the charge on me, and are able to protect me; upon whom only I will depend.'"—*Dr. Price's Hist. Non-conformity*, vol. i., 341-2.—C.

after reading his grace's long answer, he was not satisfied in the point of seeking by examination to have ministers accuse themselves, and then punish them for their own confession; that he would not call his proceedings captious, but they were scarcely charitable; his grace might therefore deal with his friend Mr. Brayne as he thought fit, but when, by examining him, it was meant only to sift him with twenty-four articles, he had cause to pity the poor man."*

The archbishop, being desirous to give satisfaction to the treasurer, sent him two papers of reasons, one to justify the articles, and the other the manner of proceeding *ex mero officio*. In the former he says, that by the ecclesiastical or canon laws, articles of inquiry may be administered, and have been ever since the Reformation; and that they ought not to be compared with the Inquisition, because the Inquisition punished with death, whereas they only punished obstinate offenders with deprivation.† In the latter his lordship gives the following reasons, among others, for proceeding *ex mero officio*: If we proceed only by presentment and witnesses, then papists, Brownists, and family men would expect the like measure. It is hard to get witnesses against the Puritans, because most of the parishioners favour them, and therefore will not present them, nor appear against them. There is great trouble and charge in examining witnesses, and sending for them from distant parts. If archbishops and bishops should be driven to use proofs by witnesses only, the execution of the law would be partial; their charges in procuring and producing witnesses would be intolerable; and they should not be able to make quick despatch enough with the sectaries. These were the arguments of a Protestant archbishop! I do not wonder that they gave no satisfaction to the wise treasurer; for surely, all who have any regard for the laws of their country, or the civil and religious rights of mankind, must be ashamed of them.

The treasurer having given up the archbishop, the lords of the council took the cause in hand, and wrote to his grace and the Bishop of London, in favour of the deprived ministers, September 20th.‡ In their letter they tell their lordships "that they had heard of sundry complaints out of divers counties, of proceedings against a great number of ecclesiastical persons, some parsons, some vicars, some curates, but all preachers; some deprived, and some suspended by their lordships' officers, chancellors, &c., but that they had taken no notice of these things, hoping their lordships would have stayed their hasty proceedings, especially against such as did earnestly instruct the people against popery. But now of late, hearing of great numbers of zealous and learned preachers suspended from their cures in the county of Essex, and that there is no preaching, prayers, or sacraments in most of the vacant places; that in some few of them persons neither of learning nor good name are appointed; and that in other places of the country great numbers of persons that occupy cures are notoriously unfit; most for lack of learning; many chargeable with great and enormous faults, as drunkenness,

* Life of Whitgift, p. 160.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid., p. 166.

filthiness of life, gaming at cards, haunting of alehouses, &c., against whom they [the council] heard of no proceedings, but that they were quietly suffered." To fix this charge home on the bishops, they sent with their letter a catalogue of names; one column of learned ministers deprived; a second of unlearned and vicious persons continued: "A matter very lamentable," say they, "for this time!" and a third of pluralists and nonresidents; "Against these latter we [the council] have heard of no inquisition; but of great diligence, and extreme usage against those that were known to be diligent preachers; we, therefore, pray your lordships to have some charitable consideration of their causes, that people may not be deprived of their diligent, learned, and zealous pastors, for a few points ceremonial, which entangled their consciences." This letter was dated from Oatlands, September 20th, 1584, and signed by Lord Burleigh, the Earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury, and Leicester; the Lord Charles Howard, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton; and Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state.

But this excellent remonstrance had no manner of influence upon our archbishop.* After this, Mr. Beale, clerk of the queen's council, a man of great learning and piety, drew up a treatise, showing the injustice and unlawfulness of the bishop's proceedings; and delivered it in manuscript into the archbishop's own hands, which, together with some freedom of speech, inflamed his grace to that degree, that he complained of him to the queen and council, and used all his interest to have him tried in the Star Chamber, and turned out of his place.† Among his misdemeanors, drawn up by the archbishop, were these: that he had printed a book against ecclesiastical oaths; that in the House of Commons he had spoke of ecclesiastical matters, contrary to the queen's command; that he had defended his book against the practice of the ecclesiastical courts; that he had disputed against the queen's having authority, by virtue of the statute of the 1st of Elizabeth, to grant power to her ecclesiastical commissioners to imprison whom they please, to impose fines upon offenders, and to administer the oath *ex officio*, saying they are within the statute of *præmunire*; that he had condemned racking of grievous offenders, as contrary to law and the liberty of the subject; and advised those in the marches of Wales that execute torture by virtue of instructions under her majesty's hands to look to it that their doings are well warranted: but the court would not prosecute upon this charge.

All that the Puritans could obtain was a kind of conference between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester on the one part, and Dr. Sparke and Mr. Travers on the other, in presence of the right honourable the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Grey, and Sir Francis Walsingham. The conference was at Lambeth, concerning things needful to be reformed in the Book of Common Prayer.

The archbishop opened it with declaring, "that my Lord of Leicester, having requested for his satisfaction to hear what the ministers could reprove, and how their objections were to be answered, he had granted my lord to procure such to come for that purpose as might

seem best to his good lordship; and now I perceive," said he, "you are the men, of whom one I never saw or knew before [Dr. Sparke]; the other I know well. Let us hear what things in the Book of Common Prayer you think ought to be mended: you appear not now judicially before me, nor as called in question by authority for these things, but by way of conference; for which cause it shall be free for you (speaking in duty) to charge the book with such matters as you suppose to be blameworthy in it."

Dr. Sparke replied, "We give most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God, and to this honourable presence, that after so many years, wherein our cause could never be admitted to an indifferent hearing, it hath pleased God of his gracious goodness so to dispose things, that we have now that equity and favour showed us, that before such honourable personages, as may be a worthy means to her most excellent majesty for reformation of such things as are to be redressed, it is now lawful for us to declare with freedom what points ought to be reviewed and reformed which our endeavour is, because it concerns the service of God, and the satisfaction of such as are in authority; and for that the good issue depends on the favour of God, I desire, that before we enter any farther, we may first seek for the gracious direction and blessing of God by prayer." At which words, framing himself to begin to pray, the archbishop interrupted him, saying he should make no prayers there, nor turn that place into a conventicle.

Mr. Travers joined with Dr. Sparke, and desired that it might be lawful for them to pray before they proceeded any farther; but the archbishop not yielding thereunto, terming it a conventicle if any such prayer should be offered to be made, my Lord of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham desired Dr. Sparke to content himself, seeing they doubted not but that he had prayed already before his coming thither. Dr. Sparke, therefore, omitting to use such prayer as he had proposed, made a short address to God in very few words, though the archbishop continued to interrupt him all the while.

The heads that the ministers insisted upon were, 1st. Putting the apocryphal writings (in which were several errors and false doctrines) upon a level with the Holy Scriptures, by reading them publicly in the Church, while several parts of the canon were utterly omitted. This they said had been forbidden by councils, and particularly that of Laodicea. The archbishop denied any errors to be found in the Apocrypha; which led the ministers into a long detail of particulars, to the satisfaction (says my author) of the noblemen. 2dly. The second head was upon baptism; and here they objected against its being done in private. Against its being done by laymen or women. And against the doctrine from whence this practice arises, viz., that children not baptized are in danger of damnation; and that the outward baptism of water saveth the child that is baptized. Against the interrogatories in the name of the child, which Mr. Travers charged with arising from a false principle, viz., that faith was necessary in all persons to be baptized; he added, that the interrogatories crept into the Church but lately, and took their rise from the baptism of those

* Life of Whitgift, p. 143.

† *Ibid.*, p. 212.

that were of age; from whence, very ignorantly, they were transferred to infants. Against the cross, as a mystical rite and ceremony, and an addition to the sacrament of human invention: here they argued, that though the foreign divines did not condemn the use of the cross, yet all agreed it ought to be abolished; and Beza gives counsel to the ministers, rather to forego their ministry, than subscribe to the allowance of it. After many words upon this head, my Lord of Leicester said it was a pitiful thing that so many of the best ministers, and painful in their preaching, should be deprived for these things. 3dly. They objected to private communion. 4thly. To the apparel; and here they produced the judgment of Bishop Ridley at his degradation, as reported by Mr. Fox, who said it was too bad to be put upon a fool in a play. 5thly. They objected to the bishop's allowing of an insufficient ministry, non-residence, and pluralities.*

The conference continued two days, at the close of which, neither party being satisfied, the noblemen requested some favour for the ministers. Mr. Strype says† the ministers were convinced and confirmed; but it is evident he knew not the disputants, nor had seen the debate, a copy of which is before me. Travers was a Nonconformist to his death, and Sparke appeared at their head, at the Hampton Court conference, the beginning of the next reign. Nor was the archbishop softened, but rather confirmed in his former resolution.

Aylmer, bishop of London, came not behind his metropolitan in acts of severity. Mr. Strype says he was the chief mover in the ecclesiastical commission, and had as high a spirit as the greatest lord in the land. During Grindal's disgrace, he harassed the London clergy with new interrogatories and articles, three or four times a year. He advised the heads of the University of Cambridge (with whom he had nothing to do) to call in all their licenses, and expel every man who would not wear the apparel, saying "that the folly that is bound up in the heart of a child is to be expelled with the rod of discipline."‡

* MS., p. 562, &c. † Life of Whitgift, p. 170.

‡ Life of Aylmer, p. 84, 94. In his visitation this summer [1584], he suspended the following clergymen in Essex, &c. Mr. Whiteing, of Panfield, Messrs. Wyresdale and Gifford, of Malden, Mr. Hawkdon, vicar of Fryan, Mr. Carre, of Rain, Mr. Tonstal, of Much-Totnam, Mr. Huckle, of Atrop-Rooding, Mr. Piggot, of Tilly, Mr. Cornwall, of Markstay, Mr. Negus, of Leigh, Mr. Carew, of Hatfield, Mr. Ward, of Writtle, Mr. Dyke, afterward of St. Alban's, Mr. Rogers, of Weathersfield, Mr. Northey, of Colchester, Mr. Newman, of Coxall, Mr. Taye, of Peldon, Mr. Parker, of Dedham, Mr. Morley, of Ridswell, Mr. Nix (or Knight), of Hampstead, Mr. Winkfield, of Wicks, Mr. Wilton, of Aldham, Mr. Dent, of South Souberry, Mr. Pain, of Tolberry, Mr. Larking, of Little-Waltham, Mr. Camillus Rusticus, pastor of Tange, Mr. Seredge, of East-Havingfield, Mr. Howel, of Pagelsam, Mr. Chadwick, of Danbury, Mr. Ferrar, of Langham, Mr. Serls, of Lexdon, Mr. Lewis, of St. Peter's, Colchester, Mr. Cock, of St. Giles's, Colchester, Mr. Beaumont, of East-Thorp, Mr. Redridge, of Hutton, Mr. Chaplain, of Hempsted, Mr. Culverwell, of Felsted, Mr. D. Chapman, preacher at Dedham, and Mr. Knevit, of Mile-End, Colchester; in all, about thirty-eight. These, says my author, are the painful ministers of Essex, whom the bishop threatens to deprive for the sur-

Mr. Carew, of Hatfield-Peveril, was a zealous promoter of the welfare of souls, and mourned over the want of a learned and preaching ministry; he was ordained by the Bishop of Worcester, and licensed by Archbishop Grindal and the Bishop of London himself, who commended his preaching; but being too forward in acquainting his diocesan by letter, that in Essex, within the compass of sixteen miles, there were twenty-two non-residents, thirty insufficient ministers, and, at the same time, nineteen preachers silenced for not subscribing; his lordship, instead of being pleased with the information, sent for Carew before the commissioners, and charged him falsely, without the least evidence, with setting up a presbytery, and with contemning ecclesiastical censures. It was alleged against him farther, that he was chosen by the people; that he had defaced the Book of Common Prayer, and had put several from the communion, when there was more need to allure them to it, &c. But to make short work, the bishop tendered him the oath *ex officio*, which Carew refusing, he was committed to the Fleet, and another clergyman sent down to supply his place. Mr. Allen, the patron, in whom the right of presentation was by inheritance, refusing to admit the bishop's reader, was summoned before his lordship, and committed to prison; because (as the warrant expresses it) he behaved seditiously in withholding the authority of the court: nay, the very sexton was reprimanded, and ordered not to meddle with the Church any more; and because he asked his lordship simply whether his meaning was that he should not come to church any more, he committed him for ridiculous behaviour. Both Allen and Carew offered bail, which was refused, unless they would admit his lordship's clergyman.* After eight weeks' imprisonment, they appeared to the privy council and were released; with which his lordship was so displeased that he sent the council a very angry letter, calling the prisoners knaves, rebels, rascals, fools, petty gentlemen, precisians, &c., and told their honours that if such men were countenanced, he must yield up his authority; and the bishop never left him till he had hunted him out of the diocese.

Mr. Knight suffered six months' imprisonment for not wearing the apparel, and was fined one hundred marks. Mr. Negus was suspended on the same account: twenty-eight of his parishioners, who subscribed themselves his hungry sheep that had no shepherd, signed a letter, beseeching him to conform; but he protested he could not do it with a good conscience, and so was deprived.

The Rev. Mr. Gifford, of Malden, was a modest man, irreprovable in his life, a great and diligent preacher, says Mr. Strype, and esteemed by many of good rank. He had written learnedly against the Brownists, and by his diligence had wrought a wonderful reformation in the town; but being informed against for preaching up a limited obedience to the magistrate, he was suspended and imprisoned † After some time he was brought to his trial, and his accuser fail-

lice, saying, We shall be white with him, or he will be black with us.—MS., p. 584, 741.

* Life of Aylmer, p. 122. MS., p. 662, 658.

† MS., p. 410, 420.

ing in his evidence, he was released. But the Bishop of London setting his spies upon him, he was imprisoned again for nonconformity.* Upon this he applied to the lord-treasurer, who applied to the archbishop in his favour; but his grace having consulted his brother of London, told his lordship that he was a ringleader of the Nonconformists; that he himself had received complaints against him, and was determined to bring him before the high commission. The parishioners of Malden presented a petition in behalf of their minister, signed with fifty-two hands, whereof two were bailiffs of the town, two justices of the peace, four aldermen, fifteen head burgesses, and the vicar; but to put an end to all farther application, the archbishop wrote to the treasurer, "that he had rather die, or live in prison all the days of his life, than relax the rigour of his proceedings, by showing favour to one, which might give occasion to others to expect the same, and undo all that he had been doing; † he therefore beseeches his lordship not to animate this forward people by writing in their favour." Sir Francis Knollys, the queen's kinsman, and treasurer of her chamber, seconded the treasurer, beseeching his grace to open the mouths of zealous preachers, who were sound in doctrine, though they refused to subscribe to any traditions of men, not compellable by law; but all was to no purpose; for as Fuller observes, ‡ "This was the constant custom of Whitgift: if any lord or lady sued for favour to any Nonconformist, he would profess how glad he was to serve them, and gratify their desires, assuring them, for his part, that all possible kindness should be indulged to them, but at the same time he would remit nothing of his rigour. Thus he never denied any man's desire, and yet never granted it; pleasing them for the present with general promises, but still kept to his own resolution; whereupon the nobility, in a little time, ceased making farther applications to him, as knowing them to be ineffectual." Some of the ministers were indicted at the assizes, § for omitting the cross in baptism, and for not wearing the surplice once every month, and at every communion. Most of them were deprived, or, to avoid it, forced to quit their livings and depart the country.

Among these was the excellent Mr. Dyke, preacher first at Coggeshall in Essex, and afterward at St. Alban's in Hertfordshire, whose character was without blemish, and whose practical writings discover him to be a divine of considerable learning and piety; he was suspended, and at last deprived, because he continued a deacon, and did not enter into priest's orders, which (as the bishop supposed) he accounted popish. He also refused to wear the surplice, and troubled his auditory with notions that thwarted the established religion. The parishioners, being concerned for the loss of their minister, petitioned the Lord Burleigh to intercede for them, setting forth "that they had lived without any ordinary preaching till within these four or five years, by the want of which they were unacquainted with their duty to God, their

sovereign, and their neighbours;* but that of late it had pleased the Lord to visit them with the means of salvation, the ordinary ministry of the Word, in the person of Mr. Dyke, an authorized minister, who, according to his function, had been painful and profitable, and both in life and doctrine had carried himself peaceably and dutifully among them, so as no man could justly find fault with him, except of malice. There were some, indeed, that could not abide to hear their faults reproved, but through his preaching many had been brought from their ignorance and evil ways to a better life, to be frequent hearers of God's Word, and their servants were in better order than heretofore.

"They then give his lordship to understand that their minister was suspended, and that they were as sheep without a shepherd, exposed to manifold dangers, even to return to their former ignorance and cursed vanities, that the Lord had spoken it, and therefore it must be true, that where there is no vision the people perish. They therefore pray his lordship, in the bowels of his compassion, to pity them in their present misery, and become a means that they may enjoy their preacher again."

Upon this letter, Lord Burleigh wrote to the bishop to restore him, promising that if he troubled the congregation with innovations any more, he would join with the bishop against him; but his lordship excused himself, insinuating that he was charged with incontinence; this occasioned a farther inquiry into Dyke's character, which was cleared up by the woman herself that accused him, who confessed her wicked contrivance, and openly asked him forgiveness. His lordship, therefore, insisted upon his being restored, forasmuch as the best clergymen in the world might be thus slandered; besides, the people of St. Alban's had no teaching, having no curate but an insufficient dotting old man. For this favour (says the treasurer) I shall thank your lordship, and will not solicit you any more, if hereafter he should give just cause of public offence against the orders of the church established. But all that the treasurer could say was ineffectual; the Bishop of London was as inexorable as his grace of Canterbury.

The inhabitants of Essex had a vast esteem for their ministers; they could not part from them without tears; when they could not prevail with the bishop, they applied to the Parliament, and to the lords of the privy council. I have before me two or three petitions from the hundreds of Essex, and one from the county, signed by Francis Barrington, Esq., at the head of above two hundred gentlemen and tradesmen, housekeepers, complaining, in the strongest terms, that the greatest number of their present ministers were unlearned, idle, or otherwise of scandalous lives; and that those few from whom they reaped knowledge and comfort were molested, threatened, and put to silence, for small matters in the common prayer, though they were men of godly lives and conversations.

The bishop was equally severe in other parts of his diocese. The Rev. Mr. Barnaby Benson, a city divine of good learning, had been suspended and kept in prison several years, on pretence of some irregularity in his marriage: the bishop charged him with being married in

* Life of Aylmer, p. 111.

† Fuller, b. ix., p. 162.

‡ Fuller, b. ix., p. 218.

§ M. Beaumont of East-Thorp, Mr. Wilton of Aldham, Mr. Hawkdon of Fryan, M. Seredge of East-Havingfield.

* Life of Aylmer, p. 303.

an afternoon, and in presence of two or three hundred people, by Mr. Field, a Nonconformist; for this he was committed to the Gate-house, where he had lain ever since the year 1579. At length he applied to the queen and council, and in the state of his case he declares that he had invited only forty persons to the ceremony, and that of them there were only twenty present; that he was married in a morning, and according to law; that when the bishop sent for him and charged him with sedition, he cleared himself to his satisfaction; but that after he was gone home he gave private order under his own hand for his being apprehended and sent to the Gate-house; that he was shut up there in a dungeon eight days, without knowing the cause of his imprisonment, though Dr. Hammond, and his faithful father Fox, who were both at the wedding, and saw the whole proceeding, went to the bishop and assured him that he was without wickedness or fault in that way he went about to charge him; but his lordship would not release him without such bonds for his good behaviour and appearance as the prisoner could not procure. "Thus I continue," says Mr. Benison, "separated from my wife before I had been married to her two weeks, to the great trouble of her friends and relations, and to the staggering of the patient obedience of my wife; for since my imprisonment his lordship has been endeavouring to separate us, whom God has joined together in the open presence of his people. Wherefore I most humbly beseech your godly honours, for the everlasting love of God, and for the pity you take upon God's true Protestants and his poor people, to be a means that my pitiful cry may be heard, and my just cause with some credit be cleared, to God's honour and her majesty's, whose favour I esteem more than all the bishop's blessings or bitter cursings; and that, I now being half dead, may recover again to get a poor living with the little learning that God has sent me, to his glory, to the discharging some part of my duty, and to the profit of the land."

The council were so moved with Benison's case, that they sent his lordship the following letter:

"Whereas Barnaby Benison, minister, has given us to understand the great hinderance he has received by your hard dealing with him, and his long imprisonment, for which if he should bring his action of false imprisonment he should recover damages, which would touch your lordship's credit; we therefore have thought fit to require your lordship to use some consideration towards him, in giving him some sum of money to repay the wrong you have done him, and in respect of the hinderance he hath incurred by your hard dealing towards him. Therefore, praying your lordship to deal with the poor man, that he may have occasion to turn his complaint into giving to us a good report of your charitable dealing, we bid you heartily farewell. Hampton Court, November 14th, 1584. Signed,

Ambrose Warwick,	Fr. Bedford,
Fr. Knollys,	Rob. Leicester,
Walter Mildmay,	Charles Howard,
Fr. Walsingham,	James Crofts,
Wm. Burghley,	Chr. Hatton."
Bromley, chan,	

After some time the bishop returned this answer:

"I beseech your lordships to consider, that it is a rare example thus to press a bishop for his zealous service to the queen and the peace of the Church, especially the man being found worthy to be committed for nonconformity, to say nothing of his contemptuous using of me; nevertheless, since it pleaseth your lordships to require some reasonable sum of money, I pray you to consider *my poor estate* and great charges otherwise, together with the great vaunt the man will make of his conquest over a bishop. I hope, therefore, your lordships will be favourable to me, and *refer it to myself*, either to bestow upon him some small benefice, or otherwise to help him as opportunity offers. Or if this shall not satisfy the man, or content your lordships, leave him to the trial of the law, which I hope will not be so plain with him as he taketh it. Surely, my lords, this and the like must greatly discourage me in this poor service of mine in the commission."

What recompense the poor man had for his long imprisonment I cannot find. But he was too wise to go to law with a bishop of the court of high commission, who had but little conscience or honour, and who, notwithstanding his "*poor estate and great charges*," left behind him about £16,000 in money, an immense sum for those times!

His lordship complained that he was hated like a dog, and commonly styled the oppressor of the children of God;* that he was in danger of being mobbed in his progress at Malden, and other places; which is not strange, considering his mean appearance, being a very little man, and his high and insulting behaviour towards those that were examined by him, attended with ill language and a cruel spirit. This appears in numberless instances. When Mr. Merbury, one of the ministers of Northampton, was brought before him, he spake thus:

B. Thou speakest of making ministers; the Bishop of Peterborough was never more overseen in his life than when he admitted thee to be a preacher in Northampton.

Merbury. Like enough so (in some sense): I pray God these scales may fall from his eyes.

B. Thou art a very ass; thou art mad; thou courageous! Nay, thou art impudent; by my troth, I think he is mad; he careth for nobody.

M. Sir, I take exception at swearing judges; I praise God I am not mad, but sorry to see you so out of temper.

B. Did you ever hear one more impudent?

M. It is not, I trust, impudence to answer for myself.

B. Nay, I know thou art courageous; thou art foolhardy.

M. Though I fear not you, I fear the Lord.

Recorder of London. Is he learned?

B. He hath an arrogant spirit: he can scarce construe Cato, I think.

M. Sir, you do not punish me because I am unlearned; howbeit, I understand both the Greek and Latin tongues; assay me to prove your disgrace.

B. Thou takest upon thee to be a preacher,

* Life of Aylmer, p. 96.

but there is nothing in thee; thou art a very ass, an idiot, and a fool.

M. I humbly beseech you, sir, have patience; give this people better example; I am that I am through the Lord; I submit the trial of my sufficiency to the judgment of the learned; but this wandering speech is not logical.

There is a great deal more of the same language in this examination; one thing is remarkable, that he insults poor Merbury, because he was for having a minister in every parish. At parting he gave him the salutation of an "overthwart, proud, Puritan knave;" and sent him to the Marshalsea, though he had been twice in prison before.*

How different was this from the apostolic character of a bishop! "A bishop," saith St. Paul, "should be blameless, of good behaviour, no brawler, nor striker, nor greedy of filthy lucre. The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle to all men, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves, that they may recover them out of the snare of the devil." Nay, how different was this bishop from himself before he put on lawn-sleeves! For in his book entitled "The Harbour for Faithful Subjects," published soon after the queen's accession, are these words: "Come off, ye bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands; be content with hundreds, as they be in other Reformed churches, where be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priestlike, and not princelike; let the queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands, to maintain these wars which you procured, and your mistress left her; and with the rest to build and found schools throughout the realm; that every parish may have his preacher, every city his superintendent, to live honestly, and not pompously; which will never be, unless your lands be dispersed and bestowed upon many, which now feedeth and fattereth but one; remember that Abimelech, when David in his banishment would have dined with him, kept such hospitality that he had no bread in his house to give him but the shew bread. Where was all his superfluity to keep your pretended hospitality? For that is the cause you pretend why you must have thousands, as though you were commanded to keep hospitality rather with a thousand than with a hundred. I would our countryman Wickliffe's book, *De Ecclesia*, were in print; there should you see that your wrinches and cavillations be nothing worth."† When the bishop was put in mind of this passage, he made no other reply than that of St. Paul, "When I was a child I spake as a child, I thought as a child."

The case of those clergymen who were sent for up to Lambeth from the remotest parts of the kingdom was yet harder. Mr. Elliston, vicar of Preston, made seven journeys to Peterborough, which was thirty-six miles from his house, and ten to London, within the compass of two years, besides several to Leicester and Northampton, at his own cost and charge; and, after all, was deprived for not subscribing. To whom might be added, Mr. Stephen Turner, Mr. William Fleming of Beccles, Mr. Holden of Biddlestone, and others.

Among these, the case of the Rev. Mr. Eusebius Paget, minister of the parish church of Kilkhampton, in the diocese of Exon, was very moving; this divine, at the time of his presentation, acquainted his patron and ordinary that he could not with quietness of conscience use some rites, ceremonies, and orders appointed in the service-book; who promised, that if he would take the charge of the said cure, he should not be urged to the precise observation of them; upon which condition he accepted the charge, and was admitted and regularly inducted.* Mr. Paget was a lame man, but, in the opinion of Mr. Strype, a learned, peaceable, and quiet divine, who had complied with the customs and devotion of the Church, and was indefatigable in his work, travelling up and down the neighbouring country, to preach the plain principles of religion; but Mr. Farmer, curate of Barnstaple, envying his popularity, complained of him to the high commission, because he did not mention in his prayers the queen's supremacy over both estates; because he had said that the sacraments were but dumb elements, and did not avail without the Word preached; because he had preached that Christ did not descend into hell both body and soul; that the pope might set up the feast of jubilee, as well as the feasts of Easter and Pentecost; that holy days and fasting days were but the traditions of men, which we were not obliged to follow; that he disallowed the use of organs in Divine service; that he called ministers that do not preach dumb dogs, and those that have two benefices knaves; that he preached that the late Queen Mary was a detestable woman and a wicked Jezebel.

But when Mr. Paget appeared before the commissioners, January 11th, 1584, he was only articulated according to the common form, for not observing the Book of Common Prayer, and the rites and ceremonies of the Church. To which he made the following answer:

"I do acknowledge that, by the statute of the 1st of Eliz., I am bound to use the said Common Prayer Book in such a manner and form as is prescribed, or else to abide such pains as by law are imposed upon me.

"I have not refused to use the said common prayer, or to minister the sacraments in such order as the book appoints, though I have not used all the rites, ceremonies, and orders set forth in the said book: 1. Partly because to my knowledge there is no common prayer book in the Church. 2. Because I am informed that you before whom I stand, and mine ordinary, and the most part of the other bishops and ministers, do use greater liberty in omitting and altering the said rites, ceremonies, and orders. 3. And especially for that I am not fully resolved in conscience, I may use divers of them. 4. Because, when I took the charge of that church, I was promised by my ordinary that I should not be urged to such ceremonies, which I am informed he might do by law.

"In these things which I have omitted I have done nothing obstinately; neither have I used any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of administration of the sacraments, or open prayers, than is mentioned in the said book; al-

* Part of a register, p. 382. *Pierce's Vindic.*, p. 97.

† *Life of Aylmer*, p. 269.

* *MS.*, p. 582.

though there be some things which I doubt whether I may use or practise.

"Wherefore I humbly pray that I may have the liberty allowed by the said book, to have in some convenient time a favourable conference either with mine ordinary, or with some other by you to be assigned; which I seek not for any desire I have to keep the said living, but only for the better resolution and satisfaction of my own conscience, as God knoweth. Subscribed thus—by me,

"*Lame Eusebins Paget, minister.*"

This answer not proving satisfactory, he was immediately suspended; and venturing to preach after his suspension, was deprived; the principal causes of his deprivation were these two:

1. Omission of part of the public prayers, the cross in baptism, and the surplice.

2. Irregularities incurred by dealing in the ministry after suspension.

But in the opinion of the civilians neither of these things could warrant the proceedings of the court.* 1. Because Mr. Paget had not time, nor a conference, as he craved, and as the statute in doubtful matters warranteth. 2. Because he had not three several admonitions, nor so much as one, to do that in time which the law requires. If this had been done, and upon such respite and admonition he had not conformed, then the law would have deemed him a recusant, but not otherwise. 3. If this course had been taken, yet Mr. Paget's omissions had so many favourable circumstances (as the parish's, not having provided a book, and his ordinary's promising not to urge him with the precise observance of all the ceremonies), that it was hardly consistent with the prudent consideration and charity of a judge to deprive him at once.

As to his irregularity, by exercising the ministry after suspension, the suspension was thought to be void, because it was founded upon a method not within the cognizance of those who gave sentence; for the ground was, refusing to subscribe to articles tendered by the ecclesiastical commissioners, who had no warrant to offer any such articles at all; for their authority reaches no farther than to reform and correct facts done contrary to certain statutes expressed in their commission, and contrary to other ecclesiastical laws; and there was never yet any clause in their commission to offer subscription to articles of their own devising. But suppose the suspension was good, the irregularity was taken away by the queen's pardon long before his deprivation. Besides, Mr. Paget did not exercise his ministry after suspension, till he had obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury a release from that suspension, which, if it was not sufficient, it was apprehended by him to be so, the archbishop being chief in the commission; and all the canonists allow that simplicity, and ignorant mistaking of things, being void of wilful contempt, is a lawful excuse to discharge irregularity. But the commissioners avowed their own act, and the patron disposed of the living to another.

Mr. Paget, having a numerous family, set up a little school, but the arms of the commissioners reached him there; for, being required to take

out a license, they tendered him the articles to subscribe, which he refusing, they shut up his school and sent him a begging. Let us hear his own relation of his case in a letter that he sent to that great sea-officer Sir John Hawkins, who had a high esteem for this good man. "I was never present at any separate assembly from the Church," says he, "but abhorred them. I always resorted to my parish church, and was present at service and preaching; and received the sacrament according to the book. I thought it my duty not to forsake a church because of some blemishes in it; but while I have endeavoured to live in peace, others have prepared themselves for war. I am turned out of my living by commandment. I afterward preached without living or a penny stipend; and when I was forbid, I ceased. I then taught a few children, to get a little bread for myself and mine to eat; some disliked this, and wished me to forbear, which I have done, and am now to go as an idle rogue and vagabond from door to door to beg my bread, though I am able in a lawful calling to get it."* Thus this learned and useful divine was silenced till the death of Whitgift, after which he was instituted to the living of St. Anne within Aldersgate.

The Rev. Mr. Walter Travers, B.D., some time fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, already mentioned, came into trouble this year. He had been ordained at Antwerp, and being an admired preacher, a fine gentleman, and of great learning, he became domestic chaplain to Secretary Cecil, and lecturer at the Temple. Dr. Alvey the master dying about this time, Travers was recommended to succeed him by the doctor on his deathbed, and by the benchers of the house, in a petition to the treasurer on his behalf; but the archbishop interposed, and declared, peremptorily, that unless he would be reordained according to the usage of the Church of England, and subscribe to his articles, he would not admit him. Upon which he was set aside, and Mr. Hooker preferred. Travers continued lecturer about two years longer, and was then deprived of his lectureship, and deposed from the ministry. The treasurer, and others of Travers's friends, advised him for peace's sake to be reordained; but he replied in a letter to his lordship, that this would be to invalidate his former orders; and not only so, but as far as in him lay, to invalidate the ordinations of all foreign churches. "As for myself," says he, "I had a sufficient title to the ministerial office, having been ordained according to God's holy Word, with prayers and impositions of hands, and according to the order of a church of the same faith and profession with the Church of England, as appears by my testimonials." He prayed his lordship to consider, farther, whether his subscribing the articles of religion, which only concern the profession of the Christian faith and doctrine of the sacraments, as agreed upon in the convocation of 1562, which most willingly and with all his heart he assented to according to the statute, did not qualify him for a minister in the Church, as much as if he had been ordained according to the English form. But the archbishop was determined to have a strict eye upon the inns of court, and to bring them to the public standard; and the rather, in-

* MS., p. 572.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 377.

asmuch as some of them pretended to be exempted from his jurisdiction; for though in all other places the sacrament was received in the posture of kneeling, the templers received it to this very time sitting. Travers would have introduced the posture of standing at the side of the table, but the benchers insisted upon their privilege, and would receive it in no other posture than sitting.* The archbishop, in order to put an end to this practice, would admit none but a high Conformist, that they might be obliged to receive it kneeling, or not at all.

The harder the Church pressed upon the Puritans, the more were they disaffected to the national establishment, and the more resolute in their attempts for a reformation of discipline. There was a book in high esteem among them at this time, entitled *Disciplina ecclesiæ sacra ex Dei verbo descripta*; that is, "The Holy Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God." It was drawn up in Latin by Mr. Travers, and printed at Geneva about the year 1574, but since that time had been diligently reviewed, corrected, and perfected by Mr. Cartwright, and other learned ministers, at their synods. It was translated into English this year, with a preface by Mr. Cartwright, and designed to be published for more general use; but as it was printing at Cambridge it was seized at the press; the archbishop advised that all the copies should be burned as factious and seditious, but one was found in Mr. Cartwright's study after his death, and reprinted in the year 1654, under this new title, "A Directory of Government anciently contended for, and as far as the time would suffer, practised by the Nonconformists in the Days of Queen Elizabeth, found in the Study of the most accomplished Divine, Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease, and reserved to be published for such a time as this. Published by authority." It contains the substance of those alterations in discipline which the Puritans of these times contended for, and was subscribed by the brethren hereafter named, as argeable to the Word of God, and to be promoted by all lawful means, that it may be established by the authority of the magistrate and of the Church; and in the mean time to be observed, as far as lawfully they may, consistently with the laws of the land and peace of the Church. I have therefore given it a place in the Appendix, to which I refer the reader.†

Another treatise, dispersed privately about this time, against the discipline of the Church, was entitled "An Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament, and of certain of her Majesty's Injunctions and Canons, &c., printed by H. Denham, 1584." The author's design‡ was to show that the bishops in their ecclesiastical courts had exceeded their power, and broke through the laws and statutes of the realm; which was so notorious, that the answerer, instead of confuting the abstracter, blames him for exposing their father's nakedness, to the thrusting through of religion, by the sides of the bishops. But who was in fault! Shall the liberties and properties of mankind be trampled upon by a despotic power, and the poor sufferers not be allowed to hold up the laws and statutes of the land to

their oppressors, because of their great names or religious characters?

The affairs of the Church were in this ferment when the Parliament met November 23d, 1584, in which the Puritans, despairing of all other relief, resolved to make their utmost efforts for a farther reformation of church discipline. Fuller says* their agents were soliciting at the door of the House of Commons all day, and making interest in the evening at the chambers of Parliament men; and if the queen would have taken the advice of her two houses, they had been made easy. December 14th, three petitions were offered to the House: one touching liberty for godly preachers; a second to exercise and continue their ministry; and a third for a speedy supply of able men for destitute places.† The first was brought in by Sir Thomas Lucy, the second by Sir Edward Dymock, and the third by Mr. Gates. Soon after this Dr. Turner stood up, and put the House in remembrance of a bill and book which he had heretofore offered to the House; the bill was entitled "An Act concerning the Subscription of Ministers," and proposes "that no other subscription but what is enjoined by the 13th of Queen Elizabeth be required of any minister or preacher in the Church of England; and that the refusing to subscribe any other articles shall not be any cause for the archbishops or bishops, or any other persons having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to refuse any of the said ministers to any ecclesiastical office, function, or dignity; but that the said archbishops, bishops, &c., shall institute, induct, admit, and invest, or cause to be instituted, &c., such persons as shall be presented by the lawful patrons, notwithstanding their refusal to subscribe any other articles not set down in the statute 13th Eliz. And that no minister for the future shall be suspended, deprived, or otherwise molested in body or goods, by virtue of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but only in the cases of obstinately and wilfully defending any heresies condemned by the express Word of God, or their dissolute lives, which shall be proved by two credible witnesses, or by their own voluntary confession." The book consisted of thirty-four articles of complaint, but by advice of the House, the substance of the petitions was reduced by the ministers in sixteen articles, which he desired might be imparted to the House of Lords, and they be requested to join with the Commons in exhibiting them, by way of humble suit, to the queen. The first five were against insufficient ministers; then followed,

6. That all pastors to be admitted to cures might be tried and allowed by the parishes.

7. That no oath or subscription might be tendered to any at their entrance into the ministry but such as is expressly prescribed by the statutes of this realm, except the oath against corrupt entering.‡

8. That ministers may not be troubled for omission of some rites or portions prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.

9. That they may not be called and urged to answer before the officials and commissaries, but before the bishops themselves.

10. That such as had been suspended or de-

* Strype's Annals, p. 244. † Appendix, No. 4.
‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iii., p. 233, 283.

* B. ix., p. 173. † Life of Whitgift, p. 176, 177.
‡ MS., p. 466. Fuller, b. ix., p. 189, 190.

prived for no other offence, but only for not subscribing, might be restored.

11. That the bishops would forbear their excommunication *ex officio mero* of godly and learned preachers, not detected for open offence of life, or apparent error in doctrine; and that they might not be called before the High Commission, or out of the diocese where they lived, except for some notable offence.

12. That it might be permitted to them in every archdeaconry to have some common exercises and conferences among themselves, to be limited and prescribed by the ordinaries.

13. That the high censure of excommunication may not be denounced or executed for small matters.

14. Nor by lay-chancellors, commissaries, or officials, but by the bishops themselves, with the assistance of grave persons.

15, 16. That nonresidence and pluralities may be quite removed out of the Church, or at least that, according to the queen's injunctions (article 44), no nonresident having already a license or faculty may enjoy it, unless he depute an able curate, who may weekly preach and catechise, as is required in her majesty's injunctions.

This petition was attended with a moving supplication to the queen and Parliament, in the name of thousands of the poor untaught people of England, drawn up by Mr. Sampson, in which they complain, that in many of their congregations they had none to break the bread of life, nor the comfortable preaching of God's Holy Word;* that the bishops in their ordinations had no regard to such as were qualified to preach, provided they could only read, and did but conform to the ceremonies; that they deprived such as were capable of preaching on account of ceremonies which do not edify, but are rather unprofitable burdens to the Church; and that they molest the people that go from their own parish churches to seek the bread of life, when they have no preaching at home. They complain that there are thousands of parishes destitute of the necessary means of salvation, and therefore pray the queen and Parliament to provide a remedy.

In answer to the petition last mentioned, the Bishop of Winchester, in the name of his brethren, drew up the following reply:

The first five petitions tend to one thing, that is, the reformation of an unlearned and insufficient ministry: to which we answer, that though there are many such in the Church, yet that there was never less reason to complain of them than at present, and that things are mending every day.

To the sixth article they answered, that it savoured of popular elections long since abrogated; that it would breed divisions in parishes, and prejudice the patron's right.

To the seventh and four following articles they reply, that if they are granted, the whole hierarchy will be unbraced; for the seventh article shakes the ground of all ecclesiastical government, by subverting the oath of canonical obedience to the bishop in "omnibus licitis et honestis."† The eighth article requires a dispensation from the civil magistrate, to the subverting the Act of Uniformity of common prayer,

&c., and confirmation of the rites and ceremonies of the Church.

The ninth desires a dispensation from the jurisdiction of our ecclesiastical courts, as chancellors, officials, &c., which will in the end subvert all episcopal authority. To the tenth they say, that the ministers who have been suspended are heady, rash, and contentious; and it is a perilous example to have sentences revoked that have been given according to law, except they would yield. The eleventh petition cutteth off another considerable branch of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, viz., the oath *ex officio*, which is very necessary in some cases, where the parishioners are so perverse that, though the minister varies the service of the Church as by law appointed, they will not complain, much less be witnesses against him.

The exercises mentioned in the twelfth article are by the queen's majesty suppressed.

To the thirteenth and fourteenth they answer, that they are willing to petition the queen that the sentence of excommunication may be pronounced by the bishop, with such assistance as he shall call in, or by some ecclesiastical person commissioned by him.

To the fifteenth and sixteenth articles they answer, that the small value of many ecclesiastical livings made pluralities and nonresidence in a manner necessary.*

The debates upon this last head running very high, a bill was ordered to be brought in immediately against pluralities and nonresidences, and for appeals from ecclesiastical courts. It was said in favour of the bill, that nonresidences and pluralities were *mala in se*, evil in their own nature; that they answered no valuable purpose, but hindered the industry of the clergy, and were a means to keep the country in ignorance, at a time when there were only three thousand preachers to supply nine thousand parishes. The archbishop drew up his reasons against the bill, and prevailed with the convocation to present them in an address to the queen, wherein they style themselves her majesty's poor distressed supplicants, now in danger from the bill depending in the House of Commons against pluralities and nonresidences; "which," say they, "impeacheth your majesty's prerogative; lesseneth the revenues of the crown; overthrows the study of divinity in both universities; will deprive men of the livings they lawfully possess; will beggar the clergy; will bring in a base and unlearned ministry; lessen the hospitality of cathedrals; be an encouragement to students to go over to foreign seminaries, where they may be better provided for; and, in a word, will make way for anarchy and confusion."†

And to give some satisfaction to the public, they presented six articles to the queen, as the sum of all that needed amendment.‡ The first was, that none should be admitted into holy orders under twenty-four years of age; that they should have presentation to a cure; that they should bring testimonials of their good life; and that the bishop might refuse whom he thought fit, without the danger of a *quare impedit*. The second was to restrain the commutation of penance, except upon great consideration, of which the bishop to be judge. The third was, to re-

* Life of Whitgift, p. 190.

† Ibid., p. 193.

‡ Ibid., p. 209.

* Strype's Ann., p. 223. † Life of Whitgift, p. 189.

strain licenses to marry without bans. The fourth, to moderate some excesses about excommunication. The fifth, for restraining pluralities of benefices. The sixth, concerning fees to ecclesiastical officers and their servants. But even these articles lay by till the year 1597, when they were confirmed in convocation, and afterward incorporated among the canons.

In the mean time, the bill against pluralities passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, where the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Bishop of Winchester, made long speeches, showing that neither the cathedrals nor professors in the universities could subsist without them. To prove this, they produced a list of the small value of many ecclesiastical livings, according to the queen's books. To which it was replied, that there were many suspended preachers would be glad of the smallest of those livings, if they might have them without molestation; however, that it was more proper to go upon ways and means for the augmentation of smaller livings than to suffer the poor people to perish for lack of knowledge, while the incumbents were indulged in idleness and sloth; but the weight of the bench of bishops, with the court interest, threw out the bill.

This exasperated the Commons to that degree, that after the holidays they resumed the debate of the Bill of Petitions, and ordered several other bills to be brought in to clip the wings of the bishops, and lessen the power of the spiritual courts. One was for swearing bishops in the courts of Chancery and King's Bench, that they should act nothing against the common law of the land; another, to reduce their fees; a third, for liberty to marry at all times of the year; a fourth, for the qualification of ministers; and a fifth, for restoring of discipline. The act for qualifying ministers annuls all popish ordinations, and disqualifies such as were not capable of preaching, as well as those who were convicted of profaneness, or any kind of immorality; but obliges the successor to allow the deprived minister a sufficient maintenance, at the discretion of the justices of the quarter sessions; and if the living be not sufficient, it is to be done by a parish rate. It insists upon a careful examination and trial of the qualifications of candidates for the ministry by the bishop, assisted by twelve of the laity; and makes the election, or consent of the people, necessary to his induction to the pastoral charge. The bill for discipline is for abolishing the canon law and all the spiritual courts,* and for bringing the probates of testaments, and all civil business, into the courts of Westminster Hall; it appoints a presbytery or eldership in each parish, which, together with the minister, shall determine the spiritual business of the parish, with an appeal to higher judicatories in cases of complaint.

Mr. Strype says† the bill for the qualification of the ministers passed the Commons, which put the archbishop into such a fright, that the very next day he wrote the following letter to the queen:

"May it please your majesty to be advertised, That notwithstanding the charge of late given by your highness to the lower house of Parliament for dealing in causes of the Church;

albeit also, according to your majesty's good liking, we have sent down order for the admitting of meet men in the ministry hereafter; yet have they passed a bill in that house yesterday touching that matter; which, besides other inconveniences (as, namely, the trial of the minister's sufficiency by twelve laymen, and such like), hath this also, that if it pass by Parliament it cannot hereafter but in Parliament be altered, what necessity soever shall urge thereunto: which I am persuaded in a short time will appear, considering the multitudes of livings, not fit for men so qualified, by reason of the smallness thereof; whereas, if it be but as a canon from us, or by your majesty's authority, it may be observed or altered at pleasure.

"They have also passed a bill giving liberty to marry at all times of the year without restraint, contrary to the old canons continually observed among us, and containing matter which tendeth to the slander of this Church, as having hitherto maintained an error.

"There is likewise now in hand in the same house a bill concerning ecclesiastical courts, and visitation by bishops; which may reach to the overthrow of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and study of the civil laws. The pretence of the bill is against excessive fees and exactions in ecclesiastical courts; which fees are none other than have been of long time accustomed to be taken; the law already established providing a sharp and severe punishment for such as shall exact the same; besides an order also which we have at this time for the better performance thereof.

"I therefore most humbly beseech your majesty to continue your gracious goodness towards us, who with all humility submit ourselves to your highness, and cease not daily to pray for your happy state, and long and prosperous reign over us. From Lambeth, the 24th of March, 1584.

"Your majesty's chaplain,

"And daily orator most bound,

"JO. CANTUAR."

The queen was pleased with the archbishop's advice of making alterations by canon, and not by statute, that she might reserve the power in her own hands; and immediately sent a message to the Commons by the lord-treasurer, to reprimand them "for encroaching upon her supremacy, and for attempting what she had forbidden, with which she was highly offended; and to command the speaker, in her majesty's name, to see that no bills touching reformation in causes ecclesiastical should be exhibited; and if any such were exhibited, she commands him upon his allegiance not to read them." The Commons now saw their mistake in vesting the whole power of reforming the policy of the Church in the single person of the queen, who knew how to act the sovereign and display her prerogative as well as her father. Had it been reserved to the whole Legislature, queen, lords, and Commons, with advice of the representative body of the clergy, it had been more equitable; but now, if the whole nation were dissatisfied, not an insignificant rite or ceremony must be changed, or a bill brought into either house of Parliament, without an infringement of the prerogative: no lay-person in the kingdom must meddle with religion except the queen; the

* MS., p. 208, 213.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 198.

hands of Lords and Commons are tied up, her majesty is absolute in the affairs of the Church, and no motion for reformation must arise from any but herself.

The archbishop's reasons against the bill for marrying at any time of the year are very extraordinary; it is contrary (says his grace) to the old canons. But many of these are contrary to the canon of Scripture; and they who framed this seem a little to resemble the character which the apostle gives of an apostate from the faith, 1 Tim., iv., 3, "Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." He adds, "It tendeth to the slander of the Church, as having hitherto maintained an error." Is it, then, a slander to the Church of England, or to any Protestant church, to say she is fallible, and may have maintained an error? Have not fathers and councils erred? Nay, in the very Church of Rome, which alone lays claim to infallibility, have we not read of one pope and council reversing the decrees of another? The twenty-first article of the Church of England says that "general councils may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to God." And if a general council may err, even in things of importance to salvation, surely it can be no slander to say a convocation, a parliament, or a single person, may mistake in commanding to abstain from meats, and forbidding to marry at certain times of the year.

While the Puritans were attending the Parliament they did not neglect the convocation: a petition was presented to them in the name of the ministers who refused to subscribe the archbishop's three articles, wherein they desire to be satisfied in their scruples, which the law admits, but had not hitherto been attempted.* The convocation rejecting their petition, the ministers printed their "Apology to the Church and humble Suit to the High Court of Parliament," in which they mention several things in the public service as repugnant to the Word of God: as, requiring faith in an infant to be baptized; confounding baptism and regeneration; adding to the pure and perfect institutions of Christ the cross in baptism, and the ring in marriage; advancing the writings of the Apocrypha to a level with Holy Scripture, by reading them in the Church; with many others. They conclude with an earnest supplication to their superiors to be continued in their callings, considering their being set apart to the ministry, and the obligations they were under to God and their people; they protest they will do anything they can without sin, and the rather, because they are apprehensive that the "shepherds being stricken, their flocks will be scattered."

The Puritans' last resort was to the archbishop, who had a prevailing interest in the queen; a paper was therefore published, entitled "Means how to settle a Godly and Charitable Quietness in the Church," humbly addressed to the archbishop, and containing the following proposals:

That it would please his grace not to press such subscription as had been of late required, seeing in the Parliament that established the articles the subscription was disliked, and put out; † that he would not oblige men to accuse themselves by the oath *ex officio*, it being contrari-

ty to law and the liberty of the subject; that those ministers who have been of late suspended may be restored, upon giving a bond and security not to preach against the dignities of archbishops, bishops, &c., nor to disturb the orders of the Church, but to maintain it as far as they can, and soberly to teach Jesus Christ crucified;* that ministers may not be exposed to the malicious prosecution of their enemies, upon their omission of any tittle in the service-book; that they may not be obliged to read the Apocrypha, seeing in the first book printed in her majesty's reign the same was left out, and was afterward inserted without warrant of law, and contrary to the statute, which allows but three alterations; that the cross in baptism may not be enforced, seeing in King Edward's second book there was a note which left that and some other rites indifferent; which note ought to have been in the queen's book, it not being among the alterations appointed by statute: they farther desire, that in baptism the godfathers may answer in their own names, and not in the child's; that midwives and women may not baptize; that the words upon delivery of the ring in marriage may be left indifferent; that his grace would not urge the precise wearing of the gown, cap, tippet, and surplice, but only that ministers be obliged to wear apparel meet and decent for their callings; that lecturers who have not cure of souls, but are licensed to preach, behaving themselves well, be not enforced to minister the sacraments unless they be content so to do.

But the archbishop would abate nothing, nor admit of the least latitude from the national establishment. He framed an answer to the proposals, in which he insists upon a full conformity, telling the petitioners that it was none of his business to alter the ecclesiastical laws or dispense with them: which was all they were to expect from him. What could wise and good men do more in a peaceable way for the liberty of their consciences, or a farther reformation in the Church? They petitioned the queen, applied to both houses of Parliament, and addressed the convocation and bishops; they moved no seditions nor riots, but fasted and prayed for the queen and Church as long as they were allowed; and when they could serve them no longer, they patiently submitted to suspensions and deprivations, fines and imprisonments, till it should please God, of his infinite mercy, to open a door for their farther usefulness.

The papists made their advantages of these divisions: a plot was discovered this very year [1585] against the queen's life, for which Lord Paget† and others fled their country; and one Parry was executed, who was to have killed her majesty as she was riding abroad; to which (it is said‡) the pope encouraged him, by granting him his blessing, and a plenary indulgence and remission of all his sins; assuring

* To this proposal the archbishop answered, "I do not mislike of the bond; but he that shall enter into it, and yet refuse to subscribe, in my opinion is a mere hypocrite, or a very wilful fellow; for this condition containeth more than doth the subscription."—*Madox's Vindication*, p. 348.—ED.

† See Bishop Carleton's thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy, 1627: a very curious volume, with remarkably fine illustrations.—C.

‡ Strype's Ann., vol. ii., p. 249.

* MS., p. 595.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 196.

him that, besides the merit of the action in heaven, his holiness would make himself his debtor in the best manner he could, and therefore exhorted him to put his "most holy and honourable purposes" in execution; this was written from Rome, January the 30th, 1584, and signed by the Cardinal of Como. Mary, queen of Scots, was big with expectation of the crown of England at this time, from the preparations of foreign popish princes, who were determined to make the strongest efforts to set her upon the throne, and to restore the Catholic religion in England; but they could not get ready before her head was laid down upon the block.

The Parliament, which met again in November, being sensible of the importance of the queen's life, entered into a voluntary association to revenge her death, if that should happen through any violence: * they also made a severe statute against Jesuits and seminary priests, or others who engaged in plots by virtue of the bull of excommunication of Pope Pius V., and against any subject of England that should go abroad for education in any of the popish seminaries. Yet none of these things could move the queen or bishops to take any steps towards uniting Protestants among themselves.

But to put an effectual stop to the pens of the Church's adversaries, his grace applied to the queen for a farther restraint of the press, which he obtained and published by authority of the Star Chamber (says Mr. Strypet), June 23d, 28 Eliz. It was framed by the archbishop's head, who prefixed a preface to it: the decree was to this purpose, "that there should be no printing-presses in private places, nor anywhere but in London and the two universities. No new presses were to be set up but by license from the Archbishop and Bishop of London, for the time being; they to signify the same to the wardens of the Stationers' Company, who should present such as they chose to be masters of printing-presses before the ecclesiastical commissioners for their approbation. No person to print any book unless first allowed according to the queen's injunctions, and to be seen and perused by the Archbishop or Bishop of London, or their chaplain. No book to be printed against any of the laws in being, nor any of the queen's injunctions. Persons that should sell or bind up such books to suffer three months' imprisonment. And it shall be lawful for the wardens of the Stationers' Company to make search after them, and seize them to her majesty's use; and the printers shall be disabled from exercising their trade for the future, and suffer six months' imprisonment, and their presses be broken." Notwithstanding this edict, the archbishop was far from enjoying a peaceable triumph, the Puritans finding ways and means from abroad to propagate their writings, and expose the severity of their adversaries.

Some faint attempts were made this summer for reviving the exercises called prophesyings, in the diocese of Chester, where the clergy were very ignorant: Bishop Chadderton drew up proper regulations, in imitation of those already mentioned, but the design proved abortive. The Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry also published some articles for his visitation which sa-

voured of Puritanism, as against nonresidents, for making a more strict inquiry into the qualifications of ministers, and for restraining unworthy communicants.* He also erected a kind of judicatory,† consisting of four learned divines with himself, to examine such as should be presented for ordination. When the archbishop had read them over, he called them the well-spring of a pernicious platform, and represented them to the queen as contrary to law, and the settled state of the Church; the bishop wrote a defence of his articles to the archbishop, showing their consistency with law, and the great advantage which might arise from them; but Whitgift would hear of nothing that looked like a Puritanical reformation.‡

The Lord's Day was now very much profaned by the encouragement of plays and sports in the evening, and sometimes in the afternoon. The Rev. Mr. Smith, M.A., in his sermon before the University of Cambridge, the first Sunday in Lent, maintained the unlawfulness of these plays; for which he was summoned before the vice-chancellor, and upon examination offered to prove that the Christian Sabbath ought to be observed by an abstinence from all worldly business, and spent in works of piety and charity; though he did not apprehend we were bound to the strictness of the Jewish precepts.§ The Parliament had taken this matter into consideration,|| and passed a bill for the better and more reverent observation of the Sabbath, which the speaker recommended to the queen in an elegant speech; but her majesty refused to pass it, under pretence of not suffering the Parliament to meddle with matters of religion, which was her prerogative. However, the thing appeared so reasonable, that, without the sanction of a law, the religious observation of the Sabbath grew in esteem with all sober persons, and after a few years became the distinguishing mark of a Puritan.

This summer Mr. Cartwright returned from abroad, having spent five years in preaching to the English congregation at Antwerp; he had been seized with an ague, which ended in a hectic, for which the physicians advised him to his native air. Upon this he wrote to the Earl of Leicester and the lord-treasurer for leave to come home; these noblemen made an honourable mention of him in Parliament, but he could not obtain their mediation with the queen for his pardon, so that as soon as it was known he was landed, though in a weak and languishing condition, he was apprehended and thrown into prison; when he appeared before the archbishop he behaved with that modesty and respect as

* Strype's Ann., vol. iii., p. 328.

† Here Mr. Neal is censured by Bishop Warburton, as partial, for reckoning the Bishop of Litchfield's conduct to be agreeable to law, because in favour of the Puritans; and for representing before, p. 318, the archbishop's publishing articles without the great seal as illegal, because against the Puritans. Not to say that the articles in one case are very different from the object of the judicatory in the other, Mr. Neal, it will appear on examining, doth not decide on the legality of the measure in either case, but, as an historian, states what was offered on this head by the parties; and this he does with respect to the archbishop very fully *pro* and *con*.—Ed.

‡ MS., p. 55.

§ Strype's Ann., p. 341.

|| *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 296.

* Strype's Ann., vol. ii., p. 293.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 223.

softened the heart of his great adversary, who, upon promise of his peaceable and quiet behaviour, suffered him to go at large; for which the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Cartwright returned his grace thanks; but all their interest could not procure him a license to preach. "Mr. Cartwright," says the archbishop to the earl, "shall be welcome to me at all times, but to grant him a license to preach till I am better satisfied of his conformity, is not consistent with my duty or conscience." However, the earl made him governor of an hospital in Warwick, where he was connived at for a time, and preached without a license: his salary was a house, and £100 per annum.

Mr. Fenner and Wood, two other suspended ministers, were released after twelve months' imprisonment, upon a general subscription to the articles, as far as the law required, and a promise to use the Book of Common Prayer, and no other; but such was the clamour on all hands, by reason of the three articles to be subscribed by all who had livings already, as well as those that should hereafter take orders, that Secretary Walsingham went over to Lambeth, and told his grace that it would stop, in a great measure, the complaints which were brought to court, if he would require subscription only of such as were hereafter to enter into holy orders, and suffer those already in places to proceed in the discharge of their duty, upon condition of their giving bond to read the common prayer according to the usages and laws prescribing the same; which the archbishop promised to comply with.*

But the nonsubscribing divines, who were unpreferred, might not so much as teach school for a livelihood, for the archbishop would grant no license without subscribing; and from this time his licenses to teach grammar, and even reading and writing, were granted only from year to year: the schoolmasters were to be full conformists; † they were limited to a particular diocese, and were not authorized to teach elsewhere; they were to instruct their scholars in nothing but what was agreeable to the laws and statutes of the realm; and all this only during the bishop's pleasure. Such was the rigour of these times!

Mr. Travers had been lecturer at the Temple with Mr. Hooker, the new master, about two years, but with very little harmony or agreement, one being a strict Calvinist, the other a person of larger principles; the sermon in the morning was very often confuted in the afternoon, and vindicated again the next Lord's Day. The writer of Hooker's life† reports that the morning sermon spoke the language of Canterbury, the afternoon that of Geneva. Hooker complaining of this usage, the archbishop took the opportunity to suspend Mr. Travers at once,

without any warning; for, as he was going up into the pulpit to preach on the Lord's Day afternoon, the officer served him with a prohibition upon the pulpit stairs; upon which, instead of a sermon, he acquainted the congregation with his suspension, and dismissed them.* The reasons given for it were, 1. That he was not ordained according to the rites of the Church of England. 2. That he had broken the orders of the 7th of the queen, "That disputes should not be brought into the pulpit."

Mr. Travers, in his own vindication, drew up a petition or supplication to the council, in which he complains of being judged and condemned before he was heard, and then goes on to answer the objections alleged against him in the prohibition.

First, it is said "that I am not lawfully called to exercise the office of a minister, nor allowed to preach, according to the laws of the Church of England."

To which I answer, that my call was by such methods as are appointed in the national synods of the foreign Reformed churches; testimonials of which I have shown to my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; so that, if any man be lawfully called to the ministry in those countries, I am.

But "I am not qualified to be a minister in England, because I am not ordained according to the laws of this country."

I beseech your lordships to weigh my answer: Such is the communion of saints, as that, what solemn acts are done in one true church of Christ, according to his Word, are held lawful in all others: the constituting or making of a minister being once lawfully done, ought not to be repealed: pastors and teachers in the New Testament hold the same manner of calling as I had: the repeating ordination makes void the former ordination, and, consequently, all such acts as were done by virtue of it, as baptism, confirmation, marriage, &c. By the same rule, people ought to be rebaptized and married over again, when they come into this country from a foreign. †

Besides, by the statute 13 Elizabeth, those who have been ordained in foreign Protestant churches, upon their subscribing the articles therein mentioned, are qualified to enjoy any benefice in the kingdom, equally with them who are ordained according to the laws now in being; which, comprehending all that are priests according to the order of the Church of Rome,

* Many who approved of the silencing of Travers were indignant at the way in which it was done. Fuller gives the following account of it. "All the congregation, on a Sabbath in the afternoon, were assembled together, their attention prepared, the cloth (as I may say) and napkins were laid, yea, the guests set, and their knives drawn for their spiritual repast; when suddenly, as Mr. Travers was going up into the pulpit, a sorry fellow served him with a letter prohibiting him to preach any more. In obedience to authority, Mr. Travers calmly signified the same to the congregation, and requested them quietly to depart to their chambers.

"Thus was our good *Zecharias struck dumb in the Temple*, but not for infidelity. Meantime, his auditory, sent sermonless home, manifested in their variety of passion, some grieving, some frowning, some murmuring, and the wisest sort, who held their tongues, shook their heads as disliking the managing of the matter."—*Church History*, ch. ix., p. 217.—C.

† Whitgift's Life, p. 251.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 226, 227. † Ibid., p. 246.

† Bishop Warburton deems it disingenuous in Mr. Neal to quote the language of this biographer as he knew that, so quoted, it would be understood to reflect upon Mr. Hooker as only a tool or creature of the archbishop. But is not Bishop Warburton here unnecessarily captious? To me it appears that the opposition lying between Canterbury and Geneva is sufficient to screen Mr. Neal's use of the biographer's words from the imputation of such a meaning.—Ed.

must certainly be as favourable to ministers ordained among foreign Protestants. In consequence of this law many Scots divines are now in possession of benefices in the Church, as was Mr. Whittingham, though he was the first who was called in question in this case.

But it is said, "I preached without presentation or license."

To which I answer, that the place where I exercised my ministry required no presentation, nor had I a title, or reaped any benefit by law, but only received a voluntary contribution, and was employed in preaching only; and as to a license, I was recommended to be a minister of that place by two several letters of the Bishop of London to the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, without which letters that society would not have permitted me to officiate.

Secondly, "I am charged with indiscretion and want of duty to Mr. Hooker, master of the Temple; and with breaking the order of the 7th of the queen, about bringing disputes into the pulpit."

As to "want of duty," I answer, though some have suspected my want of good-will to Mr. Hooker, because he succeeded Dr. Alvey in the place I desired for myself; this is a mistake, for I declined the place because I could not subscribe to my Lord of Canterbury's late articles, which I would not do for the mastership of the Temple, or any other place in the Church. I was glad the place was given Mr. Hooker, as well for the sake of old acquaintance as to some kind of affinity there is between us, hoping we should live peaceably and amicably together, as becomes brethren; but when I heard him preach against the doctrine of assurance, and for salvation in the Church of Rome, with all their errors and idolatry, I thought myself obliged to oppose him; yet, when I found it occasioned a pulpit war, I declared publicly that I would concern myself no farther in that manner, though Mr. Hooker went on with the dispute.

But it is said, "I should then have complained of him to the high commission."

To which I answer, It was not out of contempt or neglect of lawful authority, but because I was against all methods of severity, and had declared my resolution to trouble the pulpit with those debates no more.

Upon the whole, I hope it will appear to your lordships that my behaviour has not deserved so severe a punishment as has been inflicted upon me; and therefore I humbly pray that your lordships would please to restore me to my ministry, by such means as your wisdoms shall think fit; which will lay me under farther obligations to pray for your temporal and eternal happiness. But if your lordships cannot procure me this favour, I recommend myself to your lordships' protection, under her majesty, in a private life, and the Church to Almighty God, who in justice will punish the wicked, and in mercy reward the righteous with a happy immortality.

Mr. Hooker wrote an answer to Mr. Travers's supplication, in a letter to his patron, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he takes no notice of Travers's ordination, but confines himself to his objections against his doctrines; some of which he undertakes to refute, and in other places complains of misrepresentation.

But let all be granted that he would have, says Mr. Hooker, what will it advantage him? He ought to have complained to the high commissioners, and not have confuted me in the pulpit; for schisms and disturbances will arise in the Church, if all men may be tolerated to think as they please, and publicly speak what they think. Therefore, by a decree agreed upon by the bishops, and confirmed by her majesty, it was ordered that, if erroneous doctrine should be taught publicly, it should not be publicly refuted, but complained of to such persons as her majesty should appoint to hear and determine such causes; for breach of which order he is charged with want of duty; and all the faults he alleges against me can signify nothing in his own defence. Mr. Hooker concludes with his unfeigned desires that both Mr. Travers's and his papers may be burned, and all animosities buried in oblivion, and that there be no strife among them but this, who shall pursue peace, unity, and piety with the greatest vigour and diligence.

But the council interfered not in the affair. Travers was left to the mercy of the archbishop, who could never be prevailed with to take off his suspension or license him to preach in any part of England; upon which he accepted an invitation into Ireland, and became Provost of Trinity College in the University of Dublin; here he was tutor to the famous Dr. Usher, afterward Archbishop of Armagh, who always had him in high esteem; but being driven from thence by the wars, he returned after some years into England, and spent the remainder of his days in silence, obscurity, and great poverty; he was a learned man, a polite preacher, an admirable orator, and one of the worthiest divines of his age. But all these qualifications put together could not atone for the single crime of nonconformity.

Mr. Cartwright being forbid preaching, had been encouraged by the Earl of Leicester and Secretary Walsingham to answer the Rhemist translation of the New Testament, published with annotations in favour of popery; divers doctors and heads of houses of the University of Cambridge solicited him to the same work, as appears by their epistle prefixed to the book: the like encouragement he received from sundry ministers in London and Suffolk, none being thought so equal to the task as himself; and because Cartwright was poor, the secretary of state sent him £100, with assurance of such farther assistance as should be necessary.* This was about the year 1583. Cartwright accordingly applied himself to the work, but the archbishop, by his sovereign authority, forbade him to proceed, being afraid that his writings would do the hierarchy more damage than they would do service to the Protestant cause: the book, therefore, was left unfinished, and not published till the year 1618, to the great regret of the learned world, and reproach of the archbishop.

The sufferings of Mr. Gardiner, the deprived minister of Malden, in Essex, would have moved compassion in any except the Bishop of London. I will represent them in his own words, as they were sent to him in form of a supplication, dated September 7th, 1586.†

* Life of Whitgift, p. 253.

† MS., p. 752.

“To the right reverend father in God, the Lord-bishop of London :

“My duty in humble wise remembered, my lord,

“I am cast into prison by your lordship for a matter which about seven years past was slanderously raised up against me ; I was by course of law cleared, and the Lord God which searcheth the hearts, before whom both you and I shall shortly appear, doth know, and him I call to witness, that I was and am falsely accused. I have been extremely sick in prison ; I thank God I am amended, but yet so that the physicians say my infection from the prison will be very dangerous. I have a poor wife and five children, which are in lamentable case ; I had six children at the beginning of my imprisonment ; but by reason of my sickness in prison, my wife being constrained to attend upon me, one of my children, for want of somebody to oversee them, was drowned in a tub of wort, being two years and half old. If your lordship have no compassion on me, yet take pity upon the widow and fatherless (for in that state are now my wife and poor infants), whose tears are before the Lord. I crave no more but this, to be bailed ; and if I am found guilty of any breach of law, let me have extremity without any favour.

“Your lordship’s to command in Christ,

“JOHN GARDINER.”

Mr. Giles Wiggington, M.A., minister of Sedburgh, having been deprived at Lambeth for nonconformity, and another inducted into his living, went home, and being denied entrance into the Church, preached a kind of farewell sermon to his parishioners in the churchyard, and administered the sacrament, having no peace in his mind till he had done it, though his brethren in the ministry would have dissuaded him ; after this he retired with his wife and children to Burrough-bridge, but was arrested in his journey by a pursuivant from the Archbishop of York, and sent to Lancaster jail, fifty miles distant from the place where he was arrested, in a hard and cold winter ; there he was shut up among felons and condemned prisoners, and worse used than they, or than the recusant papist. From hence he sent up his case to Sir Walter Mildmay, one of the privy council, but with little success ; for he was a warm nonconformist, and a bold preacher against the lordly proceedings of the bishops, for which, and for refusing the oath *ex officio*, he suffered a long imprisonment.* He was afterward apprehended again, upon suspicion of his being one of the authors of Martin Mar-Prelate, which he denied ; but confessing he did not dislike the book, he was therefore confined in the Compter and the Gate-house, till, I believe, he consented to leave the realm.

In the Parliament that met this year, October 29th, 1586, and 28 Eliz., the Puritan ministers made another effort for parliamentary relief, for which purpose they presented an humble supplication to the House of Commons ; in which they say, “It pierces our hearts with grief to hear the cries of the country people for the Word of God. The bishops either preach not at all, or very seldom ; neither can they for their manifold business, their diocesses being too large for their personal inspection ; besides,

they are encumbered with civil affairs, not only in their own ecclesiastical courts, in causes testamentary, &c., but as lord-barons, justices of peace, members of the Star Chamber, Council-table, and Ecclesiastical Commission ; all which is contrary to the words of Christ, who says his kingdom is not of this world ; and contrary to the practice of all other Reformed churches. And whereas the Scriptures say that ministers of the Gospel should be such as are able to teach sound doctrine and convince gainsayers, yet the bishops have made priests of the basest of the people, not only for their occupations and trades whence they have taken them, as shoemakers, barbers, tailors, water-bearers, shepherds, and horse-keepers, but also for their want of good learning and honesty. How true this our complaint is, may appear by the survey of some shires and counties hereunto annexed, even some of the best, whereby the rest may be estimated.

“We do acknowledge that there are a number of men within the ministry who have good and acceptable gifts, and are able to preach the Word of God to edification ; of which number there are two sorts : there are a great number that live not upon the place where they are beneficed, but abandon their flocks, directly contrary to the charge of Christ to Peter, saying, ‘Feed my sheep ;’ and of the apostle Paul to the elders of Ephesus, ‘Take heed to yourselves, and the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers, to feed the Church of God.’ Of this sort are sundry bishops, who have benefices *in commendam* ; university men, and chaplains at court ; others get two or three benefices into their hands, to serve them for winter and summer houses ; which pluralities and nonresidences are the more grievous because they are tolerated by law. There are, indeed, several that reside upon their benefices, but content themselves with just satisfying the law ; that is, to have Divine service read, and four sermons a year.

“But great numbers of the best qualified for preaching, and of the greatest industry and application to their spiritual functions, are not suffered quietly to discharge their duties, but are followed with innumerable vexations, notwithstanding they are neither heretics nor schismatics, but keep within the pale of the Church, and persuade others to do so, who would otherwise have departed from it. They fast and pray for the queen and the Church, though they have been rebuked for it, and diversely punished by officers both civil and ecclesiastical. They are suspended and deprived of their ministry, and the fruits of their livings are sequestered for the payment of such a chaplain as their superiors think fit to employ ; this has continued for many months and years, notwithstanding the intercession of their people, of their friends, and sometimes of great personages, for their release. Last of all, many of them are committed to prison, whereof some have been chained with irons, and continued in hard durance for a long time.

“To bring about these severities, they [the bishops] tender to the suspected persons an oath *ex officio*, to answer all interrogatories that shall be put to them, though it be to accuse themselves ; and when they have gotten a confes-

* MS., 754, 843, &c.

It must be uncommon diligence and application, as well as a very great expense, to collect so many names and characters of men; the exact valuation of so many livings; the number of nonresident ministers; of such as had been mass-priests; and of mechanics and tradesmen: but such was the zeal of these pious men! The survey of Lincolnshire was signed by the justices of the peace of that county, and the others are attested by some of the principal clergymen of those parts, and are so particular in all circumstances, as leave little room to doubt of their truth in general, though there may be some few mistakes in characters and numbers: upon the whole, the survey takes notice that, after twenty-eight years' establishment of the Church of England, there were only two thousand preachers to serve near ten thousand parish churches, so that there were almost eight thousand parishes without preaching ministers.* To this account agrees that of Mr. Fenner, who lived in these times, and says that a third part of the ministers of England were covered with a cloud of suspensions;† that if persons would hear a sermon, they must go in some places five, seven, twelve, yea, in some counties twenty miles, and at the same time be find 12*d*. a Sabbath for being absent from their own parish church, though it be proved they were hearing a sermon elsewhere, because they had none at home. Nor is it at all strange it should be thus in the country, when the Bishop of London enjoined his clergy in his visitation this very year. 1. That every person should have a Bible in Latin and English. 2. That they should have Bullinger's Decads. 3. That they should have a paper book, and write in it the quantity of a sermon every week. 4. That such as could not preach themselves, should be taxed at four purchased sermons a year.‡ What a miserable state of things was this! when many hundreds of pious and conscientious preachers were excluded the Church, and starving with their families for want of employment.

With the supplication and survey above mentioned, a bill§ was offered to the House of Com-

* MS., p. 206. † Answer to Dr. Bridges, p. 48.

‡ Life of Aylmer, p. 148.

§ Bishop Warburton condemns "the offering of this bill to the house as such a mutinous action in the Puritan ministers," that he wonders a writer of Mr. Neal's "good sense could mention them without censure, much more that he should do it with commendation." It is not easy to see where his lordship found Mr. Neal's commendation of this bill; the editor can discern a bare statement of the proceedings only. And by what law, or by what principle of the constitution, is the offering of a bill and a representation of grievances to the house an act of mutiny? The bill of the Puritans undoubtedly went to new model the establishment, but only by enlarging the terms of communion; not by substituting new ceremonies in the room of those which were burdensome to themselves. It went, it is true, to introduce a new discipline, but not to abolish episcopacy. And was not the spiritual jurisdiction then exercised oppressive? Were not the proceedings of the bishops arbitrary? If so, how was it "insufferable insolence" to seek a parliamentary reform! It would have been, as his lordship grants, just and reasonable if the Puritans had moved for toleration only. This would have been more consistent in those who sought only their own liberty. But his lordship did not allow for the very different ideas we may have on the measures that should have been pursued, who

mons for a farther reformation; wherein, after a recital of their grievances, they pray that the books hereunto annexed, entitled "A Book of the Form of Common Prayer, &c., and everything therein contained, may be from henceforth authorized and put in use and practice, throughout all her majesty's dominions, any former law, custom, or statute to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding." The book contained prayers before and after sermon, but left a liberty for variation, if it was thought proper.* The minister was to pray and give thanks in the words there prescribed, or such like. In the Creed it leaves the article of Christ's descent into hell more at large. It omits three of the thirty-nine articles, viz., the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, and thirty-sixth. It takes the jurisdiction of the Church out of the hands of the spiritual courts, and places it in an assembly of ministers and elders in every shire, who shall have power to examine, approve, and present ministers to the several parishes for their election, and even to depose them, with the consent of the bishop, upon their misbehaviour.

At the same time a pamphlet was dispersed without doors, entitled "A Request of all true Christians to the Honourable House of Parliament." It prays "that every parish church may have its preacher, and every city its superintendent, to live honestly, but not pompously." And to provide for this it prays "that all cathedral churches may be put down, where the service of God is grievously abused by piping with organs, singing, ringing, and trowling of psalms from one side of the choir to another, with the squeaking of chanting choristers, disguised (as are all the rest) in white surplices; some in corner caps and filthy copes, imitating the fashion and manner of antichrist the pope, that man of sin and child of perdition, with his other rabble of miscreants and shavelings. These unprofitable drones, or, rather, caterpillars of the world, consume yearly, some £2500, some £3000, some more, some less, whereof no profit cometh to the Church of God. They are the dens of idle, loitering lubbards; the harbours of time-serving hypocrites, whose prebends and livings belong, some to gentlemen, some to boys, and some to serving-men and others. If the revenues of these houses were applied to augment the maintenance of poor, diligent, preaching parish ministers, or erecting schools, religion would then flourish in the land."†

view these transactions at this distance of time, and many years after a toleration act has passed, from what those had whose minds, in the infancy of a separation from the Church, felt all the attachments to it produced by education and habit, and were naturally averse to a total and final secession from it. He considers "the House of Commons in a temper to have passed a bill for toleration." But he forgets that the success of such a bill, or of any bill, did not depend on the temper of the house, but on the pleasure of the queen. Besides, for the first twelve or fourteen years of her majesty's reign the prayer of the petitions presented by the Puritans was, if not for a toleration in a separation from the Church, yet only for a dispensation for the use of the habits and three or four ceremonies, and a redress of a few notorious abuses. As the queen and bishops continued unyielding, and grew more vigorous, new questions were started, and now burdens were felt, and new demands arose.—*Mr. Neale's Review*.—Ed.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 258.

† MS., p. 814.

Some bold speeches were made in Parliament against the arbitrary proceedings of the bishops, by Mr. Wentworth and others, for which those members were sent to the Tower; at which the house was so intimidated that they would not suffer the bill to be read. Besides, the queen sent both for the bill and petition out of the house, and ordered the speaker to acquaint them "that she was already settled in her religion, and would not begin again; that changes in religion were dangerous; that it was not reasonable for them to call in question the established religion, while others were endeavouring to overthrow it; that she had considered the objections, and looked upon them as frivolous; and that the platform itself was most prejudicial to her crown, and to the peace of her government."* Nay, so incensed was the queen with these attempts of the Puritans, that in drawing up a general pardon to be passed in Parliament, she ordered an exception to be made of such as committed any offence against the Act of Uniformity, or were publishers of seditious books or pamphlets.†

The convocation, contrary to all custom and usage, continued sitting after the Parliament, and gave the queen a subsidy or benevolence. This precedent Archbishop Laud made us of in the year 1640 to prove the lawfulness of a convocation sitting without a Parliament. All they did farther was to address the queen with an offer to maintain by disputation that the platform of the Puritans was absurd in divinity, and dangerous to the state; which the Nonconformists would willingly have debated, but the others knew the queen and council would not admit it.

The press was in the hands of the archbishop, who took all possible care to stifle the writings of the Puritans, while he gave license to Ascanio, an Italian merchant, and bookseller in London, to import what popish books he thought fit, upon this very odd pretence, that the adversaries' arguments being better known by learned men, might be more easily confuted.§ But was it not a shorter way to confute them in the high commission? Or might not the same reason have served for licensing the books of the Puritans? But his grace seems to have been in no fear of popery, though this very year another assassination-plot was discovered, for which Ballard, a priest, and about twelve or fourteen more, were executed.¶ Remarkable are the words of this Ballard, who declared, upon examination, to Sir Francis Knollys, treasurer of the queen's household, and a privy counsellor, "that he would desire no better books to prove his doctrine of popery than the archbishop's

writings against Cartwright, and his injunctions set forth in her majesty's name. That if any men among the Protestants lived virtuously, they were the Puritans, who renounced their ceremonies, and would not be corrupted with pluralities. That unlearned and reading ministers were rather a furtherance than a hindrance to the Catholic cause. That though the bishops owned her majesty to be supreme governor in causes ecclesiastical, yet they did not keep their courts in her majesty's name; and that, though the names and authority of archbishops and bishops, &c., were in use in the primitive Church, they forgot that they were then lords or magistrates of order only, made by the prince, and not lords of absolute power, ruling without appeal." This was written by Mr. Treasurer himself, October 15th, 1586, upon which Sir Francis advised in council "that special care should be taken of popish recusants; and that the absolute authority of private bishops, without appeal, should be restrained; that they might not condemn zealous preachers against the pope's supremacy for refusing to subscribe unlawful articles, nor without the assembly of a synodical council of preachers, forasmuch as the absolute authority of the bishops, and their ambition and covetousness, had a tendency to lead people back to popery." But how much truth soever there was in these observations, the queen and archbishop were not to be convinced.

The Puritans being wearied out with repeated applications to their superiors for relief, began to despair, and in one of their assemblies came to this conclusion: that since the magistrate could not be induced to reform the discipline of the Church, by so many petitions and supplications (which we all confess in the liturgy is to be wished), that therefore, after so many years' waiting, it was lawful to act without him, and introduce a reformation in the best manner they could. We have mentioned their private classes in Essex, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, and other parts, in which their book, entitled "The Holy Discipline of the Church, described in the Word of God," being revised, was subscribed by the several members in these words, according to Mr. Strype, which are something different from the form at the end of the book in the Appendix: "We acknowledge and confess the same, agreeable to God's most holy Word, so far as we are able to judge or discern of it, excepting some few points [which they sent to their reverend brethren in some assembly of them, for their farther resolution], and we affirm it to be the same which we desire to be established in this Church, by daily prayer to God, which we profess (as God shall offer opportunity, and gives us to discern it so expedient) by humble suit to her majesty's most honourable privy council and Parliament, and by all other lawful means to farther and advance, so far as the law and peace of the present state of our Church will suffer it, and not to enforce the contrary. We promise to guide ourselves according to it, and follow the directions set down in the chapter 'Of the Office of the Ministers of the Word.' We promise to frequent our appointed assemblies, that is, every six weeks classical conferences, every half year provincial assemblies, and general assemblies every year."*

* Life of Whitgift, p. 259. † Heyl. Aer., p. 269.

‡ This license was not absolute and unlimited, but restrained the importation to a few copies of every such sort of books, and on this condition only, that any of them be not showed or dispersed abroad; but a delivery of them was to be made to one of the privy council, or to such only as they or some one of them should judge meet to have the perusal of them. Ascanio was obliged to enter into strict bonds to perform these conditions. This method of licensing popish books was not so inconsistent with the restraint laid on the liberty of the press, and on the circulation of the books of the Puritans, as our author represents it, and appears to have conceived of it.—*Maddox's Vindication*, p. 350.—Ed.

§ Life of Whitgift, p. 208.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

* Among those that subscribed or declared their

Besides the Puritans already mentioned as suffering this year, the learned Dr. John Walward, divinity professor at Oxford, was enjoined a public recantation, and suspended till he had done it, for teaching that the order of the Jewish synagogue and eldership was adopted by Christ and his apostles into the Christian Church, and designed as a perpetual church government.* He was also bound in a recognizance of £100 for his good behaviour. Mr. Harsnet, of Penbrooke Hall, was imprisoned at the same time for not wearing the surplice. Mr. Edward Gillibrand, fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge, was forbid preaching, and bound in a recognizance of £100 to revoke his errors in such words as the commissioners should appoint. His crime was speaking against the hierarchy, and against the swelling titles of archbishops and bishops, for which Whitgift told him he deserved not only to be imprisoned and suspended, but to be banished the university. Mr. Farrar, minister of Langham in Essex, was charged with rebellion against the ecclesiastical laws, and suspended for not wearing the habits. Bishop Aylmer told him that except he and his companions would be conformable, in good faith, he and his brethren the bishops would, in one quarter of a year, turn them all out of the Church. September 11th, Mr. Udall, of Kingston-upon-Thames, was suspended and imprisoned for keeping a private fast in his parish. In the month of January, Mr. Wilson, Mr. More, and two other ministers were imprisoned, and obliged to give bond for their good behaviour.

In the month of May the Rev. Mr. Settle was summoned before the Archbishop of Lambeth, and charged with denying the article, "Of the descent of our Saviour's soul into hell," or the place of the damned. Mr. Settle confessed it was his opinion that Christ did not descend to the approval of the Book of Discipline, were the Rev. Messrs. Cartwright, Travers, Dr. Knewstubs, Messrs. Charke, Edgerton, Reynolds, Gardiner, Gifford, Barber, Spicer, Greenham, Payne, Fenner, Field, Snape, Johnson, Nichols, Dr. Sparkes, Messrs. Ward, Stone, Warkton, Larke, Fletcher, Lord, Farmer, Rushbrook, Littleton, Oxenbridge, Seyntclere, Standen, Wilcox, Dr. Whitaker, Messrs. Chadderton, Perkins, Allen, Edmunds, Gillibrand, Bradshaw, Harrison, Massie, Hidersham, Dod, Brightman, Cawdrey, Rogers, Udall, Dyke, Wight, Paget, and others to the number of above five hundred, all benefited in the Church of England, useful preachers, of unspotted lives and characters, and many of them of the University of Cambridge, where they had a strong and powerful interest.

Bishop Maddox triumphs in the representation of Mr. Neal, that five hundred who subscribed the holy discipline were all benefited in the Church, as a proof of the lenity of government. Mr. Neal, in his reply, adds, "that there were more than twice five hundred clergymen who made a shift to keep their places in the Church." But when, at the same time, they were continually exposed to suffer from the rigour of government; when, as Dr. Bridges declared, a third part of the ministers of England were covered with a cloud of suspensions; when many smarted severely for attempting a reformation, for which they all wished and prayed; when Cartwright, Travers, Field, Johnson, Cawdery, Udall, and other leaders of the Puritans, were suspended, imprisoned, and frequently in trouble, not to say dying under the hand of power, the reader will judge with what propriety his lordship exults over our author.—See *Mr. Neal's Review*, p. 872, 873.—Ed.

* M.S., p. 798.

† *Ibid.*, p. 800, 805.

cally into hell, and that Calvin and Beza were of his mind, which put the archbishop into such a passion that he called him ass, dolt, fool. Mr. Settle said he ought not to rail at him, being a minister of the Gospel. What, said the archbishop, dost thou think much to be called ass and dolt? I have called many of thy betters so. True, said Mr. Settle, but the question is, How lawfully you have done so? Then said the archbishop, Thou shalt preach no more in my diocese. Mr. Settle answered, I am called to preach the Gospel, and I will not cease to do it. The archbishop replied, with a stern countenance, Neither you nor any one in England shall preach without my leave. He then charged Mr. Settle with not observing the order of the service-book; with not using the cross in baptism; with disallowing the baptism of midwives; and not using the words in marriage, "With this ring I thee wed." The Dean of Winchester asked him if he had subscribed. Settle answered, Yes, as far as the law required, that is, to the doctrines of faith and the sacraments, but as touching other rites and ceremonies he neither could nor would. Then said the archbishop, Thou shalt be subject to the ecclesiastical authority. Mr. Settle replied, I thank God you can use no violence but upon my poor body. So his grace committed him to the Gate-house, there to be kept close prisoner.*

Sandys, archbishop of York, was no less active in his province; I have many of his examinations before me; he was a severe governor, hasty and passionate; but it was said in excuse for him and some others, that the civilians by their emissaries and spies turned informers, and then pushed the bishops forward, to bring business into the spiritual courts.

About this time Dr. Bridges, afterward bishop of Oxford, wrote against the Puritans, and maintained that they were not grievously afflicted, unless it were caused by their own deserts. The doctor was answered by Mr. Fenner, who appealed to the world in these words: "Is it no grievous affliction by suspension to be hung up between hope and despair for a year or two, and, in the mean time, to see the wages of our labourers eaten up by loiterers? Nay, our righteous souls are vexed with seeing and hearing the ignorance, the profane speeches, and evil examples of those thrust upon our charges, while we ourselves are defamed, reproached, scoffed at, and called seditious and rebellious; cited, accused, and indicted, and yet no redress to be found. All this we have patiently bore, though we come daily to the congregations to prayers, to baptisms, and to the sacrament, and by our examples and admonitions have kept away many from excesses whereunto rashness of zeal have carried them. And though to such as you, who swarm with deaneries, with double benefices, pensions, advowsons, reversions, &c., these molestations seem light, yet surely, upon every irreligious man's complaint in such things as many times are incredible, to be sent for by pursuivants, to pay twopence for every mile, to find messengers, to defray our own charges, and this by such as can hardly, with what they have, clothe and feed themselves and their families, it is not only grievous, but, as far as well can be, a very heart-burning. It is grievous to a free-

* M.S., p. 798.

man, and to a free minister, for a light cause—as, for an humble supplication to her majesty and the whole Parliament, and to the fathers of the Church—to be shut in close prison, or, upon every trifling complaint, to be brought into a slavish subjection to a commissary, so as at his pleasure to be summoned into the spiritual courts, and coming thither, to be sent home again at least with unnecessary expenses, masterlike answers, yea, and sometimes with open revilings. We will not justify ourselves,” says Mr. Fenner,* “in all things, but acknowledge, that when coming by dozens and scores before the bishop, after half a day’s disorderly reasoning, some not being heard to the full, some railed on and miscaled, none with lenity satisfied, but all suspended from our office because we would not subscribe his last two articles, there might pass from us some infirmities afterward; this and many other things we are willing to impute to ourselves.” But, after all, it may be questioned whether the history of former ages can furnish an example of so many severities against divines of one and the same faith, for a few trifling ceremonies, or of a more peaceable and Christian behaviour under sufferings.

Camden, indeed, complains of their dispersing pamphlets against the Church and prelates, in a time of common danger, when the nation was in arms against the Spanish invasion; but these pamphlets were only to show that the danger of the return of popery (which all men were now apprehensive of) arose from stopping the mouths of those ministers who were most zealous against it. It had been easy at this time to have distressed the government and the hierarchy, for the cry of the people was against the bishops; but the Puritans both here and in Scotland were more afraid of the return of popery than their adversaries: those in Scotland entered into an association to assemble in arms at what time and place their king should require, to assist the Queen of England against the Spaniards; and their brethren in London took the opportunity to petition the queen for the liberty of their preachers.† “That the people might be better instructed in the duties of obedience to their civil governors, and not be left a prey to priests and Jesuits, who were no better than traitors to her majesty and the kingdom. They assure her majesty that the people will give their ministers a good maintenance; that they [the people] will always pray for her majesty’s safety, and be ready to part with their goods, and pour out their blood like water for her preservation, if they may but have the Gospel.” But the queen gave them no answer; the whole Reformation must be hazarded rather than the Puritans relieved.

After this, they applied to the lord-mayor and court of aldermen, beseeching them to address the queen, to make some better provision for the city; and to enforce their petition, they laid before them a new survey of, the ministry of London, taken this very year, with the names of every parish-priest and curate set down against his living and curacy, which is now before me;‡ and it appears at the foot of the account that there were,

Double-beneficed men within the city . 18

Double-beneficed men without 27
Simple preachers (as the survey calls them) 10
Dumb, or unpreaching ministers 17
Resident preachers, abiding in London only 19

With the survey they offered divers reasons to prevail with the court to appear for them; as, Because the laws of the realm have provided very well for a learned preaching ministry; whereas by the account above, it appears that many are pluralists and nonresidents, others illiterate, being brought up to trades, and not to learning, and others of no very good character in life: because divers of the principal preachers of this land have of late been put to silence: because of the prevailing ignorance and impiety that is among the common people for want of better instruction; and because we now pay our money and dues to them that do little or nothing for it: but the aldermen were afraid to interpose.*

Such was the scarcity of preachers, and the thirst of the people after knowledge, that the suspended ministers of Essex petitioned the Parliament, March 8th, 1587, for some remedy. “Such,” say they, “is the cry of the people to us day and night for the bread of life, that our bowels yearn within us; and remembering the solemn denunciation of the apostle, ‘Wo be to us if we preach not the Gospel,’ we begin to think it our duty to preach to our people as we have opportunity, notwithstanding our suspension, and to commit our lives and whole estates to Almighty God, as to a faithful Creator; and under God to the gracious clemency of the queen, and of this honourable house.” Many suspended preachers came out of the countries, and took shelter in the city. But to prevent as much as possible their getting into any of the pulpits of London, the following commission was sent to all the ministers and church-wardens of the city.

“Whereas sundry preachers have lately come into the city of London, and suburbs of the same; some of them not being ministers, others such as have no sufficient warrant for their calling, and others such as have been detected in other countries, and have, notwithstanding, in the city taken upon them to preach publicly, to the infamy of their calling; others have in their preaching rather stirred up the people to innovation than sought the peace of the Church. These are, therefore, in her majesty’s name, by virtue of her high commission for causes ecclesiastical to us and others directed, straitly to enjoin, command, and charge all persons, vicars, curates, and church-wardens of all churches in the city of London, and the suburbs thereof, as well in places exempt as not exempt, that they nor any of them do suffer any to preach in their churches, or to read any lectures, they not being in their own cures, but only such whose licenses they shall first have seen and read, and whom they shall find to be licensed thereto, either by the queen’s majesty, or by one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, or by the Lord-archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London for the time being, under seal.

“And that this may be published and take the better effect, we will that a true copy thereof

* Answer to Dr. Bridges, p. 45, 46.

† MS., p. 838.

‡ Ibid., p. 482.

* MS., p. 839.

shall be taken and delivered to every curate and church-warden of every of the churches aforesaid. The 16th day of August, 1587.*

(Subscribed) "JOHN CANTERBURY,
"JOHN LONDON,
"VAL. DALE,
"EDWARD STANHOPE,
"RICH. COZIN."

Under all these discouragements the Puritans kept close together, hoping one time or other that Providence would make way for their relief. They maintained their classes and associations, wherein they agreed upon certain general rules for their behaviour: one was, that they should endeavour in their preaching and conversation to wipe off the calumny of schism, inasmuch as the brethren communicated with the Church in the Word and sacraments, and in all other things, except their corruptions; and that they assumed not authority to themselves of compelling others to observe their decrees. In their provincial synod, held at Warwick, June 4th, 1588, it was agreed that it was not lawful to baptize in private; nor sufficient for a minister to read homilies in churches; nor lawful to use the cross in baptism. They agreed, farther, that they were not obliged to rest in the bishop's deprivation, nor to appear in their courts, without a protestation of their unlawfulness. In another synod it was determined that no man should take upon him a vague or wandering ministry; that they who take upon them a cure of souls should be called by the church whom they are to serve, and be approved by the classes or some greater assembly; and if by them they are found meet, they are to be recommended to the bishop for ordination, if it might be obtained without subscribing the Book of Common Prayer.† It was farther agreed how much of the common prayer might be lawfully read for the preserving their ministry, and how far they might exercise their discipline without the civil magistrate. In another provincial synod about Michaelmas, it was agreed that the oppressions offered to others, and especially to the ministers, by the bishops and their officials in their spiritual courts, should be collected and registered: if this had been preserved entire, more of the sufferings of these great and good men would have appeared, and many works of darkness, oppression, and cruelty would have been brought to light, which now must be concealed till the day of judgment.

The danger with which the nation was threatened from a foreign invasion gave a little check to the zeal of the bishops against the Puritans for the present; however, this year Mr. Cawdrey, minister of South Luffingham, was suspended, imprisoned, and deprived by the Bishop of London;‡ he had a wife and seven children, which were cast upon Providence; but this divine gave his lordship some farther trouble, as will be seen hereafter. Mr. Wilson, who had been suspended some time before, moved for a release in the bishop's court; but

because he refused to subscribe his suspension was continued, and himself treated by the civilians with great inhumanity.

Mr. Arthur Hildersham, whom Mr. Fuller represents as a heavenly divine, being at this time fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was suspended by the commissioners for preaching occasionally before he had taken orders, and obliged to sign the following recantation: * "I confess that I have rashly and indiscreetly taken upon me to preach, not being licensed nor admitted into holy orders, contrary to the orders of the Church of England, contrary to the example of all antiquity, and contrary to the direction of the apostle in the Acts; whereby I have given great and just offence to many; and the more, because I have uttered in my sermons certain impertinent and very unfit speeches for the auditory, as moving their minds to discontent with the state, rather than tending to godly edification; for which my presumption and indiscretion I am very heartily sorry, and desire you to bear witness of this my confession, and acknowledging my said offences." This recantation was, by the archbishop's appointment, to be uttered in Trinity Hall Chapel, before Easter. In the mean while, he was suspended from the profits of his fellowship, and stood bound to appear before the commissioners the first court day of Easter term, if he did not before that time recant. Whether Mr. Hildersham recanted I am not certain, but September 14, 1587, he left the university, and settled at Ashby de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire, where he continued a deep sufferer for nonconformity forty-three years, having been suspended and put to silence by the High Commission no less than four times, and continued under that hardship almost twenty years.

This year put an end to the life of the famous martyrlogist, John Fox, a person of indefatigable labour and industry, and an exile for religion in Queen Mary's days; he spent all his time abroad in compiling the acts and monuments of the Church of England, which were published first in Latin, and afterward, when he returned to his native country, in English, with enlargements; vast were the pains he took in searching records and collecting materials for this work; and such was its esteem, that it was ordered to be set up in all the parish churches in England. Mr. Fox was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, 1517, educated in Brazen-nose College, Oxon, where he proceeded M.A. in the year 1543. He was afterward tutor to the Duke of Norfolk's children, who, in the days of Queen Mary, conveyed him privately out of the kingdom. He was a most learned, pious, and judicious divine, of a catholic spirit, and against all methods of severity in religion. But he was shamefully neglected for some years, because he was a Nonconformist, and refused to subscribe the canons and ceremonies; nor did he get any higher preferment in the Church than a prebend of Salisbury, though the queen used to call him father, and professed a high veneration for him, as, indeed, he deserved. He died in London in the seventieth year of his age, and lies buried in Cripplegate Church, where his monument is still to be seen, against the

* MS., p. 835.

† There was, as Bishop Warburton hints, an impropriety in disclaiming the use of authority, when, being a small and oppressed party, no authority from the state was invested in them.—Ed.

‡ Life of Whitgift, p. 192.

§ MS., p. 825.

* Fuller, b. ix., p. 642.

south wall of the chancel, with a flat marble stone over his remains.*

It has been observed, that our Reformers admitted only two orders of church officers to be of Divine appointment, viz., bishops and deacons, a presbyter and bishop, according to them, being two names for the same office; but Dr. Bancroft, the archbishop's chaplain, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, January 12, 1588, maintained that the bishops of England were a distinct order from priests, and had superiority over them *jure divino*, and directly from God. He affirmed this to be God's own appointment, though not by express words, yet by necessary consequence, and that the denial of it was heresy. The doctor confessed that Aeri- us had maintained there was no difference between a priest and a bishop; but that Epiphanius had pronounced his assertion full of folly, and that it had been condemned as heresy by the gener-

* Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs have long been, still remain, and will ever continue, substantial pillars of the Protestant Church; of more force than volumes of bare arguments, to withstand the tide of popery; and, like a Pharos, should be kept kindled in every age, as a warning to all posterity. Strype pronounces the following encomium on this work: "Mr. Fox," says he, "hath done such exquisite service to the Protestant cause, in showing, from abundance of ancient books, records, registers, and choice manuscripts, the encroachments of popes and papalins, and the stout oppositions that were made in all ages and countries by learned and good men against them, especially under King Henry and Queen Mary in England. He hath preserved the memoirs of those holy men and women, those bishops and divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and death, willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and his Gospel, and for refusing to comply with the popish doctrines and superstitions; and, as he hath been found most diligent, so most strictly true and faithful in his descriptions."—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i., p. 239-241. Mr. Fox enjoyed the friendship of Grindal, Parkhurst, Pilkington, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Thomas Gresham, and Queen Elizabeth, and by them could have received any preferment, but he would not subscribe nor conform to the ceremonies. Fuller says, "How learnedly he wrote, how constantly he preached, how piously he lived, how cheerfully he died, may be fetched from his life at large, prefaced before his book. One page therein omitted we must here insert, having received it from witnesses beyond exception: In the year 88, when the *Spanish half moon* did hope to rule all the motion in our seas, Master Fox was privately in his chamber at prayers, battering heaven with his importunity in behalf of this sinful nation. And we may justly presume that his devotion was as actually instrumental to the victory as the wisdom of our admiral, valour of his soldiers, skill and industry of his seamen. On a sudden, coming down to his parish, he cried out, *They are gone, they are gone!* which, indeed, happened in the same instant, as, by exact computation, did afterward appear."—*Abel Redivivus*, p. 381-2.

His epitaph still remains on his tombstone.

In memory of John Fox,
the most faithful martyr-ologist of our English Church,
a most diligent searcher into historical antiquity,
a most strong bulwark
and fighter for evangelical truth;
who hath revised the Marian martyrs
as so many Phœnixes.
from the dust of oblivion,
is this monument erected,
in grief and affliction,
by his eldest son, Samuel Fox.
He died April 18, A. D. 1588.—C.

al council of the Church; that Martin and his companions had maintained the same opinion; but that St. Jerome and Calvin had confessed that bishops have had superiority over presbyters ever since the times of St. Mark the evangelist. This was new and strange doctrine to the churchmen of these times. It had been always said that the *superiority of the order of bishops above presbyters had been a politic human appointment*, for the more orderly government of the Church, begun about the third or fourth century; but Bancroft was one of the first who, by the archbishop's directions, advanced it into a Divine right.* His sermon gave offence to many of the clergy and to all the friends of the Puritans about the court, who would have brought the preacher into a præmunire for saying that any subject of this realm hath superiority over the persons of the clergy, otherwise than from and by her majesty's authority. But the doctor retorted this argument upon the disciplinarians, and added, that it was no better than a sophism, because the prince's authority may, and very often does, confirm and corroborate that which is primarily from the laws of God. Sir Francis Knollys, who had this affair at heart, told the archbishop that Bancroft's assertion was contrary to the command of Christ, who condemned all superiority among the apostles. "I do not deny," says he, "that bishops may have lordly authority and dignity, provided they claim it not from a higher authority than her majesty's grant. If the bishops are not under-governors to her majesty of the clergy, but superior governors over their brethren by God's ordinance [i. e., *jure divino*], it will then follow that her majesty is not supreme governor over her clergy." The same gentleman, not relying upon his own judgment, wrote to the learned Dr. Reynolds, of Oxford, for his opinion of Bancroft's doctrine, which he gave him in a letter now before me.†

* Life of Whitgift, p. 292. The first English Reformers acknowledged only two orders of church officers, bishops and deacons, to be of Divine appointment.—C.

† The letter is to this effect:

—"Though Epiphanius says that Aeri- us's assertion is full of folly, he does not disprove his reasons from Scripture; nay, his arguments are so weak, that even Bellarmine confesses they are not agreeable to the text. As for the general consent of the Church, which, the doctor says, condemned Aeri- us's opinion for heresy, what proof does he bring for it? It appears (he says) in Epiphanius; but I say it does not; and the contrary appears by St. Jerome, and sundry others who lived about the same time. I grant that St. Austin, in his book of heresies, ascribes this to Aeri- us for one; that he said there ought to be no difference between a priest and a bishop, because this was to condemn the Church's order, and to make a schism therein. But it is a quite different thing to say that, by the Word of God, there is a difference between them, and to say that it is by the order and custom of the Church; which is all that St. Austin maintains. When Harding the papist alleged these very witnesses to prove the opinion of bishops and priests being of the same order to be heresy, our learned Bishop Jewel cited to the contrary Chry- sostom, Jerome, Ambrose, and St. Austin himself, and concluded his answer with these words: 'All these, and other more holy fathers, together with the Apostle Paul, for thus saying, by Harding's advice, must be held for heretics.' Michael Medina, a man of great account in the Council of Trent, adds to the foremen-

We shall meet with this controversy again hereafter. Whitgift said the doctor's sermon had done much good, though he himself rather wished than believed it to be true: it was new

tioned testimonies, Theodorus, Primarius, Sedulius, Theophylact, with whom agree Eucumenius the Greek scholiast, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, Gregory, and Gratian; and after them, how many? it being once enrolled in the canon law for Catholic doctrine, and thereupon taught by learned men.

"Besides, all that have laboured in reforming the Church for five hundred years have taught that all pastors, be they entitled bishops or priests, have equal authority and power by God's Word; as, first, the Waldenses, next Marsilius Patavinus, then Wickliffe and his scholars, afterward Husse and the Hussites; and last of all, Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Bullinger, and Musculus. Among ourselves we have bishops, the queen's professors of divinity in our universities, and other learned men consenting herein, as Bradford, Lambert, Jewel, Pilkington, Humphreys, Fulke, &c. But what do I speak of particular persons? It is the common judgment of the Reformed churches of Helvetia, Savoy, France, Scotland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, the Low Countries, and our own. I hope Dr. Bancroft will not say that all these have approved that for sound doctrine which was condemned by the general consent of the whole Church for heresy, in a most flourishing time: I hope he will acknowledge that he was overseen when he avouched the superiority which bishops have among us over the clergy to be God's own ordinance.

"As for the doctor's saying that St. Jerome, and Calvin from him, confessed that bishops have had the same superiority ever since the time of St. Mark the evangelist, I think him mistaken, because neither Jerome says it, nor does Calvin seem to confess it on his report; for bishops among us may do sundry other things besides ordaining and laying on of hands, which inferior ministers or priests may not; whereas, St. Jerome says, What does a bishop except ordination which a priest does not? meaning, that in his time, bishops had only that power above priests; which Chrysostom also witnesses in Homily xi., on 1 Timothy. Nor had they this privilege alone in all places, for in the Council of Carthage it is said that the priests laid their hands together with the bishops on those who were ordained. And St. Jerome having proved by Scripture that, in the apostle's time, bishops and priests were all one, yet granteth that afterward bishops had that peculiar to themselves somewhere, but nothing else; so that St. Jerome does not say, concerning the superiority in question, that bishops have had it ever since St. Mark's time.

"Nor does Calvin confess it; he says that, in old time, ministers chose one out of their company in every city, to whom they gave the title of bishop; yet the bishop was not above them in honour and dignity, but, as consuls in the Senate, propose matters, ask their opinions, direct others by giving advice, by admonishing, by exhorting, and so guide the whole action, and by their authority see that performed which was agreed on by common consent; the same charge had the bishop in the assembly of ministers; and having showed from St. Jerome that this was brought in by consent of men, he adds, that it was an ancient order of the Church, even from St. Mark; from whence it is apparent that the order of the Church he mentions has relation to that above described, in which he affirms, 'that the bishop was not so above the rest in honour as to have rule over them.' It follows, therefore, that Calvin does not so much as seem to confess of St. Jerome's report, that, ever since St. Mark's time, bishops have had a ruling superiority over the clergy."

Dr. Reynolds, on account of his uncommon skill in Greek and Hebrew, was appointed by James, in 1604, one of the translators of the Bible. His name is often found in history spelled Rainolds.—C.

doctrine at this time. Most of the clergy who approved the superiority of the episcopal order were against the Divine right; but the bishops in the next age revived the debate, and carried their pretensions so high as to subvert the very foundations upon which they built.

The queen having suffered Mary, queen of Scots, to be beheaded at Fotheringay Castle, February, 1587-8, all the Roman Catholic princes were alarmed, and threatened revenge; among others, the Spaniards hastened their invincible armada, to reduce England to the Catholic faith, which had been three years preparing at a prodigious expense: the fleet was well manned, and furnished with strange instruments of torture for the English heretics; they came through the Channel like so many floating castles, being to take in a land army from the Low Countries; but partly by storms, and partly by the valour and wise conduct of the queen's admirals and sea captains, the whole fleet was burned and destroyed, so that not a Spaniard set foot upon English ground; nor was there a ship left entire to carry the news back to Spain. The queen ordered the coasts to be well guarded, and raised a land army, which she animated by appearing at the head of them. A terror was spread through the whole nation by reports of the engines of cruelty that were aboard the fleet; their barbarous usage of the poor Protestants in the Low Countries under the Duke d'Alva was remembered, as well as their bloody massacres of the poor Indians in America; but the storm blew over, and, by the blessing of God upon the queen's arms, the nation was soon restored to its former tranquillity.

The following winter the queen summoned a Parliament to meet [February 4th, 1588], in order to defray the extraordinary expenses of the year, and make some new laws against the papists. The Puritans having expressed their zeal for the queen and the Protestant religion by listing in her army and navy, thought it advisable once more to address the houses for some favour in point of subscription. Upon the delivery of the petition, one of the members stood up and moved that an inquiry might be made how far the bishops had exceeded the laws in the prosecution of her majesty's Protestant subjects. Another moved for reviving the bill against pluralities and nonresidents, which was brought in, and having passed the Commons, was sent up to the Lords. This alarmed the convocation, who addressed the queen to protect the Church; and having flattered her with the title of a goddess, "O dea certe!" they tell her, "that the passing of the bill will be attended with the decay of learning, and the spoiling of their livings; that it will take away the set forms of prayer in the Church, and bring in confusion and barbarism. They put her in mind how dangerous innovations are in a settled state: and add, that all the Reformed churches in Europe cannot compare with England in the number of learned ministers. We therefore," say they, "not as directors, but as humble remembrancers, beseech your highness's favourable beholding of our present state, and not to suffer the bill against pluralities to pass."* Hereupon the queen forbade the House of Lords to proceed, and sent for those members of the House of

* Life of Whitgift, p. 280.

Commons into custody who had dared to break through her orders, of not meddling with affairs of religion without her special allowance; which put an end to all expectations of relief for the present.

This year died the reverend and learned Mr. Thomas Sampson, of whom mention has been made already; he was born about the year 1517, and educated at Oxford; he afterward studied at the Temple, and was a means of converting the famous martyr John Bradford from the Protestant religion; he took orders from Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley in the year 1549 (who dispensed with the habits at his request), and became Rector of Allhallows, Bread-street: he was a famous preacher in the reign of King Edward; but upon the accession of Queen Mary he fled to Strasburgh,* and was highly esteemed by the learned Tremelius. When Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, she offered him the Bishopric of Norwich, which he refused, for no other reason but because he could not conform to the habits and ceremonies. In the year 1561, he was installed Dean of Christ Church, Oxon; but soon after, in the year 1564, was deprived by sentence of Archbishop Parker for nonconformity. He afterward contented himself with the mastership of an hospital in Leicester, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. He was seized with the dead palsy on one side many years before he died; but continued preaching and writing to the last, and was in high esteem over all England for his learning, piety, and zeal for the Protestant religion. He died at his hospital, with great tranquillity and comfort in his nonconformity, the latter end of March or the beginning of April, 1588-9, in the seventy-second year of his age.†

Soon after him died the very learned Dr. Lawrence Humphreys, a great friend and companion of Sampson's; he was born at Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire, and educated in Magdalen College, Oxon, of which he was perpetual fellow. In the reign of Queen Mary he obtained leave to travel, and continued at Zurich till Queen Elizabeth's accession, when he was made queen's professor in divinity; he was afterward President of Magdalen College, and Dean of Gloucester, which was the highest preferment he could obtain, because he was a Nonconformist from the ceremonies of the Church. The Oxford historian says he was a moderate and conscientious Nonconformist, and stocked his college with a generation of that sort of men that could not be rooted out in many years: he was certainly a strict Calvinist, and a bitter enemy of the papists; he was a great and general scholar, an able linguist, and a deeper divine than most of his age: he published many learned works, and at length died in his college, in the sixty-third year of his age, 1589, having had the honour to see many of his pupils bishops,‡ while he who was every way their superi-

or was denied preferment for his Puritanical principles.

To these we may add the venerable Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York, an excellent and frequent preacher in his younger days, and an exile for religion in Queen Mary's reign. He was afterward successively Bishop of Worcester, London, and York, and a zealous defender of the laws against Nonconformists of all sorts; when arguments failed, he would earnestly implore the secular arm; though he had no great opinion of the discipline or ceremonies of the Church, as appears by his last will and testament, in which are these remarkable expressions: "I am persuaded that the rites and ceremonies, by political institution appointed in the Church, are not ungodly nor unlawful, but may for order and obedience's sake be used by a good Christian; but I am now, and ever have been, persuaded that some of these rites and ceremonies are not expedient for this church now; but that in the Church reformed, and in all this time of the Gospel, they may better be disused by little and little, than more and more urged."** Such a testimony, from the dying lips of one who had been a severe persecutor† of honest men, for things which he always thought had better be disused than urged, deserves to be remembered. He died‡ in the month of July, 1588, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and was buried in the collegiate church of Southwell, where there is a monument erected to his memory, with his own effigies on the top, and a great number of his children kneeling round the sides of it.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE SPANISH INVASION TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

WHILE there were any hopes of compromising matters between the Church and Puritans, the controversy was carried on with some decency; but when all hopes of accommodation were at an end, the contending parties loaded each other with the heaviest reproaches. The public printing-presses being shut against the Puritans, some of them purchased a private one, and carried it from one country to another to prevent discovery: it was first set up at Moulsey in Surrey, near Kingston-on-Thames; from thence it was conveyed to Fawsley in Northamptonshire; from thence to Norton, from thence to Coventry, from Coventry to Woolston in Warwickshire, and from thence to Manchester in Lancashire, where it was discovered. Sundry satirical pamphlets were printed by this press, and dispersed all over the kingdom; as.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 287.

† Life of Parker, p. 428, 438. Pierce's Vindication, p. 89.

‡ Bishop Sandys was one of the translators of the Bible in this reign, and the author of a volume of sermons esteemed superior to any of his contemporaries. The words of his last will, quoted above, agree with his former declaration to Bishop Parker, produced by our author, p. 160. But his treatment of the Puritans was a contradiction to both, and is one proof, among the several instances furnished by these times, of the influence of preferment and prosperity in corrupting the human mind or blinding the judgment. For, in the same will, he entered his serious protest against the platforms offered by the Puritans.—See Maddox's Vindication, p. 352.—Ed.

* The particular cause of his leaving the kingdom was a discovery that he was concerned with Richard Chambers, a zealous Protestant, in collecting money in the city of London for the use of poor scholars in the universities who had imbibed the reformed doctrines.—*British Biography*, vol. iii., p. 20, the note.—Ed.

† Wood's Ath. Ox., vol. i., p. 192.

‡ Strype's Ann., vol. 1., p. 472; vol. ii., p. 451.

"Martin Mar-Prelate," written, as is supposed, by a club of separatists, for the authors were never discovered: it is a violent satire against the hierarchy and all its supporters; it calls the lord-bishops petty antichrists, petty popes, proud prelates, enemies to the Gospel, and most covetous, wretched priests. It says "that the Lord has given many of our bishops over to a reprobate sense, because they wilfully oppose and persecute the truth; and supposes them to have committed the unpardonable sin, because they have manifested in their public writings, &c., most blasphemous and damnable doctrines." The author then addresses himself to the clergy who had subscribed, and who were for pressing subscription upon others, in such punning language as this: "Right puissant and terrible priests, my clergy masters of the *confocation* or *conspiration* house, whether *fickers* [vicars], *paltripolitans*, or others of the holy league of subscription. Right poisoned, persecuting, and terrible priests; my horned masters, your government is antichristian, your cause is desperate, your grounds are ridiculous; Martin understands all your knavery; you are intolerable withstanders of reformation, enemies of the Gospel, and most covetous, wretched, and popish priests," &c.* There are a great many sad truths in the book, but delivered in rude and unbecoming language, and with a bitter, angry spirit.

The titles of the rest were,

"Theses Martinianæ; *i. e.*, certain demonstrative conclusions set down and collected by Martin Mar-Prelate the Great, serving as a manifest and sufficient confutation of all that ever the college of cater-caps, with their whole band of clergy-priests, have or can bring for the defence of their ambitious and antichristian prelacy. Published by Martin, Junior, 1589, in octavo, and dedicated to John Kankerbury" [*i. e.*, Canterbury]. The author of this tells the bishops that he would plant young Martins in every diocese and parish, who should watch the behaviour of the clergy, that when anything was done amiss it might be made public.

"Protestation of Martin Mar-Prelate; wherein, notwithstanding the surprising of the printer, he maketh it known to the world that he feareth neither proud priest, antichristian pope, tyrannous prelate, nor godless cater-cap, &c. Printed 1589." Octavo.

"His appellation to the High Court of Parliament from the bad and injurious dealing of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other his colleagues of the High Commission, &c.† Printed 1589." Octavo.

"Dialogue, wherein is plainly laid open the tyrannical dealings of the lords-bishops against God's children. Printed 1589." Quarto.

"A Treatise, wherein is manifestly proved that Reformation, and those that sincerely favour the same, are unjustly charged to be enemies to her majesty and the state. Printed 1590." Quarto.

"Ha' ye any work for the Cooper?" This was written against Dr. Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, and is said to be printed in Europe, not far from some of the bouncing priests, 1590.

"Epitome of the First Book of Dr. John Bridges against the Puritans," with this expression in the title-page, "Oh! read over Dr. John Bridges, for it is a worthy work. Printed over sea in Europe, within two furlongs of a bouncing priest, at the cost and charges of Martin Mar-Prelate, gent., in quarto."

"The Cobbler's Book,"* which denies the Church of England to be a true church, and charges her with maintaining idolatry under the name of decency, in the habits, fonts, baptism by women, gang-days, saints' eves, bishoping of children, organs, wafer-cakes, &c.

"Ha' ye any more work for the Cooper?"* In printing of which the press was discovered and seized, with several pamphlets unfinished; as, *Episto* [Episco] *Mastix*, *Paradoxes*, *Dialogues*, *Miscellanea*, *Varia*, *Lectiones*, *Martin's Dream*, *The Lives and Doings of English Popes*, *Itinerarium* or *Visitations*, *Lambethisms*.

The last two of these were imperfect; but to complete the *Itinerarium*, the author threatens to survey all the clergy of England, and note their intolerable pranks; and for his *Lambethisms* he would have a Martin at Lambeth. Other books were published of the same nature; as, "A Demonstration of Discipline," "The Counter-poison," &c.

The writers on the Church side came not behind their adversaries in buffoonery and ridicule, as appears by the following pamphlets printed at this time:

"Pappe with an hatchet, alias, A fig for my godson; or, Crack me this nut, that is, a sound box of the ear for the idiot Martin to hold his peace. Written by one that dares call a dog a dog. Imprinted by John Anoke, and are to be sold at the sign of the Crab Tree Cudgel, in Thwack-Coat-Lane."†

"Pasquil's Apology. In the first part whereof he renders a reason of his long silence, and gallops the field with the treatise of Reformation. Printed where I was, and where I shall be ready, by the help of God and my muse, to send you a May-game of Martinism. Anno 1593." Quarto.

"An Almond for a Parrot; or, An Alms for Martin Mar-Prelate, &c. By Cuthbert Curry-Knave." Quarto.

"The return of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquil to England, and his meeting with Marforius at London, upon the Royal Exchange, London, 1589, against Martin and Martinism."

"A Counter-cuff given to Martin, Junior, by the Pasquil of England, Cavaliero. 1589." 8vo.

It is said when a controversy about serious matters runs these dregs: ridicule and personal reflection may expose an adversary and make him ashamed, but will never convince or reconcile; it carries with it a contempt which sticks in the heart, and is hardly ever to be removed, nor do I remember any cause that has been served by such methods. Dr. Bridges answered Martin in a ludicrous style; but Cooper, bishop of Winchester, did more service by his grave and sober reply, with the assistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, being miserably aspersed, furnished the bishop with replies to the particular charges brought against him. The book is entitled "An Advertisement to the People of England," wherein the slan-

* Life of Whitgift, p. 290.

† Ath. Oxon., vol. I., p., 259.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 296.

† Ath. Ox., vi., 280.

† *Ibid.*, p. 288.

ders of Martin Mar-Prelate the libeller are distinctly answered. But, after all, it was impossible for the bishops to wipe off from themselves the charge of persecution and violation of the laws.

To put a stop to these pamphlets, the queen sent a letter to the archbishop, commanding him to make diligent inquiry after the printing-press, and issued out her royal proclamation, dated February 13th, 1589, "for the bringing in all seditious and schismatical books, whether printed or written, to the ordinary, or to one of the privy council, as tending to bring in a monstrous and dangerous innovation of all manner of ecclesiastical government now in use, and with a rash and malicious purpose to dissolve the state of the prelacy, being one of the three ancient estates of this realm under her highness, whereof her majesty mindeth to have a reverend regard; she therefore prohibits any of her subjects from keeping any books in their custody against the order of the Church, or the rites and ceremonies of it, her majesty being minded to have the laws severely executed against the authors and abettors of them, as soon as they shall be apprehended."*

As soon as the printing-press was discovered, his grace wrote to the treasurer to prosecute the persons with whom it was found; but, like an able politician, wishes it might be done by the lords of the council rather than by the ecclesiastical commissioners, because they had already suffered for supporting the government, which was wounded through their sides.† Accordingly, Sir Richard Knightly, Sir — Wigston, who had entertained the press, together with the printer, and Humphrey Newman, the disperser, were deeply fined in the Star Chamber, and others were put to death.‡

The archbishop, being now in his visitation, had framed twenty-two articles of inquiry, upon which the church-wardens of every parish were to be examined upon oath. By these articles they were to swear that their minister was exactly conformable to the orders of the Church, or else to impeach him; and to declare, farther, whether they knew any of their neighbours or fellow-parishioners that were "common swearers, drunkards, usurers, witches, conjurers, heretics; any man that had two wives, or woman that had two husbands; whether they knew any that went to conventicles or meetings for saying prayers in private houses; any that were of age, and did not receive the sacrament at church three times a year;"§

* Life of Whitgift, in Rec., b. iii., no. 41.

† Ibid., p. 314. Fuller, b. ix., p. 194.

‡ Fuller adds, Archbishop Whitgift improved his interest with the queen till, though she was at first angry with his solicitations, they were delivered out of prison and eased of their fines. Bishop Maddox censures Mr. Neal for passing this over in silence; but he himself omits the construction put on this apparently kind conduct of the prelate, "which, while some highly commended, so others," says Fuller, "imputed it to the declining of envy, gaining of applause, and remorse of conscience for over-rigorous proceedings; it being no charity to cure the wound he had caused, and solicit the remitting those fines which he had procured to be imposed." Our author proceeds: "Thus impossible is it to please froward spirits, and to make them like the best deed who dislike the doer."—Ed.

§ Life of Whitgift, p. 309, 311.

with others calculated to dissolve all friendship in country towns, and set a whole diocess in a flame. When Sir Francis Knollys had read the articles, he sent them to the treasurer, calling them by their proper name, "articles of inquisition, highly prejudicial to the royal prerogative;" but there was no stopping his grace's career.*

Among the divines that suffered death for the libels above mentioned were the Rev. Mr. Udal, whose case being peculiarly hard, I shall give the reader an abstract of it. He had been minister of Kingston-upon-Thames, where, having been silenced by the official, Dr. Hone, he lay by for half a year, having no farther prospect of usefulness in the Church. At length, the people of Newcastle-upon-Tyne wanting a minister, prevailed with the Earl of Huntingdon to send him to them; when he had been there about a year he was sent for up to London by the Lord Hunsdon and the lord-chamberlain, in the name of the whole privy council. Mr. Udal set out December 29, 1589, and on the 13th of January, 1590, appeared at Lord Cobham's house before the commissioners, Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurst, Lord-chief-justice Anderson, Dr. John Young, bishop of Rochester, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Egerton, the queen's solicitor, Dr. Aubrey, and Dr. Lewin. The bishop began the examination in this manner: Bishop. Have you the allowance of the bishop of the diocess to preach at Newcastle? Udal. There was neither bishop of the diocess nor Archbishop of York at that time. Fortescue. By what law, then, did you preach at Newcastle, being silenced at Kingston? Udal. I know no law against it, seeing I was silenced only by the official, whose authority reaches not beyond his archdeaconry. L. C. J. Anderson. You are called to answer concerning certain books thought to be of your writing. Udal. If it be any of Martin's books, I have disowned them a year and a half ago at Lambeth. L. C. J. Anderson. Who was the author of the Demonstration, or the Dialogue? Udal. I shall not answer. Anderson. Why will you clear yourself of Martin, and not of these? Udal. Because I would not be thought to handle the cause of discipline as Martin did; but I think otherwise of the other books, and care not though they should be fathered upon me; I think the author did well, and, therefore, would not discover him if I knew him, but would hinder it all I could. L. C. J. Anderson. Why dare you not confess if you be the author? Udal. I have said I liked of the books, and the matter handled in them; but whether I made them or no I will not answer, for by the law I

* Pierce's Vindic., p. 129.

† Bishop Warburton is very severe in his censure of Mr. Neal for using this language; "which," he says, "in common English, means dying by the hand of the executioner;" whereas Mr. Udal died in prison. But when he died quite heart-broken with sorrow and grief through imprisonment and the severe treatment he met with on account of the libels, his death was as much the consequence of the prosecution commenced against him as if it had been inflicted by the executioner. At most there was only an inaccuracy in the expression, which it was very unworthy the bishop to censure as "unworthy a candid historian or an honest man."—Ed. There is no attempt at deception in Neal, for he goes on and minutely relates his dying daily in the prison.—C.

am not obliged to it. Anderson. That is true, if it concerned the loss of your life. [And yet the judges tried and condemned him for his life.] Udal. I pray your lordship, does not the law say, No man shall be put to answer without presentment before justices on matters of record, or by due proofs and writ original, &c. ? (A. 42 Edw. III., cap. iii.). Anderson. That is law if it be not repealed. Bishop of Rochester. Pray let me ask you a question concerning your book. But Udal was upon his guard, and said, It is not yet proved to be mine. Mr. Solicitor. I am sorry, Mr. Udal, you will not answer nor take an oath, which by law you ought to do; but he did not say by what law. Udal. Sir, if I have a liberty by law, there is no reason why I should not challenge it; show me by what law I am obliged to accuse myself. Dr. Lewin. You have taken the oath heretofore, why should you not take it now? Udal. I then voluntarily confessed certain things concerning my preaching of the points of discipline, which could never have been proved, and when my friends laboured to have me restored to my ministry, the archbishop answered there was sufficient matter against me, by my own confession, why I should not be restored; whereupon I covenanted with my own heart never to be my own accuser again.

At length the bishop told him his sentence for that time was to be sent to the Gate-house; take it in his own words. "I was carried to the Gate-house by a messenger, who delivered me with a warrant to be kept close prisoner, and not to be suffered to have pen, ink, or paper, or anybody to speak with me. Thus I remained half a year, in all which time my wife could not get leave to come to me, saving only that in the hearing of the keeper she might speak to me, and I to her, of such things as she should think meet. All which time my chamber-fellows were seminary priests, traitors, and professed papists. At the end of the half year I was removed to the White Lion, in Southwark, and so carried to the assizes at Croydon."

On the 23d of July, Mr. Udal was brought to Croydon with fetters on his legs, and indicted upon the statute 23 Eliz., cap. ii., before Baron Clarke and Mr. Sergeant Puckering, for writing a wicked, scandalous, and seditious libel, called "A Demonstration of Discipline," dedicated to the supposed governors of the Church of England,* in which is this passage: "Who can, without blushing, deny you [the bishops] to be the cause of all ungodliness? forasmuch as your government gives liberty for a man to be anything but a sound Christian; it is more free in these days to be a papist or a wicked man than what we should be; I could live twenty years as such in England, and it may be in a bishop's house, and not be molested: so true is it that you care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities, be it to damnation of your souls, and infinite millions more." These are the words of the indictment. To which Mr. Udal pleaded not guilty, and put himself upon the trial of his country. In opening the cause, Mr. Daulton, the queen's counsel, made a long invective against the new discipline, which

he affirmed was not to be found in the Word of God. To whom Udal replied, This being a controversy among learned divines, he thought Mr. Daulton might have suspended his judgment, since he had formerly showed some liking to the cause. Upon which the judge said, Sirrah! sirrah! answer to the matter. Mr. Daulton, go on to the proof of the points in the indictment, which were these three:

1. That Udal was the author of the book.
2. That he had a malicious intent in making it.
3. That the matters in the indictment were felony by the statute 23 Eliz., cap. ii.

The first point was to prove Udal to be the author of the book; and here it is observable, that the witnesses were not brought into court, but only their examinations, which the registrar swore to. And, first, Stephen Chatfield's articles were produced, which contained a report of certain papers he had seen in Udal's study. Upon seeing them, he asked whose writings they were. Udal answered, A friend's. Chatfield then desired him to rid his hands of them, for he doubted they concerned the state. He added, that Udal told him another time, that if they put him to silence, he would give the bishops such a blow as they had never had. Chatfield was called to witness these things, but appeared not. Daulton said he went out of the way on purpose. The judge said, Mr. Udal, you are glad of that. Mr. Udal answered, My lord, I wish heartily he were here; for as I am sure he could never say anything against me to prove this point, so I am able to prove it to be true that he is very sorry that he ever made any complaint against me, confessing he did it in anger when Martin came first out, and by their suggestions, whom he had proved since to be very bad men. Mr. Uda added, that the book was published before this conversation with Chatfield.

The examination of Nicholas Tomkins before the commissioners was next produced. This Tomkins was now beyond sea, but the paper said that Udal had told him he was the author. But Tomkins himself sent word that he would not for a £1000 affirm any more than that he had heard Udal say, that he would not doubt but set his name to the book if he had indifferent judges. And when Udal offered to produce his witnesses, the judge said, that because the witnesses were against the queen's majesty, they could not be heard.

The confession of Henry Sharp, of Northampton, was then read, who, upon oath before the lord-chancellor, had declared that he heard Mr. Penry say that Mr. Udal was the author of the Demonstration.

This was the whole evidence of the fact upon which he was convicted, not a single living witness being produced in court; so that the prisoner had no opportunity to ask any questions, or refute the evidence. And what methods were used to extort these confessions may easily be imagined from the confessors flying their country, and then testifying their sorrow for what they had said.

To prove the sedition, and bring it within the statute, the counsel insisted upon his threatening the bishops, who being the queen's officers, it was constructed a threatening of the queen herself. The prisoner desired liberty to explain the passage, and his counsel insisted that an

* Life of Whitgift, p. 343.

offence against the bishops was not sedition against the queen; but the judge gave it for law, that "they who spake against the queen's government in causes ecclesiastical, or her laws, proceedings, and ecclesiastical officers, defamed the queen herself." Upon this the jury were directed to find him guilty of the fact, and the judges took upon them the point of law, and condemned him as a felon. Mr. Fuller confesses* that the proof against him was not pregnant, for it was generally believed he wrote not the book, but only the preface. They might as well have condemned him without the form of a trial, for the statute was undoubtedly strained beyond the intent of it, to reach his life. He behaved modestly and discreetly at the bar; and having said as much for himself as must have satisfied any equitable persons, he submitted to the judgment of the court.

Mr. Udal was convicted in the summer assizes, 1590, but did not receive sentence till the Lent assizes; in the mean time, he was offered his pardon if he would sign the following submission: †

"I, John Udal, have been heretofore, by due course of law, convicted of felony, for penning or setting forth a certain book called 'The Demonstration of Discipline,' wherein false, slanderous, and seditious matters are contained against her majesty's prerogative royal, her crown and dignity, and against the laws and government ecclesiastical and temporal by law established under her highness, and tending to the erecting a new form of government contrary to her said laws; all which points I do now perceive, by the grace of God, to be very dangerous to the peace of this realm and church, seditious in the commonwealth, and infinitely offensive to the queen's most excellent majesty; so as thereby I, now seeing the grievousness of my offence, do most humbly on my knees, before and in this presence, submit myself to the mercy of her highness, being most sorry that I have so deeply and worthily incurred her majesty's indignation against me: promising, if it shall please God to move her royal heart to have compassion on me, a most sorrowful, convicted person, that I will forever hereafter forsake all such undutiful and dangerous courses, and demean myself dutifully and peaceably; for I do acknowledge her laws to be both lawful and godly, and to be obeyed by every subject. February, 1590-1."

No arguments or threatenings of the judges could prevail with Udal to sign this submission; but the day before sentence was to be passed he offered the following, drawn up by himself:

"Concerning the book whereof I was by due course of law convicted, by referring myself to the trial of the law, and for that by the verdict of twelve men I am found to be the author of it, for which cause an humble submission is worthily required and offered of me: although I cannot disavow the cause and substance of the doctrine debated in it, which I must needs acknowledge to be holy, and (so far as I conceive it) agreeable to the Word of God, yet I confess the manner of writing it is such in some part as may worthily be blamed, and might provoke her majesty's just indignation therein.

Whereof the trial of the law imputing to me all such defaults as are in that book, and laying the punishment of the same in the most grievous manner upon me; as my most humble suit to her most excellent majesty is, that her mercy and gracious pardon may free me from the guilt and offence which the said trial of the law hath cast upon me, and farther of her great clemency to restore me to the comfort of my life and liberty, so do I promise, in all humble submission to God and her majesty, to carry myself in the whole course of my life in such humble and dutiful obedience as shall befit a minister of the Gospel and dutiful subject, fervently and continually praying for a good preservation of her highness's precious life and happy government, to the honour of God, and comfort of her loyal and dutiful subjects. February 19, 1590-1."

Mr. Udal had often, and with great earnestness, petitioned his judges for their mediation with the queen: in his letter of November 11th, he says, "I pray you call to mind my tedious state of imprisonment, whereby myself, my wife, and children are reduced to beggary; pray call to mind by what course this misery is brought upon me, and if you find, by due consideration, that I am worthy to receive the punishment from the sentence of upright justice, I pray you to hasten the execution of the same, for it were better for me to die than to live in this case; but if it appear to your consciences (as I hope it will) that no malice against her majesty can possibly be in me, then do I humbly and heartily desire you to be a means that I may be released; then I shall not only forget that hard opinion conceived of your courses against me, but pray heartily to God to bury the same, with the rest of your sins, in the grave of his Son Jesus Christ." Mr. Udal wrote again, November 18 and 25, in most humble and dutiful language, but the court would do nothing till he had signed their submission.

At the close of the Lent assizes, being called to the bar with the rest of the felons, and asked what he had to say why judgment should not be given against him according to the verdict, he gave in a paper consisting of nine reasons, of which these are the principal:

1. "Because the jury were directed only to find the fact whether I was author of the book; and were expressly freed by your lordship from inquiring into the intent, without which there is no felony.

2. "The jury were not left to their own consciences, but were wrought upon partly by promises, assuring them it should be no farther danger to me, but tend to my good; and partly by fear, as appears, in that it has been a grief to some of them ever since.

3. "The statute, in the true meaning of it, is thought not to reach my case, there being nothing in the book spoken of her majesty's person but in duty and honour; I beseech you, therefore, to consider whether the drawing of it from her royal person to the bishops, as being part of her body politic, be not a violent depraving and wresting of the statute.

4. "But if the statute be taken as it is urged, the felony must consist in the malicious intent; wherein I appeal first to God, and then to all men who have known the course of my life,

* B. ix., p. 223. † Strype's Ann., vol. ult., p. 26.

and to your lordships' own consciences, whether you can find me guilty of any act in all my life that savoured of any malice or malicious intent against her majesty; of which, if your consciences must clear me before God, I hope you will not proceed to judgment.

5. "By the laws of God, and I trust also by the laws of the land, the witnesses ought to be produced face to face against me; but I have none such, nor any other things, but papers and reports of depositions taken by ecclesiastical commissioners and others. This kind of evidence is not allowed in case of lands, and therefore much less ought it to be allowed in case of life.

6. "None of the depositions prove me directly to be the author of the book in question; and the author of the chief testimony is so grieved, that he is ashamed to come where he is known.

7. "Supposing me to be the author of the book, let it be considered that the said book for substance contains nothing but what is taught and believed by the best Reformed churches in Europe, so that in condemning me you condemn all such nations and churches as hold the same doctrine. If the punishment be for the manner of writing, this may be thought by some worthy of an admonition, or fine, or some short imprisonment;* but death for an error of such a kind, as terms and words not altogether dutiful of certain bishops, cannot but be extreme cruelty against one that has endeavoured to show himself a dutiful subject and faithful minister of the Gospel.

"If all this prevail not, yet my Redeemer liveth, to whom I commend myself, and say as sometime Jeremiah said in a case not much unlike, 'Behold, I am in your hands to do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto you; but know you this, that if you put me to death, you shall bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and upon the land.' As the blood of Abel, so the blood of Udal will cry to God with a loud voice, and the righteous Judge of the land will require it at the hands of all that shall be guilty of it."

But nothing would avail unless he would sign the submission the court had drawn up for him; which his conscience not suffering him to do, sentence of death was passed upon him February 20th, and execution openly awarded; but next morning the judges, by direction from court, gave private orders to respite it till her majesty's pleasure was farther known. The Dean of St. Paul's and Dr. Andrews were sent to persuade him to sign the submission, which he peremptorily refused. But because the queen had been misinformed of his belief, he sent her majesty a short confession of his faith in these words:

"I believe, and have often preached, that the Church of England is a part of the true visible Church, the Word and sacraments being truly dispensed; for which reason I have communicated with it several years at Kingston, and a year at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and do still desire to be a preacher in the same church; therefore I utterly renounce the schism and separation of the Brownists: I do allow the articles of religion as far as they contain the doctrine of faith and sacraments according to law: I believe the queen's majesty hath, and ought to have, supreme authority over all persons, in all causes

ecclesiastical and civil. And if the prince commands anything contrary to the Word of God, it is not lawful for subjects to rebel or resist, but with patience and humility to bear the punishment laid upon them: I believe the Church, rightly reformed, ought to be governed ecclesiastically by ministers, assisted by elders, as in the foreign Reformed churches: I believe the censures of the Church ought merely to concern the soul, and may not impeach any subject, much less any prince, in liberty of body, goods, dominion, or any earthly privilege; nor do I believe that a Christian prince ought otherwise to be subject to the Church censures than our gracious queen professes herself to be to the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments."*

With this declaration of his faith he sent an humble request, that if her majesty would not graciously be pleased to pardon him, she would change his sentence into banishment, that the land might not be charged with his blood.† King James of Scotland wrote to the queen, requesting most earnestly that, for the sake of his intercession, Udal might be relieved of his present strait, promising to do the like for her majesty in any matter she should recommend to him. The Turkey merchants also offered to send him as chaplain to one of their factories abroad if he might have his life and liberty; which Udal consented to, as appears by his letter to the lord-treasurer, in which he says, "Lamentable is my case, having been three years in durance, which makes me humbly desire your lordship's favour, that I may be released from my imprisonment, the Turkey merchants having my consent to go into Syria or Guinea, there to remain two years with their factors, if my liberty may be obtained." The writer of Archbishop Whitgift's life says the archbishop yielded to this petition; that the lord-keeper promised to farther it; and that the Earl of Essex had a draught of a pardon ready prepared, with this condition annexed, that he should never return without the queen's license; but her majesty never signed it, and the Turkey ships going away without him, poor unhappy Udal died a few months after in the Marshalsea prison, quite heart-broken with sorrow and grief, about the end of the year 1592. Mr. Fuller‡ says he was a learned man, and of a blameless life, powerful in prayer, and no less profitable than painful in preaching. He was decently interred in the churchyard of St. George, Southwark, not far from the grave of Bishop Bonner, being honoured with the attendance of great numbers of the London ministers, who visited him in prison, and now wept over the remains of a man who, after a long and severe trial of his faith and patience, died for the testimony of a good conscience, and stands upon record as a monument of the oppression and cruelty of the government under which he suffered.

Though the moderate Puritans publicly disowned the libels above mentioned, and condemned the spirit with which they were written, they were nevertheless brought into trouble for their associations. Among others, the Rev. Mr. Cartwright, the father of the Pu-

* Stype's Ann., vol. iv., p. 23.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 376.

† Fuller, b. ix., p. 203.

‡ Fuller, b. ix., p. 222.

ritans, and master of the new hospital at Warwick, was suspended by his diocesan, and summoned before the high commissioners, who committed him to the Fleet, with his brethren, Mr. Egerton, Fen, Wright, Farmer, Lord, Snape, King, Rushbrooke, Wiggins, Littleton, Field, Royde, Payne, Proudlove, and Jewel. At their first appearance, the commissioners asked them where they held their associations or assemblies, and how often; who were present, and what matters were treated of; who corrected or set forth the book of Discipline, and who had subscribed or submitted to it; whether in a Christian monarchy the king is supreme governor of the Church, or whether he is under the government of pastors, doctors, and such like; whether it be lawful for a foreign prince to ordain ceremonies, and make orders for the Church; whether the ecclesiastical government established in England be lawful, and allowed by the Word of God; whether the sacraments ministered according to the Book of Common Prayer, are godly and rightly ministered, &c.

Mr. Cartwright's answer to these interrogatories was said by the civilians to be sufficient; upon which they exhibited thirty-one articles against him, September 1, 1590, and required him to answer them upon oath.*

The first twenty-four articles charge him with renouncing his episcopal orders, by being reordained beyond sea, with interrupting the peace, and breaking the orders of the Church since he came home, and with knowing the authors or printers of Martin Mar-Prelate.

Art. 25. Charges him with penning, or procuring to be penned, the book of Discipline, and with recommending the practice of it.

Art. 26. Charges him with being present at sundry pretended synods, classes, or conferences of ministers in divers countries.

Art. 27. That at such synods they subscribed the book of Discipline, and promised to govern themselves by it as far as they could.

Art. 28. Charges him with setting up particular conferences in several shires, which were to receive the determinations of the General Assembly, and put them in practice.

Art. 29, 30, and 31. Mention some rules and orders of their synods; as, that the members should bring testimonials from their several classes; that they should subscribe the book of Discipline; that no books should be printed but by consent; that they should be subject to the censures of the brethren both for doctrine and life; and that if any should be sent abroad upon public service at the meeting of Parliament, their charges should be borne, &c.

Mr. Cartwright offered to clear himself of some of these articles upon oath, and to give his reasons for not answering the rest; but if this would not satisfy, he was determined to submit to the punishment the commissioners should award* [which was imprisonment in the Fleet], praying the lord-treasurer to make some provision for the poor people of Warwick, who had no minister. The rest of Cartwright's brethren refusing the oath for the same reasons, viz., because they would not accuse themselves, nor bring their friends into trouble, were

committed to divers prisons. But the archbishop, by advice of the treasurer, was not present at the commitment of his old adversary.

On the 13th of May, 1591, they were brought before the Star Chamber,* which was a court made up of certain noblemen, bishops, judges, and counsellors of the queen's nomination, to the number of twenty or thirty, with her majesty at their head, who is the sole judge when present, the other members being only to give their opinion to their sovereign by way of advice, which he [or she] disallows at their pleasure; but in the absence of the sovereign, the determination is by a majority, the lord-chancellor or keeper having a casting vote. The determinations of this court, says Mr. Rushworth, were not by the verdict of a jury, nor according to any statute-law of the land, but according to the king's [or queen's] royal will and pleasure, and yet they were made as binding to the subject as an act of Parliament. In the reign of King Henry VII., the practice of that court was thought to intrench upon the common law, though it seldom did any business; but in the latter end of this, and during the two next reigns, the court sat constantly, and was so unmerciful in its censures and punishments, that the whole nation cried aloud against it as a mark of the vilest slavery. Lord Clarendon says,† "There were very few persons of quality in those times that had not suffered or been perplexed by the weight and fear of its censure and judgments; for having extended their jurisdiction from riots, perjuries, and the most notorious misdemeanors, to an asserting of all proclamations and orders of state, to the vindicating illegal commissioners and grants of monopolies, no man could hope to be any longer free from the inquisition of that court, than he resolved to submit to those and the like extraordinary courses."

When Mr. Cartwright and his brethren appeared before the court, Mr. Attorney-general inveighed bitterly against them for refusing the oath; and when Mr. Fuller, counsel for the prisoners, stood up to answer, he was commanded silence, and told that far less crimes than theirs had been punished with the galleys or perpetual banishment, which latter he thought proper for them, provided it was in some remote place from whence they might not return.‡ From the Star Chamber they were remitted back to the High Commission, where Bancroft had a long argument with Cartwright about the oath; from thence they were returned again to the Star Chamber, and a bill was exhibited against them with twenty articles; in answer to which they maintain that their associations were very useful, and not forbidden by any law of the realm; that they exercised no jurisdiction, nor moved any sedition, nor transacted any affairs in them, but with a due regard to their duty to their prince, and to the peace of the Church; that they had agreed upon some regulations to render their ministry more edifying, but all was voluntary, and in breach of no law; and as for the oath, they refused it, not in contempt of the court, but as contrary to the laws of God and nature.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 361.

† Hist. of Gr. Rebellion, vol. i., 8vo, p. 68, &c.

‡ Life of Whitgift, p. 360.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 373. † Ibid., p. 338.

But this answer not being satisfactory, they were remanded to prison, where they continued two years without any farther process, or being admitted to bail; in the mean time, King James of Scotland interceded for them, in a letter to the queen, dated June 12, 1591, in which he requests her majesty to show favour to Mr. Cartwright and his brethren, because of their great learning and faithful travels in the Gospel.* Cartwright himself petitioned for his liberty,† as being afflicted with excessive pains of the gout and sciatica, which were much increased by lying in a cold prison; he wrote a most humble and pious letter to the Lady Russel, and another to the lord-treasurer, beseeching them to procure his enlargement with the queen, though it were upon bond, expressing a very great concern that her majesty should be so highly offended with him, since he had printed no books for thirteen years past that could give the least uneasiness; since he had declared his dislike of Martin Mar-Prelate; and that he never had a finger in any of the books under the name, nor in any other satirical pamphlets; and farther, that in the course of his ministry for five years past at Warwick, he had avoided all controversy. Dr. Goad, Dr. Whitaker, and two others of the university, wrote an excellent letter‡ to the treasurer in favour of the prisoners, beseeching his lordship that they might not be more hardly dealt with than papists; but this not prevailing, after six months they petitioned the lords of the council [December 4, 1591] to be enlarged upon bail, and wrote to the treasurer to second it, assuring his lordship of their loyalty to the queen, and peaceable behaviour in the Church. "We doubt not," say they, "but your lordship is sensible that a year's imprisonment and more, which we have suffered, must strike deeper into our healths, considering our education, than a number of years to men of a different occupation. Your lordship knows that many papists who deny the queen's supremacy have been enlarged, whereas we have all sworn to it, and, if the government require, are ready to take the oath again." This was signed by

THO. CARTWRIGHT,	EDWARD LORD,
HUMP. FEN,	EDMUND SNAPE,
ANDREW KING,	WM. PROUDLOVE,
DAN. WRIGHT,	MELANCTHON JEWEL.
JOHN PAYNE,	

They also applied to the archbishop, who refused to consent to their enlargement, unless they would under their hands declare the Church of England to be a true church, and the whole order of public prayers, &c., consonant to the Word of God, and renounce for the future all their assemblies, classes, and synods, which they declined. These applications proving ineffectual, they resolved at last to address the queen herself, for which purpose they drew up a declaration, containing a full answer to the several charges brought against them.‡

It was not till some time after this that Mr. Cartwright was released,|| upon promise of his

* Life of Aylmer, p. 321. † Fuller, b. ix., p. 203.

‡ Life of Whitgift, p. 370.

§ See the Appendix, No. 5.

|| It should be observed here, that Mr. Cartwright was indebted for his liberty to the services of Archbishop Whitgift, who had been his old acquaintance

quiet and peaceable behaviour, and restored to his hospital in Warwick, where he continued without farther disturbance the rest of his days; but many of his brethren continued under suspension while their families were starving, as the Rev. Mr. Fenner, of Cranbrook, suspended seven years; Mr. Leverwood, of Manchelsea, seven years; Mr. Percival Wyburne, of Rochester, five years; Mr. Rockeray, prebendary of Rochester, four years; Mr. Barber, of Bow Church, London, two years six months; Mr. Field, of Aldermary, London; Mr. Smith, lecturer of St. Clement's, whose printed sermons were a family book all over England for many years;* Mr. Travers, of the Temple; Mr. Colset, of Easton-on-the-Hill; Mr. Settle, of Buxstead, Suffolk; Mr. Gellibrand, Dyke, Flemming; Mr. Kendal; Mr. Hubbock, of Oxford; with many others whose names are before me. Mr. Hubbock was an excellent divine, and was called before the commission for saying that a great nobleman (meaning the archbishop) had knelt down to her majesty for staying and hindering her intent to reform religion. But his grace not being willing to insist upon this, commanded him to subscribe, and in case of refusal, to enter into bonds not to preach any more, nor to come within ten miles of Oxford; which Mr. Hubbock declined, saying "he had rather go to prison than consent to be silent from preaching, unless he was convinced that he had taught false doctrine, or committed any fault worthy of bonds."† Sir Francis Knollys and the treasurer interceded for him, but to no purpose; upon which Sir Francis wrote back to the treasurer in these words: "You know how greatly, yea, and tyrannously, the archbishop hath urged subscription to his own articles without law; and that he has claimed, in the right of all the bishops, a superiority over the inferior clergy from God's own ordinance, in prejudice to her majesty's supreme government, though at present he says he does not claim it: therefore, in my opinion, he ought openly to retract it."

These high proceedings of the commissioners brought their powers under examination: most were of opinion that they exceeded the law, but some thought the very court itself was illegal, imagining the queen could not delegate her supremacy to others. Mr. Cawdery, late minister of Luffingham, in Suffolk, had been suspended by the Bishop of London for refusing the oath *ex officio*; but not acquiescing in his lordship's sentence, the bishop summoned him before the high commissioners, who deprived him for non-conformity and lack of learning, and gave away his living to another, though Mr. Cawdery was one of the most learned clergymen and best preachers in the country, and offered to give proof of his learning before his judges. When this would not be accepted, he pleaded with tears his wife and eight poor children that had no maintenance; but the hearts of the commissioners not being mollified, Mr. Cawdery was

at Trinity College, and had a respect for his abilities, and it was also said, "feared the success in so tough a conflict."—*Fuller's Church History*, b. ix., p. 204.

"Putting all the circumstances together," remarks Mr. Hanbury, "and weighing them deliberately, no fair inference can be deduced that Cartwright was indebted for any voluntary favour from Whitgift."—*Life of Cartwright*, p. 200.—C.

* MS., p. 584.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 341, 342.

advised to appeal to the Court of Exchequer, and proceed against the chaplain that had possession of his living; on this occasion the jurisdiction of the court was argued before all the judges in Hilary term, 1591.* Dr. Aubrey, the civilian, confessed that their proceedings were not warrantable by the letter of the statute 1st Eliz., but were built upon the old canon law still in force; though it has been shown that their proceeding, by way of inquisition, was warranted by no law at all; but the judges confirmed the proceedings of the court, and left Mr. Cawdery, with his large family, to starve as a layman. The suit cost Mr. Cawdery's friends a round sum of money, besides two-and-twenty journeys which he made to London. But it was a brave stand for the rights of the subject, and staggered the archbishop so much, that he declined the business of the commission afterward, and sent most of his prisoners to the Star Chamber.

While these causes were depending, sundry books were written for and against the oath *ex officio*; among others, Mr. Morrice, attorney of the Court of Wards, and member of Parliament, published a learned treatise, to prove that no prelates or ecclesiastical judges have authority to compel any subject of the land to an oath, except in causes testamentary or matrimonial; and he gives these reasons for it: Because it is against the Word of God: it was never allowed by any general council for a thousand years after Christ: it was forbidden by the pagan emperors against the Christians: it is against the pope's decretals, except in cases of heresy, and where there is danger to the accuser, and not otherwise: it is against the laws of the realm; and, because it is against the queen's prerogative.† Morrice's book was answered by Dr. Cosins, a civilian, in his "Apology for the Ecclesiastical Proceedings;" to which Morrice had prepared a reply, but the archbishop hearing of it, sent for him, and forbade the publication. The attorney complained of this usage to the treasurer in these words: "Cosins may write at his pleasure of ecclesiastical courts without check or controlment, though never so erroneously; but I, poor man, such is my ill-hap, may not maintain the right cause of justice without some blot or blemish." But this was his grace's shortest way of ending controversies.

Though Mr. Cartwright and his brethren above mentioned had the resolution to lie in jail for two years rather than take the oath *ex officio*, others out of weakness, or some other principle, yielded to it, and discovered their classes, with the names of those that were present at them:‡ among these were Mr. Stone, rector of Warkton, in Northamptonshire; Mr. Henry Alvey, fellow of St. John's, Cambridge; Mr. Thomas Edmunds, Mr. William Perkins, Mr. Littleton, Johnson, Barber, Cleaveley, and Nutter. These divines confessed, upon examination, that they had several meetings with their brethren in London, at the houses of Mr. Travers, Egerton, Gardner, and Barber; that there had been assemblies of ministers in Cambridge, Northamptonshire, and Warwickshire; that at these meetings there were usually between twelve and twenty ministers present; that they had a moderator; that they began and ended with

prayer; and that their usual debates were, how far they might comply with the establishment rather than forego their ministry; here they revised their Book of Discipline, and consulted of peaceable methods in subordination to the laws for promoting a reformation in the Church, and how far they might exercise their own platform in the mean time: but the worst part of their confession was their discovering the names of the brethren that were present, which brought them into trouble. The reasons they gave for taking the oath were, Because it was administered by a lawful magistrate: because the magistrate had a right to search out the truth in matters relating to the public safety: because it was impossible to keep things any longer secret, many letters of the brethren having been intercepted: because there was nothing criminal in their assemblies, and the magistrate might suspect worse things of them than were true; and though their confessions might bring some into trouble, they might deliver others who were suspected. How far these reasons will justify the confessors, I leave with the reader; but it is certain they purchased their own liberties at the expense of their brethren's; for they had the favour to be dismissed, and lived without disturbance afterward.

To render the Puritans odious to the public, all enthusiasts, without distinction, were ranked among them; even Hacket and his two prophets, Arthington and Coppinger.* Hacket was a blasphemous, ignorant wretch, who could not so much as read; he pretended to be King Jesus, and to set up his empire in the room of the queen's, who, he said, was no longer to be Queen of England. He defaced her majesty's arms, and stabbed her picture through with his dagger, in the house where he lodged. Being apprehended and put upon the rack, he confessed everything they would have him, and upon his trial pleaded guilty, declaring he was moved thereunto by the Spirit; he was hanged July 18, and died raving like a madman. Coppinger starved himself in prison, but Arthington lived to recover his senses, and was pardoned. Dr. Nichols says, that by the solicitation of these men the Puritans stirred up the people to rebellion, their design being communicated to Cartwright, Egerton, and Wiggington;‡ whereas there was not a single Puritan concerned with them. Fuller,‡ the historian, speaks candidly of the matter: "This business of Hacket," says he, "happened unseasonably for the Presbyterians; true it is, they as cordially detested his blasphemies as any of the episcopal party; and such of them as loved Hacket the Nonconformist abhorred Hacket the heretic, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of impiety." However, Mr. Cartwright wrote an apology for himself and his brethren against the aspersions of Dr. Sutcliff, in which he declares he had never seen Hacket nor Arthington, nor ever had any conference with them by letter or message.§ Had

* Strype's Ann., vol. ult., p. 71.

† Pierce's Vindic., p. 140.

‡ B. ix., p. 206.

§ No legal steps were taken against Cartwright for his justification, which affords a practical admission of the innocence of the Puritans. "True it is," says the candid Fuller, "they as cordially detested his blasphemies as any of the episcopal party."—*Church History*, ix., 206.—C.

* Heyl., Hist. Presb., p. 318.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 340.

‡ Ibid., p. 371.

there been any ground for this vile charge, we should no doubt have found it among their articles of impeachment.

At the opening of the new Parliament, February 19, the queen signified her pleasure to the house, that they might redress such popular grievances as were complained of in their several counties, but should leave all matters of state to herself and the council; and all matters relating to the Church, to herself and the bishops. What an insignificant thing is a representative body of the nation, that must not meddle with matters of Church or State! But her majesty was resolved to let them see she would be obeyed, for when Mr. Wentworth and Bromley moved the house to address the queen to name her successor, she sent for them, together with Mr. Welsh and Stevens, and committed them to prison, where Wentworth remained many years.* When it was moved in the house to address the queen for the release of their members, it was answered by those privy councillors that were of the house, "that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself; that the house must not call the queen to account for what she did of her royal authority; that the causes of their restraint might be high and dangerous; that her majesty did not like such questions, nor did it become the house to deal in such matters."

After this it was a bold adventure of Mr. Attorney Morrice,† and for which he paid very dear, to move the house to inquire into the proceedings of the bishops in their spiritual courts,‡ and how far they could justify their inquisition; their subscriptions; their binding the queen's subjects to their good behaviour contrary to the laws of God and of the realm; their compelling men to take oaths to accuse themselves, and upon their refusal, to degrade, deprive, and imprison them at pleasure, and not to release them till they had complied. At the same time he offered two bills to the house: one against the oath *ex officio*, and the other against their illegal imprisonments, which last he prayed might be read presently. Sir Francis Knollys seconded the attorney, and said, "that in his opinion these abuses ought to be reformed; and that if the prelates had acted against law, they were in a *præmunire*.§ He added, that after the reformation of King Henry VIII., no bishop practised superiority over his brethren; that in King Edward VI.'s time a statute was made that bishops should keep their courts in the king's name; and that though this statute was repealed by Queen Mary, and not since revived, yet it was doubtful what authority bishops had to keep courts in their own name, because it was manifestly against the prerogative that any subject should hold a court without express warrant from the crown. If it was said they kept their courts by prescription, or by the statute of King Henry VIII., which gives bishops the same rule

* Heyl, Hist. Presb., p. 319.

† This step of Mr. Attorney Morrice is described in more proper and happy language by Dr. Warner, who calls it "a noble attempt in favour of religious liberty." His situation was in the gift of the crown, which exhibits his conduct in a remarkably honourable light. Morrice was the legal adviser of Cawdery, and was author of a treatise against the oath *ex officio*.—C.

‡ Life of Whitgift, p. 386, 387. § Ibid., p. 388.

under the king as they had under the pope, he answered, that there was a clause in the act which restrains them from offending against the king's prerogative and the laws and customs of the realm; and, according to the laws and customs of the realm, no subject can hold a court but by special warrant from the crown." Mr. Beal spoke upon the same side, and added, "that the bishops had incurred a *præmunire*, because the statute of 13 Eliz. requires subscription to articles of faith only; that this limitation was made by the Lords after the bill had passed the Commons; and that no councils nor canons gave authority to the bishops to frame articles and require subscription at their pleasure." For which speech the queen forbade him the court, and commanded him to absent himself from Parliament.

These debates awakened the civilians in the house, and particularly Mr. Daulton, who opposed the reading of the bill, because the queen had often forbid them to meddle with the reformation of the Church; which Sir Robert Cecil, one of her majesty's secretaries, confirmed.

As soon as the queen was acquainted with the proceedings of the house, she sent for the speaker, Coke,* and commanded him to tell the house "that it was wholly in her power to call, to determine, to assent or dissent, to anything done in Parliament; that the calling of this was only that such as neglected the service of the Church might be compelled to it with some sharp laws; and that the safety of her majesty's person and the realm might be provided for; that it was not meant that they should meddle with matters of state or causes ecclesiastical; that she wondered they should attempt a thing so contrary to her commandment; that she was highly offended at it; and that it was her royal pleasure that no bill, touching any matters of state and causes ecclesiastical, should there be exhibited."† At the same time, Mr. Attorney Morrice was seized on in the house by a sergeant-at-arms, discharged from his office in the court of the duchy of Lancaster, disabled from any practice in his profession as a barrister-at-law, and kept for some years prisoner in Tutbury Castle.

If there had been a just spirit of English liberty in the House of Commons, they would not have submitted so tamely to the insults of an arbitrary court, which arrested their members for liberty of speech, and committed them to prison; which forbade their redressing the grievances of Church or State, and sent for their bills out of the house and cancelled them. These were such acts of sovereign power as none of her majesty's predecessors had dared to assume, and which cost one of her successors his crown and life.

But this Parliament, instead of asserting their own and the people's liberties, stands upon record for one of the severest acts of oppression and cruelty that ever was passed by the representatives of a Protestant nation and

* Heyl, Hist. Presb., p. 320.

† This, says Dr. Warner, "was the message of a queen to the House of Commons, whose reign affords such subjects of panegyric to those who would be thought patriots and patrons of liberty in the present age."—*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii., p. 464.—Ed.

a free people. It is entitled "An act for the punishment of persons obstinately refusing to come to church, and persuading others to impugn the queen's authority in ecclesiastical causes." It is therein enacted "that if any person above the age of sixteen shall obstinately refuse to repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, to hear Divine service, for the space of one month, without lawful cause; or shall at any time, forty days after the end of this session, by printing, writing, or express words, go about to persuade any of her majesty's subjects to deny, withstand, or impugn her majesty's power or authority in causes ecclesiastical; or shall dissuade them from coming to church to hear Divine service, or receive the communion according as the law directs; or shall be present at any unlawful assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion; that every person so offending, and lawfully convicted, shall be committed to prison without bail, till they shall conform and yield themselves to come to church, and make the following declaration of their conformity:

"I, A B, do humbly confess and acknowledge that I have grievously offended God in contemning her majesty's godly and lawful government and authority, by absenting myself from church and from hearing Divine service, contrary to the godly laws and statutes of the realm, and in frequenting disorderly and unlawful conventicles, under pretence and colour of exercise of religion; and I am heartily sorry for the same, and do acknowledge and testify in my conscience that no other person has, or ought to have, any power or authority over her majesty. And I do promise and protest, without any dissimulation or colour of dispensation, that from henceforth I will obey her majesty's statutes and laws in repairing to church and hearing Divine service; and to my utmost endeavour will maintain and defend the same."

"But in case the offenders against this statute, being lawfully convicted, shall not submit and sign the declaration within three months, then they shall abjure the realm, and go into perpetual banishment.* And if they do not depart within the time limited by the quarter sessions or justices of peace, or if they return at any time afterward without the queen's license, they shall suffer death without benefit of clergy." So that, as Lord-chancellor King observed at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, the case of the Nonconformists by this act was worse than that of felons at common law, for these were allowed the benefit of clergy, but the others were not. This statute was levelled against the laity as well as the clergy, and the severe execution of it with that of the 23d of Eliz., in this and the following reigns,† brought

* It is remarkable that there is a proviso in this statute that no popish recusant shall be compelled or bound to abjure by virtue of this act. Such was her majesty's tenderness for the papists while she was crushing Protestant dissenters.—*Neal's Review*.—Ed.

† "These laws are still put in execution, and about three years ago, in Cornwall, a poor fellow, a Dissenter, was libelled in the spiritual court for not attending Divine worship at his parish church on Sunday. He had not taken the oaths required by the Toleration Act; but it being a sufficient defence

infinite mischiefs upon the kingdom; many families being forced into banishment; some put to death, as in cases of treason; and others as the authors of seditious pamphlets.*

The moderate Puritans made a shift to evade the force of this law by coming to church when common prayer was almost over, and by receiving the sacrament in some churches where it was administered with some latitude; but the weight of it fell upon the separatists, who renounced all communion with the Church in the Word and sacraments as well as in the common prayer and ceremonies; these were called Brownists or Barrowists, from one Barrow, a gentleman of the Temple, who was now at their head. We have given an account of their distinguishing principles in the year 1580, since which time their numbers were prodigiously increased, though the bishops pursued them, and shut them up in prison without bail or troubling themselves to bring them to a trial. Sir Walter Raleigh declared in the Parliament house that they were not less than twenty thousand, divided into several congregations in Norfolk, in Essex, and in the parts about London: there were several considerable men now at their head, as the Reverend Mr. Smith, Mr. Jacob, the learned Mr. Ainsworth, the rabbi of his age, and others.

The congregation about London, being pretty numerous, formed themselves into a church, Mr. Francis Johnson being chosen pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, Mr. Greenhood doctor [or teacher], Mr. Bowman and Lee deacons, Mr. Studley and Kinaston elders, all in one day, at the house of Mr. Fox in Nicholas Lane, in the year 1592;† seven persons were baptized at the same time without godfathers or godmothers, Mr. Johnson only washing their faces with water, and pronouncing the form, I baptize thee in the name, &c. The Lord's Supper was also administered in this manner: five white loaves being set upon the table, the pastor blessed them by prayer; after which, having broken the bread, he delivered it to some, and the deacons to the rest, some standing and others sitting about the table, using the words of the apostle, 1 Cor., xi., 24, "Take, eat, this is the body of the Lord Jesus, which was broken for you: this do in remembrance of him." In like manner he gave the cup, using the like words of the apostle, "This cup is the New Testament in

to take them at any time during the prosecution, he applied to the magistrates of the county, at their quarter sessions, who illegally refused to administer them; and the consequence was, that he was excommunicated. Upon a representation of the committee in London for taking care of the civil concerns of the Dissenters, the chairman of the sessions acknowledged the error of the justices, and the man took the oaths at the ensuing sessions, but it was then too late."—*High Church Politics*, p. 59.—Ed.

* Dr. Warner remarks on this statute, "that thus in some measure were renewed the days of Henry VIII., when it was a crime against the state to depart ever so little from the religion of the sovereign; but in some part of this act she exceeded her father's tyranny. For, absolute as he was, he contented himself with punishing such as opposed the established religion by some overt act. But by this new statute, the subjects were obliged to make an open profession by a constant attendance on the established service."—*Eccles. History*, vol. ii., p. 465.—Ed.

† Strype's Annals, vol. iv., p. 174.

this blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of him." In the close they sung a hymn, and made a collection for the poor. When any person came first into the church, he made this protestation or promise: that "he would walk with them so long as they did walk in the way of the Lord, and as far as might be warranted by the Word of God."

The congregation being obliged to meet in different places to conceal themselves from the bishop's officers, was at length discovered on a Lord's Day at Islington, in the very same place where the Protestant congregation met in Queen Mary's reign; about fifty-six were taken prisoners, and sent two by two to the jails about London, where several of their friends had been confined for a considerable time.

At their examination, they confessed that for some years they had met in the fields in the summer-time at five o'clock in the morning of the Lord's Day, and in the winter at private houses;* that they continued all day in prayer and expounding the Scriptures; that they dined together, and after dinner made a collection for their diet, and sent the remainder of the money to their brethren in prison; that they did not use the Lord's Prayer, apprehending it not to be intended by our blessed Saviour to be used as a form after the sending down of the Spirit at Pentecost. Their adversaries charged them with several extravagances about baptism, marriage, lay-preaching, &c., from which they vindicated themselves in a very solid and judicious reply, showing how far they disowned, and with what limitations they acknowledged, the charge.†

But the bishops observing no measures with this people, they ventured to lay their case before the lords of the council in an humble petition.‡ But the privy council dropped the peti-

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii., p. 579.

† MS., p. 850.

‡ In this petition they say, that "upon a careful examination of the Holy Scriptures, we find the English hierarchy to be dissonant from Christ's institution, and to be derived from antichrist, being the same the pope left in this land, to which we dare not subject ourselves. We farther find that God has commanded all that believe the Gospel to walk in that holy faith and order which he has appointed in his Church; wherefore, in the reverend fear of his name, we have joined ourselves together, and subjected our souls and bodies to those laws and ordinances; and have chosen to ourselves such a ministry of pastor, teacher, elders, and deacons as Christ has given to his Church on earth to the world's end, hoping for the promised assistance of his grace in our attendance upon him; notwithstanding any prohibition of men, or what by men can be done unto us. We are ready to prove our church order to be warranted by the Word of God, allowable by her majesty's laws, and noways prejudicial to her sovereign power; and to disprove the public hierarchy, worship, and government, by such evidence of Scripture as our adversaries shall not be able to withstand; protesting, if we fail herein, not only willingly to sustain such deserved punishment as shall be inflicted upon us, but to become conformable for the future; if we overthrow not our adversaries, we will not say if our adversaries overcome us.

"But the prelates of this land have for a long time dealt most injuriously, unlawfully, and outrageously with us, by the great power and high authority they have gotten in their hands, and usurped above all the public courts, judges, laws, and charters of this land, persecuting, imprisoning, and detaining at

tion, being afraid to move in an affair that lay more immediately before the High Commission.

Mr. Smith, one of their ministers, after he had been in prison twelve months, was called before the commissioners, and being asked whether he would go to church, answered, that he should dissemble and play the hypocrite if he should do it to avoid trouble, for he thought it utterly unlawful; to which one of the commissioners answered, "Come to church and

their pleasure our poor bodies, without any trial, release, or bail; and hitherto without any cause either for error or crime directly objected. Some of us they have kept in close prison four or five years with miserable usage, as Henry Burrowe and John Greenwood, now in the Fleet; others they have cast into Newgate, and laden with as many irons as they could bear; others into dangerous and loathsome jails, among the most facinorous and vile persons, where it is lamentable to relate how many of these innocents have perished within these five years: aged widows, aged men, and young maidens, &c., where, so many as the infection hath spared, lie in woful distress, like to follow their fellows, if speedy redress be not had; others of us have been grievously beaten with cudgels in Bridewell, and cast into a place called Little Ease, for refusing to come to their chapel service; in which prison several have ended their lives; but upon none of our companions thus committed by them, and dying in their prison, is any search or inquest suffered to pass, as by law in like case is provided.

"Their manner of pursuing and apprehending us is with no less violence and outrage; their pursuivants, with their assistants, break into our houses at all times of the night, where they break open, ransack, and rifle at their pleasure, under pretence of searching for seditious, unlawful books. The husbands in the dead of the night they have plucked out of their beds from their wives, and haled them to prison. Some time since their pursuivants, late in the night, entered in the queen's name into an honest citizen's house upon Ludgate Hill, where, after they had at their pleasure searched and ransacked all places, chests, &c., of the house, they apprehended two of our ministers, Mr. Francis Johnson and John Greenwood, without any warrant at all, both whom, between one and two of the clock after midnight, they with bills and staves led to the counter of Woodstreet, taking assurance of Mr. Boys, the master of the house, to be prisoner in his house till next day; at which time the archbishop, with certain doctors his associates, committed them to close prison, two to the Clink, and the third to the Fleet, where they now remain in distress. Since this they have cast into prison Thomas Settle, Daniel Studley, and Nicholas Lane, taken upon a Lord's Day in our assembly, and shut them up in the Gate-house; others of our friends they are in continual pursuit of; so that there is no safety for them in any one place.

"We therefore humbly pray, in the name of God and our sovereign the queen, that we may have the benefit of the laws, and of the public charter of the land, namely, that we may be received to bail till we be by order of law convicted of some crime deserving bonds. We plight unto your honours our faith unto God, and our allegiance to her majesty, that we will not commit anything unworthy the Gospel of Christ, or to the disturbance of the common peace and good order of the land, and that we will be forthcoming at such reasonable warning as your lordships shall command. Oh! let us not perish before trial and judgment, especially imploring and crying out to you for the same. However, we here take the Lord of heaven and earth, and his angels, together with your own consciences, and all persons in all ages, to whom this our supplication may come, to witness that we have here truly advertised your honours of our case and usage, and have in all humility offered our cause to Christian trial."

obey the queen's laws, and be a dissembler, be a hypocrite, or a devil, if thou wilt.* Upon his refusal he was remanded to the Clink, and his brethren to the Fleet, where, by order of Mr. Justice Young, one of the commissioners, they were shut up in close rooms, not being allowed the liberty of the prison; here they died like rotten sheep, some of the disease of the prison, some for want, and others of infectious distempers. "These bloody men [the ecclesiastical commissioners]," says Mr. Barrowe, in his supplication, "will allow us neither meat, drink, fire, lodging, nor suffer any whose hearts the Lord would stir up for our relief to have an access to us, by which means seventeen or eighteen have perished in the noisome jails within these six years; † some of us had not one penny about us when we were sent to prison, nor anything to procure a maintenance for ourselves and families but our handy labour and trades, by which means not only we ourselves, but our families and children, are undone and starved. Their unbridled slander, their lawless privy searches, their violent breaking open houses, their taking away whatever they think meet, and their barbarous usage of women, children, &c., we are forced to omit, lest we be tedious. That which we crave for us all is the liberty to die openly, or live openly in the land of our nativity; if we deserve death, let us not be closely murdered, yea, starved to death with hunger and cold, and stifled in loathsome dungeons." Among those who perished in prison was one Mr. Roger Rippon, who, dying in Newgate, his fellow-prisoners put this inscription upon his coffin:

"This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her majesty's faithful subject; who is the last of sixteen or seventeen which that great enemy of God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his high commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ; his soul is now with the Lord, and his blood cried for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the saints, and against Mr. Richard Young [a justice of peace in London], who in this, and many the like points, hath abused his power for the upholding of the Romish antichrist, prelacy, and priesthood. He died A.D. 1592." ‡

Many copies of this inscription were dispersed among friends, for which some were apprehended and confined.

The privy council taking no notice of the above-mentioned supplications, the prisoners in the several jails about London joined in the petition given below to the Lord-treasurer Burleigh, to which they subscribed their names. §

* Strype's Ann., vol. ult., p. 134.

† Ibid., vol. ult., p. 133. ‡ Ibid., vol. ult., p. 91.

§ "The humble petition of many poor Christians, imprisoned by the bishops in sundry prisons in and about London, to the lord-treasurer.

"We humbly beseech your honour either to grant us a speedy trial together, or some free Christian conference, or else, in the mean while, that we may be bailed according to law, or else put into Bridewell, or some other convenient place where we may be together for our mutual help and comfort; or, if your honour will not yourself alone grant this our request, that then it may please you to be a mean for our speedy relief, unto the rest of her majesty's most honourable privy council.

Among the names subscribed to this petition is Mr. Henry Barrowe, an ingenious and learn-

"The Almighty God, that hath preserved your lordship unto these honourable years in so high service to our sovereign prince, and to the unspeakable comfort of this whole land, give your honourable heart so tender compassion and careful consideration in equity, of the poor afflicted servants of Christ, and that (before the Lord plead against this land for Abel's innocent blood that is shed in the several prisons) your honour may open your mouth for the dumb in the cause of the children of [devoted to] destruction, [that] you may open your mouth and judge righteously, and judge the cause of the afflicted; as the people of Israel, when they went to war, first made peace with God, and removed all occasion whereby his wrath might be incensed, lest he should fight against them in battle. For if this suppression of the truth and oppression of Christ in his members, contrary to all law and justice, be, without restraint, prosecuted by the enemy in the land, then not only the persecuted shall daily cry from under the altar for redress, but God's wrath be so kindled for the shedding the innocent blood of men, even the blood of his own servants (of whom he has said, 'Touch not mine anointed'), that, if Noah, Daniel, and Job should pray for this people, yet should they not deliver them.

"Pleaseth it, then, your lordship to understand, that we, her majesty's loyal, dutiful, and true-hearted subjects, to the number of threescore persons and upward, have, contrary to all law and equity, been imprisoned, separated from our trades, wives, children, and families; yea, shut up close prisoners from all comfort, many of us for the space of two years and a half, upon the bishop's sole commandment, in great penury and noisomeness of the prisons; many ending their lives, never called to trial; some haled forth to the sessions; some cast in irons and dungeons; some in hunger and famine; all of us debarred from any lawful audience before our honourable governors and magistrates, and from all benefit and help of the laws; daily defamed and falsely accused by published pamphlets, by private suggestions, open preaching, slanders, and accusations of heresy, sedition, schism, and what not. And, above all, which most utterly toucheth our salvation, they keep us from all spiritual comfort and edifying by doctrine, prayer, or mutual conference, &c.

"And seeing for our conscience only we are deprived of all comfort, we most humbly beseech your good lordship that some more mitigate and peaceable course might be taken therein, that some free and Christian conference, publicly or privately, before your honour, or before whom it would please you, where our adversaries may not be our judges [might be had]; that our case, with the reason and proof on both sides, might be recorded by indifferent notaries and faithful witnesses; and if anything be found in us worthy of death or bonds, let us be made an example to all posterity; if not, we entreat for some compassion to be shown in equity according to law for our relief; [and] that, in the mean time, we may be bailed to do her majesty service, walk in our callings, to provide things needful for ourselves, our poor wives, disconsolate children, and families, lying upon us, or else that we might be prisoners together in Bridewell, or any other convenient place at your honour's appointment, where we might provide such relief by our diligence and labours as might preserve life, to the comfort both of our souls and bodies."

Signed by your supplicants in the following prisons:

<i>In the Gate-house.</i>	William Dodshowe,
John Gaulter,	Father Debnam,
John Nicolas,	Edmund Thompson,
John Barnes,	Thomas Freeman.
John Crawford,	<i>In the Fleet.</i>
Thomas Conadync,	Henry Barrowe,
Thomas Reeve,	

ed man, but of too warm a spirit, as appears by his book, entitled "A Brief Discovery of False Churches," printed 1590, and reprinted 1707. This gentleman having been several years in prison, sent another supplication to the attorney-general and privy council for a conference with the bishops, or that their ministers might be conferred with in their hearing, without taunts or railings, for searching out the truth in love. "If it be objected," says Barrowe, "that none of our side are worthy to be thus disputed with, we think we should prove the contrary, for there are three or four of them in the city of London, and more elsewhere, who have been zealous preachers in the parish assemblies, and are not ignorant of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, nor otherwise unlearned, and generally confessed to be of honest conversation. If this motion takes effect, the controversy will soon end with most of us, for by this means we poor wretches shall perceive whether, as simple souls, we are lead aside, or whether, as the dear children of God, we are first trusted with the view of, and standing up for, the cause of holiness and righteousness. But let us not perish secretly in prison, or openly by execution, for want of that help that lies in your power to afford; when we protest, in the sight of God, we do not separate from the establishment out of pride or obstinacy, but from the constraints of conscience."

But all these petitions were rejected by the bishops and privy council, for the following reasons, if they deserve that name: "Because a disputation had been denied to papists: to call the ministry of the Church of England into question, is to call all other churches into ques-

tion, against whom their exceptions extend: * the Church of England has submitted to disputation three times in King Edward's, Queen Mary's, and Queen Elizabeth's time: these men's errors have been condemned by the writings of learned men: it is not reasonable that a religion established by Parliament should be examined by an inferior authority: it is not reasonable to condemn those foreign churches that have acknowledged ours for a true church: their principal errors have been confuted by St. Austin: this will strengthen the hands of the papists: it has been the manner of heretics to require disputations with clamour and importunity: the cause has been already decided by written books, which they may consult: they will not stand to the judgment of the civil magistrate: if the Church should satisfy every sect that riseth, there would be no end of disputations." Thus these pious and conscientious persons, after a long and illegal imprisonment, were abandoned to the severity of an unrighteous law; some of them being publicly executed as felons, and others proscribed and sent into banishment.

Among the former were Mr. Barrowe, gent., of Gray's Inn, Mr. Greenwood and Penry, ministers; the first two had been in prison some years, and several times before the commissioners; their examinations, written by themselves, are now before me. Barrowe was apprehended at the Clink prison in Southwark, where he went to visit his brother Greenwood; he was carried immediately to Lambeth, where the archbishop would have examined him upon the oath *ex officio*, but he refused to take it, or to swear at all upon the Bible; but, says he, by God's grace I will answer nothing but the truth. So the archbishop took a paper of interrogatories into his hand, and asked him, 1. "Whether the Lord's Prayer might be used in the Church?" He answered, that in his opinion it was rather a summary than a form, and not finding it used by the apostles, he thought it should not be constantly used by us. 2. Whether forms of prayer may be used in the Church? He answered, that none such ought to be imposed. 3. Whether the common prayer be idolatrous or superstitious? He answered, that in his opinion it was so. 4. Whether the sacraments of the Church are true sacraments and seals of the favour of God? He answered, he thought, as they were publicly administered, they were not. 5. Whether the laws of the Church are good? He answered, that many of them were unlawful and antichristian. 6. Whether the Church of England is a true church? He answered, that, as it was now formed, it was not; yet there are many excellent good Christians of it. 7. Whether the queen be supreme governor of the Church, and may make laws for it? He answered, that the queen was supreme governor of the Church, but might not make laws other than Christ had left in his Word. 8. Whether a private person may reform if the prince neglects it? He answered, that no private persons might reform the state, but they are to abstain from any unlawful thing commanded by the prince. 9. Whether every particular church ought to have a presbytery? He answered in the affirmative. After this examination he was remanded to a

John Greenwood,
Daniel Studley,
Robert Badkyne,
Walter Lane.

In Newgate.

William Deptford,
Widow Borrough,
Roger Waterer.

In Bridewell.

William Broomal,
James Forrester,
Antony Claxton,
Nicholas Lee,
Jonh Francis,
William Forrester,
John Clarke,
John Fisher,
John Bucer,
Roger Rippon,
Robert Andrews,
Richard Skarlet,
Luke Hayes,
Richard Maltusse,
Richard Umberfield,
William Fowler,
William Burt,
William Hutton.

In the Clink.

George Collier,
John Sparrow,
Edmund Nicholson,
Christopher Browne,
Thomas Mitchel,
Andrew Smith,
William Blackborrow,
Thomas Lemare,
Christopher Raper,
Quintin Smith.

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In the White Lion.

Thomas Legat,
Edmund Marsh,
Antony Johnes,
— Cook,
— Auger.

Wood-street Compter.

George Snells,
Christopher Bowman,
Robert Jackson,
Rowlet Skipwith.

Poultry Compter.

George Kingston,
Thomas Eyneworth,
Richard Hayward,
John Lancaster.

In all, fifty-nine.

Prisoners deceased:

Out of the Poultry Compter.

John Chandler.

Out of Wood-street Compter.

George Dinghtie.

Out of the Clink.

Henry Thompson,
Jerome Studley.

Out of Newgate.

Richard Jackson,
Widow Mainard,
Widow Row,
Nicholas Crane,
Thomas Stephens.

Out of Bridewell.

John Parly.

In all, ten.

* Strype's Annals, vol. ult., p. 172.

close prison, and denied a copy of his answers, though he earnestly desired it.

His next examination was before the archbishop, the lord-chancellor, lord-treasurer, Lord Buckhurst, and the Bishop of London, at Whitehall, where he found twelve of his brethren in the same circumstances with himself, but was not admitted to speak to them. Being called into another room, and kneeling down at the end of the table, the lord-treasurer spoke to him thus: Treasurer. Why are you in prison? Barrowe. Upon the statute against recusants. Treasurer. Why will you not go to church? Barrowe. Because I think the Church of England as established by law not a church of Christ, nor their manner of worship lawful. After a long debate on this head the treasurer said, You complain of injustice, where have you wrong? Barrowe. In being kept in prison without due trial; and in the misery we suffer by a close imprisonment contrary to law. The archbishop said he had matter to call him before him for a heretic. Barrowe replied, That you shall never do; I may err, but heretic, by the grace of God, I will never be. It being observed that he did not pay such reverence to the Archbishop and Bishop of London as to the temporal lords, the chancellor asked him if he did not know those two men, pointing to the bishops. To which he answered, that he had cause to know them, but did not own them for lord bishops. Being then asked by what name he would call the archbishop, he replied that he was a monster, a persecutor, a compound of he knew not what, neither ecclesiastical nor civil, like the second beast spoken of in the Revelations: upon which the archbishop rose out of his place, and with a severe countenance said, My lords, will you suffer him? So he was plucked off his knees, and carried away.

Mr. Greenwood the minister was examined after the same manner before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the lords-chief-justices, the lord-chief-baron, and the master of the rolls: he had interrogatories put to him as Barrowe had, but refused to swear, and made much the same answer with the other. At length, on March 21, 1592, they, together with Saxio Bellot, gent., Daniel Studley, girdler, and Robert Bowlle, fishmonger, were indicted at the sessions-house in the Old Bailey, upon the statute of 23 Eliz., for writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the queen and government, when they had only written against the Church; but this was the archbishop's artful contrivance to throw off the odium of their death from himself to the civil magistrate; for, as the reverend and learned Mr. Hugh Broughton observes, "though Mr. Barrowe and Greenwood were condemned for disturbance of the state, yet this would have been pardoned, and their lives spared, if they would have promised to come to church."* Upon their trial they behaved with constancy and resolution, showing no token of recognition, says the attorney, nor prayer for mercy: they protested their inviolable loyalty to the queen, and obedience to her government; that they never wrote, nor so much as intended anything, against her highness, but only against the bish-

ops and the hierarchy of the Church; which was apparent enough. However, the jury brought them all in guilty.* Bellot desired a conference, and with tears confessing his sorrow for what he had done, was pardoned. Bowlle and Studley being looked upon only as accessories, though they continued firm, declaring their unshaken loyalty to the queen, and refusing to ask for mercy, were reprieved and sent back to prison; but Barrowe and Greenwood were to be made examples. Sentence of death being passed upon them March 23, sundry divines were appointed to persuade them to recant; who not succeeding, they were brought in a cart to Tyburn on the last of March, and exposed under the gallows for some time to the people, to see if the terrors of death would affright them; but remaining constant, they were brought back to Newgate, and on the 6th of April, 1593, carried a second time to Tyburn and executed. At the place of execution they gave such testimonies of their unfeigned piety towards God and loyalty to the queen, praying so earnestly for her long and prosperous reign, that when Dr. Reynolds, who attended them, reported their behaviour to her majesty, she repented that she had yielded to their death.

They had been in close prison ever since the year 1590, exposed to all the severities of cold, hunger, and nakedness, which Mr. Barrowe represented in a supplication to the queen, already mentioned, concluding with an earnest desire of deliverance from the present miseries, though it were by death; but the archbishop intercepted the paper, and endeavoured to prevent the knowledge of their condition from coming to the queen's ear: upon this, Mr. Barrowe exposed his grace's behaviour towards miserable men, in a letter to one Mr. Fisher, wherein he charges him with "abusing the queen's clemency by false informations and suggestions, and with artful disingenuity, in committing so many innocent men to Bridewell, the Compter, Newgate, the White Lion, and the Fleet, and then posting them to the civil magistrate to take off the clamour of the people from himself. He says that he had destined himself and his brother Greenwood to death, and others to be kept in close prison; their poor wives and children to be cast out of the city, and their goods to be confiscated. Is not this a Christian bishop?" says he. "Are these the virtues of him who takes upon him the care and government of all the churches of the land, to tear and devour God's poor sheep, and to rend off the flesh and break their bones, and chop them in pieces as flesh to the caldron?† Will he thus instruct and convince gainsayers? Surely he will persuade but few that fear God to his religion by his dealing and evil. Does he consult his own credit, or the honour of his prince, by this tyrannous havoc? For our parts, our lives are not dear to us, so that we may finish our testimony with joy: we are always ready, through God's grace, to be offered up upon the testimony of the faith that we have made."

Thus fell these two unhappy gentlemen a sacrifice to the resentments of an angry prelate.

About six weeks after this, the Rev. Mr. John Penry, or Ap-Henry, a Welsh divine, was exe-

* Heyl, Hist. Presb., p. 323.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 416.

* Broughton's Works, p. 731.

cuted for the same crime, in a cruel and inhuman manner. He was a pious and learned man, well disposed to religion, says Mr. Strype, but mistaken in his principles and hot in his temper; a zealous platformer, and a declared enemy of the archbishop. He was born in the county of Brecknock, and educated first at Cambridge, and afterward in St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, where he became M.A., 1586, and entered into holy orders, being well acquainted with arts and languages. He preached in both universities with applause, and afterward travelling into Wales, was the first, as he said, that preached the Gospel publicly to the Welsh, and sowed the good seed among his countrymen. In the year 1518 he published a "View of such Public Wants and Disorders as are in her Majesty's Country of Wales, with an humble Petition to the High Court of Parliament for their Redress:" wherein is showed not only the necessity of reforming the state of religion among that people, but also the only way in regard of substance to bring that reformation to pass. He also published "An Exhortation to the Governors and People of her Majesty's Country of Wales, to labour earnestly to have the preaching of the Gospel planted among them." Printed in 1588.

When Martin Mar-Prelate and the other satirical pamphlets against the bishops were published, a special warrant was issued from the privy council, 1590, under several of their hands, whereof the archbishop's was one, to seize and apprehend Mr. Penry as an enemy of the state, and that all the queen's good subjects should take him so to be. To avoid being taken, he retired into Scotland, where he continued till the year 1593. Here he made many observations of things relating to religion, for his own private use, and at length prepared the heads of a petition,* or

* The heads of the petition, taken upon him, were as follow: "The last days of your reign are turned rather against Jesus Christ and his Gospel than to the maintenance of the same.

"I have great cause and complaint, madam; nay, the Lord and his Church have cause to complain of your government, because we your subjects, this day, are not permitted to serve our God under your government according to his Word, but are sold to be bond-slaves, not only to our affections, to do what we will, so that we keep ourselves within the compass of established civil laws, but also to be servants to the man of sin [the pope] and his ordinances.

"It is not the force that we seem to fear that will come upon us (for the Lord may destroy both you for denying, and us for slack seeking, of his will) by strangers: I come unto you with it: if you will hear it, our cause may be eased; if not, that posterity may know that you have been dealt with, and that this age may know that there is no expectation [hope] to be looked for at your hands.

"Among the rest of the princes under the Gospel, that have been drawn to oppose it, you must think yourself to be one; for until you see this, madam, you see not yourself, and they are but sycophants and flatterers whoever tell you otherwise: your standing is and has been by the Gospel. It is little beholden to you for anything that appears. The practice of your government shows that if you could have ruled without the Gospel, it would have been doubtful whether the Gospel should be established or not: for now that you are established in your throne by the Gospel, you suffer it to reach no farther than the end of your sceptre limeth unto it.

"If we had had Queen Mary's days, I think that we should have had as flourishing a church this day as ever any, for it is well known that there was

an address to the queen, to show her majesty the true state of religion, and how ignorant she was of many abuses in the Church of England, especially in the management of ecclesiastical matters; and likewise to intercede for so much favour that he might, by her authority, have liberty to go into Wales, his native country, to preach the Gospel.* With this petition he came

then in London, under the burden, and elsewhere in exile, more flourishing churches than any now tolerated by your authority.

"Now, whereas we should have your help both to join ourselves with the true Church and reject the false, and all the ordinances thereof, we are in your kingdom permitted to do nothing, but accounted seditious if we affirm either the one or the other of the former points; and, therefore, madam, you are not so much an adversary to us poor men as unto Christ Jesus and the wealth of his kingdom.

"If we cannot have your favour but by omitting our duty to God, we are unworthy of it, and, by God's grace, we mean not to purchase it so dear.

"But, madam, thus much we must needs say, that in all likelihood, if the days of your sister Queen Mary and her persecution had continued unto this day, that the Church of God in England had been far more flourishing than at this day it is; for then, madam, the Church of God within this land, and elsewhere, being strangers, enjoyed the ordinances of God's holy Word as far as then they saw.

"But since your majesty came unto your crown, we have had whole Christ Jesus, God and man; but we must serve him only in heart.

"And if those days had continued to this time, and those lights risen therein, which, by the mercy of God, have since shined in England, it is not to be doubted but the Church of England, even in England, had far surpassed all the Reformed churches in the world.

"Then, madam, any of our brethren durst not have been seen within the tents of antichrist; now they are ready to defend them to be the Lord's, and that he has no other tabernacle upon earth but them. Our brethren then durst not temporize in the cause of God, because the Lord himself ruled in his Church, by his own laws, in a good measure; but now, behold! they may do what they will, for any sword that the Church has to draw against them, if they contain themselves within your laws.

"This peace, under these conditions, we cannot enjoy, and therefore, for anything I can see, Queen Mary's days will be set up again, or we must needs temporize. The whole truth we must not speak; the whole truth we must not profess. Your state must have a stroke above the truth of God.

"Now, madam, your majesty may consider what good the Church of God hath taken at your hands, even outward peace with the absence of Jesus Christ in his ordinance; otherwise as great troubles are likely to come as ever were in the days of your sister.

"As for the council and clergy, if we bring any such suit unto them, we have no other answer but that which Pharaoh gives to the Lord's messengers touching the state of the Church under his government.

"For when any are called for this cause before your council, or the judges of the land, they must take this for granted, once for all, that the uprightness of their cause will profit them nothing if the law of the land be against them; for your council and judges have so well profited in religion, that they will not stick to say that they come not to consult whether the matter be with or against the Word or not, but their purpose is to take the penalty of the transgressions against your laws.

"If your council were wise, they would not kindle your wrath against us; but, madam, if you give ear to their words, no marvel though you have not better counsellors."

* Life of Whitgift, p. 409.

from Scotland, resolving to finish and deliver it with his own hand, as he should find opportunity; but upon his arrival he was seized with his papers at Stepney parish, by the information of the vicar, in the month of May, and arraigned, condemned, and executed, hastily, the very same month.

It appears by this petition, as well as by his letter sent to the congregation of Separatists in London, that Mr. Penry was a Brownist. His Book of Observations was also seized, out of which were drawn articles of accusation against him. He was indicted upon the statute of the 23d of Eliz., cap. ii., for seditious words and rumours uttered against the queen's most excellent majesty, tending to the stirring up of rebellion among her subjects, and was convicted of felony, May 21, in the King's Bench, before the Lord-chief-justice Popham. He received sentence of death May 25, and was executed on the 29th of the same month. It was designed to indict him for the books published in his name, but by the advice of council, Mr. Penry drew up a paper entitled "Mr. Penry's Declaration, May 16, 1593, that he is not in danger of the law for the books published in his name." Here he observes that the statute was not intended against such as wrote only against the hierarchy of the Church, for then it must condemn most of the most learned Protestants both at home and abroad; but relates to such as defame her majesty's royal person, whereas he had always written most dutifully of her person and government, having never encouraged sedition or insurrection against her majesty, but the contrary; nor had he ever been at any assembly or conventicle where any, under or above the number of twelve, were assembled with force of arms, or otherwise, to alter anything established by law; nor was it his opinion that private persons should of their own authority attempt any such thing, for he had always written and spoken to the contrary. But, however, if all this had been true, he ought to have been accused within one month of the crime, upon the oath of two witnesses, and have been indicted within one year, otherwise the statute itself clears him in express words.

The court, apprehending this declaration might occasion an argument at law, set aside his printed books, and convicted him upon the petition and private observations above mentioned, which was still harder, as he represented it himself in the following letter to the lord-treasurer, with a protestation enclosed, immediately after his condemnation. "Vouchsafe, I beseech your lordship (right honourable), to read the enclosed writing. My days, I see, are drawing to an end, and I thank God an undeserved end, except the Lord stir up your honour to acquaint her majesty with my guiltless state.

"The cause is most lamentable that the private observations of any student, being in a foreign land and wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his life with blood to a violent end, especially seeing they are most private, and so imperfect as they have no coherence at all in them, and in most place carry no true English.

"Though my innocence may stand me in no stead before an earthly tribunal, yet I know that I shall have the reward thereof before the judgment-seat of the Great King; and the merciful Lord, who relieves the widow and fatherless, will reward my desolate orphans and friendless widow that I leave behind me, and even hear their cry, for he is merciful.

"Being like to trouble your lordship with no more letters, I do with thankfulness acknowledge your honour's favour in receiving the writings I have presumed to send to you from time to time; and in this my last, I protest I have written nothing but the truth from time to time.

"Thus preparing myself, not so much for an unjust verdict, and an undeserved doom in this life, as unto that blessed crown of glory which, of the great mercy of my God, is ready for me in heaven, I humbly betake your lordship unto the hands of the just Lord. May 22, 1593. Your lordship's most humble in the Lord,

"JOHN PENRY."

In the protestation enclosed in this letter he declared that he wrote his observations in Scotland; that they were the sum of certain objections made by people in those parts against her majesty and her government, which he intended to examine, but had not so much as looked into them for fourteen or fifteen months past; that even in these writings, so imperfect, unfinished, and enclosed within his private study, he had shown his dutifulness to the queen, nor had he ever a secret wandering thought of the least disloyalty to her majesty: "I thank the Lord," says he, "I remember not that that day has passed over my head, since under her government I came to the knowledge of the truth, wherein I have not commended her estate unto God. Well, I may be indicted and condemned, and end my days as a felon or a traitor against my natural sovereign, but heaven and earth shall not be able to convict me thereof. Whosoever an end of my days comes (as I look not to live this week to an end), I shall die Queen Elizabeth's most faithful subject, even in the consciences of mine enemies, if they will be beholders thereof.*

"I never took myself for a rebuker, much less for a reformer of states and kingdoms; far was that from me; yet in the discharge of my conscience, all the world must bear with me if I prefer my testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ before the favour of any creature. An enemy to good order and policy either in this Church or commonwealth was I never. I never did anything in this cause (Lord! thou art witness) for contention, vainglory, or to draw disciples after me. Great things in this life I never sought for; sufficiency I have had, with great outward trouble, but most content I was with my lot; and content I am and shall be with my untimely death, though I leave behind me a friendless widow and four infants, the eldest of which is not above four years old. I do from my heart forgive all that seek my life; and if my death can procure any quietness to the Church of God or the State, I shall rejoice. May my prince have many such subjects, but may none of them meet with such a reward! My earnest request is that her majesty may be acquainted with

* Life of Whitgift, p. 412.

* Life of Whitgift, in Rec., p. 176.

these things before my death, or at least after my departure.

"Subscribed with the heart and hand that never devised or wrote anything to the discredit or defamation of my sovereign Queen Elizabeth: I take it on my death, as I hope to have a life after this. By me, JOHN PENRY."

It was never known before this time that a minister and a scholar was condemned to death for private papers found in his study; nor do I remember more than once since that time, in whose case it was given for law, that *scribere est agere*, that to write has been construed an overt act; but Penry must die, right or wrong; the archbishop was the first man who signed the warrant for his execution, and after him Puckering and Popham. The warrant was sent immediately to the sheriff, who the very same day erected a gallows at St. Thomas Waterings; and while the prisoner was at dinner, sent his officers to bid him make ready, for he must die that afternoon; accordingly, he was carried in a cart to the place of execution; when he came thither the sheriff would not suffer him to speak to the people, nor make any profession of his faith towards God, or his loyalty to the queen, but ordered him to be turned off in a hurry about five of the clock in the evening, May 29, 1593, in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

The court being struck with this behaviour of the Brownists, began to be ashamed of hanging men for sedition against the state, who died with such strong professions of loyalty to the queen and government, and therefore could suffer only for the cause of religion. This raised an odium against the bishops and the high commissioners, who, all men knew, were at the bottom of these proceedings. It is said the queen herself was displeased with them when she heard of the devotion and loyalty of the sufferers. It was therefore resolved to proceed for the future on the late statute of the 31st Eliz., to retain the queen's subjects in their obedience, and instead of putting the Brownists to death, to send them into banishment. Upon this statute, Mr. Johnson, pastor of the Brownist Church, was convicted, and all the jails were cleared for the present; though the commissioners took care within the compass of another year to fill them again.

The papists were distressed by this statute, and that of 23d Eliz., as much as the Brownists, though they met with much more favour from the ecclesiastical courts; the queen either loved or feared them, and would often say she would never ransack their consciences if they would be quiet; but they were always libelling her majesty, and in continual plots against her government. While the Queen of Scots was alive, they supported her pretensions to the crown, and after her death they maintained in print the title of the Infanta of Spain: they were concerned with the Spaniards in the invasion of 1588, which obliged the queen to confine some of their chiefs in Wisbeach Castle, and other places of safety, but she was tender of their lives. In the first eleven years of her reign, not one Roman Catholic was prosecuted capitally for religion; in the next ten years, when the pope had excommunicated the queen and the whole kingdom, and there had been

dangerous rebellions in the north, there were only twelve priests executed, and most of them for matters against the state. In the ten following years, when swarms of priests and Jesuits came over from foreign seminaries to invite the Catholics to join with the Spaniards, the laws were girt closer upon them, fifty priests being executed, and fifty-five banished; but as soon as the danger was over, the laws were relaxed, and by reason of the ignorance and laziness of the beneficed clergy, the missionaries gained over such numbers of proselytes in the latter end of this reign, as endangered the whole government and Reformation in the beginning of the next.

The last and finishing hand was put to the Presbyterian discipline in Scotland this year [1554]. That kingdom had been governed by different factions during the minority of King James, which prevented a full settlement of religion. The General Assembly in the year 1566 had approved of the Geneva discipline; but the Parliament did not confirm the votes of the assembly, nor formally deprive the bishops of their power, though all church affairs from that time were managed by presbyteries and general assemblies. In the year 1574 they voted the bishops to be only pastors of one parish; and to show their power, they deposed the Bishop of Dunkeld, and delated the Bishop of Glasgow. In the year 1577 they ordained that all bishops be called by their own names, and the next year voted the very name of a bishop a grievance. In the year 1580, the General Assembly, with one voice, declared diocesan episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful. The same year, King James with his family, and the whole nation, subscribed a confession of faith, with a solemn league and covenant annexed, obliging themselves to maintain and defend the Protestant doctrine and the Presbyterian government. After this, in the year 1584, the bishops were restored by Parliament to some parts of their ancient dignity,* and it was made treason for any man to procure the innovation or diminution of the power and authority of any of the three estates; but when this act was proclaimed, the ministers protested against it, as not having been agreed to by the Kirk. In the year 1587, things took another turn, and his majesty being at the full age of twenty-one, consented to an act to take away bishops' lands, and annex them to the crown. In the year 1593, it was ordained by the General Assembly that all that bore office in the Kirk, or should hereafter do so, should subscribe to the Book of Discipline. In the year 1592, all acts of Parliament whatsoever, made by the king's highness or any of his predecessors, in favour of popery or episcopacy, were annulled; and in particular, the act of May 22, 1584, "for granting commissions to bishops, or other ecclesiastical judges, to receive presentations to benefices, and give collation thereupon;" and it was ordained that for the future "all presentations to benefices shall be directed to the particular presbyteries, with full power to give collation thereupon; and to order all matters and causes ecclesiastical within their bounds according to the discipline of the Kirk.†

* Heyl., Hist. Presb., p. 231.

† Id. *ibid.*, p. 294.

"Farther, the act ratifies and confirms all former acts of Parliament in favour of kirk discipline, and declares that it shall be lawful for the Kirk and ministers to hold general assemblies once a year, or oftener if necessity require, the king's commissioner being present if his majesty pleases. It ratifies and approves of provincial and synodal assemblies twice a year within every province; and of presbyteries and particular sessions appointed by the Kirk, with the whole discipline and jurisdiction of the same. Provincial assemblies have power to redress all things omitted or done amiss in the particular assemblies, to depose the office-bearer of the province, and generally they have the power of the particular elderships whereof they are collected.

"The power of presbyteries is declared to consist in keeping the kirks within their bounds in good order; to inquire after and endeavour to reform vicious persons. It belongs to the elderships to see that the Word of God be duly preached, and the sacraments rightly administered, and discipline entertained; they are to cause the ordinances made by the Provincial, National, and General Assemblies, to be put in execution; to make or abolish constitutions which concern decent order in their kirks, provided they alter no rules made by the superior assemblies; and communicate their constitutions to the Provincial Assembly; they have power to excommunicate the obstinate after due process. Concerning particular kirks, if they are lawfully ruled by sufficient ministers and session, they have power and jurisdiction in their own congregation in matters ecclesiastical."

This act, for the greater solemnity, was confirmed again in the year 1593, and again this present year 1594, so that from this time to the year 1612 presbytery was undoubtedly the legal establishment of the Kirk of Scotland, as it had been, in fact, ever since the Reformation.

To return to England. Several champions appeared about this time for the cause of episcopacy; as, Dr. Bilson, Bancroft, Bridges, Cosins, Soam, and Dr. Adrian Sararia, a Spaniard, but benefited in the Church of England: this last was answered by Beza; Bridges was answered by Fenner, Cosins by Morrice, and Bilson by Bradshaw, though the press was shut against the Puritans.

But the most celebrated performance, and of greatest note, was Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, in eight books; the first four of which were published this year; the fifth in the year 1597, and last three not till many years after his death; for which reason some have suspected them to be interpolated, though they were deposited in the hands of Archbishop Abbot, from whose copy they were printed, about the beginning of the civil wars.* This is esteemed the most learned defence of the Church of England, wherein all that would be acquainted with its constitution, says a learned prelate, may see upon what foundation it is built.† Mr. Hooker

begun his work while master of the Temple, but meeting with some trouble, and many interruptions in that place, the archbishop, at his request, removed him to Boscum, in the diocese of Salisbury, and gave him a minor prebend in that church; here he finished his first four books; from thence he was removed to the parsonage of Bishopsborn, in Kent, about three miles from Canterbury, where he finished his work and his life in the year 1600, and in the forty-seventh year of his age.*

The chief principles upon which this learned author proceeds are,

"That though the Holy Scriptures are a perfect standard of doctrine, they are not a rule of discipline or government: nor is the practice of the apostles an invariable rule or law to the Church in succeeding ages, because they acted according to the circumstances of the Church in its infant and persecuted state: neither are the Scriptures a rule of human actions, so far as that whatsoever we do in matters of religion without their express direction or warrant is sin, but many things are left indifferent: the Church is a society like others, invested with powers to make what laws she apprehends reasonable, decent, or necessary for her well-being and government, provided they do not interfere with or contradict the laws and commandments of Holy Scripture: where the Scripture is silent, human authority may interpose; we must then have recourse to the reason of things and the rights of society: it follows from hence that the Church is at liberty to appoint ceremonies, and establish order within the limits above mentioned; and her authority ought to determine what is fit and convenient: all who are born within the confines of an established church, and are baptized into it, are bound to submit to its ecclesiastical laws; they may not disgrace,

scrutinizing inquiry into the nature of man and the constitution of human society can effect, is here accomplished on behalf of the hierarchy. If, therefore, such a work fails to sustain its positions; if many of its principles are unsound, and its course of argumentation is precisely similar to that which popery employs; if large sections of the work are as conclusive against the Protestant faith as against that form of it to which Hooker was opposed, a strong presumption must be awakened that there was a radical unsoundness in the cause he advocated, which no genius could remedy or diligence correct. That such defects do attach to this celebrated performance has been extensively acknowledged, and will be increasingly felt, as the true spirit of Protestantism prevails among its professed disciples." "The better parts of the Ecclesiastical Polity," remarks Mr. Hallam, "bear a resemblance to the philosophical writings of antiquity, in their defects as well as their excellences. Hooker is often too vague in the use of general terms; too inconsiderate in the admission of principles; too apt to acquiesce in the scholastic pseudo-philosophy; and, indeed, in all received tenets. He is comprehensive rather than sagacious, and more fitted to sift the truth from the stores of accumulated learning than to seize it by an original impulse of his own mind. Nor would it be difficult to point out several other subjects, such as religious toleration, as to which he did not emancipate himself from the trammels of prejudice."—*Constitutional History*, vol. i., p. 295.—C.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 421.

† *The Ecclesiastical Polity* is deeply interesting to the Protestant Nonconformist, because it exhibits the utmost that can be advanced in support of the church system to which he is opposed. "All," says Dr. Price, "that human genius, or the most patient and

* Hooker's production grew out of his dispute with Travers, and his object was to recover the junior members of the Temple from the influence of Travers's ministry.—See *Walton's Life of Hooker*, i., 295.—C.

revile, or reject them at pleasure: the Church is their mother, and has more than a maternal power over them: the positive laws of the Church not being of a moral nature, are mutable, and may be changed or reversed by the same powers that made them; but while they are in force they are to be submitted to, under such penalties as the Church in her wisdom shall direct."

The fourth and fifth propositions are the main pillars of Mr. Hooker's fabric, and the foundation of all human establishments, viz., "that the Church, like other societies, is invested with power to make laws for its well-being; and that where the Scripture is silent, human authority may interpose." All men allow that human societies may form themselves after any model, and make what laws they please for their well-being; and that the Christian Church has some things in common with all societies as such, as the appointing time and place, and the order of public worship, &c.; but it must be remembered that the Christian Church is not a mere voluntary society, but a community formed and constituted by Christ, the sole king and lawgiver of it, who has made sufficient provision for its well-being to the end of the world. It does not appear in the New Testament that the Church is empowered to mend or alter the constitution of Christ, by creating new offices, or making new laws, though the Christian world has ventured upon it. Christ gave his church, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers for the perfecting the saints, and edifying his body; but the successors of the apostles in the government of the Church, apprehending these not sufficient, have added patriarchs, cardinals, deans, archdeacons, canons, and other officials. The Church is represented in Scripture as a spiritual body, her ordinances, privileges, and censures being purely such; but later ages have wrought the civil powers into her constitution, and kept men within her pale by all the terrors of this world, as fines, imprisonments, banishments, fire, and sword. It is the peculiar excellence of the Gospel worship to be plain and simple, free from the yoke of Jewish ceremonies; but the anti-christian powers, thinking this a defect, have loaded it with numberless ceremonies of their own invention; and though there are laws in Scripture sufficient for the direction of the Church, as constituted by Christ and his apostles, they have thought fit to add so many volumes of ecclesiastical laws, canons, and injunctions, as have confounded, if not subverted, the laws of Christ.

Whereas, if men considered the Church as a spiritual body, constituted by Christ its sole lawgiver for spiritual purposes, they would then see that it had no concern with their civil rights, properties, and estates, nor any power to force men to be of its communion, by the pains and penalties of this world. The laws of the New Testament would appear sufficient for the well-being of such a society; and in cases where there are no particular rules or injunctions, that it is the will of Christ and his apostles there should be liberty and mutual forbearance; there would then be no occasion for Christian courts, as they are called, nor for the interposition of human authority, any father than to keep the peace. Upon the whole, as far as any church

is governed by the laws and precepts of the New Testament, so far is it a Church of Christ; but when it sets up its own by-laws as terms of communion, or works the policy of the civil magistrate into its constitution, it is so far a creature of the state.

Mr. Hooker's last two propositions are inconsistent with the first principles of the Reformation, viz., that all men that are born within the confines of an established church, and are baptized into it, are bound to submit to its ecclesiastical laws under such penalties as the Church in her wisdom shall direct. Must I, then, be of the religion of the country where I am born? that is, at Rome a papist, in Saxony a Lutheran, in Scotland a Presbyterian, and in England a diocesan prelatist, and this under such penalties as the Church in her wisdom shall think fit? Must I believe as the Church believes, and submit to her laws right or wrong? Have I no right, as a man and a Christian, to judge and act for myself, as long as I continue a loyal and faithful subject to my prince? Surely religious principles and Church communion should be the effect of examination and a deliberate choice, or they lose their name, and degenerate into hypocrisy or atheism.

From general principles Mr. Hooker proceeds to vindicate the particular rites and ceremonies of the Church, and to clear them from the exceptions of the Puritans; which may easily be done when he has proved that the Church has a discretionary power to appoint what ceremonies and establish what order she thinks fit; he may then vindicate not only the ceremonies of the Church of England, but all those of Rome, for no doubt that church alleges all their ceremonies conducive to her well-being, and not inconsistent with the laws of Christ.*

This year died Dr. John Aylmer, bishop of London, whose character has been sufficiently drawn in this history; he was born in Norfolk, educated in Cambridge, and in Queen Mary's reign an exile for religion; he was such a little man, that Fuller† says, when the searchers were clearing the ship in which he made his escape, the merchant put him into a great wine-but that had a partition in the middle, so that Mr. Aylmer sat enclosed in the hinder part while the searchers drank of the wine which they saw drawn out of the head on the other part; he was of an active, busy spirit, quick in his language, and, after his advancement, of a stout and

* To Mr. Neal's remarks on the principles of the Ecclesiastical Polity, it may be added, that how just and conclusive soever those principles are in themselves, they do not, they cannot apply to the vindication of our religious establishment, till it be proved that its ceremonies and laws were fixed by the Church. In whatever sense the word church is used, this is not the fact. Whether you understand by it "a congregation of faithful men," or "all ecclesiastical persons," or "an order of men who are set apart by Christianity, and dedicated to this very purpose of public instruction," in neither sense were the forms and opinions of our established religion settled by the Church. They originated with royal pleasure; they have changed as the will of our princes hath changed; they have been settled by acts of Parliaments, formed illegally, corrupted by pensions, and overawed by prerogative, and they constitute part of the statute law of the land.—See my *Letters to the Rev. Dr. Sturges*, 1782, p. 15-28.—Ed.

† Fuller's *Worthies*, b. ii., p. 543.

imperious behaviour: in his younger days he was inclined to Puritanism, but when he was made a bishop he became a resolute champion of the hierarchy, and a bitter persecutor of his former friends. In his latter days he was very covetous, and a little too lax in his morals; he usually played at bowls on Sundays in the afternoons, and used such language at his game as justly exposed his character to reproach; but with all these blemishes, the writer of his life, Mr. Strype, will have him a learned, pious, and humble bishop. He died at Fulham, June 3, 1594, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.*

Aylmer was succeeded by Dr. Fletcher, bishop of Worcester, who, in his primary visitation, gave out twenty-seven articles of inquiry to the church-wardens concerning their preachers; as, whether they prayed for the queen as supreme head over all persons and causes within her dominions, ecclesiastical and temporal; whether they were learned, or frequented conventicles, or taught innovations, or commended the new discipline, or spoke in derogation of any part of the common prayer, or did not administer the sacrament in their own persons at certain times of the year, &c. By these, and such like inquiries, the prisons, which had been lately cleared, were filled again; for by an account sent to the queen from the ecclesiastical commissioners towards the close of this year, it appears that in the Marshalsea, Newgate, the Gate-house, Bridewell, the Fleet, the Compters, the White Lion, and the King's Bench, there were eighty-nine prisoners for religion; some of them were popish recusants, and the rest Protestant Nonconformists, of whom twenty-four had been committed by the ecclesiastical commission, and the rest by the council and the bishops' courts. But his lordship's proceedings were quickly interrupted by his falling under her majesty's displeasure, a few months after his translation, for marrying a second wife, which the queen looked upon as indecent in an elderly clergyman; for this she banished him the court, and commanded the archbishop to suspend him from his bishopric; but after six months, her majesty being a little pacified, ordered his suspension to be taken off, though she would never admit him into her presence, which had such an influence upon his great

spirit as was thought to hasten his death, which happened the next year, as he was sitting in his chair smoking a pipe of tobacco. The year following he was succeeded by Dr. Bancroft, the great adversary of the Puritans.

These violent proceedings of the bishops drove great numbers of the Brownists into Holland, where their leaders, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smith, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jacob, and others, were gone beforehand, and, with the leave of the States, were erecting churches after their own model at Amsterdam, Arnheim, Middleburgh, Leyden, and other places. The church at Amsterdam had like to have been torn in pieces at first by intestine divisions, but it afterward flourished under a succession of pastors for above a hundred years. Mr. Robinson, pastor of the church at Leyden, first struck out the Congregational or Independent form of church government, and at length part of this church, transplanting themselves into America, laid the foundation of the noble colony of New-England, as will be seen hereafter.

Hitherto the controversy between the Church and Puritans had been chiefly about habits, and ceremonies, and church discipline, but now it began to open upon points of doctrine; for this year Dr. Bound published his treatise of the Sabbath, wherein he maintains the morality of a seventh part of time for the worship of God; that Christians are bound to rest on the Lord's Day as much as the Jews on the Mosaic Sabbath, the commandment of rest being moral and perpetual; that, therefore, it was not lawful to follow our studies or worldly business on that day, nor to use such recreations and pleasures as were lawful on other days, as shooting, fencing, bowling, &c. This book had a wonderful spread among the people, and wrought a mighty reformation, so that the Lord's Day, which used to be profaned by interludes, May-games, morrice-dances, and other sports and recreations, began to be kept more precisely, especially in corporations. All the Puritans fell in with this doctrine, and distinguished themselves by spending that part of sacred time in public, family, and private acts of devotion.* But the governing clergy exclaimed against it as a restraint of Christian liberty, as putting an unequal lustre on the Sunday, and tending to eclipse the authority of the Church in appointing other festivals. Mr. Rogers, author of a commentary on the Thirty-nine Articles, writes in his preface "that it was the comfort of his soul, and would be to his dying day, that he had been the man and the means that the Sabbatarian errors were brought to the light and knowledge of the state." But I should have thought this clergyman might have had as much comfort upon a dying bed if he had spent his zeal in recommending the religious observation of that sacred day. Dr. Bound might carry his doctrine too high if he advanced it to a level with the Jewish rigours; but it was certainly unworthy the character of divines to encourage men in shooting, fencing, and other diversions on the Lord's Day, which they are forward enough to give way to without the countenance and example of their spiritual guides. Archbishop Whitgift called in all the copies of Dr. Bound's book by his letters and officers at synods and visitations, and for-

* This prelate had been preceptor to Lady Jane Grey. During his residence in Switzerland he assisted John Fox in translating his Martyrology into Latin. It was usual with him, when he observed his audience to be inattentive, to take a Hebrew Bible out of his pocket and read them a few verses, and then resume his discourse. It is related, as an instance of his courage, that he had a tooth drawn to encourage the queen to submit to the like operation. But it is more to the honour of his judgment and patriotism that, notwithstanding his rigour and cruelty in ecclesiastical matters, he had and avowed just sentiments concerning the constitution of the English government and the power of Parliaments, of whom he said, that "if they used their privileges, the king can do nothing without them; if he do, it is his fault in usurping it, and their folly in permitting it. Wherefore, in my judgment, those that in King Henry's days would not grant him that proclamation should have the force of a statute, were good fathers of the country, and worthy of commendation in defending their liberty."—*Strype*, as quoted in *British Biography*, vol. iii., p. 240, 241, and *Granger's Biogr. History*, vol. i., p. 208, 209.

* Fuller, b. ix., p. 227.

bade it to be reprinted; and the Lord-chief-justice Popham did the same, both of them declaring that the Sabbath doctrine agreed neither with the doctrine of our Church nor with the laws and orders of this kingdom;* that it disturbed the peace of the commonwealth and Church, and tended to schism in the one and sedition in the other; but, notwithstanding all this caution, the book was read privately more than ever. "The more liberty people were offered," says Mr. Fuller, "the less they used; refusing to take the freedom authority tendered them, as being jealous of a design to blow up their civil liberties." The archbishop's head was no sooner laid but Dr. Bound prepared his book for the press a second time, and published it, with large additions, in 1606; and such was its reputation, that scarce any comment or catechism was published by the stricter divines for many years in which the morality of the Sabbath was not strongly recommended and urged; but this controversy will return again in the next reign.

All the Protestant divines in the Church, whether Puritans or others, seemed of one mind hitherto about the doctrines of faith; but now there arose a party, which were first for softening, and then for overthrowing, the received opinions about predestination, perseverance, free-will, effectual grace, and the extent of our Saviour's redemption. The articles of the Church of England were thought by all men hitherto to favour the explication of Calvin; but these divines would make them stand neuter, and leave a latitude for the subscriber to take either side of the question. All the Puritans, to a man, maintained the articles of the Church to be Calvinistical, and inconsistent with any other interpretation, and so did far the greatest number of the conforming clergy; but as the new explanations of Arminius grew into repute, the Calvinists were reckoned old-fashioned divines,† and at length branded with the character of Doctrinal Puritans.

The debate began in the University of Cambridge, where one Mr. Barret, fellow of Gonville and Caius College, in his sermon *ad clerum*, declared himself against Calvin's doctrine about predestination and falling from grace, reflecting with some sharpness upon that great divine, and advising his hearers not to read him. For this he was summoned before the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, and obliged to retract in St. Mary's Church, according to a form prescribed by his superiors, which he read after a manner that showed he did it only to save his place in the University. This was so offensive to the scholars, that forty or fifty graduates of the several colleges signed a petition, dated May 26, 1595, desiring some farther course might be taken with him, that the great names which he had reproached, as P. Martyr, Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, &c., might receive some reparation.‡ Both parties appealed to the archbishop, who blamed the University for their too-hasty proceedings, and seemed to take part with Barret; but the heads of colleges, in a second letter, vindicated their proceedings, desiring his grace not

to encourage such a bold, corrupt, and unlearned young fellow, and insisted on the rights and prerogatives of the University. At length Mr. Barret was sent for to Lambeth, and having been examined before the archbishop and some other divines, they agreed that he had maintained some errors, and enjoined him in an humble manner to confess his ignorance and mistake, and not to teach the like doctrines for the future; but he chose rather to quit the University.* This Barret was a conceited youth, who did not treat his superiors with decency: in one of his letters he calls the grave and learned, Mr. Perkins, *homuncio quidam*, a little contemptible fellow: but at last he turned papist. The fire was no sooner kindled than it was observed that Barret and his friends were countenanced by the high Conformists and Roman Catholics, and that his adversaries took part with the Puritans, which was like to produce a new division in the Church.†

To put an end to these disputes, the heads of the University sent Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyn-dal to Lambeth, to consult with the archbishop, and some other learned divines, upon these points; who at length, November 20, concluded upon the following nine propositions, commonly called the Lambeth Articles, which the scholars in the University were strictly enjoined to conform their judgments unto, and not to vary from. The articles were as follows:

"That God from eternity has predestinated some persons to life and reprobated others to death: the moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not foreseen faith, or good works, or any other commendable quality in the persons predestinated, but the good-will and pleasure of God: the number of the predestinate is fixed, and cannot be lessened or increased: they who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily condemned for their sins: a true, lively, and justifying faith, and the sanctifying influence of the Spirit, is not extinguished, nor does it fail, or go off either finally or totally: a justified person has a full assurance and certainty of the remission of his sins, and his everlasting salvation by Christ: saving grace is not communicated to all men; neither have all men such a measure of Divine assistance, that they may be saved if they will: no person can come to Christ unless it be given him, and unless the Father draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to Christ: it is not in every one's will and power to be saved."

These high propositions were drawn up and consented to by Archbishop Whitgift, Dr. Fletcher, bishop of London, Dr. Vaughan, elect of Bangor, and some others; they were sent to Dr. Hutton, archbishop of York, and Dr. Young, of Rochester, who subscribed them, only wishing that the word *necessarily*, in the fourth article, and those words in the seventh article, *if they will*, might be omitted. The archbishop, in his letter which he sent to the University with the articles, says they are to look upon them not as new laws and decrees, but only as an explication of certain points which they apprehend to be true, and corresponding to the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and already

* Life of Whitgift, p. 531.

† While they, in return, looked on the others as little better than novelists.—*Warner*.—Ed.

‡ Life of Whitgift, p. 437.

* Heyl., Hist. Pres., p. 343.

† Hickman's Quinq. Hist. against Heylin, p. 210.

established by the laws of the land. But, forasmuch as they had not the queen's sanction, he desires they may not become a public act, but used privately and with discretion.* He adds, that her majesty was fully persuaded of the truth of them; which is strange, when she commanded Sir Robert Cecil to signify to the archbishop by letter "that she misliked much that any allowance had been given by his grace and his brethren for any such points to be disputed, being a matter tender and dangerous to weak, ignorant minds; and thereupon commanded him to suspend the urging them publicly, or suffering them to be debated in the pulpit."

The queen's design was to stifle the controversy in its birth; for if she was dissatisfied with the archbishop's private determinations, she was downright angry with Dr. Baro, a Frenchman, and one of the divinity professors at Cambridge, for continuing the debate. She said that, being an alien, and humanely harboured and enfranchised, both himself and family, he ought to have carried himself more quietly and peaceably. His case was this: in his sermon before the University, preached January 12, he asserted "that God created all men according to his own likeness in Adam, and consequently to eternal life, from which he rejects no man but on the account of his sins: that Christ died for all mankind, and was a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, original and actual; the remedy provided by him being as extensive as the ruins of the fall: that the promises of eternal life made to us in Christ are to be generally and universally taken and understood, being made as much to Judas as to Peter." For these propositions he was summoned before the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges, who examined him by several interrogatories, and commanded him peremptorily to abstain from those controversies in his lectures and sermons for the future.

They acquainted Secretary Cecil by letter with their proceedings, in which they call all doctrines popish, and say that for fourteen or fifteen years he has taught in his lectures, and preached in his sermons, divers points of doctrine contrary to those which have been taught and read over since her majesty's reign, and agreeable to the errors of popery, by which means they fear the whole body of that religion will break in upon them; they therefore pray his lordship's assistance for the suppressing them. Cambridge, March 8th, 1595.†

On the other hand, Baro wrote to the archbishop to keep him in his place, promising obedience to his grace's commands, and to keep the peace of the University by dropping the controversy in silence.‡ He also wrote to Secretary Cecil to put a stop to the proceedings of the vice-chancellor, which he, together with the archbishop, accomplished; but the University not being satisfied with him, he was obliged next year to quit his professorship and retire to London, where he died two or three years after, having been Lady Margaret's professor at Cambridge

about twenty-five years.* He left a large family behind him, and was buried in St. Olave's, Hart-street, his pall being supported by six doctors of divinity, by order from the Bishop of London. The chancellor, in his letter to the University, was very angry because they sifted Baro with interrogatories, "as if," says he, "he was a thief; this seems done of stomach among you."† How sad, then, was the case of the Puritans!

The divines of Oxford, and, indeed, all the first Reformers, were in the same sentiments with those of Cambridge about the disputed points; Calvin's Institutions being read publicly in the schools by appointment of the convocation, though perhaps they might not go the full length of the Lambeth Articles, nor express themselves with the exactness of those who lived afterward, when those doctrines were publicly opposed by Arminius and his followers.

The article of our Saviour's local descent into hell began to be questioned at this time. It had been the received doctrine of the Church of England, that the soul of Christ, being separated from his body, descended locally into hell, that he might there triumph over Satan, as before he had over death and sin.‡ But the learned Mr. Hugh Broughton, the rabbi of his age, whom King James would have courted into Scotland, convinced the world that the word *hades*, used by the Greek fathers for the place into which Christ went after his crucifixion, did not mean hell, or the place of the damned, but only the state of the dead, or the invisible world. It was farther debated whether Christ underwent in his soul the wrath of God and the pains of hell, and finished all his sufferings upon the cross before he died.§ This was Calvin's sentiment, and with him agreed all the Puritan divines, who preached it in their sermons, and inserted it in their catechisms. On the other hand, Bishop Bilson, in his sermons at Paul's Cross, maintained that no text of Scripture asserted the death of Christ's soul, or the pains of the damned, to be requisite in the person of Christ before he could be our ransom, and the Saviour of the world.|| But still he maintained the local descent of Christ into hell, or the territory of the damned; and that, by the course of the creed, the article must refer, not to Christ living upon the cross, but to Christ dead; and that he went thither, not to suffer, but to wrest the keys of hell and death out of the hands of the devil.¶ When these sermons were printed,

* "Hence," remarks an able writer, "it appears what little latitude was then allowed to the freedom of thinking and debate, on subjects the most innocent, and with regard to doctrines, the truth of which is now generally maintained by the clergy, and especially by those of them who stand the highest in dignity, reputation, and learning. We must be sensible how narrow was the spirit, and how confined the true theological knowledge of the times, when the dogmas of Calvinism were maintained with such pertinacity by the governors of the Church, and to call them in question was looked upon as a crime."—*History of Knowledge in the New Annual Register for 1789*, p. 9.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 473.

‡ Heyl, *Hist. Presb.*, p. 349.

§ Life of Whitgift, p. 482.

|| Heyl, *Hist. Presb.*, p. 350.

¶ This controversy gave a celebrity, beyond his own time, to the name of Bishop Bilson: he was an eminent divine, and the author of some doctrinal and

* Life of Whitgift, p. 462, 463.

† Signed by Roger God, *pro can.*, R. Some, Tho. Legge, John Jegon, Tho. Neville, Tho. Preston, Hump. Tyndal, James Montague, Edm. Barrel, Lawr. Chadderton.

‡ *Strype's Annals*, vol. ult., p. 230.

they were presently answered by Mr. Henry Jacob, a learned Brownist. Bilson, by the queen's command, defended his sermons in a treatise entitled "A Survey of Christ's Sufferings," which did not appear in the world till 1604. The controversy was warmly debated in both universities; but when the learned combatants had spent their artillery, it dropped in silence, without any determination from authority, though it was one of the articles usually objected to the Puritans, for which they were suspended their ministry. [And the rational sentiment, that the word *hades* signifies only the state of the dead, or the invisible world, silently and universally took place.]

Among other reproaches cast upon their clergy, was one, that they deluded the people by claiming a power to exorcise the devil. "Some of their ministers," says Mr. Strype, "pretended to cast out devils, that so the amazed multitude, having a great veneration for these exorcisers of devils, by the power of their prayers and fastings, might the more readily and awfully submit to their opinions and ways; a practice borrowed from the then papists to make their priests revered, and to confirm the laity in their superstitions." One would think here was a plot of some cunning, designing men, to conjure the people into the belief of discipline; but all vanishes in the peculiar principles of a weak and (as Mr. Strype confesses) honest man, whose name was Darrel, a bachelor of arts and minister of Nottingham. This divine was of opinion, that by the power of prayer the devil might be cast out of persons possessed; * and having tried the experiment upon one Darling of Burton, a boy of about fourteen years old, with supposed success, and upon some others, he was impetuned by one of the ministers, and several inhabitants of the town of Nottingham, to visit one William Somers, a boy that had such conclusive agonies as were thought to be preternatural, inasmuch that when Mr. Darrel had seen them, he concluded, with the rest of the spectators, that he was possessed, and advised his friends to desire the help of godly and learned ministers to endeavour his recovery, but excused himself from being concerned, lest, if the devil should be dispossessed, the common people should attribute to him some special gift of casting out devils; but upon a second request from the mayor of Nottingham, he agreed with Mr. Aldridge and two other ministers, with about one hundred and fifty neighbouring Christians, to set apart a day for fasting and prayer, to entreat the Lord to cast out Satan, and deliver the young man from his torments; and after some time, the Lord, they say, was entreated, and they blessed God for the same: this was November, 1597. A few days after, the mayor and some of the aldermen began to suspect that Somers was a cheat; and to make him confess, they took him from his parents, and committed him to the custody of two men, who with threatenings prevailed with him to acknowledge that he

had dissembled and counterfeited all he did. Upon this he was carried before the commission, where at first he owned himself a counterfeiter, and then presently denied it again; but being thoroughly frightened, he fell into fits before the commissioners, which put an end to his examination for the present. After some time, being still in custody, he returned to his confessing, and charged Mr. Darrel with training him up in the art for four years. Upon this, Mr. Darrel was summoned before the commissioners, and brought witnesses with him to prove that Somers had declared, in a very solemn manner, that he had not dissembled; upon which he was dismissed, and the commission dissolved; but, the affair making a great noise in the country, Mr. Darrel was sent for to Lambeth, and after a long hearing before the archbishop, and others of the High Commission, he was deposed from his ministry, and committed close prisoner to the Gate-house, for being accessory to a vile imposture, where he continued many years.

While Mr. Darrel was in the prison, he wrote an apology to show that people in these latter days may be possessed with devils, and that by prayer and fasting the unclean spirit may be cast out. In the end of which he makes this protestation: "If what I am accused of be true (viz., that I have been accessory to a vile imposture, with a design to impose on mankind), let me be registered to my perpetual infamy, not only for a notorious deceiver, but such a hypocrite as never trod on the earth before; yea, Lord! for to thee I convert my speech, who knowest all things, if I have confederated more or less with Somers, Darling, or any of the rest; if ever I set eye on them before they were possessed, then let me not only be made a laughing-stock and a by-word to all men, but raise my name also out of the Book of Life, and let me have my portion with hypocrites."

It has been observed that the bishops had now wisely transferred the prosecution of the Puritans from themselves to the temporal courts, so that, instead of being summoned before the High Commission, they were indicted at the assizes, and tried at common law; this being thought more advisable, to take off the odium from the Church. Judge Anderson discovered his zeal against them this summer in an extraordinary manner, for in his charge to the jury at Lincoln, he told them that the country was infested with Brownists, with disciplinarians and erectors of presbyteries, which he spoke with so much wrath, with so many oaths, and such reviling language, as offended the gentlemen upon the bench. He called the preachers knaves, saying that they would start up into the pulpit and speak against everybody.* He was for extending the statute of recusancy to such who went at any time to hear sermons from their own parish churches, though they usually attended in their places, and heard divine service dutifully. When Lord Clinton, and the deputy lieutenants and justices of those parts, obtained the bishop's allowance for a day of fasting and prayer at Lowth, upon an extraordinary occasion, his lordship urged the jury to find a bill against them, upon the statute of conventicles.

Mr. Allen, minister of that parish, being indicted by means of a revengful justice of peace

practical works, as well as some Latin poems and orations never published. In the reign of James I. he was one of the two final correctors of the English translation of the Bible, for which office his easy and harmonious style particularly qualified him.—*History of Knowledge in the New Annual Register* for 1789, p. 17.—Ed.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 492, 494, 495.

* Strype's Ann., vol. ult., p. 264.

for not reading all the prayers at once (he using sometimes to omit part of them for the sermon), was obliged to hold up his hand at the bar, when Judge Anderson standing up, spoke to him with a fierce countenance, and having insinuated some grievous faults against the man (though he named none), called him oftentimes knave, rebellious knave, with more such opprobrious language, though it was known all over the country that Mr. Allen was a good preacher; that he had subscribed; and was esteemed by the bishop; was conformable in his affections; and behaved upon this occasion with all humility and submission. But his lordship had said in his charge that he would hunt all the Puritans out of his circuit. One thing was remarkable in Mr. Allen's arraignment, that when, upon some point wherein judgment in divinity was required, Mr. Allen referred himself to the bishop (his ordinary then sitting upon the bench), the judge took him up with marvellous indignation, and said he was both his ordinary and bishop in that place.*

Thus the Puritan clergy were put upon a level with rogues and felons, and made to hold up their hands at the bar among the vilest criminals; there was hardly an assize in any county in England, but one or more ministers, through the resentments of some of their parishioners, appeared in this condition, to the disgrace of their order, and the loss of their reputation and usefulness, besides being exposed to the insults of the rude multitude. "But I would to God," says my author, "that they which judge in religious causes, though in the name of civil affairs, would either get some more knowledge in religion and God's Word than my Lord Anderson hath, or call in the assistance of those that have."†

Archbishop Whitgift was busy this summer about elections for the ensuing Parliament, which was to meet Oct. 24, 1597. Mr. Strype says, his grace took what care he could to prevent such as were disaffected to the constitution of the Church, that is, all Puritans, from coming into the House; but some thought it a little out of character for an archbishop to appear so publicly in the choice of the people's representatives.‡ The House being thus modelled, did not meddle with the foundations of discipline, or form of public worship; but several bills were brought in to regulate abuses in spiritual courts, as against licenses to marry without bans, against excessive fees, frivolous citations *ex officio*, and excommunications for little matters, as twopence or threepence. These and all other bills of this nature were, according to custom, quashed by a message from the queen, forbidding them to touch her prerogative, and assuring them that she would take the aforesaid grievances into her princely consideration. Accordingly, her majesty referred these matters to the convocation; it being her steady maxim, not to proceed in matters of the Church by statutes, which the Parliament alone could repeal, but rather by canons, which she could confirm

or dispense with at pleasure. The convocation drew up some regulations upon these and other heads, relating to ecclesiastical courts, which the queen confirmed by her letters patent, January 18, in the fortieth year of her reign. They were printed the same year by her authority, and may be seen in Bishop Sparrow's collection of articles, injunctions, &c.

But still the ecclesiastical courts were an insufferable grievance: the oppressions which people underwent from the bottomless deep of the canon law put them upon removing their causes into Westminster Hall, by getting prohibitions to stay proceedings in the bishops' courts, or in the High Commission. This awakened the archbishop, who, in order to support the civilians, drew up certain queries to be considered by the lords and judges of the land touching prohibitions; of which this was the principal, "that, seeing ecclesiastical authority is as truly vested in the crown as temporal, whether the queen's temporal authority should any more restrain her ecclesiastical, than her ecclesiastical should her temporal? And seeing so many and so great personages, with some others, are trusted to do her majesty service in her ecclesiastical commission, whether it be convenient that an offender, ready to be censured, should obtain, and publicly throw into court, a prohibition, to the delay of justice, and to the disgrace and disparagement of those who serve freely, without all fee therein." The archbishop caused a list to be made of divers cases, wherein the Christian court, as he called it, had been interrupted by the temporal jurisdiction; and of many causes that had been taken out of the hands of the bishops' courts, the High Commission, and the court of delegates; the former authorized by immediate commission from the queen, and the latter by a special commission upon an appeal to her court of chancery.* But, notwithstanding all these efforts of Whitgift and his successor Bancroft, the number of prohibitions increased every year; the nobility, gentry, and judges being too wise to subject their estates and liberties to a number of artful civilians, versed in a codex or body of laws of most uncertain authority, and strangers to the common and statute law, without the check of a prohibition, when it was notorious that the canon law had been always, since the Reformation, controlled by the laws and statutes of the realm. Thus the civilians sunk in their business under the two next archbishops, till Laud governed the Church, who, terrifying the judges from granting prohibitions, the spiritual courts, Star Chamber, council-table, and high commissioners rode triumphant, fining, imprisoning, and banishing men at their pleasure, till they became as terrible as the Spanish Inquisition, and brought upon the nation all the confusions and desolations of a civil war.

From this time to the queen's death there was a kind of cessation of arms between the Church and Puritans; the combatants were out of breath, or willing to wait for better times. Some apprehended that the Puritans were vanquished, and their numbers lessened by the severe execution of the penal laws; whereas it will appear, by a survey in the beginning of the next reign, that the nonconforming clergy were about fifteen hundred. But the true reason was

* Strype's Ann., vol. ult., p. 267.

† These are not the words of Mr. Strype himself, as they may appear by the manner of quotation, but are part of a letter "from a person unknown of the clergy to a person of quality" on Judge Anderson's proceedings.—Ed. ‡ Life of Whitgift, p. 508.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 537.

this: the queen was advanced in years, and could not live long in a course of nature, and the next heir to the crown being a Presbyterian, the bishops were cautious of acting against a party for whom his majesty had declared, not knowing what revenge he might take when he was fixed on the throne; and the Puritans were quiet, in hopes of great matters to be done for them upon the expected change.

Notwithstanding all former repulses from court, the queen's last Parliament, which sat in the year 1601, renewed their attacks upon the ecclesiastical courts, a bill being brought in to examine into bishops' leases, and to disable them from taking fines, another against pluralities and nonresidents, and another against commissaries and archdeacons' courts. Multitudes of complaints came to the House against the proceedings of the ordinaries *ex mero officio*, without due presentments preceding, and against the frequent keeping their courts, so that the church-wardens were sometimes cited to two or three spiritual courts at once;* complaint was made of their charging the country with quarterly bills; of the great number of apparitors and petty summoners, who seized upon people for trifling offences; of the admission of curates by officials and commissaries, without the bishop's knowledge, and without testimonials of their conversation; of scandalous commutations of penance, and divers abuses of the like kind; but the queen would not suffer the House to debate them, referring them to the archbishop, who wrote to his brethren the bishops to endeavour, as much as possible, to reform the above-mentioned grievances, which, says he,† have produced multitudes of complaints in Parliament; and had they not been prevented by great circumspection, and promise of careful reformation, there might perhaps have ensued the taking away of the whole, or most of those courts. "So prudently diligent was the archbishop," says Mr. Strype, "to keep up the jurisdiction of the bishops' courts, and the wealthy estate of the clergy, by preserving nonresidences to them."

There was another bill brought into the House to punish voluntary absence from church; the forfeiture was to be twelvence each Sunday, to be levied by distress, by a warrant from a justice of peace; but the bill was opposed because there was a severe law already against recusants of £20 per month, and because, if this bill should pass, a justice of peace's house would, like a quarter sessions, be crowded with a multitude of informers; it was likewise against Magna Charta, which entitles every man to be tried by his peers, whereas by this act two witnesses before a justice of peace were sufficient.‡ The bill, however, was engrossed, and being put to the question, the noes carried it by a single voice, upon which the yeas said the speaker was with them, which made the number even. The question was then put whether the speaker had a voice, which being carried in the negative, the bill miscarried.

The convocation did nothing but give the queen four subsidies, to be collected in four

years, and receive an exhortation from the archbishop to observe the canons passed in the last convocation. They met October the 18th, and were dissolved, with the Parliament, December the 19th following.

This year [1602] died the reverend and learned Mr. William Perkins, born at Marston, in Warwickshire, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was fellow: he was one of the most famous practical writers and preachers of his age; and being a strict Calvinist, he published several treatises in favour of those doctrines, which involved him in a controversy with Arminius, then professor of divinity at Leyden, that continued to his death. He was a Puritan Nonconformist, and a favourer of the discipline, for which he was once or twice brought before the High Commission, but his peaceable behaviour, and great fame in the learned world, procured him a dispensation from the persecutions of his brethren. Mr. Perkins was a little man, and wrote with his left hand, being lame of his right. His works, which were printed in three volumes folio, show him to have been a most pious, holy, and industrious divine, considering he lived only forty-four years.*

To sum up the state of religion throughout this long reign. It is evident that the Parliament, the people, and great numbers of the inferior clergy were for carrying the Reformation farther than the present establishment. The first bishops came into it with this view; they declared against the Popish habits and ceremonies, and promised to use all their interest with the queen for their removal; but how soon they forgot themselves, when they were warm in their chairs, the foregoing history has discovered.† Most of the first Reformers were of Erastian principles, looking upon the Church as a mere creature of the state; they gave up everything to the crown, and yielded to the supreme magistrate the absolute direction of the consciences, or, at least, the religious profession, of all his subjects. They acknowledged only two orders of Divine institution, viz., bishops or priests, and deacons. They admitted the ordination of foreign churches by mere presbyters till towards the middle of this reign, when their validity began to be disputed and denied. Whitgift was the first who defended the hierarchy from the practice of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, when the Roman Empire became Christian; but Bancroft divided off the bishops from the priesthood, and advanced them into a superior order by Divine

* Many of his works were translated into Dutch, Spanish, French, and Italian, and are still in estimation in Germany. Mr. Orton, who by his mother's side descended in a direct line from Mr. Perkins's elder brother, speaks of him as an excellent writer, clear and judicious, and recommends his works to all ministers, especially young ones, as affording large materials for composition.—*Orton's Letters to a Young Clergyman*, p. 39, 40.—Ed.

† Bishop Warburton informs us, from Selden, de Synedriis, that Erastus's famous book, *De Excommunicatione*, was purchased by Whitgift of Erastus's widow, in Germany, and put by him to the press in London, under fictitious names of the place and printer.—*Supplemental Volume to Warburton's Works*, p. 473.—Ed.

* Life of Whitgift, p. 546, 547.

† Ibid., p. 547, 549.

‡ Collyer's Eccles. Hist., p. 667.

right, with the sole power of ordination and the keys of discipline; so that from this time there were reckoned three orders of clergy in the English hierarchy, viz., bishops, priests, and deacons. Thus the Church advanced in her claims, and removed by degrees to a greater distance from the foreign Protestants.

The controversy with the Puritans had only a small beginning, viz., the imposing of the popish habits and a few indifferent ceremonies; but it opened by degrees into a reformation of discipline, which all confessed was wanting; and at last the doctrinal articles were debated. The queen and the later bishops would not part with a pin out of the hierarchy, nor leave a latitude in the most trifling ceremonies, but insisted upon an exact uniformity both in doctrine and ceremonies, that all might unite in the public standard. The Puritans, in their writings and conferences, attempted to show the defects of the establishment from Scripture, and from the earliest ages of the Church; and what they suffered for it has been in part related, the suspensions and deprivations of this long reign amounting to several thousands; but when it appeared that nothing would be abated, and that penal laws were multiplied and rigorously executed, they endeavoured to erect a sort of voluntary discipline within the Church, for the ease and satisfaction of their own consciences, being unwilling to separate; till at length the violence of persecution drove some of them into the extremes of Brownism, which divided the Puritans, and gave rise to a new controversy concerning the necessity of a separation from the Established Church, of which we shall hear more hereafter; but under all their hardships, their loyalty to the queen was untainted, and their behaviour peaceable; they addressed the queen, and Parliament, and bishops for relief at sundry times, and remonstrated against the arbitrary proceedings of the spiritual court, making use of no other weapons but prayers and tears, attended with Scripture and argument.

The chief principles of the Puritans have been already related: they were no enemies to the name or function of a bishop, provided he was no more than *προεστῶς*, or a stated president of the college of presbyters in his diocese, and managed the affairs of it with their concurrence and assistance. They did not object against prescribed forms of prayer, provided a latitude was indulged the minister to alter or vary some expressions, and to make use of a prayer of his own conception before and after sermon: nor had they an aversion to any decent and distinct habits for the clergy that were not derived from popery; but, upon the whole, they were the most resolute Protestants in the nation, zealous Calvinists, warm and affectionate preachers, and determined enemies to popery, and to everything that had a tendency towards it.

It is not pretended that the Puritans were without their failings; no, they were men of like passions and infirmities with their adversaries; and while they endeavoured to avoid one extreme, they might fall into another; their zeal for their platform of discipline would, I fear, have betrayed them into the imposition of it upon others, if it had been established by law. Their notions of the civil and religious rights

of mankind were narrow and confused, and derived too much from the theocracy of the Jews, which was now at an end. Their behaviour was severe and rigid, far removed from the fashionable freedoms and vices of the age: and possibly they might be too censorious, in not making those distinctions between youth and age, grandeur and mere decency, as the nature and circumstances of things would admit; but with all their faults, they were the most pious and devout people in the land; men of prayer, both in secret and public, as well as in their families; their manner of devotion was fervent and solemn, depending on the assistance of the Divine Spirit, not only to teach them how to pray, but what to pray for as they ought. They had a profound reverence for the holy name of God, and were great enemies not only to profane swearing, but to "foolish talking and jesting, which are not convenient;" they were strict observers of the Christian Sabbath or Lord's Day, spending the whole of it in acts of public and private devotion and charity. It was the distinguishing mark of a Puritan in these times, to see him going to church twice a day with his Bible under his arm: and while others were at plays and interludes, at revels, or walking in the fields, or at the diversions of bowling, fencing, &c., on the evening of the Sabbath, these, with their families, were employed in reading the Scriptures, singing psalms, catechizing their children, repeating sermons, and prayer: nor was this only the work of the Lord's Day, but they had their hours of family devotion on the week days, esteeming it their duty to take care of the souls as well as the bodies of their servants. They were circumspect as to all the excesses of eating, drinking, apparel, and lawful diversions, being frugal in house-keeping, industrious in their particular callings, honest and exact in their dealings, and solicitous to give to every one his own. These were the people who were branded with the name of Precisians, Puritans, Schismatics, enemies to God and their country, and throughout the course of this reign underwent cruel mockings, bonds, and imprisonment.

Sir Francis Walsingham has given a summary account of the queen's policy towards them, in a letter to Monsieur Cretoy, which I shall transcribe in his own words.*

"I find," says Sir Francis, "that the queen's

* Mr. Neal, in his Review, observes that Sir Francis wrote this letter as secretary of state and as the queen's servant, endeavouring to vindicate her behaviour towards Nonconformists to a foreign court; he must be allowed, therefore, to put the most favourable construction on his royal mistress's conduct, and acquit her in the best manner he is able. It also deserves to be remarked, that Sir Francis, dying April, 1590, did not see the severities of the last thirteen years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, which were by much the sharpest and most cruel.—*Neal's Review*, 4to edition, p. 875.—Ed.

Mr. Hallam says that this letter "is a very able apology for the queen's government, and if the reader should detect, as he doubtless may, sophistry in reasoning and misstatement in fact, he will ascribe both one and the other to the narrow spirit of the age with respect to civil and religious freedom, or to the circumstances of the writer—an advocate whose sovereign was his client!"—*Const. Hist.*, i., 309.—C.

proceedings, both against papists and Puritans, are grounded upon these two principles ;*

“The one, that consciences are not to be forced, but to be won, and reduced by force of truth, with the aid of time and use of all good means of instruction and persuasion.

“The other, that causes of conscience, when they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of faction, lose their nature : and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish their practices and contempt, though coloured with the pretence of conscience and religion.

“According to these principles, her majesty behaved towards the papists with great mildness, not liking to make a window into their hearts, except the abundance of them overflowed into overt acts of disobedience, in impugning her supremacy. When the pope excommunicated her, she only defended herself against his bulls ; but when she was threatened with an invasion, and the papists were altered from being papists in conscience to being papists in fact, she was then obliged to provide severer laws for the security of her people.

“For the other party, which have been offensive to the state, though in another degree, and which call themselves Reformers, and we commonly call Puritans, this hath been by the proceeding towards them : a great while, when they inveighed against such abuses in the Church as pluralities, non-residents, and the like, their zeal was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured. When they refused the use of some ceremonies and rites as superstitious, they were tolerated with much connivance and gentleness ; yea, when they called in question the superiority of bishops, and pretended to a democracy in the Church, their propositions were considered, and by contrary writings debated and discussed ; yet all this while it was perceived that their course was dangerous and very popular ; as because papistry was odious, therefore it was ever in their mouths, that they sought to purge the Church from the relics of papistry, a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one extreme to another.

“Because multitudes of rogues and poverty was an eyesore, and a dislike to every man, therefore they put into people’s heads that, if discipline were planted, there would be no vagabonds, no beggars, a thing very plausible ; and in like manner they promised the people many of the impossible wonders of their discipline ; besides, they opened to the people a way to government, by their consistories and presbyteries, a thing though in consequence no less prejudicial to the liberties of private men than to the sovereignty of princes, yet in first show very popular ; nevertheless, this, except it were in some few that entered into extreme contempt, was borne with, because they pretended in dutiful manner to make propositions, and to leave it to the providence of God and the authority of the magistrate.

“But now, of late years, when there issued from them [some] that affirmed the consent of the magistrate was not to be attended ; when, under pretence of a confession to avoid slander and imputations, they combined themselves by

classes and subscriptions ; when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing of the Church by ridiculous pasquils ; when they began to make many subjects in doubt to take oaths, which is one of the fundamental parts of justice in this land and in all places ; when they began both to vaunt of their strength, and number of their partisans and followers, and to use comminations, that their cause would prevail through uproar and violence, then it appeared to be no more zeal, no more conscience, but mere faction and division ; and, therefore, though the state were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them than before, yet was it with as great moderation as the peace of the State or Church could permit. Thus her majesty has always observed the two rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences, and yet in discovering faction from conscience, and softness from singularity.”

The false colourings of this letter are easily discerned : it admits that the consciences of men ought not to be forced but when they grow into faction ; that is, to an inconsistency with the peace and safety of the civil government ; and was there anything like this in the petitions, addresses, and submissive behaviour of the Puritans ? but they did not attend the consent of the magistrate. Let the reader judge by the foregoing history whether they did not attend and apply for it several years ; and if, after all, the consent of the magistrate must be waited for before we follow the dictates of our consciences, it is easy to see there would have been no reformation in the Protestant world. But the queen’s worst maxim was, that while she pretended not to force the consciences of her subjects, she obliged them, under the severest penalties, to come to church, and make an outward profession of that way of worship which they inwardly disallowed. This was to establish hypocrisy by a law, and to force men to deal falsely with God and their own consciences in matters of the most solemn importance.

Practical religion was during all this reign at a very low ebb, the greatest part of the clergy being barely capable of reading prayers and a homily. In the remoter countries and villages, the people were either papists, or no better than heathens. “If any among the clergy or laity were remarkably pious, strict observers of the Sabbath, and declared enemies of profaneness and popery,” says Mr. Osburn, “they were either real Puritans, or branded with that invidious name ; and great numbers of the inferior clergy and people, in cities and corporations, were of this number ;” the conforming clergy lost ground ; and the order of bishops, by spending their zeal more about the external forms of worship than in painful preaching and encouraging practical religion, grew into contempt ; popery gained ground in the country by the diligence of the missionaries, and the ignorance and laziness of the established clergy, while Puritanism prevailed in cities and corporations : so that, as Archbishop Parker observed, the queen was the only friend of the Church, and supported it by a vigorous execution of the penal laws, and by resolving to admit of no motion for Reformation but what should arise from herself.

* Burnet’s Hist. Ref., vol. iii., p. 419.

Thus things continued to the queen's death; her majesty was grown old and infirm, and under a visible decay of natural spirits, some say for the loss of the Earl of Essex, whom she had lately beheaded, but others, from a just indignation to see herself neglected by those who were too ready to worship the rising sun. This threw her into a melancholy state, attended with a drowsiness and heaviness in all her limbs, which was followed with a loss of appetite, and all the marks of an approaching dissolution; upon this she retired to Richmond; and having caused her inauguration ring, which was grown into the flesh and become painful, to be filed off, she languished till the 24th of March, and then died, in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

Queen Elizabeth was a great and successful princess at home, and the support of the Protestant interest abroad while it was in its infancy; for without her assistance neither the Huguenots in France nor the Dutch Reformers could have stood their ground; she assisted the Protestants of Scotland against their popish queen, and the princes of Germany against the emperor, while at the same time she demanded an absolute submission from her own subjects, and would not tolerate that religion at home which she countenanced and supported abroad. As to her own religion, she affected a middle way between popery and Puritanism, though her majesty was more inclined to the former; disliking the secular pretensions of the court of Rome over foreign states, though she was in love with the pomp and splendour of their worship; on the other hand, she approved of the doctrines of the foreign Reformed churches, but thought they had stripped religion too much of its ornaments, and made it look with an unfriendly aspect upon the sovereign power of princes. She understood not the rights of conscience in matters of religion, and is, therefore, justly chargeable with persecuting principles. More sanguinary laws were made in her reign than in any of her predecessors'; her hands were stained with the blood of papists and Puritans; the former were executed for denying her supremacy, and the latter for sedition or nonconformity. Her greatest admirers blame her for plundering the Church of its revenues, and for keeping several sees vacant many years together for the sake of their profits; as the bishoprics of Ely, Oxford, and others, which last was without a bishop for twenty-two years. The queen was devout at prayers, yet seldom or never heard sermons except in Lent, and would often say that two or three preachers in a county were sufficient. She had high notions of the sovereign authority of princes, and of her own absolute supremacy in church affairs; and being of opinion that methods of severity were lawful to bring her subjects to an outward uniformity, she countenanced all the engines of persecution, such as spiritual courts, High Commission, and Star Chamber, and stretched her prerogative to support them beyond the laws and against the sense of the nation.* However, notwithstanding all these blemishes, Queen Elizabeth stands upon record as a wise and politic princess, for delivering the kingdom from

the difficulties in which it was involved at her accession; for preserving the Protestant Reformation against the potent attempts of the pope, the emperor, and the King of Spain abroad, and the Queen of Scots and her popish subjects at home, and for advancing the renown of the English nation beyond any of her predecessors. Her majesty held the balance of power in Europe, and was in high esteem with all foreign princes the greatest part of her reign; and though her Protestant subjects were divided about church affairs, they all discovered a high veneration for her royal person and government; on which accounts she was the glory of the age in which she lived, and will be the admiration of posterity.

Considering the complexion of that series of events through which Mr. Neal's History conducts the reader, he must be allowed to have drawn the character of Queen Elizabeth with great fairness and candour. A later ecclesiastical historian, a learned writer of our establishment, has described the leading features of her reign and principles in stronger and bolder terms of reprobation. With Mr. Neal, he has allowed her the merit of "being a wise and politic princess, for delivering the kingdom from the difficulties in which it was involved at her accession, for preserving the Protestant Reformation against the potent enemies which attempted to destroy it, and for advancing the renown of the English nation beyond any of her predecessors;" yet he taxes her with many flagrant instances of weakness and misrule in which her ministers had no share, and which they had neither power nor interest enough to prevent. Having enumerated these, to them, he observes, must be added, "the severity with which she treated her Protestant subjects by her High Commission Court, against law, against liberty, and against the rights of human nature. If these are not," says he, "flagrant instances of weakness and misrule to which her ministers never encouraged, but oftimes dissuaded her as far as they durst, and which were not owing to sudden starts of passion, but to her own tyrannical disposition, then all arbitrary power may be defended as just and lawful. The passion of Elizabeth was to preserve her crown and prerogative; and every measure which she herself directed, or approved when projected by her ministers, was subservient to these two purposes." To this account "we are to place all the measures which she directed, and she alone, against the disturbers of the uniformity which was established. To her alone it was owing at first, and not to her bishops, that no concession or indulgence was granted to tender consciences. She understood her prerogative, which was as dear to her as her crown and life; but she understood nothing of the rights of conscience in matters of religion, and, like the absurd king her father, she would have no opinion in religion acknowledged, at least, but her own. She restored the Reformation, it is true, and, I believe, restored it upon principle; she was likewise at the head of the Protestant religion abroad, in assisting those who professed it in France and the Netherlands, as well as Scotland, and it was her interest to do so; but where her interest called upon her to neglect the Reformed religion, she did it without scruple. She differ-

* Fuller's Worthies, b. ii., p. 213.

ed from her sister in this, that she would not part with her supremacy upon any terms; and, as she had much greater abilities for governing, so she applied herself more to promote the strength and glory of her dominion than Mary did; but she had as much of the bigot and tyrant in her as her sister, though the object of that bigotry was prerogative, and not religion.*

If facts have any meaning and force, those which we have now reviewed abundantly confirm this representation of the spirit and principles of Queen Elizabeth. Yet a celebrated modern writer has resolved her conduct to her Puritan subjects into "her good taste, which gave her a sense of order and decorum, and her sound judgment, which taught her to abhor innovations." What! Can the severest acts of oppression and cruelty, can a series of arbitrary and unfeeling outrages committed against the property, lives, and rights of men, take shelter under the sanction of good taste and a sound judgment? "Nature and religion reclaim." "If," says an accurate and judicious writer, "it be once laid down as a maxim that a sound judgment will teach a monarch to abhor innovations, and if his power be but little subject to control, one does not know to what lengths it might proceed, so as to be extended not only in matters of church government, but likewise, perhaps, against those who would introduce 'enlarged,' or, rather, libertine 'sentiments,' about religion. Such persons, I doubt, would soon give up the wisdom and equity of this maxim concerning innovations, if they were in danger of having the concluding section of the 35th of Elizabeth, cap. i., put in execution against them."†

Another writer has thrown the blame of the separation from the Church of England, and of the evils of which it was productive, on the Puritans. "It was more owing to the weakness and want of judgment in the Puritans, who could think such things were sinful about which the Scriptures were wholly silent, and who desired a great majority to give way to the humour of a few, than to the superstition and want of temper in the queen and the archbishop, who could press such indifferer rites with that severity, before the minds of men had time to be reconciled to them."‡ To this representation it may be replied, Was it anything unreasonable that the few should desire the majority not to oppress and bind their consciences in matters about which, it was allowed, the Scriptures were silent, and, of course, where Christ had left them free? Or could it be deemed weakness and want of judgment, that they requested only to be permitted to stand fast in this liberty? Need a Protestant divine be reminded that to add to the religion of Christ is sinful; and to enforce these additions, and by severe penalties, is to exercise a forbidden jurisdiction in his Church? Can it be deemed weakness and want of judgment to see this criminality, and to resist this yoke? But if to scruple the use of the habits indicated weakness and want of judgment, yet

a conscientious adherence to the dictates of their own minds, the integrity which would not allow them to adopt habits or ceremonies that they thought or suspected to be sinful, should not be reproached, but applauded. An apostle would on such an occasion have said, that "Whatever is not of faith is sin;" and "Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth." Why should the rejection, or even a hesitation about the use of habits, which had no Divine authority, but a popish original, and by the mystical signification affixed to them led to superstition, be resolved into weakness and want of judgment? It argued rather a true discernment, a just estimate of things, and a comprehensive view of the tendency and progress of superstition, when once admitted.

The weakness, I should conceive, lay on the other side, where these things were held in such high account, and deemed of such essential importance, as to be the ground of the severest laws to enforce the use of them. The cruelty of the imposition aside, the very imposition itself was folly. For a mighty prince, a convocation of the clergy, a bench of bishops, and the Legislature of the nation, to give all their attention to support the reputation of the wearing of a hood and a surplice; to employ all the earnestness of their minds, the weight of their character, and the dignity of their rank, about such little things, this is a ridiculous transaction; it betrays the thoughts and passions of a child. But when to this impotence of judgment oppression and tyranny are added, our indignation is raised!

It is an argument of the rationality and good sense of the general principles by which the Puritans professed to be governed, that "these very principles," as a late writer observes, "were the same which rightly influenced the conduct of the Reformers in other instances; for example, in their removing the altars out of the churches and setting up tables in the place of them.* Namely, that the retaining altars would serve only to nourish in the people's minds the superstitious opinion of a propitiatory mass, and would administer an occasion of offence and division." A like argument in relation to the ancient habits was argued by Bishop Hooper so early as the year 1550;† and it was thought of weight in 1562 by one half of the House of Convocation.‡

The conduct of the Puritans, it appears from hence, was wisely adapted to the times in which they lived: in which the habits had a tendency and influence that rendered the contest about them far from being such a frivolous affair as many are now disposed to consider it. For then a mystical signification was affixed to them by the Church of Rome, and there was a prevailing notion of their necessity and efficacy in the administration of the clergy. It is also evident that they gave the queen and her courtiers a handle to establish and exercise a despotic power: they were the instruments by which the Court of High Commission endeavoured to rivet on the people the chains of tyranny. The opposition of the Puritans, therefore, may be vindicated on the largest principles. It was a bold and vigorous stand against arbitrary pow-

* Warner's Ecclesiastical History of England, vol. ii., p. 474, 475. † Mr. Hume.

‡ Letters on Mr. Hume's History of Great Britain, printed at Edinburgh, 1756, p. 226.

§ Warner's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii., p. 431.

* See our author, p. 56, of this volume.

† See the same, p. 103.

‡ Letters on Mr. Hume's History, p. 212, 213.

er, which justly calls for resistance in its first outset and its most trivial demands, if men would not give it room to place its foot and erect its banner. It is a pertinent and very sensible remark of a great author, "that our ancestors, the old Puritans, had the same merit in opposing the imposition of the surplice that Hampden had in opposing the levying of ship-money. In neither case was the thing itself objected to so much as the authority that enjoined it, and the danger of the precedent. And it appears to us that the man who is as tenacious of his religious as he is of his civil liberty, will oppose them both with equal firmness."*

The reign of Queen Elizabeth affords many instances of the connexion between civil and religious liberty, and furnishes striking documents of her disposition and endeavours to violate both. In this view the behaviour of the Puritans was eventually attended with the most important effects. Mr. Hume, who treats their principles as frivolous and their conduct as ridiculous, has bestowed on them, at the same time, the highest eulogium his pen could well dictate. "So absolute," says he, "was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved, by the Puritans alone; and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their Constitution."†

While it is not asserted that all the Puritans acted upon such enlarged views of things; while it is granted that the "notions" of numbers, probably of the majority, of them concerning "the civil and religious rights of mankind, were dark and confused;" yet it should be allowed that some of them, for instance, Fox the martyrologist, acted upon liberal principles; and all of them felt the oppression of the day, so as, by their own experience of its iniquity and evils, to be instigated to oppose them; though they did not apply the principles, which were thus generated in the mind, to their full extent.

The charge brought against the Puritans for satirical pamphlets, libels, and abusive language, was in some instances well founded, but it by no means, justly, lay against the whole party. "The moderate Puritans publicly disowned the libels for which they were accused, yet they were brought before the Star Chamber. The determinations of this court were not according to any statute law of the land, but according to the queen's will and pleasure; yet they were

as binding upon the subject as an act of Parliament, which the whole nation exclaimed against, as a mark of the vilest slavery."*

Such oppression, such violent outrages against the security, the conscience, and the lives of men, were sufficient to irritate their minds, and to provoke them to reviling and abusive language. Much allowance should be made for men who were galled and inflamed by severe sufferings. But, independently of this consideration, we should judge of the strain and spirit of their writings, not by the more polite manners and liberal spirit of the present age, but by the times in which they lived; when, on all subjects, a coarse and rough, and even abusive style, was common from authors of learning and rank. Bishop Aylmer, in a sermon at court, speaking of the fair sex, said, "Women are of two sorts: some of them are wiser, better learned, discreeter, and more constant, than a number of men; but another and a worse sort of them, and the most part, are fond, foolish, wanton flibbergibs, tattlers, triflers, wavering, witless, without counsel, feeble, careless, rash, proud, dainty, nice, talebearers, eavesdroppers, rumour-raisers, evil-tongued, worse-minded, and in every wise doltified with the dregs of the devil's dunghill."† If a bishop, when preaching before the queen, could clothe his sentiment in such words, on a subject where this age would study peculiar politeness of style, can we wonder that reviling language should proceed, in the warmth of controversy, from those who were suffering under the rod of oppression?

The other side, who had not the same provocations, did not come behind the most abusive of the Puritan writers in this kind of oratory. In a tract ascribed to Archbishop Parker, the Nonconformists are described and condemned as "schismatics, bellie-gods, deceivers, flatterers, fools, such as have been unlearnedlie brought up in profane occupations; puffed up in arrogancie of themselves, chargeable to vanities of assertions: of whom it is feared that they make posthaste to be Anabaptists and libertines, gone out from us, but belike never of us; differing not much from Donatists, shrinking and refusing ministers of London; disturbers, factious, wilful entanglers, and encumberers of the consciences of their herers, girdirs, nippers, scoffers, biters, snappers at superiors, having the spirit of irony, like to Audiani, smelling of Donatistrie, or of Papiestrie, Rogatianes, Circumcellians, and Pelagians."‡

* Dr. Priestley's View of the Principles and Conduct of the Protestant Dissenters, page 66.

† Hume's History of England, vol. v., p. 189, 8vo, ed. 1763.

* Warner's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii., p. 463.

† British Biography, vol. iii., p. 239.

‡ Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 62.

P R E F A C E

TO VOL. II. OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.

THE favourable acceptance of the first volume of this work has encouraged me to publish a second, which carries the history forward to the beginning of the civil war, when the two Houses of Parliament wrested the spiritual sword out of the hands of the king and bishops, and assumed the supremacy to themselves.

There had been a cessation of controversy for some time before the death of Queen Elizabeth, the Puritans being in hopes, upon the accession of a king that had been educated in their own principles, to obtain an easy redress of their grievances; and certainly no prince ever had so much in his power to compromise the differences of the Church as King James I. at the conference of Hampton Court; but, being an indolent and vainglorious monarch, he became a willing captive to the bishops, who flattered his vanity, and put that maxim into his head, "No bishop, no king." The creatures of the court, in lieu of the vast sums of money they received out of the exchequer, gave him the flattering title of an absolute sovereign, and, to supply his extravagances, broke through the Constitution, and laid the foundation of all the calamities of his son's reign; while himself, sunk into luxury and ease, became the contempt of all the powers of Europe. If King James had any principles of religion besides what he called kingcraft or dissimulation, he changed them with the climate, for from a rigid Calvinist he became a favourer of Arminianism in the latter part of his reign; from a Protestant of the purest kirk upon earth, a doctrinal papist; and from a disgusted Puritan, the most implacable enemy of that people, putting all the springs of the prerogative in motion to drive them out of both kingdoms.

But, instead of accomplishing his designs, the number of Puritans increased prodigiously in his reign, which was owing to one or other of these causes.

First. To the standing firm by the Constitution and laws of their country, which brought over to them all those gentlemen in the House of Commons, and in the several counties of England, who found it necessary, for the preservation of their properties, to oppose the court, and to insist upon being governed according to law; these were called State Puritans.

Secondly. To their steady adherence to the doctrines of Calvin and the Synod of Dort, in the points of predestination and grace, against the modern interpretations of Arminius and his followers. The court divines fell in with the latter, and were thought not only to deviate from the principles of the first Reformers, but to attempt a coalition with the Church of Rome; while most of the country clergy, being stiff in their old opinions (though otherwise well enough affected to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church), were, in a manner, shut out from all preferment, and branded with the name of Doctrinal Puritans.

Thirdly. To their pious and severe manner of life, which was at this time very extraordinary. If a man kept the Sabbath and frequented sermons; if he maintained family religion, and would neither swear, nor be drunk, nor comply with the fashionable vices of the times, he was called a Puritan; this, by degrees, procured them the compassion of the sober part of the nation, who began to think it very hard that a number of sober, industrious, and conscientious people should be harassed out of the land for scrupling to comply with a few

indifferent ceremonies, which had no relation to the favour of God or the practice of virtue.

Fourthly. It has been thought by some that their increase was owing to the mild and gentle government of Archbishop Abbot. While Bancroft lived, the Puritans were used with the utmost rigour; but Abbot, having a greater concern for the doctrines of the Church than for its ceremonies, relaxed the penal laws, and connived at their proselyting the people to Calvinism. Arminianism was at this time both a Church and State faction; the divines of this persuasion, apprehending their sentiments not very consistent with the received sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and being afraid of the censures of a parliament or a convocation, took shelter under the prerogative, and went into all the slavish measures of the court to gain the royal favour, and to secure to their friends the chief preferments in the Church. They persuaded his majesty to stifle the predestinarian controversy, both in the pulpit and press, and would no doubt, in a few years, have got the balance of numbers on their side, if, by grasping at too much, they had not precipitated both Church and State into confusion. It was no advantage to those divines that they were linked with the Roman Catholics, for these being sensible they could not be protected by law, cried up the prerogative, and joined the forces with the court divines, to support the dispensing power; they declared for the unlimited authority of the sovereign on the one hand, and the absolute obedience of the subject on the other; so that, though there is no real connexion between Arminianism and popery, the two parties were unhappily combined at this time to destroy the Puritans, and to subvert the Constitution and laws of their country.

But if Abbot was too remiss, his successor, Laud, was as much too furious, for in the first year of his government he introduced as many changes as a wise and prudent statesman would have attempted in seven;* he prevailed with his majesty to set up the English service at Edinburgh, and laid the foundation of the Scotch Liturgy; he obtained the revival of the Book of Sports; he turned the communion-tables into altars; he sent out injunctions which broke up the French and Dutch churches; and procured the repeal of the Irish Articles, and those of England to be received in their place. Such was his rigorous persecution of the Puritans, that he would neither suffer them to live peaceably in the land, nor remove quietly out of it! His grace was also the chief mover in all those unbounded acts of power which were subversive of the rights and liberties of the people; and while he had the reins in his hands, drove so near the precipices of popery and tyranny, that the hearts of the most resolved Protestants turned against him, and almost all England became Puritan.

I am sensible that no part of modern history has been examined with so much critical exactness as that part of the reign of King Charles I. which relates to the rise and progress of the civil war; here the writers on both sides have blown up their passions into a flame, and, instead of history, have given us little else but panegyric or satire. I have endeavoured to avoid extremes, and have represented things as they appeared to me, with modesty, and without any personal reflections. The character I have given of the religious principles of the Long Parliament was designedly taken out of the Earl of Clarendon's History of the Grand Rebellion, that it might be without exception: and I am of opinion that the want of due acquaintance with the principles of the two houses with regard to Church discipline has misled our best historians, who have represented some of them as zealous prelatists, and others as cunning Presbyterians, Independents, sectaries, &c., whereas, in truth, they had these matters very little at heart. The king was hampered with notions of the Divine right of diocesan episcopacy, but the two houses (excepting the bishops) were, almost to a man, of the principles of Erastus, who maintained that Christ and his apostles had prescribed no particular form of discipline for his Church in after ages, but had left the keys in the hands of the civil magistrate, who had the sole power of punishing transgressors, and of appointing such par-

* Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 506.

ticular forms of Church government from time to time as were most subservient to the peace and welfare of the commonwealth. Indeed, these were the sentiments of our Church-reformers from Archbishop Cranmer down to Bancroft. And though the Puritans, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, wrote with great eagerness for the Divine right of their Book of Discipline, their posterity in the next reigns were more cool upon that head, declaring their satisfaction, if the present episcopacy might be reduced to a more primitive standard. This was the substance of the ministers' petition in the year 1641, signed with seven hundred hands. And even those who were for root and branch were willing to submit to a parliamentary reformation, till the Scots revived the notion of Divine right in the assembly of divines. However, it is certain the two houses had no attachment to Presbytery or Independency, but would have compromised matters with the king upon the episcopal scheme as long as his majesty was in the field; but when victory had declared on their side, they complied in some measure with their Northern friends, who had assisted them in the war, but would never part with the power of the keys out of their own hands. If the reader will keep this in mind, he will easily account for the several revolutions of Church government in these unsettled times.

It is not to be expected that the most disinterested writer of these affairs should escape the censures of different parties; I thought I had already sufficiently expressed my intentions in publishing the History of the Puritans; but because it has been insinuated in a late pamphlet that it looked like a plot against the ecclesiastical constitution,* I think it proper to assure the world, once for all, that what I have written is with no ill spirit or design against the peace of the Church or nation; that I have no private or party views; no patron; no associates; nor other prospects of reward than the pleasure of setting the English Reformation in a true light, and of beating down some of the fences and enclosures of conscience. Nor can there be any inconvenience in remembering the mistakes of our ancestors, when all the parties concerned are gone off the stage, and their families reconciled by intermarriages; but it may be of some use and benefit to mankind, by enabling them to avoid those rocks on which their forefathers have split. When I am convinced of any mistakes or unfair representations, I shall not be ashamed to retract them before the world; but FACTS are stubborn things, and will not bend to the humours and inclinations of artful and angry men: if these have been disguised or misrepresented, let them be set right in a decent manner, without the mean surmises of plots and confederacies; and whoever does it shall have mine as well as the thanks of the public.

I have no controversy with the present Church of England, which has abandoned, in a great measure, the persecuting principles of former times; for though I am not unacquainted with the nature and defects of religious establishments, yet neither my principles nor inclinations will allow me to give them the least disturbance, any farther than they impose upon conscience, or intrench upon the rights of civil society. If the Presbyterians or Independents have been guilty of such practices in their turns, I shall freely bear my testimony against them, and think I may do it with a GOOD GRACE, since I have always declared against restraints upon conscience among all parties of Christians;† but if men will vindicate the justice and equity of oaths *ex officio*, and of exorbitant fines, imprisonment, and banishment for things in their own nature indifferent; if they will call a relation of the illegal severities of council-tables, star chambers, and high commissions a satire against the present establishment, they must use their liberty, as I shall mine, in appearing against ecclesiastical oppression, from what quarter soever it comes.

I have freely censured the mistakes of the Puritans in Queen Elizabeth's reign; nor will I be their advocate any longer than they have Scripture, reason, and some degree of good manners on their side. If it shall at any time appear that the body of them lived in contempt of all lawful authority, or bid

* Expostulatory Letter, p. 29, 30.

† Ibid, p. 12.

defiance to the laws of their country, except in such cases wherein their consciences told them it was their duty to obey God rather than man; if they were guilty of rebellion, sedition, or of abandoning the queen and the Protestant religion when it was in danger, let them bear their own reproach; but as yet I must be of opinion that they were the best friends of the Constitution and liberties of their country; that they were neither unquiet nor restless, unless against tyranny in the state and oppression upon the conscience; that they made use of no other weapons, during a course of fourscore years, but prayers to God and petitions to the Legislature for redress of their grievances, it being an article of their belief that absolute submission was due to the supreme magistrate in all things lawful, as will sufficiently appear by their protestations in the beginning of the reign of King James I. I have admitted that the Puritans might be too stiff and rigid in their behaviour; that they were unacquainted with the rights of conscience; and that their language to their superiors, the bishops, was not always decent and mannerly: oppression maketh wise men mad. But surely the depriving, imprisoning, and putting men to death for these things will not be vindicated in our times.

In the preface to the first volume of this history, I mentioned with pleasure the growing sentiments of religious liberty in the Church of England, but complained of the burden of subscriptions upon the clergy, and of the corporation and test acts as prejudicial to the cause of religion and virtue among the laity; for which reasons the Protestant Dissenters throughout England intended to petition for a repeal or amendment of these acts the ensuing session of Parliament, if they had met with any encouragement from their superiors, or had the least prospect of success. The sacramental test is, no doubt, a distinguishing mark of reproach which they have not deserved; and, I humbly conceive, no very great security to the Church of England, unless it can be supposed that one single act of occasional conformity can take off the edge of all their imagined aversion to the hierarchy, who worship all the rest of the year among Nonconformists. Nor can the repeal of these acts be of any considerable advantage to the body of Dissenters, because not one in five hundred can expect to reap any private benefit by it to himself or family; their zeal, therefore, in this cause must arise principally from a regard to the liberties of their country, and a desire of rescuing one of the most sacred rights of Christianity from the profanation to which it is exposed.

But it seems this will not be believed till the Dissenters propose some other pledge and security by which the end and intent of the sacramental test may be equally attained; for (says a late writer*) the Legislature never intended them any share of trust or power in the government; and he hopes never will, till they see better reasons for it than hath hitherto appeared. Must the Dissenters, then, furnish the Church with a law to exclude themselves from serving their king and country? Let the disagreeable work be undertaken by men that are better skilled in such unequal severities. I will not examine into the intent of the Legislature in this place; but if Protestant Nonconformists are to have no share of trust or power in the government, why are they chosen into such offices, and subject to fines and penalties for declining them? Is it for not serving?—this, it seems, is what the Legislature never intended. Is it, then, for not qualifying?—surely this is a penalty upon conscience. I would ask the warmest advocate for the sacramental test whether the appointing Protestant Dissenters for sheriffs of counties, and obliging them to qualify against their consciences under the penalties of a premunire, without the liberty of serving by a deputy or of commuting by a fine, is consistent with so full a toleration and exemption from penal laws as this writer† says they enjoy? It is true, a good government may take no advantage of this power, but in a bad one men must qualify, or their liberties and estates lie at the king's mercy; it seems, therefore, but reasonable (whatever the intent of the Legislature may be), that Protestant Dissenters should be admitted to serve their country with

* History of the Test, p. 16, 23, 25.

† History of the Test, p. 25.

a good conscience in offices of trust as well as of burden, or be exempted from all pains and penalties for not doing it.*

It is now pretty generally agreed, that receiving the holy sacrament merely as a qualification for a place of civil profit or trust is contrary to the ends of its institution, and a snare to the consciences of men; † for though the law is open, and “they who obtain offices in the state know beforehand the conditions of keeping them,” yet when the bread of a numerous family depends upon a qualification which a man cannot be satisfied to comply with, it is certainly a snare; and though I agree with our author, that “if the minds of such persons are wicked, the law does not make them so,” yet I am afraid it hardens them, and makes them a great deal worse. How many thousand come to the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper with reluctance! and, perhaps, eat and drink judgment to themselves, the guilt of which must be chargeable either upon the imposers or receivers, or upon both. Methinks, therefore, charity to the souls of men, as well as a concern for the purity of our holy religion, should engage all serious Christians to endeavour the removal of this grievance; and since we are told that the appearing of the Dissenters at this time is unseasonable, and will be ineffectual, I would humbly move our right reverend fathers the bishops not to think it below their high stations and dignities to consider of some expedient to roll away this reproach from the Church and nation, and agree upon some security for the former (if needful) of a civil nature, that may leave room (as King William expresses it in his speech to his first Parliament) for the admission of all Protestants that are able and willing to serve their country. The honour of Christ and the cause of public virtue seem to require it; and forasmuch as the influence of these acts affects great numbers of the laity in a very tender part, I should think it no dishonour for the several corporations in England, as well as for the officers of the army, navy, customs, and excise, who are more peculiarly concerned, to join their interests in petitioning the Legislature for such relief. And I flatter myself that the wise and temperate behaviour of the Protestant Dissenters in their late general assembly in London, with the dutiful regard that they have always shown to the peace and welfare of his majesty’s person, family, and government, will not fail to recommend them to the royal protection and favour; and that his most excellent majesty, in imitation of his glorious predecessor, King William III., will, in a proper time, recommend it to his Parliament to strengthen his administration, by taking off those restraints which at present disable his Protestant Dissenting subjects from showing their zeal in the service of their king and country.

DANIEL NEAL.

London, March 6, 1732-3.

* It should be mentioned to the honour of Bishop Warburton, who was an advocate for a test, though not a sacramental test, that to this proposal, that “Dissenters should be exempted from all pains and penalties for not serving their country in offices of trust,” he gave his hearty assent by adding in the margin, *most certainly!*—E.D.

† History of the Test, p. 22.



ADVERTISEMENT

TO VOL. II. OF DR. TOULMIN'S EDITION.

THE editor, in revising the first volume of Mr. Neal's "History of the Puritans," was greatly assisted by the author's "Review of the principal facts objected to in that volume." In the volume which is now presented to the public, such aid fails him, as it will also in the succeeding ones, since Dr. Grey's "Examination" did not make its appearance till the declining state of Mr. Neal's health prevented his farther vindication of his work.

The justice due to Mr. Neal's memory and to truth required the editor to attempt what could have been done by the author himself with much greater advantage than at this distance of time from the first statement of the facts, by one who cannot come at all the authorities on which Mr. Neal spoke. He has endeavoured, however, to acquit himself with care and impartiality in the examination of Dr. Grey's animadversions, and is not aware that he has passed over any material strictures, extended through a volume of four hundred pages.

Though Dr. Grey's* "Examination" may be now little known or sought after, it received, at its first publication, the thanks of many divines of the first eminence, particularly of Dr. Gibson, then Bishop of London, and of Dr. Sherlock, then Bishop of Salisbury. The latter prelate, writing to the doctor, said, "It is happy that Mr. Neal's account appeared when there was one so well versed in the history, and so able to correct the errors and prejudices. The service you have done must be considered as a very important one by all the friends of the constitution of the Church of England."†

From the notes in the following pages, the reader will be able to form a judgment whether the encomium bestowed on Dr. Grey's work proceeded from a careful investigation of his remarks, and a comparison of them with Mr. Neal's History and vouchers, or from bias to a cause. In the editor's apprehensions, the value of Mr. Neal's history and its authorities is, so far as he has proceeded, heightened by the comparison.

In his advertisement to the first volume, he made a great mistake in ascribing the quarto edition of "The History of the Puritans" to the author himself, who died about twelve years before its appearance. It was given to the public by his worthy son, Mr. Nathaniel Neal, of the Million Bank, and is generally esteemed very correct.

There has been pointed out to the editor a slight error of Mr. Neal, vol. i., p. 183, who says that Bishop Jewel was educated in Christ's College, Oxford, whereas, according to Fuller and Wood, he was of Corpus Christi.

The editor has been asked,‡ on what authority, in the biographical account of Mr. Tomkins, subjoined to p. 17 of the "Memoirs of Mr. Neal," he charged Mr. Asty,§ on making an exchange with Mr. Tomkins, one Lord's day, with "alarming the people with the danger of pernicious errors and damnable heresies creeping in among the Dissenters, and particularly referring to errors concerning the doctrine of Christ's divinity."

On examining the matter, he finds that he has used the very words, as well as written on the authority, of Mr. Tomkins, who spoke on the information he

* Dr. Zachary Grey was of a Yorkshire family, originally from France; he was rector of Houghton Conquest, in Bedfordshire, and vicar of St. Peter's and St. Giles's parishes in Cambridge, where he usually passed all his winter, and the rest of his time at Amphill, the neighbouring market-town to his living. He died November 25, 1766, at Amphill, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and was buried at Houghton Conquest. He was of a most amiable, sweet, and communicative disposition, most friendly to his acquaintance, and never better pleased than when performing acts of friendship and benevolence. His publications were numerous.—*Anecdotes of Bowyer*, p. 354.

† See *Anecdotes of Bowyer*, p. 356, note.

‡ By the Rev. Thomas Towle, a dissenting minister of eminence among the Independents, in an interview, at which the editor was very politely received, and which took place at Mr. Towle's desire, in consequence of a letter written to him by a friend on the subject of the above charge.

§ Mr. Asty was grandson of Mr. Robert Asty, who was ejected from Stratford, in Suffolk. He had good natural parts, and by spiritual gifts, and considerable attainments in literature, was richly furnished for his ministerial province. He was perceived to have drunk very much into the sentiments and spirit of Dr. Owen, who was his favourite author. The amiable traits of his character were a sweetness of temper, an affectionate sympathy in the afflictions and prosperity of others, a familiarity and condescension of deportment, and a disposition to cast a mantle over the failings of others, and to ask pardon for his own. He died Jan. 20, 1729-30, aged 57.—*Dr. Guise's funeral sermon for him*.

had received concerning the tenour and strain of Mr. Asty's sermon; and adds, that Mr. Asty himself afterward acknowledged to him, "that the information in general was true, viz., that he spake of damnable heresies, and applied those texts, 2 Pet., ii., 1; Jude, verse 4, or, at least, one, to the new doctrines about the deity of Christ, that were now, as he apprehended, secretly spreading." Mr. Tomkins was also told that Mr. Asty was very warm upon these points; but he subjoins, "I must do Mr. Asty this justice, to acquaint others that he had no particular view to me, or suspicion of me, when he brought down this sermon, among others, to Newington. As he had an apprehension of the danger of those errors, and of the spreading of them at that time, he thought it might be seasonable to preach such a sermon anywhere." When another gentleman, however, put the matter more closely to him, he could not deny that he had some intimation of a suspicion of Mr. Tomkins. But from the assurance Mr. Asty gave Mr. Tomkins, candour will be ready to conclude that he did not greatly credit the intimation.

Mr. Towle, who was a successor to Mr. Asty in the pastoral office, could scarcely suppose that he could be guilty of a conduct so remote from the amiable and pacific character he always bore, and from the delineation of it in the funeral sermon for him by Dr. Guyse, who, I find, says of him, "I have with pleasure observed a remarkable tenderness in his spirit, as judging the state of those that differed from him, even in points which he took to be of very great importance."

It will be right to add Mr. Tomkins's declaration with respect to Mr. Asty's views: "I never had a thought that he preached his sermon out of any particular personal prejudice against me, but really believed that he did it from a zeal for what he apprehended to be truth necessary to salvation. Though I am persuaded, in my own mind, that this zeal of his in this matter is a mistaken zeal, I do nevertheless respect him as a Christian and a minister."

In the memoirs of Mr. Neal, we mentioned his letter to the Rev. Dr. Francis Hare, dean of Worcester. The editor has lately met with this piece; it does the author credit, for it is written with ability and temper. He is inclined to give a passage from it, as a specimen of the force of argument it shows, and as going to the foundation of our ecclesiastical establishment.

The dean contended for submission to the authority of the rightful governors of the Church, whom he defined to be "an ecclesiastical consistory of presbyters, with their bishop at their head." Mr. Neal, to show that this definition does not apply to the Church of England, replies: "Now, taking all this for granted, what an argument have you put into the mouths of the Dissenters to justify their separation from the present establishment!"

"For is there anything like this to be found there? Is the Church of England governed by a bishop and his presbyters? Is not the king the fountain of all ecclesiastical authority? And has he not power to make ordinances which shall bind the clergy without their consent, under the penalty of a premonition? Does not his majesty nominate the bishops, summon convocations, and prorogue them at pleasure? When the convocations of Canterbury and York are assembled, can they debate upon any subject without the king's license, or make any canons that can bind the people without an act of Parliament? The bishops, in their several courts, can determine nothing in a judicial manner about the faith, there lying an appeal from them to the king, who decides it by his commissioners in the Court of Delegates.

"Now, though this may be a wise and prudent institution, yet it can lay no claim to antiquity, because the civil magistrate was not Christian for three hundred years after our Saviour; and, consequently, the Dissenters, who are for reducing religion to the standard of the Bible, can be under no obligation to conform to it. We have a divine precept to oblige us to do whatsoever Christ and his apostles have commanded us, but I find no passage of Scripture that obliges us to be of the religion of the state we happen to be born in. If there be any such obligation on the English Dissenters, it must arise only from the laws of their country, which can have no influence upon them at present, those laws having been long since suspended by the Act of Indulgence."

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE DEMISE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP BANCROFT.

THE royal house of the Stuarts has not been more calamitous to the English Church and nation in the male descendants, than successful and glorious in the female. The four kings of this line, while in power, were declared enemies of our civil constitution; they governed without law, levied taxes by the prerogative, and endeavoured to put an end to the very being of Parliaments. With regard to religion, the first two were neither sound Protestants nor good Catholics, but were for reconciling the two religions, and meeting the papists half way; but the last two went over entirely to the Church of Rome, and died professedly in her communion. The female branches of this family being married among foreign Protestants, were of a different stamp, being more inclined to Puritanism than popery; one of them [Mary, eldest daughter of King Charles I.] was mother of the great King William III., the glorious deliverer of these kingdoms from popery and slavery; and another [Elizabeth, daughter of King James I.] was grandmother of his late majesty King George I., in whom the Protestant succession took place, and whose numerous descendants in the person and offspring of his present majesty, are the defence and glory of the whole Protestant interest in Europe.

King James was thirty-six years of age when he came to the English throne, having reigned in Scotland from his infancy. In the year 1589 he married the Princess Anne, sister to the King of Denmark, by whom he had three children living at this time: Henry, prince of Wales, who died before he was nineteen years of age [1612]; Elizabeth, married to the elector palatine, 1613; and Charles, who succeeded his father in his kingdoms. His majesty's behaviour in Scotland raised the expectations and hopes of all parties; the Puritans relied upon his majesty's education, upon his subscribing the solemn league and covenant, and upon various solemn repeated declarations; in particular, one made in the General Assembly at Edinburgh, 1590: when standing with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven, "he praised God that he was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be king of such a church, the sincerest [purest] kirk in the world. The Church of Geneva," says he, "keep Pasche and Yule [Easter and Christmas], what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour Kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentle-

men, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall maintain the same."* In his speech to the Parliament, 1598, he tells them "that he minded not to bring in papistical or Anglicane bishops."† Nay, upon his leaving Scotland to take possession of the crown of England, he gave public thanks to God in the kirk of Edinburgh, "that he had left both kirk and kingdom in that state which he intended not to alter any ways, his subjects living in peace."‡ But all this was kingcraft, or else his majesty changed his principles with the climate. The Scots ministers did not approach him with the distant submission and reverence of the English bishops, and therefore within nine months after he ascended the throne of England he renounced presbytery, and established it for a maxim, No bishop, no king. So soon did this pious monarch renounce his principles (if he had any), and break through the most solemn vows and obligations! When the Long Parliament addressed King Charles I. to set up presbytery in the room of episcopacy, his majesty objected his coronation oath, in which he had sworn to maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges; but King James had no such scruples of conscience; for without so much as asking the consent of Parliament, General Assembly, or people, he entered upon the most effectual measures to subvert the kirk discipline which he had sworn to maintain with hands lifted up to Heaven, at his coronation, and had afterward solemnly subscribed, with his queen and family, in the years 1581 and 1590.§

* Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 256.

† Ibid., p. 418. James, when settled on the English throne, talked a different language. Dr. Grey quotes different passages to this purport, with a view to invalidate Mr. Neal's authority. The fact is not that Calderwood falsified, and Mr. N. through prejudice adopted, his representations, but that James was a dissembler, and, when he wrote what Dr. Grey produces from his work, had thrown off the mask he wore in Scotland.—See *Harris's Life of James I.*, p. 25-29.—Ed. ‡ Ibid., p. 473.

§ Bishop Warburton censures Mr. Neal for not giving here the provocation which the king had received from what he styles "the villanous and tyrannical usage of the Kirk of Scotland to him." On this censure it may be observed, that had Mr. Neal gone into the detail of the treatment the king had met with from the Scots clergy, besides the long digression into which it would have led him, it would not have eventually saved the reputation of the king; for Mr. Neal must have related the causes of that behaviour. It arose from their jealousy, and their fears of his disposition to crush them and their religion; founded on facts delivered to them by the English ministry, and from his favouring and employing known papists. The violation of his solemn reiterated declarations, when he became King of England.

The papists put the king in remembrance that he was born of Roman Catholic parents, and had been baptized according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome; that his mother, of whom he usually spoke with reverence, was a martyr for that church; and that he himself, upon sundry occasions, had expressed no dislike to her doctrines, though he disallowed of the usurpations of the court of Rome over foreign princes; that he had called the Church of Rome his mother-church; and, therefore, they presumed to welcome his majesty into England with a petition for an open toleration.*

But the bishops of the Church of England made the earliest application for his majesty's protection and favour. As soon as the queen was dead, Archbishop Whitgift sent Dr. Nevil, dean of Canterbury, express into Scotland, in the name of all the bishops and clergy of England, to give his majesty assurance of their unfeigned duty and loyalty; to know what commands he had for them with respect to the ecclesiastical courts, and to recommend the Church of England to his countenance and favour.† The king replied that he would uphold the government of the Church as the queen left it; which comforted the timorous archbishop, who had sometimes spoke with great uneasiness of the Scotch *mist*.

Upon his majesty's arrival all parties addressed him, and among others the Dutch and French churches, and the English Puritans; to the former his majesty gave this answer: "I need not use many words to declare my good-will to you, who have taken sanctuary here for the sake of religion; I am sensible you have enriched this kingdom with several arts and manufactures; and I swear to you, that if any one shall give you disturbance in your churches, upon your application to me, I will revenge your cause; and though you are none of my proper subjects, I will maintain and cherish you as much as any prince in the world." But the latter, whatever they had reason to expect, met with very different usage.

Notwithstanding all the precautions that were taken to secure the elections of members for the next Parliament, the archbishop wished he might not live to see it, for fear of some alteration in the Church; for the Puritans were preparing petitions, and printing pamphlets in their own vindication, though by the archbishop's vigilance, says Mr. Strype,‡ not a petition or a

showed how just were those suspicions, and proved him to have been a dissembler. To these remarks it may be added, What provocation constrained him to give the public thanks and promise, with which he left Scotland?—See *Dr. Harris's Life of James I.*, p. 25–31, and *Burnet's History of his Own Times*, vol. i., p. 5, Edinburgh edition in 12mo.—Ed.

* That the expectations of the papists were not disappointed, though Dr. Grey controverts Mr. Neal's representation, there is ample proof given by Dr. Harris in his *Life of James I.*, p. 219, 226. "It is certain," says Dr. Warner, "that he had on several occasions given great room to suspect that he was far from being an enemy to the Roman Catholics. Amid all their hopes," he adds, "each side had their fears; while James himself had, properly speaking, no other religion than what flowed from a principle which he called kingcraft."—*Warner's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 476, 477.—Ed.

† *Life of Whitgift*, p. 559.

‡ *Strype's Ann.*, vol. ult., p. 187.

pamphlet escaped without a speedy and effectual answer.

While the king was in his progress to London [April, 1603] the Puritans presented their millenary petition, so called, because it was said to be subscribed by a thousand hands, though there were not more than eight hundred out of twenty-five counties.* It is entitled "The humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies and Abuses of the Church." The preamble sets forth, "that neither as factious men affecting a popular parity in the Church, nor as schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but as the faithful ministers of Christ, and loyal subjects to his majesty, they humbly desire the redress of some abuses." And though divers of them had formerly subscribed to the service-book, some upon protestation, some upon an exposition given, and some with condition, yet now they, to the number of more than a thousand ministers, groaned under the burden of human rites and ceremonies, and with one consent threw themselves down at his royal feet for relief in the following particulars:

1. In the Church service. "That the cross in baptism, the interrogatories to infants, baptism by women, and confirmation, may be taken away; that the cap and surplice may not be urged; that examination may go before the communion; that the ring in marriage may be dispensed with; that the service may be abridged; church songs and music moderated to better edification; that the Lord's Day may not be profaned, nor the observation of other holydays strictly enjoined; that ministers may not be charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus; and that none but canonical Scriptures be read in the Church."

2. Concerning ministers. "That none may be admitted but able men; that they be obliged to preach on the Lord's Day; that such as are not capable of preaching may be removed or obliged to maintain preachers; that nonresidency be not permitted; that King Edward's statute for the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy be revived; and that ministers be not obliged to subscribe, but according to law, to the articles of religion, and the king's supremacy only."

3. For Church livings. "That bishops leave their commendams; that impropriations annexed to bishoprics and colleges be given to preaching incumbents only; and that lay-impropriations be charged with a sixth or seventh part for the maintenance of a preacher."

4. For Church discipline. "That excommunication and censures be not in the name of lay-chancellors, &c.; that men be not excommunicated for twelvepenny matters, nor without consent of their pastors; that registrars' places, and others having jurisdiction, do not put them out to farm; that sundry popish canons be revised; that the oath *ex officio* be more sparingly used; and licenses for marriages without baus be more sparingly granted."

"These things," say they, "we are able to show not to be agreeable to the Word of God, if it shall please your majesty to hear us, or by

* *Clark's Life of Hildersham*, p. 116, annexed to the General Martyrology.

writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved.*

The king met with sundry other petitions of the like nature from most of the counties he passed through; but the heads of the two universities having taken offence at the millenary petition, for demising away the impropriations annexed to bishoprics and colleges, which, says Fuller, would cut off more than the nipples of the breasts of both universities in point of maintenance,* expressed their resentment different ways: those of Cambridge passed a grace, June 9th, 1603, "That whosoever in the University should openly oppose by word or writing, or any other way, the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England established by law, or any part thereof, should be suspended *ipso facto* from any degree already taken, and be disabled from taking any degree for the future." About the same time the University of Oxford published an answer to the ministers' petition, entitled "An Answer of the Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and other Heads of Houses in the University of Oxford, to the Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation; dedicated to the King, with a Preface to the Archbishop, the Chancellors of both Universities, and the two Secretaries of State."† The answer shows the high spirit of the University: it reproaches the ministers in very severe language for subscribing and then complaining; it reflects upon them as factious men, for affecting a parity in the Church, and then falls severely on the Scots Reformation, which his majesty had so publicly commended before he left that kingdom. It throws an odium upon the petitioners, as being for a limited monarchy, and for subjecting the titles of kings to the approbation of the people. It then goes on to vindicate all the grievances complained of, and concludes with beseeching his majesty not to suffer the peace of the state to be disturbed by allowing these men to disturb its polity. "Look upon the Reformed churches abroad," say they: "wheresoever the desire of the petitioners takes place, how ill it suits with the state of monarchy; does it become the supereminent authority and regal person of a king to subject his sovereign power to the overswaying and all-commanding power of a presbytery; that his meek and humble clergy should have power to bind their king in chains, and their prince in links of iron? that is, to censure him, and, if they see cause, to proceed against him as a tyrant. That the supreme magistrate should only be a maintainer of their proceedings, but not a commander in them; these are but petty abridgements of the prerogative royal, while the king submits his sceptre to the sceptre of Christ, and licks the dust of the Church's feet." They then commend the present Church government as the great support of the crown, and calculated to promote unlimited subjection, and aver, "that there are at this day more learned men in this land, in this one kingdom, than are to be found among all the ministers of religion in France, Flanders, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Geneva, Scotland, or (to speak in a word) all Europe besides."‡ Such a vainglorious piece of self-ap-

plause is hardly to be met with. They must have a mean opinion of the king's acquaintance with the learned world, to use him in this manner, at a time when, though there were some very considerable divines among ourselves, there were as many learned men in the foreign universities as had been known since the Reformation; witness the Bezas, Scaligers, Casaubons, &c., whose works have transmitted their great names down to posterity.

And that the divines of Cambridge might not come behind their brethren of Oxford, the heads of that university wrote a letter of thanks to the Oxonians for their answer to the petition, in which "they applaud and commend their weighty arguments, and threaten to battle the Puritans with numbers; for if Saul has his thousands (say they), David has his ten thousands. They acquaint them with their decree of June 9, and bid the poor pitiful Puritans [*komuniones miserimi*] answer their almost a thousand books in defence of the hierarchy before they pretend to dispute before so learned and wise a king."* A mean and pitiful triumph over honest and virtuous men, who aimed at nothing more than to bring the discipline of the Church a little nearer the standard of Scripture!

But that his majesty might part with his old friends with some decency, and seem to answer the request of the petitioners, he agreed to have a conference with the two parties at Hampton Court,† for which purpose he published a proclamation from Wilton, October 24th, 1603, touching a meeting for the hearing and for the determining things pretended to be amiss in the Church. In which he declares "that he was already persuaded that the constitution of the Church of England was agreeable to God's Word, and near to the condition of the primitive Church; yet because he had received information that some things in it were scandalous, and gave offence, he had appointed a meeting, to be had before himself and council, of divers bishops and other learned men, at which consultation he hoped to be better informed of the state of the Church, and whether there were any such enormities in it; in the mean time, he commanded all his subjects not to publish anything against the state ecclesiastical, or to gather subscriptions, or make supplications, being resolved to make it appear by their chastisement how far such a manner of proceeding was displeasing to him, for he was determined to preserve the ecclesiastical state in such form as he found it established by the law, only to reform such abuses as he should find apparently proved."‡

The archbishop and his brethren had been indefatigable in possessing the king with the excellence of the English hierarchy, as coming near the practice of the primitive Church, and best suited to a monarchical government; they represented the Puritans as turbulent and factious, inconsiderable in number, and aiming at

* Dr. Warner, with reason and judgment, supposes that what determined James, more than anything else, to appoint the Hampton Court Conference, of which he would be the moderator, was, that he might give his new subjects a taste of his talents for disputation, of which he was extremely fond and conceited.—*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 478.—Ed.

† Life of Whitgift, b. iv., c. xxxi., p. 568.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 570.

* Fuller's Church History, b. x., p. 23.

† Life of Whitgift, p. 567.

‡ Strype's Ann., vol. iv., p. 137.

confusion both in Church and State; and yet, after all, the old archbishop was doubtful of the event, for in one of his letters to Cecil, afterward Earl of Shrewsbury, he writes, "Though our humorous and contentious brethren have made many petitions and motions correspondent to their natures, yet to my comfort they have not much prevailed. Your lordship, I am sure, does imagine that I have not all this while been idle, nor greatly quiet in mind, for who can promise himself rest among so many vipers!"*

The place of conference was the drawing-room within the privy-chamber at Hampton Court; the disputants on both sides were nominated by the king. For the Church there were nine bishops, and about as many dignitaries, viz., Dr. Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Bancroft, bishop of London; Dr. Mathew, bishop of Durham; Bilson, bishop of Winchester; Bahington, bishop of Worcester; Rudd, bishop of St. David's; Watson, bishop of Chichester; Robinson, bishop of Carlisle; and Dove, bishop of Peterborough. Dr. Andrews, dean of the chapel; Overall, dean of St. Paul's; Barlow, dean of Chester; Bridges, dean of Salisbury; Field, dean of Gloucester; and King, archdeacon of Nottingham; besides the deans of Worcester and Windsor.

For the Puritans were only four ministers: Dr. John Reynolds, Dr. Thomas Sparks, professors of divinity in Oxford; Mr. Chadderton and Mr. Knewstubs, of Cambridge. The divines of the Church appeared in the habits of their respective distinctions; but those for the Puritans in fur gowns, like the Turkey merchants, or the professors in foreign universities. When the king conferred with the bishops, he behaved with softness, and a great regard to their character; but when the Puritan ministers stood before him, instead of being moderator, he took upon him the place of respondent, and bore them down with his majestic frowns and threatenings, in the midst of a numerous crowd of courtiers, all the lords of the privy-council being present; while the bishops stood by, and were little more than spectators of the triumph.

The account of this conference was published at large only by Dr. Barlow, who, being a party, says Fuller,† set a sharp edge on his own, and a blunt one on his adversaries' weapons. Dr. Sparks and Reynolds complained that they were wronged by that relation,‡ and Dr. Jackson declared that Barlow himself repented, upon his deathbed, of the injury he had done the Puritan ministers in his relation of the Hampton Court Conference.§ Mr. Strype has lately published a

letter of the Bishop of Durham to Hutton, archbishop of York, which agrees pretty much with Barlow;* but Mr. Patrick Galloway, a Scotsman, has set things in a different light; from all these, and from the king's own letter to Mr. Blake, a Scotsman, we must form the best judgment of it that we can.

The conference continued three days, viz., January the 14th, 16th, and 18th; the first was with the bishops and deans alone, January 14th, the Puritan ministers not being present, when the king made a speech in commendation of the hierarchy of the Church of England, and congratulated himself that "he was now come into the promised land; that he sat among grave and reverend men, and was not a king, as formerly, without state, nor in a place where beardless boys would brave him to his face. He assured them he had not called this assembly for any innovation, for he acknowledged the government ecclesiastical, as now it is, to have been approved by manifold blessings from God himself; but because he had received some complaints of disorders, he was willing to remove them if scandalous, and to take notice of them if but trifling; that the reason of his consulting them by themselves was to receive satisfaction from them, (1.) About some things in the Common Prayer Book; (2.) Concerning excommunication in the ecclesiastical courts; (3.) About providing some well-qualified ministers for Ireland; that if anything should be found meet to be redressed, it might be done without their being confronted by their opponents."†

In the Common Prayer Book his majesty had some scruples about the confirmation of children, as it imported a confirmation of baptism. But the archbishop on his knees replied, that the Church did not hold baptism imperfect without confirmation. Bancroft said it was of apostolical institution, Heb., iv., 2, where it is called "the doctrine of the laying on of hands." But to satisfy the king, it was agreed that the words *examination of children* should be added to confirmation.

His majesty excepted to the absolution of the Church, as too nearly resembling the pope's pardon. But the archbishop is said to clear it up to the king's satisfaction; only to the rubric of the general absolution these words were to be added, for explanation's sake, *remission of sins*.

He farther objected to private baptism, and baptism by women. It had been customary till this time for bishops to license midwives to their office, and to allow their right to baptize in cases of necessity, under the following oath:

"I, Eleanor —, admitted to the office and occupation of a midwife, will faithfully and diligently exercise the said office, according to such cunning and knowledge as God has given me, and that I will be ready to help and aid as well poor as rich women, being in labour and travail with child, and will always be ready to execute my said office. Also, I will not permit or suffer that any woman, being in labour or travail, shall name any other to be the father of the child than only he who is the right and true father thereof; and that I will not suffer any other

set himself up as a decider of their controversies."—*Harris's Life of James I.*, p. 87.—Ed.

* Life of Whitgift, Append., b. iv., no. 43.

† Ch. Hist., b. x., p. 21. ‡ Pierce, p. 153, 154.

§ "The Puritans," Dr. Harris observes, "needed not to have complained so much as they have done of Barlow. If he has not represented their arguments in as just a light, nor related what was done by the ministers as advantageously as truth required, he has abundantly made it up to them by showing that the bishops, their adversaries, were gross flatterers, and had no regard to their sacred characters; and that their mortal foe James had but a low understanding, and was undeserving of the rank he assumed in the republic of learning. This he has done effectually, and, therefore, whatever was his intention, the Puritans should have applauded his performance, and appealed to it for proof of the insufficiency of him who

* Life of Whitgift, Append., b. iv., no. 45.

† Fuller, b. x., p. 8.

body's child to be set, brought, or laid before any woman delivered of child, in the place of her natural child, so far forth as I can know or understand. Also, I will not use any kind of sorcery or incantation in the time of travail of any woman; and I will not destroy the child born of any woman, nor cut nor pull off the head thereof, or otherwise dismember or hurt the same, or suffer it to be so hurt, &c. Also, that in the ministration of the sacrament of baptism, in the time of necessity, I will use the accustomed words of the same sacrament; that is to say, these words following, or to the like effect, 'I christen thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' and none other profane words. And that, in baptizing any infant born, and pouring water on the head of the said infant, I will use pure and clean water, and not any rose or damask water, or water made of any confection or mixture. And that I will certify the curate of the parish church of every such baptizing.*

Notwithstanding this oath, Whitgift assured the king that baptism by women and lay persons was not allowed by the Church. Others said it was a reasonable practice, the minister not being of the essence of the sacrament. But the king not being satisfied, it was referred to consideration whether the word *curate*, or *lawful minister*, might not be inserted into the rubric for private baptism.

Concerning excommunication for lesser crimes in ecclesiastical courts, it was agreed that the name should be changed, but the same censure retained, or an equivalent thereunto appointed. These were all the alterations that were agreed upon between the king and bishops in the first day's conference.

Mr. Patrick Galloway, who was present at the conference, gives this account of it to the presbytery of Edinburgh: "That on January 12 the king commanded the bishops, as they would answer it to God in conscience, and to himself upon their obedience, to advise among themselves of the corruptions of the Church in doctrine, ceremonies, and discipline, who, after consultation, reported that all was well; but when his majesty, with great fervency, brought instances to the contrary, the bishops on their knees craved with great earnestness that nothing might be altered, lest popish recusants, punished by penal statutes for disobedience, and the Puritans, punished by deprivation from their callings and livings for nonconformity, should say they had just cause to insult upon them, as men who had travailed to bind them to that which by their own mouths now was confessed to be erroneous.†" Mr. Strype calls this an aspersion, but I am apt to think him mistaken, because Mr. Galloway adds these words: "When sundry persons gave out copies of these actions, I myself took occasion, as I was an ear and eye witness, to set them down, and presented them to his majesty, who with his own hand mended some things, and eked out others that I had omitted." It is very certain that Bishop Barlow has cut off and concealed all the speeches that his majesty made against the corruptions of the Church and the practices of the prelates, for five hours together,

according to the testimony of Dr. Andrews, dean of the chapel, who said that his majesty did that day wonderfully play the Puritan.

The second day's conference was on Monday, January 16th, when the four ministers were called in, with Mr. Galloway, minister of Perth in Scotland, on the one part, and two bishops and six or eight deans on the other, the rest being secluded. The king being seated in his chair, with his nobles and privy counsellors around him, let them know he was now ready to hear their objections against the establishment. Whereupon Dr. Reynolds, in the name of his brethren, humbly requested,

1. That the doctrine of the Church might be preserved pure, according to God's Word.

2. That good pastors might be planted in all churches to preach the same.

3. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety.

4. That church government might be sincerely ministered according to God's Word.

1. With regard to the doctrine of the Church, he requested that to those words in the sixteenth article, "We may depart from grace," may be added, *neither totally nor finally*, to make them consistent with the doctrine of predestination in the seventeenth article; and that (if his majesty pleased) the nine articles of Lambeth might be inserted. That in the twenty-third article these words, "in the congregation," might be omitted, as implying a liberty for men to preach out of the congregation without a lawful call. That in the twenty-fifth article the ground for confirmation might be examined; one passage confessing it to be a depraved imitation of the apostles, and another grounding it on their example; besides, that it was too much work for a bishop—

Here Bancroft, no longer able to contain himself, falling upon his knees, begged the king with great earnestness to stop the doctor's mouth, according to an ancient canon that schismatics are not to be heard against their bishops. It is not reasonable, says he, that men who have subscribed to these articles should be allowed to plead against their own act, contrary to the statute 1st Eliz. The king, perceiving the bishop in a heat, said, My lord, you ought not to interrupt the doctor, but either let him proceed or answer what he has objected. Upon which he replied, "that as to Dr. Reynolds's first objection, the doctrine of predestination was a desperate doctrine, and had made many people libertines, who were apt to say, 'If I shall be saved, I shall be saved:' he therefore desired it might be left at large. That his second objection was trifling, because, by the practice of the Church, none but licensed ministers might preach or administer the sacrament. And as to the doctor's third objection, he said that the bishops had their chaplains and curates to examine such as were to be confirmed; and that in ancient time, none confirmed but bishops." To which Reynolds replied, in the words of St. Jerome, "that it was rather a compliment to the order than from any reason or necessity of the thing." And whereas the bishop had called him a schismatic, he desired his majesty that that imputation might not lie upon him; which occasioned a great deal of mirth and railery between the king and his no-

* Strype's Ann., vol. i., p. 537.

† Calderwood's Hist. Church of Scotland, p. 474.

bles about the unhappy Puritans. In conclusion, the king said he was against increasing the number of articles or stuffing them with theological niceties, because, were they never so explicit, there will be no preventing contrary opinions. As to confirmation, he thought it not decent to refer the solemnity to a parish priest, and closed his remarks with this maxim, No bishop, no king.

After a long interruption the doctor went on, and desired a new catechism; to which the king consented, provided there might be no curious questions in it, and that our agreement with the Roman Catholics in some points might not be esteemed heterodox. He farther desired a new translation of the Bible, to which his majesty agreed, provided it were without marginal notes, saying, that of all the translations, the Geneva was the worst, because of the marginal notes, which allowed disobedience to kings. The doctor complained of the printing and dispersing popish pamphlets, which reflected on Bancroft's character: the king said, "What was done of this kind was by warrant from the court, to nourish the schism between the seculars and Jesuits, which was of great service. Doctor, you are a better collegeman than statesman." To which Reynolds replied, that he did not intend such books as were printed in England, but such as were imported from beyond sea; and this several of the privy council owned to be a grievance. The doctor having prayed that some effectual remedy might be provided against the profanation of the Lord's Day, declared he had no more to add on the first head.

2. With regard to preaching, the doctor complained of pluralities in the Church, and prayed that all parishes might be furnished with preaching ministers. Upon which Bancroft fell upon his knees, and petitioned his majesty that all parishes might have a praying ministry; for preaching is grown so much in fashion, says he, that the service of the Church is neglected. Besides, pulpit harangues are very dangerous; he therefore humbly moved that the number of homilies might be increased, and that the clergy might be obliged to read them instead of sermons, in which many vented their spleen against their superiors. The king asked the plaintiffs their opinion of the bishop's motion; who replied, that a preaching minister was certainly best and most useful, though they allowed, where preaching could not be had, godly prayers, homilies, and exhortations might do much good. The lord-chancellor [Egerton] said, there were more livings that wanted learned men than learned men living; let all, therefore, have single coats before others have doublets. Upon which Bancroft replied merrily, But a doublet is good in cold weather. The king put an end to the debate by saying he would consult the bishops upon this head.

3. But the doctor's chief objections were to the service-book and church government. Here he complained of the late subscriptions, by which many were deprived of their ministry who were willing to subscribe to the doctrinal articles of the Church, to the king's supremacy, and to the statutes of the realm. He excepted to the reading the Apocrypha; to the interrogatories in baptism, and to the sign of the cross; to the surplice, and other superstitious habits; to the ring

in marriage; to the churching of women by the name of purification. He urged that most of these things were relics of popery; that they had been abnsed to idolatry, and therefore ought, like the brazen serpent, to be abolished. Mr. Knewstubs said these rights and ceremonies were at best but indifferent, and therefore doubted whether the power of the Church could bind the conscience without impeaching Christian liberty.

Here his majesty interrupted them, and said that he apprehended the surplice to be a very comely garment; that the cross was as old as Constantine, and must we charge him with popery? besides, it was no more a significant sign than imposition of hands, which the petitioners allowed in ordination; and as for their other exceptions, they were capable of being understood in a sober sense; "but as to the power of the Church in things indifferent," says his majesty, "I will not argue that point with you, but answer as kings in Parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera*. This is like Mr. John Black, a beardless boy, who told me, the last conference in Scotland, that he would hold conformity with me in doctrine, but that every man as to ceremonies was to be left to his own liberty, but I will have none of that; I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony: never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey."

4. Dr. Reynolds was going on to complain of excommunication by lay-chancellors; but the king having said that he should consult the bishops on that head, the doctor desired that the clergy might have assemblies once in three weeks; that in rural deaneries they might have the liberty of prophesying, as in Archbishop Grindal's time; that those cases which could not be resolved there might be referred to the archdeacon's visitation, and from thence to the diocesan synod, where the bishop with his presbyters should determine such points as were too difficult for the other meetings. Here the king broke out into a flame, and instead of hearing the doctor's reasons, or commanding his bishops to answer them, told the ministers that he found they were aiming at a Scots presbytery, "which," says he, "agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil; then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my council. Therefore, pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath; but till you find I grow lazy, pray let that alone. I remember how they used the poor lady, my mother, in Scotland, and me in my minority." Then turning to the bishops, he put his hand to his hat and said, "My lords, I may thank you that these Puritans plead for my supremacy, for if once you are out and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy, for, No bishop, no king. Well, doctor, have you anything else to offer?" Dr. Reynolds: "No more, if it please your majesty." Then rising from his chair, the king said, "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of this land, or else worse;" and he was as good as his word.

Thus ended the second day's conference, after four hours' discourse, with a perfect triumph on the side of the Church; the Puritan ministers were insulted, ridiculed, and laughed to scorn, without either wit or good manners. One of the council said he now saw that a Puritan was a Protestant frightened out of his wits. Another, that the ministers looked more like Turks than Christians, as appeared by their habits. Sir Edward Peyton confessed that Dr. Raynolds and his brethren had not freedom of speech; but finding it to no purpose to reply, they held their peace. On the other hand, the bishops and courtiers flattered the king's wisdom and learning beyond measure, calling him the Solomon of the age. Bancroft fell upon his knees, and said, "I protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king as, since Christ's time, has not been." Chancellor Egerton said "he had never seen the king and priest so fully united in one person."* His majesty was no less satisfied with his own conduct; for in his letter to Mr. Blake, a Scotsman, he told him that he had soundly peppered off the Puritans, that they had fled before him, and that their petitions had turned him more earnestly against them. "It were no reason," says his majesty, "that those who refuse the airy sign of the cross after baptism, should have their purses stuffed with any more solid and substantial crosses. They fled me so from argument to argument, without ever answering me directly (*ut est eorum moris*), that I was forced to tell them, that if any of them, when boys, had disputed thus in the college, the moderator would have fetched them up, and applied the rod to their buttocks—I have a book of theirs that may convert infidels, but never shall convert me, except by turning me more earnestly against them." This was the language of the Solomon of the age. I leave the reader to judge how much superior the wise monarch was in the knowledge of antiquity, or the art of syllogism, to Dr. Raynolds, who was the oracle of his time for acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, councils, and fathers, and had lived in a college all his days.

The third day's conference was on Wednesday, January 18th, when the bishops and deans were first called into the privy chamber with the civilians, to satisfy the king about the high commission and the oath *ex officio*, which they might easily do as being principal branches of his prerogative. When the king said he approved of the wisdom of the law in making the oath *ex officio*, the old archbishop was so transported as to cry out, "Undoubtedly your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit." A committee of bishops and privy counsellors was then appointed to consider of lessening the charges in the high commission, and for planting schools, and proper ministers in the kingdom of Ireland, and on the borders of England and Scotland. After which, Dr. Raynolds and his brethren were called in, not to dispute, but only to hear the few alterations or explanations in the Common Prayer Book

already mentioned; which not answering their expectations, Mr. Chadderton fell on his knees, and humbly prayed that the surplice and cross might not be urged on some godly ministers in Lancashire; and Mr. Knewstubs desired the same favour for some Suffolk ministers; which the bishops were going to oppose, but the king replied, with a stern countenance, "We have taken pains here to conclude in a resolution for uniformity, and you will undo all by preferring the credit of a few private men to the peace of the Church; this is the Scots way, but I will have none of this arguing; therefore let them conform, and that quickly, too, or they shall hear of it; the bishops will give them some time, but if they are of an obstinate and turbulent spirit, I will have them enforced to conformity."*

Thus ended this mock conference,† for it deserves no better name, all things being previously concluded between the king and the bishops, before the Puritans were brought upon the stage, to be made a spectacle to their enemies, and borne down, not with calm reason and argument, but with the royal authority, I approve or I dissent; the king making himself both judge and party.‡ No wonder, therefore, if Dr. Raynolds fell below himself, and lost some part of his esteem with the Puritans, being overawed by the place and company, and the arbitrary dictates of his sovereign opponent.

* "In this manner ended this conference; which," observes Dr. Warner, "convinced the Puritans they were mistaken in depending on the king's protection; which convinced the king that they were not to be won by a few insignificant concessions; and which, if it did not convince the privy council and the bishops that they had got a Solomon for their king, yet they spoke of him as though it did."—*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 482.

"This conference," says another writer, "was but a blind to introduce episcopacy in Scotland; all the Scotch noblemen then at court being designed to be present, and others, both noblemen and ministers, being called up from Scotland by the king's letter to assist at it."—*Dr. Welwood*, as quoted by *Crosby. Hist. of Engl. Baptists*, vol. i., p. 85.—*Ed.*

† "The Hampton Court Conference," says Robert Robinson, of Cambridge, "was a ridiculous farce, a compound of kingcraft and priestcraft. The actors in it forgot nothing but their masks. The Puritans would not be gulled by it, but continued to dissent, and they were right."—*Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity*, Works, ii., 221.

"In the accounts that we read of this meeting," remarks Mr. Hallam, "we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behaviour of the king, and at the abject baseness of the bishops, mixed, according to the customs of servile natures, with insolence towards their opponents. It was easy for a monarch and eighteen churchmen to claim the victory, be the merits of the dispute what they might, over abashed and intimidated adversaries."—*Const. Hist.*, i., 404.—*C.*

‡ The conclusion of his address to the Puritan ministers, at this conference, as it was a curious specimen of the king's logic, so it was a proof of the insolent and tyrannical spirit with which he aimed to bear down all opposition. "If," said he, "this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harrie them out of the land, or else do worse, only hang them, that's all." It is very evident, from this, that he trusted more, as it has been observed by a modern writer, to the power of hanging than of convincing his adversaries.—*Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.*, vol. i., Introduction, p. 23, the note.—*Ed.*

* A modern prelate has said, "Sancho Pancha never made a better speech, nor more to the purpose, during his government."—*Bishop Warburton's Notes on Neal*.—*Ed.*

The Puritans refused to be concluded by this conference, for the following reasons : because,

1. "The ministers appointed to speak for them were not of their nomination or choosing, nor of one judgment in the points of controversy ; for being desired by their brethren to argue against the corruptions of the Church as simply evil, they replied, they were not so persuaded. Being farther desired to acquaint the king that some of their brethren thought them sinful, they refused that also. Lastly, being desired to give their reasons in writing why they thought the ceremonies only indifferent, or to answer the reasons they had to offer to prove them sinful, they would do neither one nor other.

2. "Because the points in controversy were not thoroughly debated, but nakedly propounded, and some not at all touched. Neither was there any one argument to the purpose pursued and followed.

3. "Because the prelates took the liberty of interrupting at their pleasure those of the other side, insomuch that they were checked for it by the king himself."

They objected also to the account of the conference by Dean Barlow, as published without the knowledge, advice, or consent of the other side, and therefore deserving no credit ; they said that Dr. Moreton had called some part of it in question, and rectified some speeches fathered on the king ; besides, that the prelates only were present at the first day's conference, when the principal matters were determined.

"Therefore the Puritan ministers offer (if his majesty will give them leave) in one week's space to deliver his majesty in writing a full answer to any argument or assertion propounded in that conference by any prelate ; and in the mean time they do aver them to be most vain and frivolous."

If the bishops had been men of moderation, or if the king had discovered any part of that wisdom he was flattered with, all parties might have been made easy at this time ; for the bishops, in such a crisis, would have complied with anything his majesty had insisted on ; but the king's cowardice, his love of flattery, his high and arbitrary principles, and his mortal hatred of the Puritans, lost one of the fairest opportunities that have ever offered to heal the divisions of the Church.

On the 5th of March the king published a proclamation, in which he says, "That though the doctrine and discipline of the established Church were unexceptionable, and agreeable to primitive antiquity, nevertheless he had given way to a conference, to hear the exceptions of the Nonconformists, which he had found very slender ; but that some few explanations of passages had been yielded to for their satisfaction ; therefore he now requires and enjoins all his subjects to conform to it, as the only public form established in this realm ; and admonishes them, not to expect any farther alterations, for that his resolutions were absolutely settled." The Common Prayer Book was accordingly printed with the amendments, and the proclamation prefixed.

It was a high strain of the prerogative to alter a form of worship established by law, merely by a royal proclamation, without consent of Parliament or convocation ; for by the same

power that his majesty altered one article in the liturgy, he might set aside the whole, every sentence being equally established by act of Parliament ; but this wise monarch made no scruple of dispensing with the laws. However, the force of all proclamations determining with the king's life, and there being no subsequent act of Parliament to establish these amendments, it was urged very justly in the next reign, that this was not the liturgy of the Church of England established by law, and, consequently, not binding upon the clergy.

A fortnight before this conference was held, the learned and reverend Mr. Thomas Cartwright, one of the chief of the Puritans, and a great sufferer for nonconformity, died. He was born in Hertfordshire, 1535, and entered into St. John's College, Cambridge, 1550, where he became a hard student, never sleeping above five hours in a night. During the reign of Queen Mary he left the University, and became a lawyer's clerk ; but upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth he resumed his theological studies, and was chosen fellow of Trinity College in the year 1563. The year following he bore a part in the Philosophy Act before the queen. In the year 1567 he commenced bachelor of divinity, and three years after was chosen Lady Margaret's professor. He was so popular a preacher, that when his turn came at St. Mary's, the sexton was obliged to take down the windows. But Mr. Cartwright venturing in some of his lectures to show the defects of the discipline of the Church as it then stood, he was questioned for it before the vice-chancellor, denied his doctor's degree, and expelled the University, as has been related. He then travelled to Geneva, and afterward became preacher to the English merchants at Antwerp. King James invited him to be professor in his University of St. Andrew's, which he declined. After his return from Antwerp he was often in trouble by suspensions, deprivations, and long imprisonment ; at length the great Earl of Leicester, who knew his worth, made him governor of his hospital in Warwick, where he ended his days, December 27, 1603. He was certainly one of the most learned and acute disputants of his age, but very ill used by the governing clergy. He wrote several books, besides his controversy with Archbishop Whitgift, as, his Latin comment on Ecclesiastes, dedicated to King James, in which he thankfully acknowledges his being appointed professor to a Scots university ; his celebrated confutation of the Rhemist translation of the New Testament, to which work he was solicited not only by Sir Francis Walsingham, but by letter under the hands of the principal divines of Cambridge, as, Roger Goad, Wm. Whitaker, Thomas Croke, John Ireton, Wm. Fulke, John Field, Nicholas Crane, Gbts Seinthe, Richard Gardiner, Wm. Clarke, &c. Such an opinion had these great men of his learning and abilities.* He was a person of uncommon industry

* Dugdale calls him the standard-bearer of the Puritans, and says he was the first in the Church of England who began to pray extempore before sermons. Fuller says "he was most pious and strict in his conversation, a pure Latinist, an accurate Grecian, an exact Hebrew, and, in short, an excellent scholar." And yet Churton, in his Life of Nowell, p. 225, casts a slur upon his piety, learning, and good

and piety, fervent in prayer, a frequent preacher, and of a meek and humble spirit. In his old age he was so troubled with the stone and gout by frequent lying in prisons, that he was obliged always to study on his knees. His last sermon was on Eccles., xii, 7: "Then shall the dust return to the earth, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it." The Tuesday following he was two hours on his knees in private prayer, and a few hours after quietly resigned his spirit to God, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in his own hospital. The famous Mr. Dod preached his funeral sermon.*

Six weeks after died his great antagonist, Dr. John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, who was born at Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1530, and educated in Pembroke Hall, and was fellow of Peter House, Cambridge. He complied with the changes in Queen Mary's reign, though he disapproved of her religion. He commenced doctor of divinity 1569, and was afterward Margaret and queen's professor,† and master of Trinity College. Having been a celebrated champion for the hierarchy, the queen advanced him first to the Bishopric of Worcester, and then to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. He was a severe governor of the Church, pressing conformity with the utmost rigour,‡ in which her majesty always gave him her countenance and support. He regarded neither the entreaties of poor ministers nor the intercessions of courtiers, being steady to sense. He charges Cartwright with saying, in a correspondence, "that prayer was, as it were, a bunch of keys, whereby we go to all the treasures and store-houses of the Lord; his butteries, his pantries, his cellars, his wardrobe."

All this, perhaps, did enter into a familiar letter. Well, what if it did? it was just in the taste of the times; but Churton makes everything bad out of these few words. He exclaims, "Does fanaticism extinguish all taste and judgment? or is it only in minds originally weak that the infection can fit itself? Which ever way the reader may solve the problem, he will naturally ask, Was this the man that was to improve what had been done by Cranmer and Ridley, by Parker and Nowell, and their coadjutors? to give us a form of worship more pure and edifying, more dignified and devout?" But, says Brookes, "this eloquent calumniator does not stop here: he felt the poetic flame arise, and therefore immediately asks,

"Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,
That we must change for heaven! this mournful gloom
For that celestial light?"

We do confess that so much bombast, scurrility, and barefaced misrepresentation were scarcely ever found within so small a compass. The reader will, at the same time, easily perceive that the whole is designed to extol the Church of England, if not above perfection, at least beyond the possibility of amendment, and to blacken the character and disgrace the memory of that man, who was justly esteemed one of the most celebrated divines of the age in which he lived.—Brookes, *Lives of Puritans*, vol. i., p. 161.—C.

* Clarke's Lives annexed to his General Martyrology, p. 16.

† For his sake the salary of Lady Margaret's professorship was raised from twenty marks to £20. And it is observed to his honour, that this prelate was the great restorer of order and discipline in the University of Cambridge, when deeply wounded and almost sunk.—Granger's *History of England*, 8vo, vol. 1., p. 206.—Ed.

‡ "Even sometimes it may be," says Dr. Warner, "beyond all other law but that of her majesty's pleasure."—Ed.

the laws, and even outgiving them in the cause of uniformity. Mr. Fuller says he would give fair words and good language, but would abate nothing. Sir G. Paul, the author of his life, says that cholera was his chief infirmity,* which has sufficiently appeared by the account already given of the many persecutions, oppressions, and unjustifiable hardships the Puritans suffered under his administration; notwithstanding which they increased prodigiously, insomuch, that towards the end of his life, his grace grew weary of the invidious employment, and being afraid of King James's first Parliament,† died, as it is said, with grief before it met, desiring rather to give an account of his bishopric to God than exercise it among men.‡ He had been at court the first Sunday in Lent, and as he was going to the council-chamber to dinner, was seized with the dead palsy on the right side, and with the loss of his speech; upon which he was carried first to the lord-treasurer's chamber, and afterward to Lambeth, where the king visited him on Tuesday, but not being able to converse, lifted up his eyes and hand and said, *Pro ecclesia Dei*; which were his last words. He would have written something, but could not hold his pen. His disease increasing, he expired the next day, being the 29th of February, 1603, aged seventy-three, and was buried at Croydon on the 27th of March following, where he has a fair monument, with his effigies at length upon it. He was an hospitable man, and usually travelled with a great retinue; in the year 1589 he came into Canterbury with a train of five hundred horse, of which one hundred were his own servants. He founded an hospital and free school at Croydon, and though he was a cruel persecutor of the Puritans, yet, compared with his successor, Bancroft, he was a valuable prelate.‡

Before the meeting of the Parliament the

* Life of Whitgift, p. 108.

† Fuller's Church History, book x., p. 25.

‡ Stype's words, Dr. Grey says, are, "Et nunc Domine exaltata est mea anima, quod in eo tempore succubui, quando mallem episcopatus mei reddere rationem, quam inter homines exercere."—Ed.

§ The character of Whitgift's administration appears plain in the page of history. It embodied the worst passions of an intolerant state priest, and stood out in the history of Protestant persecution as worthy of special reprobation. It knew no mercy—it exercised no compassion. It had but one object, and that it pursued without compunction or remorse. The most conscientious of the queen's subjects were mingled with the vilest of their race. Whatever was noble in character, elevated in sentiment, or pure and ethereal in devotion, was confounded with the baser elements of society, and proscribed and punished as an offence to God and treason against the state. The legal institutions of the kingdom were converted into means of oppression, and the dark recesses of its prisons resounded at once with the sighs and prayers of men of whom the world was not worthy. It is in vain to defend the administration of Whitgift on the ground of the excesses of the Puritans. Those excesses were provoked by his cruelty. They grew out of government, the unmitigated rigour of which exasperated the spirits and soured the temper of his opponents. Neither can the archbishop be justified on the plea that he acted on the commands of the queen. His servility was, indeed, contemptible, but his ecclesiastical measures had their origin in his own breast. He was the queen's adviser, to whose judgment she deferred, and of whose hearty concurrence in every measure of severity and intolerance

king issued out two proclamations, one commanding all Jesuits and priests in orders to depart the kingdom [February 22, 1603], wherein he was very careful to let the world know that he did not banish them out of hatred to the Catholic religion, but only for maintaining the pope's temporal power over princes.* The other was against the Puritans, in which there was no indulgence for tender consciences: all must conform, or suffer the extremities of the law.†

The king opened the first session of Parliament with a long speech, in which there are many strokes in favour of tyranny and arbitrary power: "his majesty acknowledges the Roman Church to be his mother-church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions. That his mind was ever free from persecution for matters of conscience, as he hopes those of that religion have proved since his first coming. He pities the laity among them, and would indulge their clergy if they would but renounce the pope's supremacy and his pretended power to dispense with the murder of kings. He wishes that he might be a means of uniting the two religions, for if they would but abandon their late corruptions, he would meet them in the midway, as having a great veneration for antiquity in the points of ecclesiastical policy. But then, as to the Puritans or Novelists, who do not differ from us so much in points of religion as in their confused form of policy and purity, those," says he, "are discontented with the present church government; they are impatient to suffer any superiority, which makes their sect insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth."‡

The bishops and their adherents were pleased

she was fully assured. Several of her counsellors were opposed to his severity, "but secure of the queen's support, Whitgift relented not a jot of his resolution, and went far greater lengths than Parker had ever ventured, or perhaps had desired to proceed." His administration involved an immense sacrifice of life. It is easy to number the martyrs whom popery led to the stake, but no other than an omniscient being is competent to reveal the secrets of his dark and loathsome prison-houses. Many of his victims entered with a robust frame and a vigorous spirit, but the one was wasted by disease and the other broken down by oppression, till the last enemy released them from the tyrant's grasp, and ushered them into the presence of the King of kings. The Protestant Church of England is deeply steeped in the blood of the saints. The martyrdom it inflicted was less violent, and less calculated to shock the public mind, but it was not a jot less cruel or wicked than that which Bonner and Gardiner practised.—See *Dr. Price's History of Nonconformity*, vol. i., p. 471. Consult *Hallam's Constitutional History*, vol. i., p. 271.—C.

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 163, folio edition.

† "The Puritans about this time," says Mrs. Macaulay, "suffered so severe a persecution, that they were driven to offer a petition for relief to the king while he was taking the diversion of hunting. James was something startled at this unexpected intrusion, and very graciously directed them to depute ten of their members to declare their grievances to the council. These deputies no sooner made their appearance before the council than they were sent to jail, and Sir Francis Hastings, Sir Edward Montague, and Sir Valentine Knightly, under whose protection they had thus acted, were turned out of the lieutenancy of the county and the commission of the peace."—*Winwood's Memorials*, quoted by Mrs. Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, vol. i., p. 7, note, 8vo.—Ed.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii., p. 165, 166, folio ed.

with this speech, because the king seemed resolved not to indulge the Puritans at any rate; the Catholics did not like his majesty's distinction between the laics and clerics; but the Puritans had most reason to complain, to see so much charity expressed towards papists, and so little for themselves.* All Protestants in general heard with concern the king's offer to meet the papists half way. What does he mean? say they; is there no difference between popery and Protestantism but the pope's authority over princes! Are all other doctrines to be given up? Are the religions the same! And is this the only point upon which we separated from the Church of Rome? Thus, unhappily, did this pretended Protestant prince set out with laying the foundation of discontent among all ranks of his people.

His majesty made frequent mention in his speech of his hereditary right to the crown, and of his lineal descent; that he was accountable to none but God; and that the only difference between a rightful king and a tyrant is, that the one is ordained for preserving the prosperity of his people, the other thinks his kingdom and people are ordained to satisfy his unreasonable appetites.† Farther, his majesty altered the writs for electing members, and took upon him to prescribe what sort of representatives should be elected, not by way of exhortation, but of command, and as indispensable conditions of their being admitted into the House, and which were to be judged of and determined in the Court of Chancery.‡ He threatened to fine and disfranchise those corporations that did not choose to his mind, and to fine and imprison their representatives if they presumed to sit in the House. When the House of Commons met, he interrupted their examinations of elections, and commanded the return of Sir Francis Goodwin, whose election they had set aside, to be brought before him and his judges. Most of those who approached the king's person laboured to inspire him with the design of making himself absolute, or, rather, to confirm him in that resolution.§ The bishops were of this number; and from this time there has appeared among the clergy a party of men who have carried the obedience of the subject and the authority of the crown as high as in the most arbitrary monarchies.

But though the court and bishops were so well agreed, the Parliament passed some acts which gave them uneasiness; as the revival of the statute of Edward VI. which enacts that all processes, citations, judgments, &c., in any ecclesiastical courts, shall be issued in the king's name, and under the king's seal of arms. The

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 167, 168, folio ed.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 252. Coke, p. 51.

‡ "This," as Dr. Warner well observes, "was directly striking at the privileges of the Commons."—Ed.

§ We are told, in particular, that Cecil assured James, on his coming to the crown, "that he should find his English subjects like asses, on whom he might lay any burden, and should need neither bit nor bridle but their asses' ears." "His reign, however, affords sufficient proof," observes a late writer, "that the king himself was the only ass, and that the English lions were not to be intimidated by his silly braying."—*Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.*, vol. i., Introduction, p. 30, note.—Ed.

bishops were said to be asleep when they suffered this clause to pass; but the Laudean clergy broke through it afterward, as they did through everything else that stood in the way of their sovereignty. It was farther enacted that all leases or grants of Church lands to the king, or his heirs, &c., for more than twenty-one years for the future, should be made void, which put an effectual stop to the alienation of the Church's revenues. The marriages of the clergy were also legitimated, by reviving the statute of King Edward VI. for that purpose.*

The convocation which sat with the Parliament was very active against the Puritans. The see of Canterbury being vacant, Bancroft, bishop of London, presided, and produced the king's license to make canons.† May 2, 1603, he delivered a book of canons, of his own preparing, to the lower house for their approbation. About the same time, Mr. Egerton, Fleetwood, Wotton, Clark, and other Puritan divines, presented a petition for reformation of the Book of Common Prayer, but instead of receiving it, they admonished them and their adherents to be obedient, and conform before midsummer-day, or else they should undergo the censures of the Church. In the mean time the canons were revising. May 23, there was a debate in the upper house upon the cross in baptism, when Bancroft and some others spoke vehemently for it, but Dr. Rudd, bishop of St. David's, stood up and made the following speech for charity and moderation:

"For my part, I acknowledge the antiquity of the use of the cross, as mentioned in Tertullian, and after him in St. Cyprian, St. Chrysostom, Austin, and others. I also confess the original of the ceremony to have sprung by occasion of the pagans, who reproached the ancient Christians for believing in Christ crucified; and that in popery it has been superstitiously abused; and I affirm that it is in the Church of England now admitted and entertained by us, and restored to its ancient integrity, all superstition abandoned.

"Likewise, I wish that, if the king's highness shall persist in imposing it, all would submit to it (as we do) rather than forego the ministry in that behalf. But I greatly fear, by the report which I hear, that very many learned preachers, whose consciences are not in our custody, nor to be disposed of at our devotion, will not easily be drawn thereunto; of which number, if any shall come in my walk, I desire to be furnished beforehand, by those that be present, with sufficient reasons to satisfy them (if it be possible) concerning some points which have been now delivered.

"First. Whereas sundry passages of Scripture have been alleged for the cross; as, 'God forbid that I should rejoice save in the cross of Christ,' and divers others of the like sense; if any of the adverse opinion fall into my company, and say that these scriptures are figurative, implying the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, and that to draw an argument from them to justify the sign of the cross in the forehead is an insufficient kind of reasoning, and a fallacy, what answer shall I make unto them?

"Secondly. Whereas I have observed, upon

present relation, that the impungers of this ceremony were heard at large in the conference at Hampton Court, and having objected the example of Hezekiah, who broke in pieces the brazen serpent, after it had been abused to idolatry, and therefore the sign of the cross (which was not brought into the Church by God's express command, as the brazen serpent was, but was from the beginning a mere invention of men) ought now to be taken away by reason of the superstitious abuse which is sustained in popery; they received answer, That King Hezekiah might have preserved it, abandoning the abuse of it, if it had pleased him, and, consequently, it is in the king's majesty's power to abolish this ceremony, having been abused, or to retain it in manner aforesaid. Hereunto I say, that I was one of the conference, yet I was not at that part of the conference where those that stood for reformation had access to the king's majesty's presence, and liberty to speak for themselves; for that I, and some other of my brethren the bishops, were secluded from that day's assembly; but I suppose it to be true, as it has formerly been reported, and I for my own particular admit the consequence put down above. Now, because I wish all others abroad as well satisfied herein as ourselves that be here present, if any of the contrary opinion shall come to me and say that the aforesaid answer does not satisfy them, because they think there is as great reason now to move them to become petitioners to his majesty for abolishing the cross in baptism as there was to move the godly zealous in Hezekiah's time to be petitioners for defacing the brazen serpent, because the church-going papists now among us do superstitiously abuse the one, as the Israelites did the other; what sound answer shall I make to them for their better satisfaction?

"Thirdly. Whereas it has been this day alleged that it is convenient and necessary to preserve the memory of the cross of Christ by this means; if haply any of the other side shall come to me and say that the memory of the cross of Christ might be sufficiently and more safely preserved by preaching the doctrine of the Gospel, the sum whereof is 'Christ crucified,' which was so lively preached to the Galatians, as if his bodily image had been crucified among them; and yet we know not of any material or signal cross that was in use in the Church at that time; I desire to know what satisfaction or answer must be given to them!

"Moreover, I protest, that all my speeches now are uttered by way of proposition, not by way of opposition, and that they all tend to work pacification in the Church; for I put great difference between what is lawful and what is expedient, and between them that are schismatical and them that are scrupulous only upon some ceremonies, being otherwise learned, studious, grave, and honest men.

"Concerning these last, I suppose, if, upon the urging them to absolute subscription, they should be stiff, and choose rather to forego their livings, and the exercise of their ministry, though I do not justify their doings herein, yet surely their service will be missed at such a time, as need shall require us and them to give the right hand of fellowship one to another, and to go arm in arm against the common adversary.

* Heylin's Hist. Presb., p. 375.

† Strype's Annals, vol. iv., p. 396.

"Likewise consider who must be the executioners of their deprivation; even we ourselves, the bishops, against whom there will be a great clamour of them and their dependants, and many others who are well affected towards them, whereby our persons will be in hazard to be brought into extreme dislike or hatred.

"Also remember, that when the Benjamites were all destroyed, saving six hundred, and the men of Israel sware in their fury that none of them would give his daughter to the Benjamites to wife, though they suffered for their just deserts, yet their brethren afterward lamented and said, There is one tribe cut off from Israel this day; and they used all their wits, to the uttermost of their policy, to restore that tribe again.

"In like sort, if these our brethren aforesaid shall be deprived of their places for the matter premised, I think we should find cause to bend our wits to the utmost extent of our skill to provide some cure of souls for them, that they may exercise their talents.

"Furthermore, if these men, being divers hundreds, should forsake their charges, who, I pray you, should succeed them? Verily, I know not where to find so many able preachers in this realm unprovided for; but suppose there were, yet they might more conveniently be settled in the seats of unpreaching ministers. But if they are put in the places of these men that are dispossessed, thereupon it will follow, 1. That the number of preaching ministers will not be multiplied. 2. The Church cannot be so well furnished on a sudden; for though the new supply may be of learned men from the universities, yet will they not be such ready preachers for a time, nor so experienced in pastoral government, nor so well acquainted with the manners of the people, nor so discreet in their carriage, as those who have already spent many years in their ministerial charge.

"Besides, forasmuch as in the time of the late Archbishop of Canterbury these things were not so extremely urged, but that many learned preachers enjoyed their liberty conditionally, that they did not by word or deed openly disturb the state established, I would know a reason why they should now be so generally and exceedingly straitly called upon, especially since there is a greater increase of papists lately than heretofore.

"To conclude, I wish, that if by petition to the king's majesty there cannot be obtained a quiet remove of the premises, nor yet a toleration for them that are of more staid and temperate carriage, yet at least there might be procured a mitigation of the penalty.*

The Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, and Lincoln, answered the Bishop of St. David's; but when his lordship would have replied, he was forbid by the president, and submitted; affirming, that as nothing was more dear to him than the peace of the Church, he was determined to use the best means he could to draw oth-

ers to unity and conformity with himself, and the rest of his reverend brethren. And thus the debate ended.

The Book of Canons found an easy passage through both houses of convocation, and was afterward ratified by the king's letters patent under his great seal; but not being confirmed by act of Parliament, it has several times been adjudged in the courts of Westminster Hall that they bind only the clergy, the laity not being represented in convocation. The book contains one hundred and forty-one articles, collected out of the injunctions, and other episcopal and synodical acts of the reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, and are the same that are now in force. By these we discern the spirit of the Church at this time, and how freely she dispensed her anathemas against those who attempted a farther reformation. The canons that relate to the Puritans deserve a particular mention, because (however illegally) they suffered severely under them.

"Canon 3 says, that whosoever shall affirm that the Church of England by law established is not a true and apostolical church, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but only by the archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of his wicked error.

"Canon 4. Whosoever shall affirm the form of God's worship in the Church of England established by law, and contained in the Book of Common Prayer and administration of sacraments, is a corrupt, superstitious, and unlawful worship, or contains anything repugnant to Scripture, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

"Canon 5. Whosoever shall affirm, that any of the thirty-nine articles of the Church, agreed upon in the year 1562, for avoiding diversity of opinions, and for establishing consent touching true religion, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe to, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

"Canon 6. Whosoever shall affirm, that the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England by law established are wicked, antichristian, superstitious, or such as, being commanded by lawful authority, good men may not with a good conscience approve, use, or, as occasion requires, subscribe, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

"Canon 7. Whosoever shall affirm the government of the Church of England, by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, and the rest that bear office in the same, is antichristian, or repugnant to the Word of God, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

"Canon 8. Whosoever shall affirm, that the form and manner of making and consecrating bishops, priests, or deacons, contain anything repugnant to the Word of God; or that persons so made and consecrated are not lawfully made, or need any other calling or ordination to their divine offices, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

"Canon 9. Whosoever shall separate from the communion of the Church of England, as it is approved by the apostles' rules, and combine together in a new brotherhood, accounting those who conform to the doctrines, rites, and

* Dr. Grey also gives this speech of Bishop Rudd at length, inserting in brackets some words and clauses both from Mr. Pierce and Mr. Thomas Baker's MSS., omitted by Mr. Neal, in order to convict himself of inaccuracy; but from the nature of them, it should seem that these omissions proceeded not from negligence, but design, as not essential to Bishop Rudd's argument.—Ed.

ceremonies of the Church unmeet for their communion, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

“Canon 10. Whosoever shall affirm that such ministers as refuse to subscribe to the form and number of God’s worship in the Church of England, and their adherents, may truly take to themselves the name of another church not established by law, and shall publish that their pretended church has groaned under the burden of certain grievances imposed on them by the Church of England, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

“Canon 11. Whosoever shall affirm that there are within this realm other meetings, assemblies, or congregations, of the king’s born subjects, than such as are established by law, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

“Canon 12. Whosoever shall affirm that it is lawful for any sort of ministers or lay persons to make rules, orders, and constitutions, in causes ecclesiastical, without the king’s authority, and shall submit to be ruled and governed by them, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, &c.

“Canon 98. We decree and appoint, that after any judge ecclesiastical hath proceeded judicially against obstinate and factious persons, for not observing the rites and ceremonies of the Church, or for contempt of public prayer, no judge *ad quem* shall admit or allow of an appeal, unless he having first seen the original appeal, the party appellant do first personally promise and vow that he will faithfully keep and observe all the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, as also the prescript form of common prayer; and do likewise subscribe the three articles formerly by us specified and declared.”

They who are acquainted with the terrible consequences of an excommunication in the spiritual courts, must be sensible of the new hardships put upon the Puritans by these canons: suspensions and deprivations from their livings were not now thought sufficient punishments for the sin of nonconformity; but the Puritans, both clergy and laity, must be turned out of the congregation of the faithful; they must be rendered incapable of suing for their lawful debts; they must be imprisoned for life by process out of the civil courts, or until they make satisfaction to the Church; and when they die, they must be denied Christian burial; and, so far as lies in the power of the court, be excluded the kingdom of heaven. O uncharitableness! Papists excommunicate Protestants, because, by renouncing the Catholic faith, they apprehended them guilty of heresy; but for Protestants of the same faith to excommunicate their fellow-Christians and subjects, and deprive them of their liberties, properties, and estates, for a few ceremonies, or because they have not the same veneration for the ecclesiastical constitution with themselves, is hardly to be paralleled.

To take notice of a few more of the canons: canon 14 forbids the minister to add to, or leave out, any part of the prayers. Canon 18 enjoins bowing at the name of Jesus. Canons 17, 24, 25, 58, 74, enjoin the wearing the habits in colleges, cathedrals, &c., as copes, surplices, hoods,

Canon 27 forbids giving the sacrament to schismatics, or to any other but such as kneel, and allow of the rites, ceremonies, and orders of the Church. Canon 28 says that none shall be admitted to the sacrament but in their own parish. Canon 29, That no parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as a godfather for his own child in baptism. Canon 30 declares the sign of the cross to be no part of the substance of the sacrament of baptism, but that the ordinance is perfect without it. Canon 33 prohibits ordination without a presentation, and says, that if any bishop ordain without a title, he shall maintain the person till he be provided with a living. Canons 36 and 37 say that no person shall be ordained, or suffered to preach, or catechise in any place as a lecturer, or otherwise, unless he first subscribe the three articles following: 1. That the king’s majesty is the supreme head and governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical as temporal causes. 2. That the Book of Common Prayer, &c., contains nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that he will use it, and none other. 3. That he alloweth the thirty-nine articles of 1562 to be all and every one of them agreeable to the Word of God. To these he shall subscribe in the following form of words:

I, N N, do willingly, and *ex animo*, subscribe to these three articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them.

Canon 38 says, that if any minister, after subscription, shall disuse the ceremonies, he shall be suspended; then, after a month, be excommunicated; and after another month, be deposed from his ministry. Canon 55 contains the form of bidding prayer before sermon: “Ye shall pray for Christ’s holy Catholic Church,” &c., the original of which I have accounted for. Canon 82 appoints, “that convenient and decent tables shall be provided in all churches for the celebration of the holy communion, and the same tables shall be covered in times of Divine service with a carpet of silk, or other convenient stuff; and with a fair linen cloth at the time of the administration, as becometh that table, and so stand, saving when the said holy communion is to be administered; at which time the same shall be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and administration; and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more numbers, may communicate with the said minister; and a convenient seat shall be made for the minister to read service in.”

The other canons relate to the particular duties of ministers, lecturers, church-wardens, parish-clerks; to the jurisdiction and business of ecclesiastical courts, with their proper officers, as judges ecclesiastical, surrogates, proctors, registrars, apparitors, &c. The book concludes with denouncing the sentence of excommunication, 1. Against such as shall affirm that this synod, thus assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation. 2. Against such as shall affirm that persons not particularly assembled in this synod, either clergy or laity, are not subject to the decrees thereof, as not having given their voices to them. 3. Against such as shall affirm this sacred synod was a company of such persons as did conspire against godly

and religious professors of the Gospel, and, therefore, that they and their proceedings ought to be despised and contemned, though ratified and confirmed by the royal supremacy and authority.

The king, in his ratification of these canons, commands them to be diligently observed and executed, and for the better observation of the same, that every parish minister shall read them over once every year in his church, on a Sunday or holyday, before Divine service; and all archbishops, bishops, and others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are commanded to see all and every the same put in execution, and not spare to execute the penalties in them severally mentioned on those that wilfully break or neglect them. I shall leave the reader to make his own comment on the proceedings of this synod, only observing that, when they had finished their decrees, they were prorogued to January, 1605-6, when, Dr. Overall being prolocutor, they gave the king four subsidies, but did no more church business till the time of their dissolution, in the year 1610.

Dr. Bancroft, bishop of London, being translated to the see of Canterbury* [December 1604], was succeeded by Vaughan, bishop of Chester, a corpulent man, and of little activity; upon his advancement the Dutch and French ministers within his diocese presented him with an address for his protection and favour, wherein they set forth "that their churches were granted them by charter from pious King Edward VI., in the year 1550; and that, though they were again dispersed by the Marian persecution, they were restored to their churches and privileges by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1558, from which time they have been in the uninterrupted possession of them. It appears from our records," say they, "how kind and friendly the pious Grindal was to us; and what pains the prudent Bishop Sandys took in composing our differences. We promise ourselves the like favour from your lordship, &c., for whom we shall always pray," &c.† Monsieur de la Pointaine delivered the address, with a short Latin speech, to whom the bishop replied, "I thank

* The causes which led to Bancroft's elevation are thus stated by Sir John Harrington: "His majesty had long since understanding of his writing against the *Genevesing* and *Scottising* ministers; and though some imagined he had therein given the king some distaste, yet finding him in the disputations at Hampton Court both learned and stout, he did more and more increase his liking to him; so that although in the common rumour Thoby Mathew was likeliest to have carried it, so learned a man and so assiduous a preacher, *qui in concionibus dominatur*, as his emulous and bitter enemy wrote of him, yet his majesty, in his learning knowing, and in his wisdom weighing, that this same strict charge, '*pasce oves meos*,' feed my sheep, requires as well a pastoral courage of driving in the stray sheep and driving out the infectious, as of feeding the sound, made special choice of the Bishop of London, as a man more exercised in the affairs of the state. I will add also mine own conjecture out of some of his majesty's own speeches, that in respect he was a single man, he supposed him the fitter, according to Queen Elizabeth's principles of state, upon whose wise foundations his majesty doth daily erect more glorious buildings."—*Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii., p. 25.—C.

† Address of the French and Dutch churches to the Bishop of London, Strype's Annals, vol. iv., p. 390.

you, most dear brethren, for your kind address; I am sensible of the merits of John Avasco, Utenhovius, and Edmund Grindal, bishop of London,* superintendents of your churches, and of the rest of my predecessors in this bishopric, who had reason to take your churches, which are of the same faith with our own, under their patronage, which I am also ready to do. I have known your churches twenty-five years to have been beneficial to the kingdom, and serviceable to the Church of England, in which the devil, the author of discord, has kindled the fire of dissension, into which I pray you not to pour oil, but to endeavour by your councils and prayers to extinguish."† Thus the foreign churches enjoyed full peace, while his majesty's own subjects, of the same faith and discipline with them, were harassed out of the kingdom.

Bancroft was a divine of a rough temper, a perfect creature of the prerogative, and a declared enemy of the religious and civil liberties of his country. He was for advancing the prerogative above law, and for enlarging the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts, by advising his majesty to take from the courts of Westminster Hall to himself the whole right of granting prohibitions; for this purpose he framed twenty-five grievances of the clergy, which he called *articuli cleri*, and presented them to the king for his approbation; but the judges having declared them to be contrary to law, they were set aside.

His grace revived the persecutions of the Puritans by enforcing the strict observance of all the festivals of the Church; reviving the use of copes, surplices, caps, hoods, &c., according to the first service-book of King Edward, obliging the clergy to subscribe over again to the three articles of Whitgift, which by the late canon [No. 36] they were to declare they did willingly, and from the heart. By these methods of severity above three hundred Puritan ministers‡ were silenced or deprived, some of whom were excommunicated and cast into prison, others were forced to leave their native country and livelihood, and go into banishment to preserve their consciences. I say, says Mr. Collyer, to preserve their consciences, for it is a hard thing to bring everybody's understanding to a common standard, and to make all honest men of the same mind.§

To countenance and support the archbishop's

* Utenhovius and Edmund Grindal, as Dr. Grey observes, are not mentioned in the bishop's answer, though they are in Fontaine's speech.—Ed.

† Strype's Annals, vol. v., p. 395.

‡ This account is controverted by Dr. Grey on the authority of Heylin's *Aer. Rediviv.*, p. 376, who says "that, by the rolls brought in by Bishop Bancroft before his death, it appears that there had been but forty-five deprived on all occasions, which, in a realm containing nine thousand parishes, could be no great matter. But it was that, by the punishment of some of the principals, he struck such a general terror into all the rest, that inconformity grew out of fashion in less time than could be easily imagined."—Ed. Calderwood says there were "three hundred," and he is supported by the author of "*A Short Dialogue*," 1605, who says "their names amounted, 1st November, 1605, to 270 and upward, yet there were eight bishoprics whereof it could not yet be learned what had been done in them."—P. 58.—C.

§ *Eccles. Hist.*, p. 687.

proceedings, the king summoned the twelve judges into the Star Chamber, and demanded their judgments upon three questions; there were present the Bishops of Canterbury and London, and about twelve lords of the privy council.

The lord-chancellor opened the assembly with a sharp speech against the Puritans, as disturbers of the peace, declaring that the king intended to suppress them by having the laws put in execution;* and then demanded, in his majesty's name, the opinion of the judges in three things :

Q. 1. "Whether the deprivation of Puritan ministers by the high commissioners, for refusing to conform to the ceremonies appointed by the last canons, was lawful?"

The judges replied, "that they had conferred thereof before, and held it to be lawful, because the king had the supreme ecclesiastical power, which he has delegated to the commissioners, whereby they have the power of deprivation, by the canon law of the realm, and the statute 1st Eliz., which appoints commissioners to be made by the queen, but does not confer any new power, but explain and declare the ancient power; and therefore they held it clear that the king without Parliament might make orders and constitutions for the government of the clergy, and might deprive them if they obeyed not; and so the commissioners might deprive them, but that the commissioners could not make any new constitutions without the king. And the divulging such ordinances by proclamation is a most gracious admonition. And forasmuch as they [the Puritans] have refused to obey, they are lawfully deprived by the commissioners *ex officio*, without libel, *et ore tenuis convocati*."

Q. 2. "Whether a prohibition be grantable against the commissioners upon the statute of 2 Henry V., if they do not deliver the copy of the libel to the party?"

The judges replied, "that that statute was intended where the ecclesiastical judge proceeds *ex officio*, *et ore tenuis*."

Q. 3. "Whether it be an offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved, who framed petitions, and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to the king in a public cause, as the Puritans had done, with an intimation to the king, that if he denied their suit, many thousands of his subjects would be discontented?"

The judges replied, "that it was an offence finable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony in the punishment, for it tended to the raising sedition, rebellion, and discontent among the people." To which unaccountable resolution all the lords agreed.†

By these determinations the whole body of the clergy are excluded the benefit of the common and statute law; for the king without Parliament may make what constitutions he pleases: his majesty's high commissioners may proceed upon these constitutions *ex officio*; and the subject may not open his complaints to the king, or petition for relief, without being finable at pleasure, and coming within danger of treason or felony.‡

* Crook's Reports, Mich. term, 2 Jac., part ii., p. 37, parag. 13.

† The reader is referred to Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, vol. i., p. 139.—C.

‡ "This (as Dr. Warner well observes) was making Vol. I.—H h

Before the breaking up of the assembly, some of the lords declared that the Puritans had raised a false rumour of the king, as intending to grant a toleration to papists; which offence the judges conceived to be heinously finable by the rules of common law, either in the King's Bench, or by the king in council; or now, since the statute of 3 Henry VII., in the Star Chamber. And the lords severally declared that the king was discontented with the said false rumour, and had made but the day before a protestation to them that he never intended it, and that he would spend the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it; and prayed, that before any of his issue should maintain any other religion than what he truly possessed and maintained, God would take them out of the world. The reader will remember this solemn protestation hereafter.

After these determinations the archbishop resumed fresh courage, and pursued the Puritans without the least compassion. A more grievous persecution of the orthodox faith, says my author, is not to be met with in any prince's reign. Dr. John Burgess, rector of Sutton Colefield, in one of his letters to King James, says the number of Nonconformists in the counties he mentions were six or seven hundred, agreeable to the address of the Lincolnshire ministers, hereafter mentioned.*

The whole clergy of London being summoned to Lambeth, in order to subscribe over again, many absconded, and such numbers refused, that the Church was in danger of being disfranchised, which awakened the court, who had been told that the Nonconformists were an inconsiderable body of men. Upon this surprising appearance, the bishops were obliged to relax the rigour of the canons for a while, and to accept of a promise from some to use the cross and surplice; from others to use the surplice only; and from others a verbal promise that they might be used, not obliging themselves to the use of them at all; the design of which was to serve the Church by them at present, till the universities could supply them with new men; for they had a strict eye upon those seminaries of learning, and would admit no young scholar into orders without an absolute and full subscription to all the articles and canons.

Bancroft, in a letter to his brethren the bishops, dated December 18, 1604, gives the following directions: "As to such ministers as are not already placed in the Church, the thirty-sixth

the king absolute in all ecclesiastical affairs, without any limitation or redress; and it was intended, probably, as a step to make him so in the state."—ED.

* The number of nonsubscribers in

Oxfordshire, were . . . 9	Staffordshire . . . 14
Dorsetshire . . . 17	Hertfordshire . . . 17
Nottinghamshire . . . 20	Surrey . . . 21
Norfolk . . . 28	Wiltshire . . . 31
Buckinghamshire . . . 33	Sussex . . . 47
Leicestershire . . . 57	Cheshire . . . 12
Bedfordshire . . . 16	Somersetshire . . . 17
Derbyshire . . . 20	Lancashire . . . 21
Kent . . . 23	London . . . 30
Lincolnshire . . . 33	Warwickshire . . . 44
Devon and Cornwall . . . 51	Northamptonshire . . . 57
Suffolk . . . 71	Essex . . . 57

In the twenty-four counties above mentioned . . . 746
From whence it is reasonable to conclude, that in the fifty-two counties of England and Wales, there were more than double the number.

and thirty-seventh canons are to be observed; and none are to be admitted to execute any ecclesiastical function without subscription. Such as are already placed in the Church are of two sorts: 1. Some promise conformity, but are unwilling to subscribe again. Of these, forasmuch as the near affinity between conformity and subscription gives apparent hopes that, being men of sincerity, they will in a short time frame themselves to a more constant course, and subscribe to that again, which by their practice they testify not to be repugnant to the Word of God, your lordship may (an act remaining upon record of such their offer and promise) respite their subscription for some short time. 2. Others, in their obstinacy, will yield neither to subscription nor promise of conformity; these are either stipendiary curates, or stipendiary lecturers, or men beneficed; the first two are to be silenced, and the third deprived." He adds, "that the king's proclamation of July 16, 1604, admonishes them to conform to the Church, and obey the same, or else to dispose of themselves and their families some other way, as being men unfit, for their obstinacy and contempt, to occupy such places; and besides, they are within the compass of several laws."

The Puritans who separated from the Church, or inclined that way, were treated with yet greater rigour. Mr. Maunsel, minister of Yarmouth, and Mr. Lad, a merchant of that town, were imprisoned by the High Commission, for a supposed conventicle, because that on the Lord's Day, after sermon, they joined with Mr. Jackler, their late minister, in repeating the heads of the sermon preached on that day in the church. Mr. Lad was obliged to answer upon oath certain articles without being able to obtain a sight of them beforehand, and, after he had answered before the chancellor, was cited up to Lambeth to answer them again before the high commissioners upon a new oath, which he refusing without a sight of his former answer, was thrown into prison, where he continued a long time without being admitted to bail. Mr. Maunsel, the minister, was charged farther with signing a complaint to the lower house of Parliament, and for refusing the oath *ex officio*, for which he also was shut up in prison without bail. At length, being brought to the bar upon a writ of *habeas corpus*, and having prevailed with Nic. Fuller, Esq., a bencher of Gray's Inn, and a learned man in his profession, to be their counsel, he moved that the prisoners might be discharged, because the high commissioners were not empowered by law to imprison, or to administer the oath *ex officio*, or to fine any of his majesty's subjects. This was reckoned an unpardonable crime, and, instead of serving his clients, brought the indignation of the commissioners upon himself. Bancroft told the king that he was the champion of the Nonconformists, and ought, therefore, to be made an example to terrify others from appearing for them; accordingly, he was shut up in close prison, from whence neither the intercession of his friends nor his own humble petitions could obtain his release to the day of his death.*

This high abuse of Church power obliged many learned ministers and their followers to leave the kingdom and retire to Amsterdam,

* Pierce's Vindication, p. 174.

Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Utrecht, and other places of the Low Countries, where English churches were erected after the Presbyterian model, and maintained by the States according to treaty with Queen Elizabeth, as the French and Dutch churches were in England. Besides, the English being yet in possession of the cautionary towns, many went over as chaplains to regiments, which, together with the merchants that resided in the trading cities, made a considerable body. The reverend and learned Dr. William Ames, one of the most acute controversial writers of his age, settled with the English church at the Hague; the learned Mr. Robert Parker, a Wiltshire divine, and author of the Ecclesiastical Policy, being disturbed by the High Commission, retired to Amsterdam, and afterward became chaplain to the English regiment at Doesburgh, where he died. The learned Mr. Forbes, a Scots divine, settled with the English church at Rotterdam, as Mr. Pots, Mr. Paget, and others did at Amsterdam and other places.

But the greatest number of those who left their native country for religion were Brownists,* or rigid Separatists, of whom Mr. Johnson, Ainsworth, Smith, and Robinson were the leaders. Mr. Johnson erected a church at Amsterdam after the model of the Brownists, having the learned Mr. Ainsworth for doctor or teacher. These two published to the world a confession of faith of the people called Brownists, in the year 1602, not much different in doctrine from "The Harmony of Confessions," but being men of warm spirits, they fell to pieces about points of discipline; † Johnson excommu-

* These conscientious exiles, driven from their own country by persecution, instead of meeting with a hospitable reception or even a quiet refuge in Holland, were there "loaded with reproaches, despised, and afflicted by all, and almost consumed with deep poverty." The learned Ainsworth, we are told, lived upon ninepence a week and some boiled roots, and was reduced to the necessity of hiring himself as a porter to a bookseller, who first of all discovered his skill in the Hebrew language, and made it known to his countrymen. The Dutch themselves, just emerged from civil and religious oppression, looked with a jealous eye on these suffering refugees. And though the civil power, commonly in every state more friendly than the ecclesiastic to toleration, does not appear to have oppressed them; the clergy would not afford them an opportunity to refute the unfavourable reports generally circulated against them on the authority of letters from England, nor receive their confession of faith, nor give them an audience on some points on which they desired to lay their sentiments before them; but with a man at their head of no less eminence than James Arminius, judged that they ought to petition the magistrate for leave to hold their assemblies for the worship of God, and informed against them in such a way as might have rendered them the objects of suspicion. "They seemed evidently," it has been remarked, "to have considered them in the same light in which serious and conscientious dissenters from the religious profession of the majority will ever be viewed, as a set of discontented, factious, and conceited men, with whom it would be safest for them to have no connexion."—Ainsworth's two Treatises on *The Communion of Saints*, and *An Arrow against Idolatry*, printed at Edinburgh, 1789, pref., p. 15-17.—Ed.

† A late writer, who appears to have accurately investigated the history of the Brownists, represents Mr. Neal as incorrect in his account of the debates which arose among them. The principal leaders of

nicated his own father and brother for trifling matters, after having rejected the mediation of the presbytery of Amsterdam. This divided the congregation, insomuch that Mr. Ainsworth and half the congregation excommunicated Johnson, who, after some time, returned the same compliment to Ainsworth. At length the contest grew so hot that Amsterdam could not hold them; Johnson and his followers removed to Embden, where soon after dying, his congregation dissolved. Nor did Mr. Ainsworth and his followers live long in peace, upon which he left them and retired to Ireland, where he continued some time; but when the spirits of his people were quieted he returned to Amsterdam, and continued with them to the day of his death. This Mr. Ainsworth was author of an excellent little treatise entitled "An Arrow against Idolatry," and of a most learned commentary on the five books of Moses, by which he appears to have been a great master of the Oriental languages and of Jewish antiquities. His death was sudden, and not without suspicion of violence, for it is reported that, having found a diamond of very great value in the streets of Amsterdam, he advertised it in print, and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any

this party were the two brothers Francis and George Johnson, Mr. Ainsworth, and Mr. John Smith, who had been a clergyman in England. Three principal subjects of controversy occasioned dissensions in the Brownist churches. The first ground of dissension was the marriage of Francis Johnson with a widow of a taste for living and dress, particularly unsuitable to times of persecution: his father and his brother opposed this connexion. This occasioned such a difference that the latter proceeded from admonitions and reproofs to bitter revilings and reproaches, and Francis Johnson, his colleague Ainsworth, and the church at length passed a sentence of excommunication against the father and brother. Mr. Neal, it seems, confounds this unhappy controversy with another that succeeded to it, but distinct from it, between Francis Johnson and Ainsworth. It turned upon a question of discipline; the former placing the government of the Church in the eldership alone, the latter in the Church, of which the elders are a part. This dispute was carried to an unchristian height, but, according to Mr. John Cotton, of New-England, who was the contemporary of Johnson and Ainsworth, and had lived amid the partisans of each side, they did not, as Mr. Neal represents the matter, mutually excommunicate each other, but Ainsworth and his company withdrew, and worshipped by themselves after Johnson and those with him had denied the communion. In the interim of these debates, a schism had taken place in the church, headed by Mr. John Smith, who advanced and maintained opinions similar to those afterward espoused by Arminius; and besides his sentiments concerning baptism, to which Mr. Neal refers in the next paragraph, several singular opinions were ascribed to him; as, that no translation of the Bible could be properly the Word of God, but the original only was so; that singing set words or verses to God was without any proper authority; that flight in time of persecution was unlawful; that the new creature needed not the support of Scriptures and ordinances, but is above them; that perfection is attainable in this life, &c. There arose against him a whole host of opponents; Johnson, Robinson, Clifton, Ainsworth, and Jessop. His character as well as his sentiments were attacked with a virulence of spirit and an abusive language that discredit the charges and expose the spirit of the writers.—See some account of Mr. Ainsworth, prefixed to a new edition of his two treatises, p. 27–42; and *Crosby's History of English Baptists*, vol. i., p. 3., &c., and p. 265, &c.—Ed.

acknowledgment he would desire; but Ainsworth, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with some of his rabbies upon the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the Messiah, which the other promised, but not having interest enough to obtain it, and Ainsworth being resolute, it is thought he was poisoned.* His congregation remained without a pastor for some years after his death, and then chose Mr. Canne, author of the marginal references to the Bible, and sundry other treatises.

Mr. Smith was a learned man, and of good abilities, but of an unsettled head, as appears by the preface to one of his books, in which he desires that his *last writings* may always be taken for his *present judgment*. He was for refining upon the Brownists' scheme, and at last declared for the principles of the Baptists; upon this he left Amsterdam, and settled with his disciples at Ley; where, being at a loss for a proper administrator of the ordinance of baptism, he plunged himself, and then performed the ceremony upon others, which gained him the name of a Se-Baptist.† He afterward em-

* Others say that he obtained this conference, and so confounded the Jews that from pique and malice they in this manner put an end to his life. He died in 1622 or 1623, leaving an exemplary character for humility, sobriety, discretion, and unblamable virtue.—See an account prefixed to his two treatises, p. 60, 62.—Ed.

† This is said on the authority of his opponents only, who, from the acrimony with which they wrote against him, it may be reasonably concluded, might be ready to take up a report against him upon slender evidence. His defences of himself and his opinions have not been, for many years, to be met with; but the large quotations from them in the writings of his opponents afforded not the least intimation, either in the way of concession or justification, of his having done such a thing; the contrary may be rather concluded from them. The first ground of his separation from the Established Church was a dislike of its ceremonies and prescribed forms of prayer; he afterward doubted concerning the validity of baptism administered in a national church; this paved the way for his rejecting the baptism of infants altogether, and adopting immersion as the true and only meaning of the word baptism. His judgment on doctrinal points underwent similar changes. Hence, Mr. Neal has called him a man "of an unsettled head." This language seems to insinuate a reflection on Mr. Smith: whereas it is an honour to any man; it shows candour, ingenuousness, an openness to conviction, and sincerity, for one to change his sentiments on *farther inquiry*, and to avow it. A lover of truth, especially who has imbibed in early life the principles of the corrupt establishments of Christianity, will continually find it his duty to recede from his first sentiments. Bishop Tillotson justly commended his friend Dr. Whichcot; because, while it is customary with learned men at a certain age to *make their understandings*, the doctor was so wise as to be willing to learn to the last; *i. e.*, he was of an unsettled head.—*Crosby's History of the English Baptists*, vol. i., p. 65, &c. *Account of Mr. Ainsworth* prefixed to his two treatises, p. 41.—Ed.

It seems that the accusers of Mr. Smith have forgotten the *progressive nature* of the changes he underwent. "For a man," he himself remarks, "if a Turk, to become a Jew, if a Jew, to become a papist, if a papist, to become a Protestant, are all commendable changes, though they all befall one and the same person in one year, nay, if it were in one month; so that *not* to change religion is evil simply; and, therefore, that we should fall from the profession of Puritanism to Brownism, and from Brownism to true Christian baptism, is not simply evil, or reprovable

braced the tenets of Arminius, and published certain conclusions upon those points in the year 1611, which Mr. Robinson answered; but Smith died soon after, and his congregation dissolved.

Mr. John Robinson was a Norfolk divine, beneficed about Yarmouth, where being often molested by the bishop's officers, and his friends almost ruined in the ecclesiastical courts, he removed to Leyden, and erected a congregation upon the model of the Brownists.* He set out upon the most rigid principles, but by conversing with Dr. Ames, and other learned men, he became more moderate; and though he always maintained the lawfulness and necessity of separating from those Reformed churches among which he lived, yet he did not deny them to be true churches, and admitted their members to occasional communion, allowing his own to join with the Dutch churches in prayer and hearing the Word, but not in the sacraments and discipline, which gained him the character of a semi-separatist; his words are these: † "We profess, before God and men, that we agree so entirely with the Reformed Dutch churches in matters of religion, that we are willing to subscribe to all and every one of their articles, as they are set down in 'The Harmony of Confession.' We acknowledge these Reformed churches for true and genuine: we hold communion with them as far as we can; those among us that understand the Dutch language frequent their sermons; and we administer the Lord's Supper to such of their members as are known to us, and desire it occasionally." This Mr. Robinson was the father of the Independents.

Mr. Henry Jacob was born in Kent, and educated in St. Mary's Hall, where he took the degrees in arts, entered into holy orders, and became precentor of Christ Church College, and afterward beneficed in his own country at Cheriton. ‡ He was a person thoroughly versed in theological authors, but withal a most zealous Puritan. He wrote two treatises against Fr. Johnson, the Brownist, in defence of the Church of England's being a true church, printed at Middleburgh, 1599, and afterward published "Reasons taken out of God's Word, and the best Human Testimonies, proving a Necessity of reforming our Churches of England, &c., 1604." § But going to Leyden, and conversing with Mr. Robinson, he embraced his sentiments of discipline and government, and transplanted it into England in the year 1616, as will be seen in its proper place.

in itself, except it be proved that we have fallen from true religion."—*The Character of the Beast, Epistle to the Reader*, p. 1. * Boyle's Dissuasive, p. 171.

† "Profitemur coram Deo et hominibus adeo nobis convenire cum ecclesiis reformatis Belgicis in re religionis ut omnibus et singulis earundem ecclesiarum fidei articulis, prout habentur in Harmonia Confessionum Fidei, parati sumus subscribere. Ecclesias reformatas pro veris et genuinis habemus, cum iisdem in sacris Dei communionem profitemur, et quantum in nobis est, colimus. Conciones publicas ab illarum pastoribus habitas, ex nostris qui norunt linguam Belgicam frequentant: sacram cœnam earum membris, si qua forte nostris cœtibus intersint nobis cognita, participamus."

‡ Life of Whitgift, p. 566.

§ Ath. Ox., vol. i., p. 394.

This difference among the Puritans engaged them in a warm controversy among themselves about the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the Church of England, while the conforming clergy stood by as spectators of the combat. Most of the Puritans were for keeping within the pale of the Church, apprehending it to be a true church in its doctrines and sacraments, though defective in discipline, and corrupt in ceremonies; but being a true church, they thought it not lawful to separate, though they could hardly continue in it with a good conscience. They submitted to suspensions and deprivations; and when they were driven out of one diocese, took sanctuary in another, being afraid of incurring the guilt of schism by forming themselves into separate communions. Whereas the Brownists maintained that the Church of England, in its present constitution, was no true Church of Christ, but a limb of antichrist, or at best a mere creature of the state; that their ministers were not rightly called and ordained, nor the sacraments duly administered; or, supposing it to be a true church, yet as it was owned by their adversaries [the conforming Puritans] to be a very corrupt one, it must be as lawful to separate from it as for the Church of England to separate from Rome. The conforming Puritans evaded this consequence by denying the Church of Rome to be a true church; nay, they affirmed it to be the very antichrist; but the argument remained in full force against the bishops, and that part of the clergy who acknowledged the Church of Rome to be a true church.

It is certainly as lawful to separate from the corruptions of one church as of another; and it is necessary to do so, when those corruptions are imposed as terms of communion. Let us hear Archbishop Laud, in his conference with the Jesuit Fisher. "Another church," says his grace, "may separate from Rome, if Rome will separate from Christ; and so far as it separates from him and the faith, so far may another church separate from it. I grant the Church of Rome to be a true church in essence, though corrupt in manners and doctrine. And corruption of manners, attended with errors in the doctrines of faith, is a just cause for one particular church to separate from another." His grace then adds, with regard to the Church of Rome: "The cause of the separation is yours, for you thrust us from you, because we called for truth and redress of abuses; for a schism must needs be theirs whose the cause of it is; the wo runs full out of the mouth of Christ, even against him that gives the offence, not against him that takes it. It was ill done of those, whoever they were, who first made the separation [from Rome]; I mean not actual, but casual, for, as I said before, the schism is theirs whose the cause of it is; and he makes the separation who gives the first just cause of it, not he that makes an actual separation upon a just cause preceding." Let the reader carefully consider these concessions, and then judge how far they will justify the separation of the Brownists, or the Protestant Nonconformists at this day.

This year [1605] was famous for the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, which was a contrivance of the papists to blow up the king and

the whole royal family, with the chief of the Protestant nobility and gentry, November 5th, the first day of their assembling in Parliament. For this purpose a cellar was hired under the House of Lords, and stored with thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, covered over with coals and fagots; but the plot was discovered the night before, by means of a letter sent to Lord Montague, advising him to absent himself from the house, because they were to receive a terrible blow, and not to know who hurt them. Montague carrying the letter to court, the king ordered the apartments about the Parliament House to be searched; the powder was found under the House of Lords, and Guy Faux with a dark lantern in the cellar, waiting to set fire to the train when the king should come to the house the next morning. Faux being apprehended, confessed the plot, and impeached several of his accomplices, eight of whom were tried and executed, and among them Garnet, provincial of the English Jesuits, whom the pope afterward canonized.

The discovery of this murderous conspiracy was ascribed to the royal penetration;* but Mr. Osborne,† and others, with great probability, say that the first notice of it came from Henry IV., king of France, who heard of it from the Jesuits, and that the letter to Montague was an artifice of Cecil's, who was acquainted beforehand with the proceedings of the conspirators, and suffered them to go to their full length. Even Heylin says that the king and his council mined with them, and undermined them, and by so doing blew up their whole invention.‡ But it is agreed on all hands, that if the plot had taken place, it was to have been fathered upon the Puritans; and, as if the king was in the secret, his majesty, in his speech to the Parliament November 9th, takes particular care to bring them into reproach; for, after having cleared the Roman Catholic religion from encouraging such murderous practices, he adds, the cruelty of the Puritans was worthy of fire, that would not allow salvation to any papists. So that, if these unhappy people had been blown up, his majesty thinks they would have had their deserts. Strange! that a Puritan should be so much worse than a papist, or deserve to be burned for uncharitableness, when his majesty knew that the papists were so much more criminal in this respect than they, not only denying salvation to the Puritans, but to all who are without the pale of their own church. But what was all this to the plot! except it was to turn off the indignation of the people from the papists, whom the king both feared and loved, to the Puritans, who, in a course of forty years' sufferings, had never moved the least sedition against the state, but who would not be the advocates or dupes of an unbounded prerogative!

The discovery of this plot occasioned the drawing up the oath of allegiance, or of submission and obedience to the king as a temporal sovereign, independent of any other power upon earth; which quickly passed both houses, and was appointed to be taken by all the king's subjects; this oath is distinct from the oath of supremacy, which obliges the subject to acknowledge his majesty to be supreme head of the

Church as well as the State, and might therefore be taken by all such Roman Catholics as did not believe the pope had power to depose kings, and give away their dominions. Accordingly, Blackwell, their superior, and most of the English Catholics, submitted to the oath, though the pope absolutely forbade them on pain of damnation; which occasioned a new debate, concerning the extent of the pope's power in temporals, between the learned of both religions. Cardinal Bellarmine, under the feigned name of Tortus, wrote against the oath, which gave occasion to King James's Apology to all Christian Princes; wherein, after clearing himself from the charge of persecuting the papists, he reproaches his holiness with ingratitude, considering the free liberty of religion that he had granted the papists, the honours he had conferred on them, the free access they had to his person at all times, the general jail delivery of all Jesuits and papists convict, and the strict orders he had given his judges not to put the laws in execution against them for the future.* All which was true, while the unhappy Puritans were imprisoned and fined, or forced into banishment. The Parliament, on occasion of this plot, appointed an annual thanksgiving on the 5th of November, and passed another law, obliging all persons to come to church under the penalty of twelve pence every Sunday they were absent, unless they gave such reasons as should be satisfactory to a justice of the peace. This, like a two-edged sword, cut down all Separatists, whether Protestants or papists.

To return to the Puritans; the more moderate of whom, being willing to steer a middle course, between a total separation and absolute conformity, were attacked by some of the bishops with this argument:

"All those who wilfully refuse to obey the king in all things indifferent, and to conform themselves to the orders of the Church authorized by him, not contrary to the Word of God, are schismatics, enemies to the king's supremacy and the state, and not to be tolerated in church or commonwealth.

"But you do so—

"Therefore, you are not to be tolerated in church or commonwealth."

The Puritans denied the charge, and returned this argument upon their accusers:

"All those who freely and willingly perform to the king and state all obedience, not only in things necessary, but indifferent, commanded by law, and that have been always ready to conform themselves to every order of the Church authorized by him, not contrary to the Word of God, are free from all schism, friends to the king's supremacy, and to the state, and unworthy in this manner to be molested in church or commonwealth.

"But there are none of us that are deprived or suspended from our ministry, but have been ever ready to do all this; therefore we are free from schism, friends to the king's supremacy, and most unworthy of such molestation as we sustain."

This being the point of difference, the Puritans offered a public disputation upon the lawfulness of imposing ceremonies in general; and in particular upon the surplice, the cross in bap-

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 171.

† Osborne, p. 448.

‡ History of Presbytery, p. 378.

* King James's Apol., p. 253.

tism, and kneeling at the communion ; but were refused. Upon which, the Lincolnshire ministers drew up an apology for those ministers who are troubled for refusing of subscription and conformity, and presented it to the king, December 1, 1604, the abridgment of which is now before me, and begins with a declaration of their readiness to subscribe the first of the three articles required by the thirty-sixth canon, concerning the king's supremacy ; but to the other two, say they, we cannot subscribe, because we are persuaded that both the Book of Common Prayer, and the other book [of Articles] to be subscribed by this canon (which yet, in some respects, we reverently esteem), contain in them sundry things which are not agreeable, but contrary to, the Word of God.

They object to the Book of Common Prayer, in general, That it appoints that order for reading the Holy Scriptures which in many respects is contrary to the Word of God. As,

1. "The greatest part of the canonical Scripture is left out in the public reading ; whereas 'all Scripture is given by inspiration, and is profitable,' &c., and sundry chapters that are, in their opinion, more edifying than some others that are read, are omitted.

2. "It does too much honour to the Apocryphal writings, commanding many of them to be read for first lessons, and under the name of Holy Scriptures, and in as great a proportion ; for of the canonical chapters of the Old Testament (being in all seven hundred and seventy-nine) are read only five hundred and ninety-two, and of the Apocryphal books (being one hundred and seventy-two chapters) are read one hundred and four. This they apprehend to be contrary to the Word of God, forasmuch as the Apocryphal books contain sundry and manifest errors, divers of which are here produced.

3, 4, 5, 6, 7. "The Book of Common Prayer appoints such a translation of the Holy Scriptures to be read in the churches as in some places is absurd, and in others takes from, perverts, obscures, and falsifies the Word of God ; examples of which are produced with the authorities of the most considerable reformers."

Their next general objection against subscribing the Book of Common Prayer is, because it enjoins the use of such ceremonies as they apprehend contrary to the Word of God.

To make good this assertion, they say,* "It is contrary to the Word of God to use (much more to command the use of) such ceremonies in the worship of God as man hath devised, if they be notoriously known to be abused to idolatry and superstition by the papists, and are of no necessary use in the Church. Here they cite such passages of Scripture as command the Jews to abolish all instruments of idolatry, and even to cast away such things as had a good original, when once they are known to have been abused to idolatry ; as images, groves, and the brazen serpent, 2 Kings, xviii., 11. They produce, farther, the testimonies of sundry fathers, as Eusebius, St. Austin, &c., and of the most considerable moderns, as Calvin, Bucer, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Beza, Zanchy ; Bishop Jewel, Pilkington, Bilson ; Dr. Humphreys, Fulk, Andrews, Sutcliffe, and others, against conformity with idolaters."

* Abridgment, p. 17.

With regard to the three ceremonies in question, they allege they have all been abused by the papists to superstition and idolatry.

1. "The surplice* has been thus abused, for it is one of those vestments without which nothing can be consecrated ; all priests that are present at mass must wear it, and, therefore, the use of it in the Church has been condemned, not only by foreign divines, but by Bishop Hooper, Farrar, Jewel, Pilkington, Rogers, and others among ourselves."

2. "The cross has been also abused to superstition and idolatry, to drive away devils, to expel diseases, to break the force of witchcraft, &c. It is one of the images to which the papists give religious adoration. The water in baptism has no spiritual virtue in it without the cross, nor is any one rightly baptized (according to the papists) without it."

3. "Kneeling at the sacrament has been no less abused ; it arose from the notion of the transubstantiation of the elements, and is still used by the papists in the worship of their brazen God ; who admit they would be guilty of idolatry in kneeling before the elements if they did not believe them to be the real body and blood of Christ. This ceremony was not introduced into the Church till antichrist was at its full height ; and there is no action in the whole service that looks so much like idolatry as this."

Their second argument† for the unlawfulness of the ceremonies is taken from their mystical signification, which gives them the nature of a sacrament. Now, no sacrament ought to be of man's devising ; the ceremonies, therefore, being affirmed in the Book of Common Prayer to be significant, are unlawful.

Their third argument‡ is taken from the unlawfulness of imposing them as parts of God's worship, which they prove from hence, "That God is the only appointer of his own worship, and condemns all human inventions, so far forth as they are made parts of it. Now all the ceremonies in question are thus imposed, for Divine service is supposed not to be rightly performed without the surplice, nor baptism rightly administered without the cross, nor the Lord's Supper but to such as kneel ; and, therefore, they are unlawful."

Their fourth is taken from hence, That no rites or ecclesiastical orders should be ordained or used but such as are needful and profitable, and for edification ; and, especially, that none shall be ordained or used that cause offence and hinder edification§ (Rom., xvi., 21 ; 1 Cor., x., 23, 32). "Now the ceremonies in question are neither needful nor profitable, nor do they tend to edification ; but, on the contrary, have given great offence, as appears from hence, that very many of the learned and best experienced ministers in the land have chosen rather to suffer any trouble than yield to the use of them ; and we doubt not to affirm that the greatest number of resident, able, and godly ministers in the land at this day do in their consciences dislike them, and judge them needless and unfit, as appears by the list of non-subscribers already mentioned [p. 44], besides many more who, though unwilling in some

* Abridgment, p. 28.

† Ibid., p. 31.

‡ Ibid., p. 37.

§ Ibid., p. 45.

other respects to join in the petition, did profess their hearty desire to have them removed.* And if the rest of the shires be esteemed according to this proportion, it will easily appear that the greatest number of the resident, preaching, and fruitful ministers of the land do dislike them. This may yet farther appear, by their seldom using them for many years past, and their great unwillingness to yield to the use of them now. If they thought them needful or profitable, why do they neglect them in their public ministry, being commanded by lawful authority? Besides, those very bishops that have been most hot in urging the ceremonies have declared that the Church might well be without them, and have wished them taken away; as Archbishop Whitgift, in his defence of the answer to Cartwright's Admonition, p. 259; Dr. Chadderton, bishop of Lincoln, in his speech before all the ministers, convened before him at Huntingdon, November 30th, 1604; and others in ecclesiastical dignities have spoken vehemently against them as things that do not edify, nor have any tendency to promote decency or order.

"With regard to the surplice, they produce the testimonials of the learned Bucer, Peter Martyr, Beza, Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, and others, for the expediency of it, even though they submitted to wear it. Bucer says he could be content to suffer some grievous loss or pain in his body, upon condition the surplice might be abolished.

"The like authorities are brought against the cross, and against kneeling at the communion, the former being a mere invention of man, neither taught by Christ nor his apostles, and the latter being apparently different from the first institution, they receiving it in a table posture; and it is gross hypocrisy (say they) for us to pretend more holiness, reverence, and devotion, in receiving the sacrament, than the apostles, who received it from the immediate hand and person of Christ himself. They (to be sure) had the corporeal presence of Christ, and yet did not kneel; why, then, should it be enjoined in the Church, when the corporeal presence of Christ is withdrawn? This has been thought an argument of great force by our chief divines, as Calvin, Bullinger, Beza, Chemnitius, Bishop Pilkington, Willet, and others, who declare strongly for the posture of sitting, or at most standing, at the communion.

"Besides, kneeling at the sacrament is of very late antiquity, and was not introduced into the Church till antichrist was in his full height; the primitive Christians (according to Tertullian) thought it unlawful to kneel at prayer on the Lord's Day; and the first Council of Nice, Ann. Dom. 327, made a solemn decree that none might pray kneeling, but only standing, on the Lord's Day, because on that day is celebrated the joyful remembrance of our Lord's resurrection. To kneel is a gesture of sorrow and humiliation; whereas, he that prays standing shows himself thankful for the obtaining some mercy or favour. So that either the primitive Church used a gesture of greater reverence and humility at the sacrament, which is a feast, and a joyful remembrance of the death of Christ, than they

did at prayer, or else they received it in another posture. Besides, it is said* that the ancient councils commanded that 'no man should kneel down at the communion, fearing it should be an occasion of idolatry.' Mr. Fox,† speaking of the usage of the primitive Church, says they had the communion, not at an altar, but at a plain table of boards, when the whole congregation together did communicate, with reverence and thanksgiving; not lifting over the priest's head, nor worshipping, nor kneeling, nor knocking their breasts, but either sitting at supper, or standing after supper. Eusebius,‡ speaking of a man that had been admitted to the communion, says he stood at the table and put forth his hand to receive the holy food. And Bishop Jewel says, that in St. Basil's days [ann. 380] the communion-table was of boards, and so placed that men might stand round it, and that every man was bound by an apostolical tradition to stand upright at the communion.

"Besides, the gesture of kneeling is contrary to the very nature of the Lord's Supper, which is ordained to be a banquet and sign of that sweet familiarity that is between the faithful and him, and of that spiritual nourishment we are to receive by feeding on his body and blood by faith; and in what nation is it thought decent to kneel at banquets? Where do men eat and drink upon their knees? Farther, the disposition of mind at the Lord's Table is not so much humility as assurance of faith, and cheerful thankfulness for the benefits of Christ's death. For these reasons, and because kneeling at the sacrament had an idolatrous original, and has a tendency to lead men into that sin, they think it unlawful, and to be laid aside."

The Abridgment concludes with a short table of sundry other exceptions against the three books whereunto they are required to subscribe, which they purpose to justify and confirm in the same manner as they have done in respect of those contained in this book; a summary whereof we shall meet with hereafter.

The Abridgment was answered by Bishop Moreton and Dr. Burges, who, after having suffered himself to be deprived for nonconformity, June 19, 1604, was persuaded by King James to conform, and write in defence of his present conduct against his former arguments. Bishop Moreton endeavours to defend the innocency of the three ceremonies from Scripture, antiquity, the testimony of Protestant divines, and the practice of the Nonconformists themselves in other cases, and has said as much as can be said in favour of them; though it is hard to defend the imposing them upon those who esteem them unlawful, or who apprehend things indifferent ought to be left in the state that Christ left them. Dr. Downham, Sparkes, Covel, Hutton, Rogers, and Ball, wrote for the ceremonies; and were answered by Mr. Bradshaw, Mr. Paul Baynes, Dr. Ames, and others.

From the arguments of these divines, it appears that the Puritans were removing to a greater distance from the Church; for whereas, says Dr. Burges, Mr. Cartwright and his brethren wrote sharply against the ceremonies as inconvenient, now they are opposed as absolutely unlawful, neither to be imposed nor used. The

* Abridgment, p. 52.

* Abridgment, p. 59. † Acts and Mon., p. 19.
‡ Hist. Eccl., lib. vii., cap. viii.

cruel severities of Bancroft and the high commissioners were the occasion of this; for being pushed upon one of these extremes, either to a constant and full conformity, or to lay down their ministry in the Church, many of them, at one of their conferences, came to this conclusion, that if they could not enjoy their livings without subscribing over again the three articles above mentioned, and declaring, at the same time, they did it willingly and from their hearts, it was their duty to resign. These were called brethren of the second separation, who were content to join with the Church in her doctrines and sacraments, though they apprehended it unlawful to declare their hearty approbation of the ceremonies; and if their conduct was grounded on a conviction that it was their duty as Christians to bear their testimony against all unscriptural impositions in the worship of God, it must deserve the commendation of all impartial and consistent Protestants. No men could go greater lengths for the sake of peace than they were willing to do: for in their defence of the ministers' reasons for refusal of subscription to the Book of Common Prayer against the cavils of F. Hutton, B.D., Dr. Covel, and Dr. Sparkes, published 1607, they begin thus: "We protest before the Almighty God, that we acknowledge the churches of England, as they be established by public authority, to be true visible churches of Christ; that we desire the continuance of our ministry in them above all earthly things, as that without which our whole life would be wearisome and bitter to us; that we dislike not a set form of prayer to be used in our churches; nor do we write with an evil mind to deprave the Book of Common Prayer, Ordination, or Book of Homilies; but to show our reasons why we cannot subscribe to all things contained in them."

These extreme proceedings of the bishops strengthened the hands of the Brownists in Holland, who with great advantage declared against the lawfulness of holding communion with the Church of England at that time, not only because it was a corrupt church, but a persecuting one. On the other hand, the younger divines in the Church, who preached for preferment, painted the Separatists in the most odious colours, as heretics, schismatics, fanatics, precisians, enemies to God and the king, and of unstable minds. The very same language which the papists had used against the first Reformers.

To remove these reproaches, and to inform the world of the real principles of the Puritans of these times, the Reverend M. Bradshaw published a small treatise, entitled "English Puritanism, containing the main Opinions of the rigidest Sort of those that went by that Name in the Realm of England," which the learned Dr. Ames translated into Latin for the benefit of foreigners. The reader will learn by the following abstract of it the true state of their case, as well as the near affinity between the principles of the ancient and modern Nonconformists.*

* Several things, considered as remarkable by Dr. Grey, are omitted by Mr. Neal. But this doth not impeach Mr. Neal's fairness, as he avowedly lays only an abstract before his readers; and the passages to which Dr. Grey alludes do not convey senti-

CHAPTER I.

Concerning Religion in General.

1. "The Puritans hold and maintain the absolute perfection of the Holy Scriptures, both as to faith and worship; and that whatsoever is enjoined as a part of Divine service that cannot be warranted by the said Scriptures, is unlawful.

2. "That all inventions of men, especially such as have been abused to idolatry, are to be excluded out of the exercises of religion.

3. "That all outward means instituted to express and set forth the inward worship of God are parts of Divine worship, and ought, therefore, evidently to be prescribed by the Word of God.

4. "To institute and ordain any mystical rites or ceremonies of religion, and to mingle the same with the Divine rites and ceremonies of God's ordinance, is gross superstition."

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Church.

1. "They hold and maintain that every congregation or assembly of men, ordinarily joining together in the true worship of God, is a true visible Church of Christ.

2. "That all such churches are in all ecclesiastical matters equal, and by the Word of God, ought to have the same officers, administrations, orders, and forms of worship.

3. "That Christ has not subjected any church or congregation to any other superior ecclesiastical jurisdiction than to that which is within itself, so that if a whole church or congregation should err in any matters of faith or worship, no other churches or spiritual officers have power to censure or punish them, but are only to counsel and advise them.

4. "That every church ought to have her own spiritual officers and ministers resident with her; and those such as are enjoined by Christ in the New Testament, and no other.

5. "That every church ought to have liberty to choose their own spiritual officers.

6. "That if particular churches err in this choice, none but the civil magistrate has power to control them, and oblige them to make a better choice.

7. "That ecclesiastical officers or ministers in one church ought not to bear any ecclesiastical office in another; and they are not to forsake their calling without just cause, and such as may be approved by the congregation: but if the congregation will not hearken to reason, they are then to appeal to the civil magistrate, who is bound to procure them justice.

8. "That a church having chosen its spiritual governors, ought to live in all canonical obedience to them, agreeably to the Word of God; and if any of them be suspended, or unjustly deprived, by other ecclesiastical officers, they are humbly to pray the magistrate to restore them; and if they cannot obtain it, they are to own them to be their spiritual guides to the death, though they are rigorously deprived of their ministry and service.

9. "That the laws and orders of the churches warranted by the Word of God are not repug-

ments repugnant to the principles exhibited in the above abstract.—Ed.

nant to civil government, whether monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical; and we renounce all jurisdiction that is repugnant or derogatory to any of these, especially to the monarchy of this kingdom."

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Ministers of the Word.

1. "They hold that the pastors of particular congregations are the highest spiritual officers in the church, over whom there is no superior pastor by Divine appointment but Jesus Christ.

2. "That there are not by Divine institution, in the Word, any ordinary, national, provincial, or diocesan pastors to whom the pastors of particular churches are to be subject.

3. "That no pastor ought to exercise or accept of any civil jurisdiction or authority, but ought to be wholly employed in spiritual offices and duties to that congregation over which he is set.

4. "That the supreme office of the pastor is to preach the Word publicly to the congregation; and that the people of God ought not to acknowledge any for their pastors that are not able, by preaching, to interpret and apply the Word of God to them; and, consequently, all ignorant and mere reading priests are to be rejected.

5. "That in public worship the pastor only is to be the mouth of the congregation to God in prayer; and that the people are only to testify their assent by the word *Amen*.

6. "That the Church has no power to impose upon her pastors or officers any other ceremonies or injunctions than what Christ has appointed.

7. "That in every church there should also be a doctor to instruct and catechise the ignorant in the main principles of religion."

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Elders.

1. "They hold that by God's ordinance the congregation should choose other officers as assistants to the ministers in the government of the church, who are jointly with the ministers to be overseers of the manners and conversation of all the congregation.

2. "That these are to be chosen out of the gravest and most discreet members, who are also of some note in the world, and able, if possible, to maintain themselves."

CHAPTER V.

Of Church Censures.

1. "They hold that the spiritual keys of the Church are committed to the aforesaid spiritual officers and governors, and to none others.

2. "That by virtue of these keys they are not to examine and make inquisition into the hearts of men, nor molest them upon private suspicions or uncertain fame, but to proceed only upon open and notorious crimes. If the offender be convinced, they ought not to scorn, deride, taunt, and revile him with contumelious language, nor procure proctors to make personal invectives against him, nor make him give attendance from term to term, and from one court-day to another, of the manner of our ecclesiastical courts; but to use him brotherly, and, if possible, to move him to repentance;

and if he repent, they are not to proceed to censure, but to accept his hearty sorrow and contrition as a sufficient satisfaction to the church, without imposing any fines, or taking fees, or enjoying any outward mark of shame, as the white sheet, &c.

"But if the offender be obstinate, and show no signs of repentance, and if his crime be fully proved upon him, and be of such a high nature as to deserve a censure according to the Word of God, then the ecclesiastical officers, with the free consent of the whole congregation (and not otherwise), are first to suspend him from the sacrament, praying for him, at the same time, that God would give him repentance to the acknowledgment of his fault; and if this does not humble him, they are then to denounce him to be as yet no member of the kingdom of heaven, and of that congregation, and so are to leave him to God and the king. And this is all the ecclesiastical jurisdiction that any spiritual officers are to use against any man for the greatest crime that can be committed.

"If the party offending be a civil superior, they are to behave towards him with all that reverence and civil subjection that his honour or high office in the state may require. They are not to presume to convene him before them, but are themselves to go to him in all civil and humble manner, to stand bareheaded, to bow, to give him all his civil titles; and if it be a supreme governor or king, to kneel, and in most humble manner to acquaint him with his faults; and if such or any other offenders will voluntarily withdraw from the communion, they have no farther concern with them.

"They hold the oath *ex officio* on the imposer's part to be most damnable and tyrannous, against the very law of nature, devised by antichrist, through the inspiration of the devil, to tempt weak Christians to perjure themselves, or be drawn in to reveal to the enemies of Christianity those secret religious acts which, though done for the advancement of the Gospel, may bring on themselves and their dearest friends heavy sentences of condemnation from court."

CHAPTER VI.

Concerning the Civil Magistrate.

1. "They hold that the civil magistrate ought to have supreme civil* power over all the churches within his dominions; but that, as he is a Christian, he ought to be a member of some one of them; which is not in the least derogatory to his civil supremacy."

2. "That all ecclesiastical officers are punishable by the civil magistrate for the abuse of their ecclesiastical offices; and much more if they intrude upon the rights and prerogatives of the civil authority.

3. "They hold the pope to be antichrist, because he usurps the supremacy over kings and princes; and therefore all that defend the popish faith, and that are for tolerating that religion, are secret enemies of the king's supremacy.

4. "That all archbishops, bishops, deans, officials, &c., hold their offices and functions at the king's pleasure, merely *jure humano*; and whosoever holdeth that the king may not re-

* Dr. Grey says that the word *civil* is added by Mr. Neal, and that he has omitted, after "dominions," the clause "in all cases whatsoever."—Ed.

move them, and dispose of them at his pleasure, is an enemy to his supremacy."

Let the reader now judge whether there was sufficient ground for the calumny and reproach that were cast upon the Puritans of those times; but their adversaries having often charged them with denying the supremacy, and with claiming a sort of jurisdiction over the king himself, they published another pamphlet this summer, entitled "A Protestation of the King's Supremacy, made in the Name of the afflicted Ministers, and opposed to the shameful Calumniations of the Prelates." To which was annexed an humble petition for liberty of conscience. In their protestation, they declare,

1. "We hold and maintain the king's supremacy in all causes, and over all persons, civil and ecclesiastical, as it was granted to Queen Elizabeth, and explained in the Book of Injunctions; nor have any of us been unwilling to subscribe and swear to it. We believe it to be the king's natural right without a statute law, and that the churches within his dominions would sin damnable if they did not yield it to him. Nay, we believe that the king cannot alienate it from his crown, or transfer it to any spiritual potentates or rulers; and that it is not tied to his faith or Christianity, but to his very crown: so that if he were an infidel, the supremacy is his due.

2. "We hold that no church officers have power to deprive the king of any branch of his royal prerogative, much less of his supremacy, which is inseparable from him.

3. "That no ecclesiastical officers have power over the bodies, lives, goods, or liberties of any person within the king's dominions.

4. "That the king may make laws for the good ordering of the churches within his dominions; and that the churches ought not to be disobedient, unless they apprehend them contrary to the Word of God; and even in such case they are not to resist, but peaceably to forbear obedience, and submit to the punishment, if mercy cannot be obtained.

5. "That the king only hath power within his dominions to convene synods or general assemblies of ministers, and by his authority royal to ratify and give life to their canons and constitutions, without whose ratification no man can force any subject to yield obedience to the same.

6. "That the king ought not to be subject to the censures of any churches, church officers, or synods, whatsoever; but only to that church, and those officers of his own court and household with whom he shall voluntarily join in communion, where there can be no fear of unjust usage.

7. "If a king, after he has held communion with a Christian church, should turn apostate, or live in a course of open defiance to the laws of God and religion, the church governors are to give over their spiritual charge and tuition of him, which, by calling from God and the king, they did undertake; and more than this they may not do, for the king still retains his supreme authority over the churches as entirely, and in as ample a manner, as if he were the most Christian prince in the world.

8. "We refuse no obedience to the king, nor to any of the canons required by the prelates, but such as we are willing to take upon our

consciences, and to swear, if required, that we believe contrary to the Word of God. We deny no ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the king but that which Christ has appropriated to himself, who is the sole doctor and legislator of his Church.

9. "We are so far from claiming any supremacy to ourselves, that we exclude from ourselves all secular pomp and power, holding it a sin to punish men in their bodies, goods, liberties, or lives, for any merely spiritual offence.

10. "We confine all ecclesiastical jurisdiction within one congregation, and that jurisdiction is not alone in the ministers, but also in the elders of the church; and their jurisdiction is merely spiritual.

"Therefore all that we crave of his majesty and the state is, that, with his and their permission, it may be lawful for us to worship God according to his revealed will; and that we may not be forced to the observance of any human rites and ceremonies. We are ready to make an open confession of our faith and form of worship, and desire that we may not be obliged to worship God in corners, but that our religious and civil behaviour may be open to the observation and censure of the civil government, to whom we profess all due subjection. So long as it shall please the king and Parliament to maintain the hierarchy or prelacy in this kingdom, we are content that they enjoy their state and dignity; and we will live as brethren among those ministers that acknowledge spiritual homage to their spiritual lordships, paying to them all temporal duties of tithes, &c., and joining with them in the service and worship of God, so far as we may without our own particular communicating in those human traditions which we judge unlawful. Only we pray that the prelates and their ecclesiastical officers may not be our judges, but that we may both of us stand at the bar of the civil magistrate; and that if we shall be openly vilified and slandered, it may be lawful for us, without fear of punishment, to justify ourselves to the world; and then we shall think our lives, and all that we have, too little to spend in the service of our king and country."

Though the principles of submission are here laid down with great latitude, and though the practice of the Puritans was agreeable to them, yet their enemies did not fail to charge them with disloyalty, with sedition, and with disturbing the peace of the state. Upon which the ministers of Devon and Cornwall published another small treatise, entitled "A Removal of certain Imputations laid upon the Ministers," &c., in which they say, p. 21, "Let them [the bishops] sift well our courses since his majesty's happy entrance in among us, and let them name wherein we have done aught that may justly be said ill to become the ministers of Jesus Christ. Have we drawn any sword? have we raised any tumult? have we used any threats? hath the state been put into any fear or hazard through us? Manifold disgraces have been cast upon us, and we have endured them; the liberty of our ministry hath been taken from us, and (though with bleeding hearts) we have sustained it. We have been cast out of our houses, and deprived of our ordinary maintenance, yet have we blown no trumpet of sedition. These things have gone very near us, and yet did we never so much as entertain a thought of violence. The truth is,

we have petitioned the king and state; and who hath reason to deny us that liberty? we have craved of the prelates to deal with us according to law; and is not this the common benefit of every subject? we have besought them to convince our consciences by Scripture. Alas! what would they have us to do? will they have us content ourselves with this only, that they are bishops, and therefore, for their greatness, ought to be yielded to? the weight of episcopal power may oppress us, but cannot convince us.*

It appears from hence, that the Puritans were the king's faithful subjects; that they complied to the utmost limit of their consciences; and that when they could not obey, they were content to suffer. Here are no principles inconsistent with the public safety; no marks of heresy, impiety, or sedition; no charges of ignorance or neglect of duty; how unreasonable, then, must it be to silence and deprive such men! to shut them up in prison, or send them with their families a begging, while their pulpit-doors were to be shut up, and there was a famine in many parts of the country, not of bread, but of the Word of the Lord; yet these honest men were not only persecuted at home, but restrained from retiring into his majesty's dominions abroad; for when the ecclesiastical courts had driven them from their habitations and livelihoods, and were still hunting them by their informers from one end of the land to the other, several families crossed the ocean to Virginia, and invited their friends to follow; but Bancroft, being informed that great numbers were preparing to embark, obtained a proclamation prohibiting them to transport themselves to Virginia without a special license from the king; a severity hardly to be paralleled! nor was it ever imitated in this country except by Archbishop Laud.

The isles of Guernsey and Jersey having enjoyed the discipline of the French churches without disturbance all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, upon the accession of the present king addressed his majesty for a confirmation of it,† which he was pleased to grant by a letter under the privy seal, in these words:

"Whereas we have been given to understand that our dear sister, Queen Elizabeth, did permit and allow, to the isles of Jersey and Guernsey,

* *Episcoporum auctoritas opprimere nos potest, docere non potest.*—Ed.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 176, 185, folio edition.

‡ Dr. Grey quotes here Collyer's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 705, in contradiction to Mr. Neal, and to charge the Puritans as "addressing King James with a false suggestion, that the discipline had been allowed by Queen Elizabeth." Dr. Grey's stricture would have been superseded, if he had attended to Mr. Neal's state of the business; who says only, that "the discipline of the French churches had been enjoyed without disturbance all the reign of Queen Elizabeth," without asserting whether this indulgence were owing to connivance or to an express grant. Heylin, however, says that the "Genevian discipline had been settled by Queen Elizabeth."—*Hist. of Presb.*, p. 395. And Collyer himself owns, that though the queen allowed only one church to adopt the model of Geneva, and enjoined the use of the English liturgy in all others, yet it was soon laid aside by all the churches, and the Geneva plan adopted by the decree of synods, held under the countenance of the governors of Guernsey and the neighbouring isles. These authorities fully justify Mr. Neal's representation.—Ed.

parcels of the duchy of Normandy, the use of the government of the Reformed churches of the said duchy, whereof they have stood possessed till our coming to the crown; for this cause, as well as for the edification of the Church, we do will and ordain that our said isles shall quietly enjoy their said liberty in the use of ecclesiastical discipline there now established, forbidding any one to give them any trouble or impeachment so long as they contain themselves in our obedience.

"Given at Hampton Court, August 8th, in the first year of our reign, 1603."

But Bancroft, and some of his brethren the bishops, having possessed the king with the necessity of a general uniformity throughout all his dominions, these islands were to be included; accordingly, Sir John Peyton, a zealous churchman, was appointed governor, with secret instructions to root out the Geneva discipline, and plant the English liturgy and ceremonies.* This gentleman, taking advantage of the synod's appointing a minister to a vacant living, according to custom, protested against it as injurious to the king's prerogative, and complained to court that the Jersey ministers had usurped the patronage of the benefices of the island; that they had admitted men to livings without the form of presentation, which was a loss to the crown in its first-fruits; that by the connivance or allowance of former governors, they exercised a kind of arbitrary jurisdiction, and therefore prayed that his majesty would settle the English discipline among them.† The Jersey ministers alleged in their own defence, that the presentation to livings was a branch of their discipline, and that the payments of first-fruits and tenths had never been demanded since they were disengaged from the see of Constance. They pleaded his majesty's royal confirmation of their discipline, which was read publicly in a synod of both islands in the year 1605. But this pious king had very little regard to promises, oaths, or charters, when they stood in the way of his arbitrary designs; he ordered, therefore, his ecclesiastical officers to pursue his instructions in the most effectual manner. Accordingly, they took the presentations to vacant livings into their own hands without consulting the presbytery; they annulled the oath, whereby all ecclesiastical and civil officers were obliged to swear to the maintenance of their discipline; and whereas all who received the holy sacrament were required to subscribe to the allowance of the general form of church government in that island, the king's attorney-general and his friends now refused it. Their elders, likewise, were cited into the temporal courts, and stripped of their privileges; nor had they much better quarter in the consistory, for the governor and jurats made the decrees of that court ineffectual by reversing them in the Town Hall.

Complaint being made to the court of these innovations, the king sent them word that, to avoid all disputes for the future, he was determined to revive the office and authority of a dean, and to establish the English Common Prayer Book among them, which he did accord-

* Heyl., *Hist. Presb.*, p. 396, and Collyer's *Eccles. Hist.*, p. 705.

† Heylin's *Hist. Presb.*, p. 396.

ingly,* and ordered the Bishop of Winchester, in whose diocess they were, to draw up some canons for the dean's direction in the exercise of his government; which being done, and confirmed by the king, their former privileges were extinguished. Whereupon many left the islands and retired into France and Holland; however, others made a shift to support their discipline after a manner, in the island of Guernsey, where the episcopal regulations could not take place.

Mr. Robert Parker, a Puritan minister already mentioned, published this year a very learned treatise "Of the Cross in Baptism."† But the bishops, instead of answering it, persuaded the king to issue a proclamation, with an offer of a reward for apprehending him, which obliged him to abscond. A treacherous servant of the family having informed the officers where he had retired, they came and searched the house, but, by the special providence of God, he was preserved, the only room they neglected to search being that in which he was concealed, from whence he heard them quarrelling and swearing at one another, one saying they had not searched that room, and another confidently asserting the contrary, and refusing to suffer it to be searched over again. Had he been taken, he had been cast into prison, where, without doubt, says my author, he must have died. When he got into Holland he would have been chosen minister of the English church at Amsterdam, but the magistrates being afraid of disobliging King James, he went to Doesburgh, and became minister of that garrison, where he departed this life, 1630.

This year died the famous Dr. John Reynolds, king's professor in Oxford. He was at first a zealous papist, while his brother William was a Protestant, but, by conference and disputation, the brothers converted each other, William dying an inveterate papist, and John an eminent Protestant.‡ He was born in Devonshire, 1549, and educated in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he was afterward president. He was a prodigy for reading, his memory being a living library. Dr. Hall used to say that his memory and reading were near a miracle. He had turned over all writers, profane and ecclesiastical, as councils, fathers, histories, &c. He was a critic in the languages, § of a sharp wit and indefatigable industry; his piety and sanctity of life were so eminent and conspicuous, that the learned Craacanthorpe used to say, that to name Reynolds was to commend virtue itself. He was also possessed of great modesty and humility. In short, says the Oxford historian, nothing can be spoken against him but that he was the pillar of Puritanism, and the grand favourer of nonconformity. At length, after a severe and mortified life, he died in his college, May 21, 1607, aged sixty-eight, and was buried with great funeral solemnity in St. Mary's Church. ||

Soon after died the famous Mr. Thomas Brightman, author of a commentary upon the Song of Solomon, and the Revelations: he was born at Nottingham, and bred in Queen's College, Cambridge, where he became a champion for nonconformity to the ceremonies. He was afterward presented by Sir John Osbourne to the rectory of Haunes in Bedfordshire, where he spent the remainder of his days in hard study, and constant application to his charge, as far as his conscience would admit.* His life, says Mr. Fuller, was angelical, his learning uncommon; he was a close student, of little stature, and such a master of himself, that he was never known to be moved with anger. His daily discourse was against episcopal government, which he prophesied would shortly be overthrown,† and the government of the foreign Protestant churches be erected in its place. He died suddenly upon the road, as he was riding with Sir John Osbourne in his coach, by a sudden obstruction of the liver or gall, August 24, 1607, aged fifty-one.

The king having given the reins of the Church into the hands of the prelates and their dependants, these, in return, became zealous champions for the prerogative, both in the pulpit and from the press. Two books were published this year, which maintained the most extravagant maxims of arbitrary power: one written by Cowel, LL.D., and vicar-general to the archbishop, wherein he affirms, 1. That the king is not bound by the laws, or by his coronation oath. 2. That he is not obliged to call parliaments to make laws, but may do it without them. 3. That it is a great favour to admit the consent of the subject in giving subsidies. The other, by Dr. Blackwood, a clergyman, who maintained that the English were all slaves from the Norman Conquest. The Parliament would have brought the authors to justice, but the king protected them by proroguing the houses in displeasure;‡ and, to supply his necessi-

ness his learned associates in Oxford met at his lodgings once a week, to compare their notes. He was thus employed translating the Word of Life till he himself was translated to life everlasting.—*Fuller's Abel Redivivus*, p. 487, 488.—C.

* Church Hist., b. x., p. 50.

† "How," asks Bishop Warburton, "would the historian have us understand this? As true prophecy to be fulfilled, or a false prophet confuted?" The reply is, Mr. Neal is to be understood as his author Mr. Fuller, from whom he quotes. Neither meant to ascribe to Mr. Brightman a prophetic inspiration, but only to relate his sentiments and apprehensions; to which, however the bishop may sneer, the events of the next reign bore a correspondence. The clause, "and the government of the foreign Protestant churches," &c., as Dr. Grey observes, is not in Fuller; who, however, says that Mr. Brightman gave offence by "resembling the Church of England to lukewarm Laodicea, praising and preferring the purity of foreign Protestant churches." He always carried about him a Greek Testament, which he read through every fortnight. Cartwright used to call him "the bright star in the Church of God."—C.

‡ Rapin says, as Dr. Grey observes, "the king interposed, and frustrated the Parliament's design, by publishing a proclamation, to forbid the reading of these books, and to order copies to be delivered to the magistrates. But such proclamations are usually ill obeyed, especially when it is not the king's interest to see them strictly executed." So that by

* Collyer, vol. ii., p. 706. Heylin's Hist. Presb., p. 398, 399.

† Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 477. † Pierce, p. 171.

§ Wood's *Ath.*, vol. i., p. 290.

|| In 1604 James appointed Dr. Reynolds, an account of his uncommon skill in Greek and Hebrew, to be one of the translators of the Bible, but he did not live to see its completion. During his long ill-

ties, began to raise money by monopolies of divers manufactures, to the unspeakable prejudice of the trade of the kingdom.

This year died the famous Jacobus Arminius, divinity-professor in the University of Leyden, who gave birth to the famous sect still called by his name. He was born at Oudewater, 1560. His parents dying in his infancy, he was educated at the public expense by the magistrates of Amsterdam, and was afterward chosen one of the ministers of that city in the year 1588. Being desired by one of the professors of France to confute a treatise of Beza's upon the Supralapsarian scheme of predestination, he fell himself into the contrary sentiment: In the year 1600 he was called to succeed Junius in the divinity chair of Leyden, and was the first who was solemnly created doctor of divinity in that university. Here his notions concerning predestination and grace, and the extent of Christ's redemption, met with a powerful opposition from Gomarus and others. But though his disciples increased prodigiously in a few years, yet the troubles he met with from his adversaries, and the attacks made upon his character and reputation, broke his spirits, so that he sunk into a melancholy disorder, attended with a complication of distempers, which hastened his end, after he had been professor six years, and had lived forty-nine. He is represented as a divine of considerable learning, piety, and modesty, far from going the lengths of his successors, Vorstius, Episcopius, and Curcellæus; yet his doctrines occasioned such confusion in that country as could not be terminated without a national synod, and produced great distractions in the Church of England, as will be seen hereafter.

In the Parliament which met this summer, the spirit of English liberty began to revive; one of the members made the following bold speech in the House of Commons, containing a particular representation of the grievances of the nation, and of the attempts made for the redress of them. "It begins with a complaint against the bishops in their ecclesiastical courts, for depriving, disgracing, silencing, and imprisoning such of God's messengers (being learned and godly preachers) as he has furnished with most heavenly graces to call us to repentance, for no other cause but for not conforming themselves farther, and otherwise than by the subscription limited in the statute of the 13th Elizabeth they are bound to do, thereby making the laws of the Church and commonwealth to jar; which to reform," says he, "we made a law for subscription, agreeing to the intent of the aforesaid statute, which would have established the peace both of Church and State; and if it had received the royal assent, would have been an occasion that many subjects might be well taught the means of their salvation, who now want sufficient knowledge of the Word of God to ground their faith upon.

"And whereas, by the laws of God and the land, ecclesiastical persons should use only the spiritual sword, by exhortation, admonition, and excommunication, which are the keys of the Church, to exclude impenitent sinners, and leave the temporal sword to the civil magistrate, these measures the king screened the persons of the authors.—Ed.

which was always so used in England till the second year of the reign of King Henry IV., at which time the popish prelates got the temporal sword into their hands, which statute was since by several acts of Parliament made void, yet, by virtue of that temporal authority once for a short space by them used, some ecclesiastical persons do use both swords, and with those two swords the oath *ex officio*, which began first in England by the statute of the second of King Henry IV., being contrary to the laws of England, and, as I verily think, contrary to the laws of God.

"Wherefore, to reform these abuses, we made two good laws, one to abridge the force of the ecclesiastical commission in many points, the other to abrogate and take away the power of ecclesiastical persons to administer the oath *ex officio*, being a very hateful thing, and unlawful.

"And forasmuch as among the canons lately made by the clergy of England in convocation, it was thought that some of their canons did extend to charge the bodies, lands, and goods of the subjects of this realm farther than was lawful and meet, we therefore made a good law to make void such canons, unless the same canons were confirmed by Parliament.

"And as we had the care of the Church, so likewise of the commonwealth; and, therefore, after searching the records of the Tower, and after hearing the opinions of lawyers, we found it clear that impositions laid upon merchandise or other goods of the subject, by the king, without consent of Parliament, were not lawful; and, therefore, we passed a bill declaring that no imposition laid upon goods is lawful without consent of Parliament.

"But God has not permitted these and sundry other good laws to take effect or pass into statutes, though we earnestly desired them; if they had, both the king and his subjects would have been more happy than ever; what would we not then have given to supply the king's wants? But as things now stand, and without reformation of the aforementioned grievances, we cannot give much, because we have no certainty of that which shall remain to us after our gift."

To put a stop to such dangerous speeches, the king summoned both houses to Whitehall, and told them "that he did not intend to govern by the absolute power of a king, though he knew the power of kings was like the Divine power; for," says his majesty, "as God can create and destroy, make and unmake, at his pleasure, so kings can give life and death, judge all, and be judged by none; they can exalt and abase, and, like men at chess, make a pawn take a bishop or a knight." After this he tells the houses, that as it was blasphemy to dispute what God might do, so it was sedition in subjects to dispute what a king might do in the height of his power. He commanded them, therefore, not to meddle with the main points of government, which would be to lessen his craft, who had been thirty years at his trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship of seven years in England.

The Parliament, not terrified with this high language, went on steadily in asserting their rights; May 24th, 1610, twenty of the Lower House presented a remonstrance, in which they

declare, "that whereas they had first received a message, and since, by his majesty's speech, had been commanded to refrain from debating upon things relating to the chief points of government, they do hold it their undoubted right to examine into the grievances of the subject, and to inquire into their own rights and properties, as well as his majesty's prerogative;* and they most humbly and instantly beseech his gracious majesty that, without offence to the same, they may, according to the undoubted right and liberty of Parliament, proceed in their intended course against the late new impositions."

In another petition, they beseech his majesty to put the laws in execution against papists; and with regard to the Puritans, they say, "Whereas divers learned and painful pastors that have long travailed in the work of the ministry with good fruit and blessing of their labour, who were ever ready to perform the legal subscription appointed by the 13th of Elizabeth, which only concerneth the profession of the true Christian faith and doctrine of the sacraments, yet for not conforming in some points of ceremonies, and for refusing the subscription directed by the late canons, have been removed from their ecclesiastical livings, being their freehold, and debarred from all means of maintenance, to the great grief of your majesty's subjects, seeing the whole people that want instruction lie open to the seducement of popish and ill-affected persons; we, therefore, most humbly beseech your majesty that such deprived and silenced ministers may, by license or permission of the reverend fathers in their several diocesses, instruct and preach unto their people in such parishes and places where they may be employed, so as they apply themselves in their ministry to wholesome doctrine and exhortation, and live quietly and peaceably in their callings, and shall not, by writing or preaching, impugn things established by public authority. They also pray that dispensations for pluralities of benefices with cure of souls may be prohibited, and that toleration of nonresidency may be restrained. And forasmuch as excommunication is exercised upon an incredible number of the common people, by the subordinate officers of the jurisdiction ecclesiastical, for small causes, by the sole information of a base apparitor, so that the poor are driven to excessive expenses for matters of small moment, while the rich escape that censure by commutation of penance; they therefore most humbly pray for a reformation in the premises."

In another petition, they represent to his majesty the great grievance of the commission ecclesiastical, and in all humility beseech his majesty to ratify the law they had prepared for reducing it within reasonable and convenient limits; they say, "that the statute 1 Eliz., cap. i., by which the commission is authorized, has been found dangerous and inconvenient on many accounts:

"First. Because it enables the making such commission to one subject born, as well as more.

"Secondly. Because, under colour of some words in the statute, whereby the commissioners are authorized to act according to the tenour and effect of your highness's letters patent, and by let-

ters patent grounded thereon, they do fine and imprison, and exercise other authorities not belonging to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, restored to the crown by this statute; for by the same rule your highness may by your letters patent authorize them to fine without stint, and imprison without limitation of time; as, also, according to will and discretion, without regard to any laws spiritual and temporal; they may impose utter confiscation of goods, forfeiture of lands, yea, and the taking away of limb and life itself, and this for any matter appertaining to spiritual jurisdiction, which could never be the intent of the law.

"Thirdly. Because the king, by the same statute, may set up an ecclesiastical commission in every diocess, county, and parish of England, and thereby all jurisdiction may be taken from bishops and transferred to laymen.

"Fourthly. Because every petty offence appertaining to spiritual jurisdiction is, by colour of the said words and letters patent, made subject to excommunication, whereby the smallest offenders may be obliged to travel from the most remote parts of the kingdom to London, to their utter ruin.

"Fifthly. Because it is very hard, if not impossible, to know what matters or offences are included within their commission, as appertaining to spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it being unknown what ancient canons or laws spiritual are in force.

"As for the commission ecclesiastical itself, grounded on the statute above mentioned, it is a very great grievance, because,

"1. The same men have both spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, and may force the party by oath to accuse himself, and also inquire thereof by a jury; and, lastly, may inflict for the same offence, and at the same time, by one and the same sentence, both a spiritual and temporal punishment.

"2. Whereas, upon sentences of deprivation or other spiritual censures, given by force of ordinary jurisdiction, an appeal lies for the party grieved: this is here excluded by express words of the commission. Also, here is to be a trial by a jury, but no remedy by traverse or attain. Nor can a man have any writ of error, though judgment be given against him, amounting to the taking away all his goods, and imprisoning him for life, yea, to the adjudging him in the case of præmunire, whereby his lands are forfeited, and he put out of the protection of the law.

"3. Whereas penal laws, and offences against them, cannot be determined in other courts, or by other persons, than those intrusted by Parliament, yet the execution of many such statutes made since the 1st Elizabeth are committed to the ecclesiastical commissioners, who may inflict the punishments contained in the statutes, being præmunire, and of other high nature, and so enforce a man upon his oath to accuse himself, or else inflict other temporal punishments at pleasure; and after this, the party shall be subject in the courts mentioned in the acts to punishments by the same acts appointed and inflicted.

"5. The commission gives authority to oblige men, not only to give recognisance for their appearance from time to time, but also for performance of whatsoever shall be by the com-

* Warner's Eccles. History, vol. ii., p. 495, 496.

missioners ordered, and to pay such fees as the commissioners shall think fit.

"The execution of the commission is no less grievous to the subject; for, (1.) Laymen are punished for speaking of the simony and other misdemeanors of spiritual men, though the thing spoken be true, and tends to the inducing some condign punishment. (2.) These commissioners usually allot to women discontented and unwilling to live with their husbands such portions and maintenance as they think fit, to the great encouragement of wives to be disobedient to their husbands. And (3.) Pursuivants and other ministers employed in apprehending suspected offenders, or in searching for supposed scandalous books, break open men's houses, closets, and desks, rifling all corners and private places, as in cases of high treason.

"A farther grievance is the stay of writs of prohibition, *habeas corpus*, and *de homine replegiando*, which are a considerable relief to the oppressed subjects of the kingdom. His majesty, in order to support the inferior courts against the principal courts of common law, had ordered things so, that writs had been more sparingly granted, and with greater caution. They therefore pray his majesty to require his judges in Westminster Hall to grant such writs in cases wherein they lie.

"But one of the greatest and most threatening grievances was the king's granting letters patent for monopolies, as licenses for wine, alehouses, selling sea-coal, &c., which they pray his majesty to forbear for the future, that the disease may be cured, and others of like nature prevented."

The king, instead of concurring with his Parliament, was so disgusted with their remonstrance, that he dissolved them [December 3, 1610] without passing any one act this session,* after they had continued about six years; and was so out of humour with the spirit of English liberty that was growing in the houses, that he resolved, if possible, to govern without parliaments for the future. This was done by the advice of Bancroft, and other servile court flatterers, and was the beginning of that mischief, says Wilson,† which, when it came to a full ripeness, made such a bloody tincture in both kingdoms as never will be got out of the bishops' lawn sleeves.

From the time that King James came to the English throne, and long before, if we may believe Dr. Heylin, his majesty had projected the restoring episcopacy in the Kirk of Scotland, and reducing the two kingdoms to one uniform government and discipline: for this purpose Archbishop Bancroft maintained a secret correspondence with him, and corrupted one Norton, an English bookseller at Edinburgh [in the year 1589], to betray the Scots affairs to him, as he confessed, with tears, at his examination. The many curious articles he employed him to search into are set down in Calderwood's History, p. 246. In the month of January, 1591, his letters to Mr. Patrick Adamson were intercepted, wherein he advises him "to give the Queen of England more honourable titles, and to praise the Church of England above all others. He marvelled why he came not to England, and assu-

red him he would be well accepted by my Lord of Canterbury's grace, and well rewarded if he came."* This Adamson was afterward excommunicated, but, repenting of what he had done against the Kirk, desired absolution: part of his confession runs thus: "I grant I was more busy with some bishops in England, in prejudice of the discipline of our kirk, partly when I was there, and partly by intelligence since, than became a good Christian, much less a faithful pastor; neither is there anything that more ashamed me than my often deceiving and abusing the Kirk heretofore by confessions, subscriptions, and protestations."

Upon his majesty's arrival in England, he took all occasions to discover his aversion to the Scots Presbyterians, taxing them with sauciness, ill-manners, and an implacable enmity to kingly power; he nominated bishops to the thirteen Scots bishoprics which himself had formerly abolished; but their revenues being annexed to the crown, their dignities were little more than titular. In the Parliament held at Perth, in the year 1606, his majesty obtained an act to restore the bishops to their temporalities, and to repeal the Act of Annexation; by which they were restored to their votes in Parliament, and had the title of lords of Parliament, contrary to the sense both of clergy and laity, as appears by the following protest of the General Assembly:

"In the name of Christ, and in the name of the Kirk in general, whereof the realm hath reaped comfort this forty-six years; also in the name of our presbyteries, from which we received our commission, and in our own names, as pastors and office-bearers within the same for the discharging of our necessary duty, and for the disburdening of our consciences, we except and protest against the erection, confirmation, or ratification of the said bishoprics and bishops by this present Parliament, and humbly pray that this our protestation may be admitted and registered among the records."

In the Convention at Linlithgow, December 12, consisting of noblemen, statesmen, and some court ministers, it was agreed that the bishops should be perpetual moderators of the Kirk assemblies, under certain cautions, and with a declaration that they had no purpose to subvert the discipline of the Kirk, or to exercise any tyrannous or unlawful jurisdiction over their brethren; but the body of the ministers being uneasy at this, another convention was held at Linlithgow, 1608, and a committee appointed to compromise the difference; the committee consisted of two earls and two lords, as his majesty's commissioners; five new bishops, two university men, three ministers on one part, and ten for the other; they met at Falkland, May 4, 1609, and debated, (1.) Whether the moderators of kirk assemblies should be constant or circular; and (2.) Whether the caveats should be observed. But coming to no agreement, they adjourned to Striveling, where the bishops with great difficulty carried their point. And to increase their power, his majesty was pleased next year [in the month of February, 1610], contrary to law, to put the high commission into their hands.

Still they wanted the sanction of a general

* Fuller's Church Hist., b. x., p. 56.

† Hist. of King James, p. 46.

* Pierce, p. 166.

assembly, and a spiritual character: to obtain the former, an assembly was held at Glasgow, June 8, 1610, means having been used by the courtiers to model it to their mind. In that costly assembly, says my author,* the bishops were declared moderators in every diocesan assembly, and they or their deputies moderators in their weekly exercises; ordination and deprivation of ministers, visitation of kirks, excommunication and absolution, with presentation to benefices, were pinned to the lawn sleeves; and it was farther voted, (1.) That every minister at his entry shall swear obedience to his ordinary. (2.) That no minister shall preach or speak the acts of this assembly. (3.) That the question of the parity or imparity of pastors shall not be mentioned in the pulpit under pain of deprivation. This was a vast advance upon the constitution of the Kirk.

To obtain a spiritual character superior to the order of presbyters, it was necessary that the bishops elect should be consecrated by some of the same order; for this purpose the king sent for three of them into England, viz., Mr. Spotswood, archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. Lamb, bishop of Brechen, and Mr. Hamilton, bishop of Galloway, and issued a commission under the great seal to the Bishops of London, Ely, Bath and Wells, and Rochester, requiring them to proceed to the consecration of the above-mentioned bishops according to the English ordinal: Andrews, bishop of Ely, was of opinion that before the consecration they ought to be made priests, because they had not been ordained by a bishop. This the Scots divines were unwilling to admit, through fear of the consequences among their own countrymen; for what must they conclude concerning the ministers of Scotland, if their ordination as presbyters was not valid? Bancroft, therefore, yielded, that where bishops could not be had, ordination by presbyters must be valid, otherwise the character of the ministers in most of the Reformed churches might be questioned. Abbot, bishop of London,† and others, were of opinion that there was no necessity of passing through the inferior orders of deacon and priest, but that the episcopal character might be conveyed at once, as appears from the example of St. Ambrose, Nectarius, Eucherius, and others, who from mere laymen were advanced at once into the episcopal chair.‡ But whether this supposition does not rather weaken the arguments for bishops being a distinct order from presbyters, I leave with the reader. However, the Scotch divines were consecrated in the chapel at London House [October 21, 1610], and upon their return into Scotland conveyed their new character in the same manner to their brethren.§ Thus the king, by a usurped supremacy over the Kirk of Scotland, and other violent and indirect means, subverted their ecclesiastical constitution; and contrary to the genius of the people, and the protestation of the General Assembly, the bishops were made lords of council, lords of Parliament, and lord-commissioners in causes ecclesiastical; but with all their high

titles they sat uneasy in their chairs, being generally hated both by the ministers and people.

About ten days after this consecration, Dr. Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life; he was born at Farnworth in Lancashire, 1544, and educated in Jesus College, Cambridge. He was first chaplain to Cox, bishop of Ely, who gave him the rectory of Teversham, near Cambridge. In the year 1585 he proceeded D.D., and being ambitious of preferment, got into the service of Sir Christopher Hatton, by whose recommendation he was made prebendary of Westminster. Here he signalized himself by preaching against the Puritans, a sure way to preferment in those times. He also wrote against their discipline, and was the first in the Church of England who openly maintained the Divine right of the order of bishops. While he sat in the High Commission, he distinguished himself by an uncommon zeal against the Nonconformists, for which he was preferred, first to the bishopric of London, and, upon Whitgift's decease, to the see of Canterbury; how he behaved in that high station has been sufficiently related. This prelate left behind him no extraordinary character for piety, learning, hospitality, or any other episcopal quality. He was of a rough, inflexible temper, yet a tool of the prerogative, and an enemy to the laws and constitution of his country. Some have represented him as inclined to popery because he maintained several secular priests in his own house, but this was done, say his advocates, to keep up the controversy between them and the Jesuits. Lord Clarendon says* "that he understood the Church excellently well; that he had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the Nonconformists; and that he countenanced men of learning." His lordship might have added that he was covetous,† passionate, ill-natured, and a cruel persecutor of good men; that he laid aside the hospitality becoming a bishop, and lived without state or equipage, which gave occasion to the following satire upon his death, which happened November 2, 1610, aged sixty-six:

Here lies his grace in cold clay clad,
Who died for want of what he had.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP BANCROFT TO THE DEATH OF KING JAMES I.

BANCROFT was succeeded by Dr. George Abbot, bishop of London, a divine of a quite different spirit from his predecessor. A sound

* Vol. i., p. 88, ed. 1707.

† Fuller, and after him Dr. Grey and Dr. Warner, vindicate the character of Archbishop Bancroft from the charges of cruelty and covetousness, "which, when they are examined into," says Dr. Warner, "appear not to deserve those opprobrious names in the strictest acceptation." On the other hand, the author of the Confessional calls him the fiery Bancroft, and Dr. Warner sums up his account of him in a manner not very honourable to his name. "In short," says he, "there have been archbishops who have been much worse than Bancroft, who by their good-humour and generosity have been more esteemed when living, and more lamented at their death."—*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 497.—Ed.

* Course of Scots Conformity, p. 53.

† Collyer, as Dr. Grey observes, mentions that as Bancroft's opinion, which Mr. Neal ascribes to Bishop Abbot.—Ed. † Collyer's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 702. § Calderwood, p. 614.

Protestant, a thorough Calvinist, an avowed enemy to popery, and even suspected of Puritanism, because he relaxed the penal laws, whereby he unravelled all that his predecessor had been doing for many years; "who, if he had lived a little longer," says Lord Clarendon,* "would have subdued the unruly spirit of the Nonconformists, and extinguished that fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva; but Abbot," says his lordship, "considered the Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued those men most who did that most furiously. He inquired but little after the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or conformity to the articles or canons established, and did not think so ill of the [Presbyterian] discipline as he ought to have done; but if men prudently forbore a public reviling at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, they were secure from any inquisition from him, and were equally preferred. His house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of the factious party, and he licensed their pernicious writings." This is the heavy charge brought by the noble historian against one of the most religious and venerable prelates of his age, and a steady friend of the constitution in Church and State. If Abbot's moderate measures had been constantly pursued, the liberties of England had been secured, popery discountenanced, and the Church prevented from running into those excesses which first proved its reproach, and afterward its ruin.

The translation of the Bible now in use was finished this year [1611]; it was undertaken at the request of the Puritan divines in the Hampton Court Conference; and being the last, it may not be unacceptable to set before the reader, in one view, the various translations of the Bible into the English language.

The New Testament was first translated by Dr. Wickliffe out of the Vulgar Latin, about the year 1380, and is entitled "The New Testament, with the Lessons taken out of the Old Law, read in Churches according to the Use of Sarum."

The next translation was by William Tyndal, printed at Antwerp, 1526, in octavo, without a name, and without either calendar, references in the margin, or table at the end; it was corrected by the author, and printed in the years 1534 and 1536, having passed through five editions in Holland.

In the mean time, Tyndal was translating several books of the Old Testament, as the Pentateuch and the book of Jonah, printed 1531; the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of Kings, the two books of Chronicles, and Nehemiah. About the same time, George Joy, some time fellow of Peter College, Cambridge, translated the Psalter, the prophecy of Jeremiah, and the song of Moses, and printed them beyond sea.

In the year 1535 the whole Bible was printed the first time in folio, adorned with wooden cuts and Scripture references; it was done by several hands, and dedicated to King Henry VIII. by Miles Coverdale. In the last page it is said to be printed in the year of our Lord 1535, and finished the fourth day of October.

This Bible was reprinted in quarto, 1550, and again, with a new title, 1553.

Two years after the Bible was reprinted in English, with this title, "The Holy Byble, which is all the Holy Scripture, in which are containyed the Olde and Newe Testament, truelye and purelye translated into English by [a fictitious name] Thomas Matthew, 1537." It has a calendar with an almanac, and an exhortation to the study of the Scripture, signed J. R. John Rogers, a table of contents and marriages, marginal notes, a prologue, and in the Apocalypse some wooden cuts. At the beginning of the prophets are printed on the top of the page, R. G., Richard Grafton, and at the bottom, E. W., Edward Whitechurch, who were the printers. This translation, to the end of the book of Chronicles, and the book of Jonah, with all the New Testament, was Tyndal's; the rest was Miles Coverdale's and John Rogers's.

In the year 1539, the above-mentioned translation, having been revised and corrected by Archbishop Cranmer, was reprinted by Grafton and Whitechurch, "cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." It has this title: "The Bible in Englyshe, that is to say, the Content of the Holy Scriptures, both of the Olde and Newe Testament, truely translated after the veritie of the Hebrue and Greke Texts, by the diligent study of divers excellent learned Men, expert in the foresayde Tongues." In this edition Tyndal's prologue and marginal notes are omitted. It was reprinted the following year in a large folio, proper for churches, begun at Paris and finished at London. In the year 1541 it was printed again by Grafton, with a preface by Cranmer, having been revised by Tonstal and Heath, bishops of Durham and Rochester. But after this time, the popish party prevailing at court, there were no more editions of the Bible in this reign.

Soon after King Edward's accession [1548-9], the Bible of 1541 had been reprinted, with Cranmer's prologue; and the liturgy of the Church of England, being first composed and established, the translation of the Psalter, commonly called the old translation, in use at this day, was taken from this edition. Next year, Coverdale's Testament of 1535 was reprinted, with Erasmus's paraphrase, but there was no new translation.

In the reign of Queen Mary [1555], the exiles at Geneva undertook a new translation, commonly called the Geneva Bible; the names of the translators were Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, Sampson, Cole, Knox, Bodleigh, and Pullain, who published the New Testament first in small twelves, 1557, by Conrad Badius. This is the first that was printed with numerical verses. The whole Bible was published afterward with marginal notes, 1559, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. The translators say "they had been employed in this work night and day, with fear and trembling; and they protest, from their consciences, that, in every point and word, they had faithfully rendered the text to the best of their knowledge." But the marginal notes having given offence, it was not suffered to be published in England*

* Here Mr. Neal, as Dr. Grey observes, appears to be mistaken; as Lewis says "that the Geneva Bible was printed at London, in folio and quarto, in 1572."

* Book i., p. 88.

till the death of Archbishop Parker, when it was printed [1576] by Christopher Barker, in quarto, "cum privilegio," and met with such acceptance that it passed through twenty or thirty editions in this reign.

Cranmer's edition of the Bible had been reprinted in the years 1562 and 1566, for the use of the churches. But complaint being made of the incorrectness of it, Archbishop Parker projected a new translation, and assigned the several books of the Old and New Testament to about fourteen dignitaries of the Church, most of whom being bishops, it was from them called the Bishops' Bible, and was printed in an elegant and pompous folio, in the year 1568, with maps and cuts. In the year 1572 it was reprinted with some alterations and additions, and several times afterward without any amendments.

In the year 1582 the Roman Catholic exiles translated the New Testament for the use of their people, and published it in quarto, with this title: "The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English out of the authentic Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greek and other Editions in divers Languages; with arguments of Books and Chapters, Annotations, and other necessary Helps for the better understanding of the Text, and especially for the Discovery of the Corruptions of divers late Translations, and for clearing the Controversies in Religion of these Days. In the English College of Rheims. Printed by John Fogny." The Old Testament of this translation was first published at Doway in two quarto volumes, the first in the year 1609, the other 1610, by Lawrence Kellam, at the sign of the Holy Lamb, with a preface and tables; the authors are said to be Cardinal Allen, some time principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford; Richard Bristow, fellow of Exeter College; and Gregory Martyn, of St. John's College. The annotations were made by Thomas Worthington, B.A., of Oxford; all of them exiles for their religion, and settled in popish seminaries beyond sea. The mistakes of this translation, and the false glosses put upon the text, were exposed by the learned Dr. Fulke and Mr. Cartwright.

At the request of the Puritans in the Hampton Court Conference, King James appointed a new translation to be executed by the most learned men of both universities, under the following regulations: (1.) That they keep as close as possible to the Bishops' Bible. (2.) That the names of the holy writers be retained according to vulgar use. (3.) That the old ecclesiastical words be kept, as *church* not to be translated *congregation*, &c. (4.) That when a word has divers significations, that be kept which has been most commonly used by the fathers.* (5.) That the division of chapters be not altered.† (6.) No marginal notes but for the explication of a Hebrew or Greek word. (7.) Marginal references

—*Lewis's History of the Translation of the Bible*, in 8vo, p. 264, second edition, 1739.—E.D.

* Dr. Grey states more fully and accurately these rules from Lewis and Fuller, "used by the most eminent fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogie of faith."—E.D.

† "The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require."—*Lewis*, p. 317. *Fuller's Church Hist.*, b. x., p. 46.—E.D.

may be set down. The other regulations relate to the translators' comparing notes, and agreeing among themselves; they were to consult the modern translations of the French, Dutch, German,* &c., but to vary as little as possible from the Bishops' Bible.

The king's commission bears date 1604, but the work was not begun till 1606, and finished 1611. Fifty-four of the chief divines of both universities were originally nominated; some of whom dying soon after, the work was undertaken by forty-seven, who were divided into six companies; the first translated from Genesis to the First Book of Chronicles; the second to the prophecy of Isaiah; the third translated the four greater prophets, with the Lamentations and twelve smaller prophets; the fourth had the Apocrypha; the fifth had the four Gospels, the Acts, and the Revelations; and the sixth the canonical epistles. The whole being finished and revised by learned men from both universities, the publishing it was committed to the care of Bishop Bilson and Dr. Miles Smith, which last wrote the preface that is now prefixed: It was printed in the year 1611, with a dedication to King James, and is the same that is still read in all the churches.

Upon the death of Arminius, the curators of the University of Leyden chose Conradus Vorstius his successor. This divine had published a very exceptionable treatise‡ concerning the nature and properties of God, in which he maintained that God had a body; and denied his proper immensity and omniscience, as they are commonly understood. He maintained the Divine Being to be limited and restrained, and ascribed quantity and magnitude to him. The clergy of Amsterdam remonstrated to the States against his settlement at Leyden, the country being already too much divided about the Arminian tenets. To strengthen their hands, they applied to the English ambassador to represent the case to King James; and prevailed with the curators to defer his induction into the professorship till his majesty had read over his book;‡ which having done, he declared Vorstius to be an arch heretic, a pest, a monster of blasphemies; and to show his detestation of his book, ordered it to be burned publicly in St. Paul's churchyard, and at both universities; in the conclusion of his letter to the States on this occasion, he says, "As God has honoured us with the title of defender of the faith, so (if you incline to retain Vorstius any longer) we shall be obliged not only to separate and cut ourselves

* The translations posited out by name, as Dr. Grey remarks, were those of Tyndal, Matthew, Coverdale, Whitchurch, and Geneva.—E.D.

‡ It may be wished that Mr. Neal had rather said "a treatise against which great exceptions were taken." His mode of expression intimates that those exceptions were justly grounded; this Vorstius himself denied, and solemnly declared his belief of the immensity and omniscience of the Divine Being, and ascribed the imputations cast on him to wresting his words to a meaning contrary to the scope and the connexion of the discourse. His abilities, learning, and virtues were highly esteemed by those who differed from him.—*Prestantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistole, Amsterdam*, 1660, p. 350, &c., and p. 385; and the *Abridgment of Brandt's History*, vol. ii., p. 727, 728.—E.D.

‡ Brandt's *History*, vol. ii., p. 97; or the *Abridgment*, vol. i., p. 318.

off from such false and heretical churches, but likewise to call upon all the rest of the Reformed churches to enter upon the same common consultation, how we may best extinguish and send back to hell these cursed [Arminian] heresies that have newly broken forth. And as for ourselves, we shall be necessitated to forbid all the youth of our subjects to frequent a university that is so infected as that of Leyden.* His majesty also sent over sundry other memorials, in which he styles Vorstius a wicked atheist, Arminius an enemy to God. And Bertius having written that the saints might fall from grace, he said the author was worthy of the fire.

At length [1612] the king published his royal declaration, in several languages,† containing an account of all that he had done in the affair of Vorstius, with his reasons; which were, his zeal for the glory of God, his love for his friends and allies [the States], and fear of the same contagion in his own kingdom; but their high mightinesses did not like the King of England's intermeddling so far in their affairs. However, Vorstius was dismissed to Gouda, where he lived privately till the Synod of Dort, when he was banished the Seven Provinces; he then retired to Tonninghen, in the dukedom of Holstein, where he died a professed Socinian, September 19, 1622.‡

His majesty had a farther opportunity of discovering his zeal against heresy this year, upon two of his own subjects. One was Bartholomew Legate, an Arian: § he was a comely person, of a black complexion, and about forty years of age, of a fluent tongue, excellently well versed in the Scriptures, and of an unblamable conversation. King James himself, and some of his bishops, in vain conferred with him, in hope of convincing him of his errors. || Having lain

* Nothing (it is well observed by Gerard Brandt) can be less edifying than to see a Protestant prince, who, not contented to persecute the heterodox in his own kingdom, exhorts the potentates of the same religion to imitate his conduct.—*Brandt Abridged*, vol. i., p. 319.—Ed.

† It was printed in French, Latin, Dutch, and English; on which Dr. Harris well remarks, that “consequently his monstrous zeal, his unprincely revilings, and his weak and pitiful reasonings, were known throughout Europe.” Yet it was not held in any high reputation; for Mr. Norton, who had the printing of it in Latin, swore “he would not print it, unless he might have money to print it.”—*Harris's Life of James I.*, p. 120.

‡ His sickness was a short one, but long enough to afford him an opportunity to teach his physician and other friends how a Christian ought to die. He was wholly intent upon prayer, and scarcely repeated anything but passages out of the Scriptures. At his request, Acts, ii., and 1 Cor., xv., as mentioning the resurrection, were read to him; and this doctrine was much the subject of his last discourses. He expired recommending his soul to God and Jesus Christ his Saviour. And it is said that the piety, holiness, faith, and resignation which he showed, and the fervency of his prayers, cannot be well expressed.—*Brandt Abridged*, vol. ii., p. 722, 723.—Ed.

§ Fuller, b. x., p. 63.

|| “One time,” says Fuller, “the king had a design to surprise him into a confession of Christ's deity (as his majesty afterward declared), by asking him whether or no *he did not daily pray to Jesus Christ?* which, had he acknowledged, the king would have infallibly inferred that Legate tacitly consented to Christ's divinity as *searcher of hearts*. But herein his majesty failed of his expectation, Legate returning,

a considerable time in Newgate, he was at length conveyed before Bishop King, in his consistory at St. Paul's, who, with some other divines and lawyers there assembled, declared him a contumacious and obdurate heretic, and certified the same into Chancery by a significavit, delivering him over to the secular power; whereupon the king signed a writ* *de heretico comburendo* to the sheriffs of London, who brought him to Smithfield, March 18, and in the midst of a vast concourse of people burned him to death. A pardon was offered him at the stake if he would recant, but he refused it.

Next month Edward Wightman, of Burton-upon-Trent, was convicted of heresy by Dr. Neile, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and was burned at Litchfield, April 11th.† He was charged in the warrant with the heresies of Arius, Cerinthus, Manichæus, and the Anabaptists.‡

“that he had prayed to Christ in the days of his ignorance, but not for these last seven years.” Hereupon the king, in choler, spurned at him with his foot, saying, “Away, base fellow; it shall never be said that one stayeth in my presence that hath never prayed to our Saviour for seven years together.”—*Fuller's Ch. History*, b. x., p. 62.—C.

* The reader will perhaps be curious to see the form of the king's writ for burning Legate, the latter part of which is as follows:

“Whereas the holy mother-church hath not farther to do and to prosecute on this part; the same reverend father hath left the aforesaid Bartholomew Legate, as a blasphemous heretic, to our secular power, to be punished with condign punishment, as by the letters patent of the same reverend father in Christ, the Bishop of London, in this behalf above made, hath been certified to us in our Chancery. We, therefore, as a zealot of justice, and a defender of the Catholic faith, and willing to maintain and defend the Holy Church, and the rights and liberties of the same, and the Catholic faith; and such heresies and errors everywhere what in us lieth, to root out and extirpate, and to punish with condign punishment, such heretics so convicted, and deeming that such a heretic, in form aforesaid convicted and condemned, according to the laws and customs of this our kingdom of England in this part accustomed, ought to be burned with fire; we do command you, that the said Bartholomew Legate, being in your custody, you do commit publicly to the fire, before the people, in a public and open place in West Smithfield, for the cause aforesaid; and that you cause the said Bartholomew Legate to be really burned in the same fire, in detestation of the said crime, for the manifest example of other Christians, lest they slide into the same fault; and this that in nowise you omit, under the peril that shall follow thereon. Witness,” &c.—*A Narration of the Burning of Bartholomew Legate, &c.*, in *Truth brought to Light*, 1692, as quoted by *Mr. Lindsey in his Conversations on Christian Idolatry*, p. 119, 120.—Ed.

† Fuller, b. x., p. 64.

‡ Some of the opinions imputed to Wightman savoured of vanity and superstition, or, rather, enthusiasm; such as his being the prophet foretold Deut., xviii., and by Isaiah; the Elijah to come, of whom Malachi speaks. “But,” as Mr. Lindsey justly remarks, “we may well hesitate here whether such were the man's real sentiments, or only those which his adversaries would fix upon him.” These proceedings show, as Brandt observes, it was high time to repeal the act *de heretico comburendo*. The sentiments of Limborch on them deserve to be mentioned here: “These things,” says he in a letter to Mr. Locke, “are a scandal to the Reformation. A court of inquisition into men's faith is alike contrary to Christian charity, whether it be erected on the banks of the Tiber, or the Lake of Geneva, or by the side of the River Thames: for it is the same iniquitous cruelty, though exercised in another place, and on differ-

There was another condemned to the fire for the same heresies; but the constancy of the above-mentioned sufferers moving pity in the spectators, it was thought better to suffer him to linger out a miserable life in Newgate, than to awaken too far the compassions of the people.*

Nothing was minded at court but luxury and diversions. The affairs of the Church were left to the bishops and the affairs of state to subordinate magistrates, or the chief ministers, while the king himself sunk into a most indolent and voluptuous life, suffering himself to be governed by a favourite, in the choice of whom he had no regard to virtue or merit, but to youth, beauty, gracefulness of person, and fine clothes, &c. This exposed him to the contempt of foreign powers, who from this time paid him very little regard. At the same time, he was lavish and profuse in his expenses and grants to his hungry courtiers, whereby he exhausted his exchequer, and was obliged to have recourse to arbitrary and illegal methods of raising money by the prerogative. By these means he lost the hearts of his people, which all his kingcraft could never recover, and laid the foundation of those calamities that in the next reign threw Church and State into such convulsions as threatened their final ruin.

But while the king and his ministers were wounding the Protestant religion and the liberties of England, it pleased Almighty God to lay the foundation of their recovery by the marriage of the king's daughter, Elizabeth, to Frederic V., elector palatine of the Rhine, from whom the present royal family is descended. The match was promoted by Archbishop Abbot, and universally approved by all the Puritans in England, as the grand security of the Protestant succession in case of failure of heirs from the king's son. Mr. Echard says they foretold, by a distant foresight, the succession of this family to the crown; and it must be owned that they were always the delight of the Puritans, who prayed heartily for them, and upon all occasions exerted themselves for the support of the family in their lowest circumstances.

The solemnity of these nuptials was retarded some months by the untimely death of Henry, prince of Wales, the king's eldest son, who died November 6, 1612, and was buried the 7th of December following, being eighteen years and eight months old. Some have suspected that the king his father caused him to be poisoned, though there is no sufficient proof of it; † the

ent subjects." A fine observation of Brandt on this occasion shall close this note. "It is a very glorious thing for the United Provinces," says he, "that the blood of no heretic has been shed in that country ever since the Reformation; which ought to be ascribed to the moderation and great knowledge of the States-General, and the states of each of those provinces."—*Brandt Abridged*, vol. i., p. 319. *Lindsay's Historical View of Unitarian Doctrine, &c.*, p. 294.—Ed.

* Dr. Southey ascribes the preservation of the Spanish Arian to the benevolence of James, but Fuller more correctly attributes it to his policy. "Such burning of heretics had much startled common people—being unable to distinguish between constancy and obstinacy, were ready to entertain good thoughts even of the opinions of those heretics who sealed them so manfully with their blood," &c.—*Fuller's Ch. Hist.*, b. x., p. 64.—C.

† These suspicions arose from the popular odium

body being opened, his liver appeared white, and his spleen and diaphragm black, his gall without choler, and his lungs spotted with much corruption, and his head full of blood in some places, and in others full of water. It is certain the king was jealous of his son's popularity, and asked one day if he would bury him alive; and upon his death commanded that no person should appear at court in mourning for him.* This prince was one of the most accomplished persons of his age, sober, chaste, temperate, religious, full of honour and probity, and never heard to swear an oath; neither the example of the king his father, nor of the whole court, was capable of corrupting him in these respects. He had a great soul, full of noble and elevated sentiments, and was as much displeased with trifles as his father was fond of them. He had frequently said that, if ever he mounted the throne, his first care should be to try to reconcile the Puritans to the Church of England. As this could not be done without each party's making some concessions, and as such a proceeding was directly contrary to the temper of the court and clergy, he was suspected to countenance Puritanism. To say all in one word, Prince Henry was mild and affable, though of a warlike genius, the darling of the Puritans, and of all good men; and, though he lived about eighteen years, no historian has taxed him with any vice.

To furnish the exchequer with money, several new projects were set on foot, as, (1.) His majesty created a new order of knights-baronets; the number not to exceed two hundred, and the expense of the patent £1095. (2.) His majesty sold letters patent for monopolies. (3.) He obliged such as were worth £40 a year to compound for not being knights.* (4.) He set to sale the highest honours and dignities of the nation: the price for a baron was £10,000, for a viscount £15,000, and £20,000 for an earl. (5.) Those who had defective titles were obliged to compound to set them right. And (6.) The Star Chamber raised their fines to an ex-

the king had incurred from the behaviour of the court at the time the prince lay dead, and from the disappointment which the great expectations of the people from this prince suffered. There were insinuations to this effect from respectable persons; and Colonel Titus assured Bishop Burnet that he had heard King Charles I. declare that the prince his brother was poisoned by means of Viscount Rochester. This evidence amounted to a kind of proof, yet, as to these suggestions were opposed the opinions of the physicians, and the appearances of the body when it was opened, and the presumptive evidence did not come home to the king, it is to be wished that Mr. Neal had used more guarded language, for the words "no certain proof" seem to imply that there was probable proof of it. Bishop Warburton is therefore very angry, and says it "is abominable;" it is, indeed, a heavy charge to impute to a parent his being accessory to the poisoning of a son.—See *Dr. Birch's Life of Henry, Prince of Wales*, p. 401-409. Dr. Grey, as well as the bishop, also censures our author, and refers to main authorities to disprove, as he calls them, "Mr. Neal's unfair insinuations." *These insinuations did not originate, it should be observed, with Mr. Neal, but were sanctioned by the prevailing opinion of the times, and were countenanced by the conduct of Jaunes, who showed himself quite unaffected with the death of his virtuous and amiable son.*—Ed.

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 181, folio edit.

cessive degree.* But these projects not answering the king's necessities, he was obliged, at last, to call a Parliament. When the houses met they proceeded immediately to consider of and redress grievances, upon which the king dissolved them, before they had enacted one statute, and committed some of the principal members of the House of Commons to prison, without admitting them to bail, resolving again to raise money without the aid of Parliament.

This year the articles of the Church of Ireland were ratified and confirmed; the reformation of that kingdom had made a very slow progress in the late reign, by reason of the wars between the English and the natives, and the small proportion of the former to the latter. The natives had a strong prejudice against the English, as coming into the country by conquest, and being bigoted papists, their prejudices were inflamed by King Henry VIII. throwing off the pope's supremacy, which threatened the loss of their religion, as well as their civil liberties. In the reign of Philip and Mary they were more quiet, when a law was passed against bringing in the Scots and marrying with them, which continued in force during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was a great hinderance to the progress of the Protestant religion in that country; however, a university was erected at Dublin in the year 1593, and furnished with learned professors from Cambridge of the Calvinistical persuasion. James Usher, who afterwards was the renowned Archbishop of Armagh, was the first student who entered into the college. The discipline of the Irish Church was according to the model of the English; bishops were nominated to the popish diocesses, but their revenues being alienated, or in the hands of papists, or very much diminished by the wars, they were obliged to throw the revenues of several bishoprics together to make a tolerable subsistence for one. The case was the same with the inferior clergy, 40s. a year being a common allowance for a vicar in the province of Connaught, and sometimes only sixteen. Thus, says Mr. Collyer, the authority of the bishops went off, and the people followed their own fancies in the choice of religion.

At the Hampton Court Conference the king proposed sending preachers into Ireland, complaining that he was but half monarch of that kingdom, the bodies of the people being only subject to his authority, while their consciences were at the command of the pope; yet it does not appear that any attempts were made to convert them till after the year 1607, when the act of the third and fourth of Philip and Mary being repealed, the citizens of London undertook for the province of Ulster. These adventurers built Londonderry, fortified Coleraine, and purchased a great tract of land in the adjacent parts. They sent over considerable numbers of planters, but were at a loss for ministers; for the beneficed clergy of the Church of England, being at ease in the enjoyment of their preferments, would not engage in such a hazardous undertaking; it fell, therefore, to the lot of the Scots and English Puritans; the Scots, by reason of their vicinity to the northern parts of Ireland, transported numerous colonies; they improved the country, and brought preaching

into the churches where they settled; but being of the Presbyterian persuasion, they formed their churches after their own model. The London adventurers prevailed with several of the English Puritans to remove, who, being persecuted at home, were willing to go anywhere within the king's dominions for the liberty of their consciences, and more would have gone, could they have been secure of a toleration after they were settled. But their chief resource was from the Scots; the first minister of that persuasion that went over was Mr. Edward Bryce, who settled in Broad Island, in the county of Antrim, 1611; after him, Mr. Robert Cunningham, in Hollywood, in the county of Down. At the same time came over three English ministers, all Puritans trained up under Mr. Cartwright, viz., Mr. Ridges, of Antrim, Mr. Henry Calvert, and Mr. Hubbard, of Carrickfergus. After these, Mr. Robert Blair came from Scotland to Bangor, Mr. Hamilton to Bellinshy, and Mr. Levingston to Killinshy, in the county of Down, with Mr. Welsh, Dunbar, and others.* Mr. Blair was a zealous Presbyterian, and scrupled episcopal ordination, but the bishop of the diocess compromised the difference, by agreeing that the other Scots presbyters of Mr. Blair's persuasion should join with him, and that such passages in the established form of ordination as Mr. Blair and his brethren disliked, should be omitted or exchanged for others of their own approbation. Thus was Mr. Blair ordained publicly in the Church of Bangor; the Bishop of Raphoe did the same for Mr. Levingston; and all the Scots who were ordained in Ireland from this time to the year 1642 were ordained after the same manner; all of them enjoyed the churches and tithes, though they remained Presbyterian, and used not the liturgy; nay, the bishops consulted them about affairs of common concernment to the Church, and some of them were members of the convocation in 1634. They had their monthly meetings at Antrim, for the promoting of piety and the extirpation of popery. They had also their quarterly communions, by which means great numbers of the inhabitants were civilized, and many became serious Christians. Mr. Blair preached before the judges of assize on the Lord's Day, at the desire of the Bishop of Down, and his curate administered the sacrament to them the same day; so that there was a sort of comprehension between the two parties, by the countenance and approbation of the great Archbishop Usher, who encouraged the ministers in this good work. And thus things continued till the administration of Archbishop Laud, who, by dividing the Protestants, weakened them, and made way for that enormous growth of popery which ended in the massacre of almost all the Protestants in the kingdom.

It appears, from hence, that the Reformation of Ireland was built upon a Puritan foundation, though episcopacy was the legal establishment; but it was impossible to make any considerable progress in the conversion of the natives, because of their bigotry and prejudice against the English nation, whose language they could not be persuaded to learn.

The Protestant religion being pretty well es-

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 185.

* Loyalty Presb., p. 161-163.

tablished, it was thought advisable to frame some articles of their common faith according to the custom of other churches: some moved in convocation to adopt the articles of the English Church, but this was overruled, as not so honourable to themselves, who were as much a national church as England, nor so consistent with their independency; it was therefore voted to draw up a new confession of their own; the draught was referred to the conduct of Dr. James Usher, provost of Dublin College, and afterward lord-primate; it afterward passed both houses of Convocation and Parliament with great unanimity, and being sent over to the English court, was approved in council, and ratified by the Lord- lieutenant Chichester this year in the king's name.

These articles being rarely to be met with, I have given them a place in the Appendix,* being in a manner the same which the Puritans requested at the Hampton Court Conference: for, first, The nine articles of Lambeth are incorporated into this confession. Secondly, The morality of the Lord's Day is strongly asserted, and the spending it wholly in religious exercises is required [art. 56]. Thirdly, The observation of Lent is declared not to be a religious fast, but grounded merely on political considerations, for provision of things tending to the better preservation of the commonwealth [art. 50]. Fourthly, All clergymen are said to be lawfully called and sent, who are chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given them in the Church to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard (art. 71), which is an acknowledgment of the validity of the ordinations of those churches which have no bishops. Fifthly, The power of the keys is said to be only declarative (art. 74). Sixthly, The pope is declared to be antichrist, or that man of sin whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightness of his coming (art. 80). Seventhly, The consecration of archbishops, bishops, &c., is not so much as mentioned, as if done on purpose, says Mr. Collyer, to avoid maintaining the distinction between that order and that of priests. Lastly, No power is ascribed to the Church in making canons, or censuring those who either carelessly or wilfully infringe the same. Upon the whole, these articles seem to be contrived to compromise the difference between the Church and the Puritans; and they had that effect till the year 1634, when, by the influence of Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, these articles were set aside, and those of the Church of England received in their room.

To return to England. Among the Puritans who fled from the persecution of Bishop Bancroft was Mr. Henry Jacob, mentioned in the year 1604. This divine, having conferred with Mr. Robinson, pastor of an English church at Leyden, embraced his peculiar sentiments of church discipline, since known by the name of Independency. In the year 1619, Mr. Jacob published at Leyden a small treatise in octavo, entitled "The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's true Visible and Material Church;" and followed it next year with another from Middleburgh, which he called "An Explication and Confirmation of his former Treatise." Some time

after he returned to England, and having imparted his design of setting up a separate congregation, like those in Holland, to the most learned Puritans of those times, as Mr. Throgmorton, Wring, Mansel, Dod, &c., it was not condemned as unlawful, considering there was no prospect of a national reformation. Mr. Jacob, therefore, having summoned several of his friends together, as Mr. Staismore, Mr. Browne, Mr. Prior, Almey, Throughton, Allen, Gibbet, Farre, Goodal, and others; and having obtained their consent to unite in church-fellowship, for obtaining the ordinances of Christ in the purest manner, they laid the foundation of the first Independent or Congregational Church in England, after the following manner: having observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer for a blessing upon their undertaking, towards the close of the solemnity each of them made open confession of their faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; and then standing together, they joined hands, and solemnly covenanted with each other, in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or should farther make them known to them. Mr. Jacob was then chosen pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of deacons, with fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands.* The same year (1616) Mr. Jacob published a protestation or confession in the name of certain Christians, showing how far they agreed with the Church of England, and wherein they differed, with the reasons of their dissent drawn from Scripture; to which was added a petition to the king for the toleration of such Christians. And some time after he published "A Collection of sound Reasons, showing how necessary it is for all Christians to walk in the Ways and Ordinances of God in Purity, and in a right Church Way." Mr. Jacob continued with his people about eight years; but in the year 1624, being desirous to enlarge his usefulness, he went, with their consent, to Virginia, where he soon after died. Thus, according to the testimony of the Oxford historian, and some others, Mr. Henry Jacob was the first Independent minister in England, and this the first Congregational Church. Upon the departure of Mr. Jacob his church chose Mr. Lathorp their pastor, whose history will be resumed in its proper place.

The king was so full of his prerogative, that he apprehended he could convince his subjects of its unlimited extent; for this purpose he turned preacher in the Star Chamber, and took his text, Psalm lxii., 1: "Give the king thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness to the king's son."* After dividing and subdividing, and giving the literal and mystical sense of his text, he applied it to the judges and courts of judicature, telling them "that the king sitting in the throne of God, all judgments centre in him, and therefore for inferior courts to determine difficult questions without consulting him, was to encroach upon his prerogative, and to limit his power, which it was not lawful for the tongue of a lawyer nor any subject to dispute. As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what

* Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches, vol. i., p. 39.—C.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 192, 193, and note (9).

* Appendix, No. vi.

God can do," says he, "so it is presumption, and a high contempt, to dispute what kings can do or say; it is to take away that mystical reverence that belongs to them who sit in the throne of God.*" Then addressing the auditory, he admonishes them "not to meddle with the king's prerogative or honour. Plead not," says he, "upon Puritanical principles, which make all things popular, but keep within the ancient limits."

In speaking of recusants, there are three sorts: (1.) "Some that come now and then to church; these [the Puritans] are formal to the laws, but false to God. (2.) Others that have their consciences misled; some of these [the papists that swear allegiance] live as peaceable subjects. (3.) Others are practising recusants, who oblige their servants and tenants to be of their opinion. These are men of pride and presumption. I am loath to hang a priest only for his religion and saying mass; but if they refuse the oath of allegiance I leave them to the law." He concludes with exhorting the judges to countenance the clergy against papists and Puritans; adding, "God and the king will reward your zeal."

It is easy to observe from hence that his majesty's implacable aversion to the Puritans was founded not merely or principally on their refusal of the ceremonies, but on the principles of civil liberty and enmity to absolute monarchy; for all arguments against the extent of the prerogative are said to be founded on Puritan principles. A king with such maxims should have been frugal of his revenues, that he might not have stood in need of parliaments; but our monarch was extravagantly profuse, and, to supply his wants, delivered back this year to the Dutch their cautionary towns, which were the keys of their country, for less than a quarter part of the money that had been lent on them.

This year [1617] died the learned and judicious Mr. Paul Baynes, born in London, and educated in Christ College, Cambridge, of which he was a fellow. He succeeded Mr. Perkins in the lecture at St. Andrew's Church, where he behaved with that gravity and exemplary piety which rendered him universally acceptable to all who had any taste for serious religion, till Archbishop Bancroft, sending Dr. Harsnet to visit the University, called upon Mr. Baynes to subscribe according to the canons, which he refusing, the doctor silenced him, and put down his lecture. Mr. Baynes appealed to the archbishop, but his grace stood by his chaplains, and threatened to lay the good old man by the heels for appearing before him with a little black edging upon his cuffs. After this, Mr. Baynes preached only occasionally, as he could get opportunity, and was reduced to such poverty and want, that he said "he had not where to lay his head;" but at length death put an end to his sufferings, in the year 1617. He published "A Commentary upon the Ephesians," "The Dioclesian's Trial" against Dr. Downham, and some other practical treatises. Dr. Sibbes says "he was a divine of uncommon learning, clear judgment, ready wit, and of much communion with God and his own heart. What pity was it that

such a divine should be restrained, and in a manner starved!"*

The disputes in Holland between the Calvinists and Arminians, upon the five points relating to election, redemption, original sin, effectual grace, and perseverance, rose to such a height as obliged the States-General to have recourse to a national synod, which was convened at Dort, November 13, 1618. Each party had loaded the other with reproaches, and, in the warmth of dispute, charged their opinions with the most invidious consequences, insomuch that all good neighbourhood was lost, the pulpits were filled with unprofitable and angry disputes, and as each party prevailed the other were turned out of the churches. The magistrates were no less divided than the ministers, one city and town being ready to take up arms against another. At length it grew into a state faction, which endangered the dissolution of government. Maurice, prince of Orange, though a Remonstrant, put himself at the head of the Calvinists [or Contra-Remonstrants], because they were for a stadtholder, and the magistrates who were against a stadtholder sided with the [Remonstrants, or] Arminians, among whom the advocate of Holland, Oldenbarnevelt, and the pensionaries of Leyden and Rotterdam, Hogerberts and Grotius, were the chief. Several attempts were made for an accommodation, or toleration of the two parties; but this not succeeding, the three heads of the Remonstrants [Arminians] were taken into custody, and the magistrates of several towns and cities changed, by authority of the prince, which made way for the choosing such a synod as his highness desired. The classes of the several towns met first in a provincial synod, and these sent deputies to the national one, with proper instructions. The Remonstrants were averse to the calling a synod, because their numbers were as yet unequal to the Calvinists, and their leaders

* See Clarke's Lives, annexed to his General Martyrology, p. 24, who tells us that Mr. Baynes, being summoned on a time before the privy council, on pretence of keeping conventicles, and called on to speak for himself, made such an excellent speech, that, in the midst of it, a nobleman stood up and said, "He speaks more like an angel than a man, and I dare not stay here to have a hand in any sentence against him." Upon which speech he was dismissed, and never heard any more from them. The following anecdote is related of Mr. Baynes, showing the warmth of his natural temper, with his readiness to receive reproof, and to make a proper use of it. A religious gentleman placed his son under his care and tuition, and Mr. Baynes, entertaining some friends at supper, sent the boy into the town for something which they wanted. The boy stayed longer than was proper. Mr. Baynes reproved him with some sharpness, severely censuring his conduct. The boy remained silent; but the next day, when his tutor was calm, he thus addressed him: "My father placed me under your care not only for the benefit of human learning, but that by your pious counsel and example I might be brought up in the fear of God; but you, sir, giving way to your passion the last night, gave me a very evil example, such as I have never seen in my father's house." "Sayest thou so?" answered Mr. Baynes: "go to my tailor, and let him buy thee a suit of clothes, and make them for thee, which I will pay for, to make thee amend." And it is added, that Mr. Baynes watched more narrowly over his own spirit ever after.—*Brooke's Lives*, &c., vol. ii., p. 264.—C.

* Mr. Neal abridges Rapin, and gives the sense rather than the exact words.—Ed.

being in custody, it was easy to foretel their approaching fate. They complained of injustice in their summons to the provincial assemblies, but Trigland says that where the Remonstrants [Arminians] were weakest they were equally regarded with the other party; but in truth their deputies were angry and dissatisfied, and in many places absented from their classes, and so yielded up their power into the hands of their adversaries, who condemned their principles and deposed several of their ministers.

The National Synod of Dort consisted of thirty-eight Dutch and Walloon divines, five professors of the universities, and twenty-one lay-elders, making together sixty-one persons, of which not above three or four were Remonstrants. Besides these, there were twenty-eight foreign divines, from Great Britain, from the Palatinate, from Hussia, Switzerland, Geneva, Bremen, Embden, Nassau, and Wetteravia; the French king not admitting his Protestant divines to appear. Next to the States' deputies sat the English divines; the second place was reserved for the French divines; the rest sat in the order recited. Upon the right and left hand of the chair, next to the lay-deputies, sat the Netherland professors of divinity, then the ministers and elders, according to the rank of their provinces; the Walloon churches sitting last. After the divines, as well domestic as foreign, had produced their credentials, the Rev. Mr. John Bogerman, of Leewarden, was chosen president, the Rev. Mr. Jacob Roland and Herman Faukelius, of Amsterdam and Middleburgh, assessors; Heinsius was scribe, and the Rev. Mr. Damnon and Festius Hommius, secretaries; a general fast was then appointed, after which they proceeded to business.

The names of the English divines were, Dr. Carlton, bishop of Llandaff; Dr. Hall, dean of Worcester, afterward bishop of Norwich; Dr. Davenant, afterward bishop of Salisbury; and Dr. Samuel Ward, master of Sidney College, Cambridge;* but Dr. Hall not being able to bear the climate,† Dr. Goad, prebendary of Canterbury, was appointed in his room. Mr. Balcanqual, a Scotsman, but no friend to the Kirk, was also commissioned by King James to represent that church. He was taken into consultation, and joined in suffrage with the English divines, so as to make one college; for the divines of each nation gave only one vote in the synod, as their united sense; and though Balcanqual did not wear the habits of the English divines, nor sit with them in the synod, having a place by himself as representative of the Scots Kirk, yet, says the Bishop of Llandaff, his apparel was decent, and in all respects he gave much satisfaction. His majesty's instructions to them were, (1.) To agree among themselves about the state of any question, and how far it may be

maintained agreeably to the Scriptures and the doctrine of the Church of England. (2.) To advise the Dutch ministers not to insist in their sermons upon scholastic points, but to abide by their former confession of faith, and those of their neighbour Reformed churches. (3.) That they should consult the king's honour, in place of the distracted churches, and behave in all things with gravity and moderation.

When all the members of the synod were assembled, they took the following oath, in the twenty-third session, each person standing up in his place, and laying his hand upon his heart:

"I promise, before God, whom I believe and worship, as here present, and as the searcher of the reins and heart, that during the whole course of the transactions of this synod, in which there will be made an inquiry into, and judgment and decision of, not only the well-known five points, and all the difficulties resulting from thence, but likewise of all other sorts of doctrine, I will not make use of any kind of human writings, but only of the Word of God, as a sure and infallible rule of faith. Neither will I have any other thing in view throughout this whole discussion but the honour of God, the peace of the Church, and, above all, the preservation of the purity of doctrine. So help me my Saviour Jesus Christ, whom I ardently beseech to assist me in this my design, by his Holy Spirit."*

This was all the oath that was taken, says Bishop Hall, as I hope to be saved. It was therefore an unjust insinuation of Mr. John Goodwin, who, in his "Redemption Redeemed," p. 395, charged them with taking a previous oath to condemn the opposite party on what terms soever. "It grieves my soul," says the bishop, "to see any learned divine raising such imaginary conjectures; but since I have seen it, I bless my God that I yet live to vindicate them [1651] by this my knowing and clear attestation, which I am ready to second with the solemnest oath, if required."

The synod continued to the 29th of May, in which time there were one hundred and eighty sessions. In the hundred and forty-fifth session, and 30th of April, the Belgic confession of faith was debated and put to the question, which the English divines agreed to, except the articles relating to the parity of ministers and ecclesiastical discipline. They said they had carefully examined the said confession, and did not find anything therein, with respect to faith and doctrine, but what was, in the main, conformable to the Word of God.† They added, that they had likewise considered the Remonstrants' [Arminians] exceptions against the said confession, and declared that they were of such a nature as to be capable of being made against all the confessions of other Reformed churches. They did not pretend to pass any judgment upon the articles relating to their church government, but only maintained that their own church government was founded upon apostolic institution.

Mr. John Hales, of Eton, chaplain to the English ambassador Carlton, sat among the hearers for some weeks, and having taken minutes of the proceedings, transmitted them twice or thrice a

* Brandt, vol. iii., p. 62; or the Abridgment of Brandt, 8vo, vol. ii., p. 417.

† Brandt, vol. iii., p. 298; or Abridgment, vol. ii., p. 508, 509.

* Fuller's Worthies, p. 159.

† Before Bishop Hall left the synod he delivered a Latin sermon before the Assembly, who, by their president and assistants, took a solemn leave of him; and the deputies of the States dismissed him with honourable rewards, and sent him a rich gold medal, bearing the portraiture of the synod. Dr. Hall was moderate upon the five points controverted in that synod, as appears by the treatise which he soon after wrote, and which is among his published works, under the title of "Via Media."—Hall's Life in Middleton's Biography, vol. iii., p. 355.—C.

week to his excellency at the Hague. After his departure, Dr. Balcanqual, the Scots commissioner, and Dr. Ames, carried on the correspondence. Mr. Hales observes that the Remonstrants behaved on several occasions very imprudently,* not only in the manner of their debates, but in declining the authority of the synod, though summoned by the civil magistrate in the most unexceptionable manner. The five points of difference between the Calvinists and Arminians, after a long hearing, were decided in favour of the former. After which the Remonstrant ministers were dismissed the assembly, and banished the country within a limited time, except they submitted to the new confession; on which occasion some very hard speeches were mutually exchanged, and appeals made to the final tribunal of God.

When the opinion of the British divines was read, upon the extent of Christ's redemption, it was observed that they omitted the received distinction between the sufficiency and efficacy of it; nor did they touch upon the received limitation of those passages which, speaking of Christ's dying for the whole world, are usually interpreted of the world of the elect, Dr. Davenant and some of his brethren inclining to the doctrine of universal redemption.† In all other points there was a perfect harmony; and even in this Balcanqual says King James and the Archbishop of Canterbury desired them to comply, though Heylin says their instructions were not to oppose the doctrine of universal redemption. But Dr. Davenant and Ward were for a middle way between the two extremes: they maintained the certainty of the salvation of the elect, and that offers of pardon were sent not only to all who should believe and repent, but to all who heard the Gospel; and that grace sufficient to convince and persuade the impenitent (so as to lay the blame of their condemnation upon themselves) went along with these offers; that the redemption of Christ and his merits were applicable to these, and, consequently, there was a possibility of their salvation. However, they complied with the synod, and declared their confession, in the main, agreeable to the Word of God; but this gave rise to a report, some years after, that they had deserted the doctrine of the Church of England; upon which Bishop Hall expressed his concern to Doctor Davenant in these words: "I shall live and die in suffrage of that Synod of Dort; and I do confidently avow that those other opinions [of Arminius] cannot stand with the doctrine of the Church of England." To which Bishop Davenant replied in these words: "I know that no man can embrace Arminianism in the doctrines of predestination and grace, but he must desert the articles agreed upon by the Church of England; nor in the point of perseverance, but he must vary from the received opinions of our best-approved doctors in the English Church." Yet Heylin has the assurance to say, "that though the Arminian controversy brought some trouble for the present to the churches of Holland, it was of greater advantage to the Church of England, whose doctrine in those points had been so overborne by the Calvinists, that it was almost reckoned for a

heresy to be sound and orthodox [i. e., an Arminian] according to the Book of Articles established by law in the Church of England." He adds, "that King James did not appear for Calvinism out of judgment, but for reasons of state, and from a personal friendship to Prince Maurice, who had put himself at their head. He therefore sent such divines as had zeal enough to condemn the Remonstrants, though it was well known that he had disapproved the articles of Lambeth, and the doctrine of predestination; nor was it a secret what advice he had given Prince Maurice before he put himself at the head of the Calvinists."*

When the synod was risen, people spake of it in a very different manner; † the States of Holland were highly satisfied: they gave high rewards to the chief divines, ‡ and ordered the original records of their proceedings to be preserved among their archives. The English divines expressed full satisfaction in the proceedings of the synod. Mr. Baxter says the Christian world, since the days of the apostles, never had an assembly of more excellent divines. The learned Jacobus Capellus, professor of Leyden, declared that the equity of the fathers of this synod was such, that no instance can be given, since the apostolic age, of any other synod in which the heretics were heard with more patience, or which proceeded with a better temper or more sanctity. P. du Moulin, Paulus Servita, and the author of the life of Wales, speaks the same language. But others poured contempt upon the synod, and burlesqued their proceedings in the following lines:

Dordrechi synodus, nodus; chorus integer, æger;
Conventus, ventus, sessio, stramen, Amen.

Lewis du Moulin, with all the favourers of the Arminian doctrines, as Heylin, Womack, Brandt, &c., charge them with partiality and unjustifiable severity. Upon the whole, in my judgment, they proceeded with as much discretion and candour as most assemblies, ancient or modern, have done, who have pretended to establish articles for other men's faith with penal sanctions. I shall take leave of this venerable body with this farther remark, that King James sending over divines to join this assembly was on open acknowledgment of the validity of ordination by mere presbyters; here being a bishop of the Church of England sitting as a private member in a synod of divines of which a mere presbyter was the president.

In the summer of the year 1617, King James made a progress into Scotland, to advance the episcopal cause in that country; the Chapel of Edinburgh was adorned after the manner of Whitehall, pictures being carried from hence, together with the statues of the twelve apostles, which were set up in the church. His majesty treated his Scots subjects with a haughty distance; telling them, both in the Parliament and General Assembly, "that it was a power innate, a princely special prerogative which Christian kings have, to order and dispose external things

* Hist. Presb., p. 381.

† Brandt, p. 307, 308; or Abridgment, vol. ii., p. 531.

‡ Each divine of the United Provinces received four florins a day. The synod cost ten tons of gold, i. e., a million of florins.—Brandt Abridged, vol. ii., p. 531.—Eo.

* Hales's Remains, p. 507, 512, 526, 586, 587.

† Brandt, p. 526.

in the outward polity of the Church, or as we with our bishops shall think fit; and, sirs, for your approving or disproving, deceive not yourselves: I will not have my reason opposed." Two acts relating to the Church were passed this session; one concerning the choice of archbishops and bishops, and another for the restitution of chapters; but the ministers protesting against both, several of them were suspended and deprived, and others banished, as, the Melvins, Mr. Forbes, &c., and as the famous Mr. Calderwood, author of the *Altare Damascenum*, had been before; which book, when one of the English prelates promised to answer, the king replied, "What will you answer, man? There is nothing here than Scripture, reason, and fathers."*

Next year a convention or assembly was summoned to meet at Perth, August 25, 1618. It consisted of some noblemen, statesmen, barons, and burgesses, chosen on purpose to bear down the ministers; and with what violence things were carried, God and all indifferent spectators, says my author, are witnesses. In this assembly the court and bishops made a shift to carry the following five articles:

1. That the Holy Sacrament shall be received kneeling.

2. That ministers shall be obliged to administer the sacrament in private houses to the sick, if they desire it.

3. That ministers may baptize children privately at home, in cases of necessity, only certifying it to the congregation the next Lord's Day.

4. That ministers shall bring such children of their parish as can say their catechism, and repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, to the bishops, to confirm and give them their blessing.

5. That the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Ascension of our Saviour, shall, for the future, be commemorated in the Kirk of Scotland.†

The king ordered these articles to be published at the market-crosses of the several boroughs, and the ministers to read them in their pulpits, which the greatest number of the latter refused, there being no penalty except the king's displeasure; but the vote of the assembly at Perth not being sufficient to establish these articles into a law, it was resolved to use all the interest of the court to carry them through the Parliament. This was not attempted till the year 1621, when the Parliament meeting on the 1st of June, the ministers had prepared a supplication against the five articles, giving reasons why they should not be received or confirmed, and came to Edinburgh in great numbers to

* This Bishop Warburton understands as said ironically.—Ed.

† "A prince," observes a judicious historian, "must be strangely infatuated and strongly prejudiced to employ his power and influence in establishing such matters as these! Let rites and ceremonies be deemed ever so decent, who will say they are fit to be imposed by methods of severity and constraint? Yet, by these ways, these matters were introduced among the Scots, to the disgrace of humanity and the eternal blemish of a prince who boasted of his learning, and was forever displaying his abilities."—*Dr. Harris's Life of James*, p. 236, 237.—Ed.

support it. Upon this, the king's commissioner, by advice of the bishops and council, issued a proclamation, commanding all ministers to depart out of Edinburgh within twenty hours, except the settled ministers of the city, and such as should have a license from the bishop. The ministers obeyed, leaving behind them a protestation against the articles, and an admonition to the members of Parliament not to ratify them, as they would answer it in the day of judgment. They alleged that the assembly of Perth was illegal, and that the articles were against the privileges of the Kirk and the established laws of the kingdom. This bred a great deal of ill blood, and raised a new persecution throughout the kingdom, many of the Presbyterian ministers being fined, imprisoned, and banished by the High Commission, at a time when, by their interest with the people, it was in their power to have turned their taskmasters out of the kingdom.*

Thus far King James proceeded towards the restitution of episcopacy in Scotland, but one thing was still wanting to complete the work, which was a public liturgy or Book of Common Prayer. Several consultations were held upon this head, but the king, being assured it would occasion an insurrection over the whole kingdom, wisely dropped it, leaving that unhappy work to be finished by his son, whose imposing it upon the Kirk, without consent of Parliament or General Assembly, set fire to the discontents of the people, which had been gathering for many years.

To return to England. This year the learned Mr. Selden was summoned before the High Commission for publishing his *History of Tithes*, in which he proves them not to be of Divine, but human appointment; and, after many threatenings, was obliged to sign the following recantation:

"My good lords,

"I most humbly acknowledge my error in publishing the *History of Tithes*, and especially in that I have at all (by showing any interpretation of Holy Scriptures, by meddling with councils, fathers, or canons, or by what else soever occurs in it) offered any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance, *jure divino*, of the ministers of the Gospel: beseeching your lordships to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledgment, together with the unfeigned protestation of my grief, for that I have so incurred his majesty and your lordships' displeasure conceived against me in behalf of the Church of England.

"January 28, 1618.

JOHN SELDEN."

Notwithstanding this submission, Mr. Fuller says it is certain that a fiercer storm never fell upon all parsonage barns† since the Reforma-

* Bishop Warburton is not willing to allow them the praise of acting with this caution and temper, "for," he remarks, "soon after they used their interest to this purpose, and I believe they began to use it as soon as they got it." The bishop did not consider that it is not in human nature, any more than it is consistent with wisdom and moderation, to proceed, though injured and provoked, to extremities at first. That the Scotch Presbyterian ministers should have great interest with the people, was the necessary consequence of their being sufferers for the principles of the Kirk and the nation.—Ed.

† Bishop Warburton, because he himself appro-

tion what was raised by this treatise; nor did Mr. Selden quickly forget their stopping his mouth after this manner.*

This year died the Rev. Mr. William Bradshaw, born at Bosworth, in Leicestershire, 1571, and educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was afterward removed, and admitted fellow of Sidney College, where he got an easy admission into the ministry, being dispensed with in some things that he scrupled. He preached first as a lecturer at Abingdon, and then at Steeple-Morton. At length, by the recommendation of Dr. Chadderton; he was settled at Chatham, in Kent, in the year 1601; but before he had been there a twelvemonth he was sent for by the archbishop to Shorne, a town situate between Rochester and Gravesend, and commanded to subscribe, which he refusing, was immediately suspended. The inhabitants of Chatham, in their petition for his restoration, say that his doctrine was most wholesome, true, and learned, void of faction and contention, and his life so garnished with unblemished virtues and graces, as malice itself could not reprove him. But all intercessions were to no purpose; he therefore removed into another diocese, where he obtained a license, and at length was chosen lecturer of Christ Church, in London. Here he published a treatise against the ceremonies, for which he was obliged to leave the city, and retired to his friend Mr. Redriche's, at Newhall, in Leicestershire. The bishop's chancellor followed him thither with an inhibition to preach, but by the mediation of a couple of good angels, says my author, the restraint was taken off.† In this silent and melancholy retirement he spent the vigour and strength of his days. At length, as he was attending Mrs. Redriche on a visit to Chelsea, he was seized with a violent fever, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the forty-eighth year of his age. He was full of heavenly expressions in his last sickness, and died with great satisfaction in his nonconformity. Dr. Hall, bishop of Norwich, gives him this character: "That he was of a strong brain, and of a free spirit, not suffering himself, for small differences of judgment, to be alienated from his friends, to whom, notwithstanding his seeming austerity, he was very pleasing in conversation, being full of witty and harmless urbanity; he was very strong and eager in arguing, hearty in friendship, regardless of the world, a despiser of compliments, a lover of reality, full of digested and excellent notions, a painful labourer in God's vineyard, and now, no doubt, gloriously rewarded." Such was this light, which, by the

ved of the principle of Mr. Selden's book, as placing the claim of tithes "on the sure foundation of law instead of the feeble prop of an imaginary Divine right," carps at this expression of Mr. Neal, though the words of Fuller, and asks, "Where was the storm, except in the author's fanciful standish?" The answer is, the storm was in the offence Mr. Selden's doctrine gave the clergy, and the indignation of the court which it drew on him. The clergy published angry animadversions on it, and the king threatened to throw him into prison if he replied in his own defence.—*British Biography*, vol. iv., p. 377.—Ed.

* Mr. Selden's writings continued to influence the public mind, and to expose to merited contempt the unfounded pretensions and exactions of the clergy.—C.

† Gataker's Life of Bradshaw, in Clarke's Lives, annexed to his General Martyrology.—C.

severity of the times, was put under a bush-el!*

In order to put a stop to the growth of Puritanism, and silence the objections of papists against the strictness of the Reformed religion, his majesty this year published "A Declaration to encourage Recreations and Sports on the Lord's Day," contrary to his proclamation in the first year of his reign, and to the articles of the Church of Ireland, ratified under the great seal, 1615, in which the morality of the Lord's Day is affirmed. "But," says Heylin, "the Puritans, by raising the Sabbath, took occasion to depress the festivals, and introduced, by little and little, a general neglect of the weekly fasts, the holy time of Lent, and the Embering days, reducing all acts of humiliation to solemn and occasional fasts."* Sad indeed! "But this was not all the mischief," says the doctor, "for several preachers and justices of the peace took occasion from hence to forbid all lawful sports on the Lord's Day, by means whereof the priests and Jesuits persuaded the people in the northern counties that the Reformed religion was incompatible with that Christian liberty which God and nature had indulged to the sons of men; so that, to preserve the people from popery, his majesty was brought under a necessity to publish the Book of Sports."

It was drawn up by Bishop Moreton, and dated from Greenwich, May 24, 1618, and it was to this effect: "That for his good people's recreation, his majesty's pleasure was that after the end of Divine service they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations, such as dancing, either of men or women, archery for men, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations; nor having May-games, Whitsun-ales, or morrice-dances, or setting up of Maypoles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same may be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of Divine service; and that women should have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old customs; withal prohibiting all unlawful games to be used on Sundays only, as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, and at all times (in the meaner sort of people prohibited) bowling." Two or three restraints were annexed to the declaration, which deserve the reader's notice: (1.) No recusant [*i. e.*, papist] was to have the benefit of this declaration. (2.) Nor such as were not present at the whole of Divine service. (3.) Nor such as did not keep to their own parish churches, that is, Puritans.

This declaration was ordered to be read in all the parish churches in Lancashire, which abounded with papists; and Wilson adds, that it was to be read in all the churches of England; but that Archbishop Abbot, being at Croydon, flatly forbid its being read there. It was certainly an imprudent project, as well as a grief to all sober Protestants; and had the king insisted upon its being read throughout all the churches at this time, I am apt to think it would have produced the same convulsions as it did about fifteen years afterward.

* Mr. Bradshaw's writings were numerous, and all are excellent, especially his treatise on Justification, which was highly praised by Dr. Prideaux.—C.

† Heylin's Hist. of Presb., p. 389, 390.

It is hard to account for the distinction between lawful and unlawful sports on the Lord's Day: if any sports are lawful, why not all! what reason can be given why morrice-dances, revels, May-games, Whitson-ales, wakes, &c., should be more lawful than interludes, bull-baiting, or bowls! It cannot arise from their moral nature, for the former have as great a tendency to promote vice as the latter. But the exceptions to the benefit of this declaration are more extraordinary: could his majesty think that the Puritans, who were present at part of Divine service, though not at the whole; or that those who went to other parish churches for their better edification, would lay hold of the liberty of his declaration, when he knew they believed the morality of the fourth commandment, and that no ordinance of man could make void the law of God? farther, his majesty debarrec recusants [*i. e.*, papists] from this liberty, which their religion had always indulged them; but these are now to be restrained. The papist is to turn Puritan, with regard to the Sabbath, being forbid the use of lawful recreations on the Lord's Day; and Protestants are to dance and revel, and go to their May-games on that sacred day, to preserve them from popery! This subject will return again in the next reign.

This year and the next proved fatal to the Protestant interest in Germany, by the loss of the Palatinate into the hands of the papists, and the ruin of the elector Frederic V., king of Bohemia, who had married the king's only daughter. This being a remarkable period, relating to the ancestors of his present majesty King George II., it will be no useless digression to place it in its proper light. The kingdom of Bohemia was elective, and because their king did not always reside with them, a certain number of persons were chosen by the States, called defenders, to see the laws put in execution. There were two religions established by law: * one was called *sub-una*, the other *sub-utraque*; the professors of the former were Roman Catholics, and communicated under one kind; of the latter, Hussites, and since the Reformation Protestants, who communicated under both kinds. The Emperor Sigismund, in order to secure his election to this kingdom, granted the Hussites an edict in the year 1435, whereby it was decreed that there should be no magistrate or freeman of the city of Prague but what was of their religion. This was religiously observed till the year 1570, when, by order of the Emperor Maximilian, a Catholic was made a citizen of Prague, after which time, the edict was frequently broken, till at length the Jesuits

erected a stately college, and put the papists on a level with the Protestants.* Matthias, the present emperor, having adopted his cousin Ferdinand of Austria, had a mind to get him the crown of Bohemia; for which purpose he summoned an assembly of the States, without sending, as usual, to the Protestants of Silesia, Moravia, and the Upper and Lower Alsatia; these, therefore, not attending (according to the emperor's wish), made the Catholics a majority, who declared Ferdinand presumptive successor to Matthias; after which he was crowned at Prague, and resided at Gratz. The defenders taking notice of this breach of their constitution, and perceiving the design of the imperial court to extirpate the Protestant religion, summoned an assembly of all the States, and among others, those of Silesia, Moravia, and Alsatia, who drew up a petition to the emperor, to demand the execution of the laws, and a reasonable satisfaction for the injuries they had received; after which they adjourned themselves to the Monday after Rogation week, 1618. The emperor, instead of granting their requests, ordered his lieutenant to hinder the reassembling of the States, as being called without his license; but the States assembled according to the adjournment, and being informed of the force that was designed against them, went in a body to the Chancery, and having seized the emperor's chief-justice, the secretary, and another of his council, they threw them out of the castle-window, and then drove the Jesuits out of the city. In order to justify their proceedings, they published to the world an apology, and having signed a confederacy to stand by one another against all opposers, they chose twenty-four protectors, empowering them to raise forces, and levy such taxes as they should find necessary.

In this situation of affairs, the emperor, who was also King of Bohemia, died, and on the 18th of August, 1619, Ferdinand was chosen his successor in the Empire; but the Bohemians not only disowned him for their king, but declared the throne vacant, and on September 5th chose Frederic, elector palatine, King James's son-in-law, for their sovereign. Deputies were immediately sent to acquaint him with the choice, and pray him to repair immediately to Prague. Frederic despatched an express to England to desire the advice of his father-in-law; but the affair not admitting of so long delay, he accepted the kingdom, and was crowned at Prague, November 4th.

All the Protestant electors rejoiced at this providence, and gave him the title of King of Bohemia, as did most of the Protestant powers of Europe, except the King of England. It was acceptable news to the English Puritans to hear of a Protestant prince in Bohemia; and they earnestly desired his majesty to support him, as appears by Archbishop Abbot's letter, who was known to speak the sense of that whole party. This prelate being asked his opinion as a privy counsellor, while he was confined to his bed with the gout, wrote the following letter to the secretary of state: "That it was his opinion that the elector should accept the crown; that England should support him openly; and that, as soon as news of his coronation should ar-

* These are the words of Rapin; but Bishop Warburton says, "This is a mistake. There were not two religions, but one only, administering a single rite differently." This remark would be accurate, if the difference between the two parties had lain only in this point; but this could not be the case between the Catholics and Hussites; the difference between whom extended to many essential heads, though they were, with respect to this matter, denominated from one single point. But the bishop asserts that "the fancy of two established religions in one state is an absurdity." But absurdities may exist, and this very absurdity exists, and did exist at the time his lordship wrote, in Great Britain: in one part of which episcopacy is the established religion, and in the other, Scotland, Presbyterianism.—Ed.

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 197, folio edit.

rive, the bells should be rung, guns fired, and bonfires made, to let all Europe see that the king was determined to countenance him.* The archbishop adds, "It is a great honour to our king to have such a son made a king; methinks I foresee in this the work of God, that by degrees the kings of the earth shall leave the whore to desolation. Our striking in will comfort the Bohemians, and bring in the Dutch and the Dane, and Hungary will run the same fortune. As for money and means, let us trust God and the Parliament, as the old and honourable way of raising money. This from my bed," says the brave old prelate, "September 12, 1619, and when I can stand I will do better service."

But the king disliked the archbishop's letter, as built upon Puritan principles; he had an ill opinion of elective kingdoms, and of the people's power to dispose of crowns; besides, he was afraid of disobliging the Roman Catholic powers, and, in particular, the King of Spain, a near relation of the new emperor's, with whom he was in treaty for a wife for his son; so that the elector's envoy, after long waiting, was sent back with an admonition to his son-in-law to refuse the crown; but this being too late, he took it into his head to persuade him to resign it, and stood still, offering his mediation, and sending ambassadors, while the emperor raised a powerful army, not only to reduce the kingdom of Bohemia, but to dispossess the elector of his hereditary dominions. Several princes of Europe gave King James notice of the design, and exhorted him to support the Protestant religion in the empire, but his majesty was deaf to all advice, and for the sake of a Spanish wife for his son, suffered his own daughter, with a numerous family of children, to be sent a begging, and the balance of Protestant power to be lost in the empire; for the next summer the emperor and his allies, having conquered the Palatinate, entered Bohemia, and about the middle of November fought the decisive battle of Prague, wherein Frederic's army was entirely routed; his hereditary dominions, which had been the sanctuary of the Protestants in Queen Mary's reign, were given to the Duke of Bavaria, a papist, the noble library of Heidelberg was carried off to the Vatican at Rome, and the elector himself, with his wife and children, forced to fly into Holland in a starving condition.

Had the King of England had any remains of honour, courage, or esteem for the Protestant religion, he might have preserved it in the Palatinate, and established it in Bohemia, by which the balance of power would have been on that side; but this cowardly prince would not draw his sword for the best cause in the world; however, this noble family was the care of Divine Providence during a long exile of twenty-eight years, after which they were restored to their dominions by the treaty of Munster, 1648, and declared presumptive heirs of the crown of Great Britain in the last year of King William III., of which they took possession upon the death of Queen Anne, 1714, to the inexpressible joy of the Protestant Dissenters, and of all who loved the Reformed religion and the liberties of their country.

* Cabala, b. i., p. 12; or p. 18 of the edition in 1663.

Among the Brownists in Holland, we have mentioned the Rev. Mr. John Robinson, of Leyden, the father of the Independents, whose numerous congregations being on the decline, by their aged members dying off and their children marrying into Dutch families, they consulted how to preserve their church and religion; and at length, after several solemn addresses to Heaven for direction, the younger part of the congregation resolved to remove into some part of America, under the protection of the King of England, where they might enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and be capable of encouraging their friends and countrymen to follow them. Accordingly, they sent over agents into England, who, having obtained a patent from the crown, agreed with several merchants to become adventurers in the undertaking. Several of Mr. Robinson's congregation sold their estates and made a common bank, with which they purchased a small ship of sixty tons, and hired another of one hundred and eighty. The agents sailed into Holland with their own ship, to take in as many of the congregation as were willing to embark, while the other vessel was freighting with all the necessaries for the new plantation. All things being ready, Mr. Robinson observed a day of fasting and prayer with his congregation, and took his leave of the adventurers with the following truly generous and Christian exhortation:

"Brethren,

"We are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more the God of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

"If God reveal anything to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy Word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion,* and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented, for

* The remarks of Acontius are pertinent here: "The cause," says he, "that the relics of error and superstition are perpetuated is, that as often as there is any reformation of religion, either in doctrine or worship, men think that everything is not to be immediately reformed at first, but the most distinguishing errors only are to be done away; and that, when some time has intervened, the reformation will be completed with less difficulty. *But the event hath in many places shown that it is more difficult to remove the relics of false worship and opinions, than it was at first to subvert fundamental errors.* Hence it is better to correct everything at once." "*Sed ex eo etiam fieri potest, ut maneat errorum atque superstitionum reliquiae,*" &c.—*Acontii Stagematum Satanae, libri octo. ed., 1652, p. 330.*—Ed.

though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God, but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light as that which they first received. I beseech you remember, it is an article of your church-covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written Word of God. Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must here withal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth—examine it, consider it, and compare it with other Scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

“I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownists; it is a mere nickname, and a brand for the making religion and the professors of it odious to the Christian world.”

On July 1 (1620), the adventurers went from Leyden to Delfthaven, whither Mr. Robinson and the ancients of his congregation accompanied them; they continued together all night, and next morning, after mutual embraces, Mr. Robinson knelt down on the seashore, and with a fervent prayer committed them to the protection and blessing of Heaven. The adventurers were about one hundred and twenty, who, having joined their other ship, sailed for New-England, August 5; but one of their vessels proving leaky, they left it, and embarked in one vessel, which arrived at Cape Cod November 9, 1620. Sad was the condition of these poor men, who had the winter before them, and no accommodations at land for their entertainment; most of them were in a weak and sickly condition with the voyage, but there was no remedy; they therefore manned their long-boat, and having coasted the shore, at length found a tolerable harbour, where they landed their effects, and on the 25th of December began to build a storehouse, and some small cottages to preserve them from the weather. Their company was divided into nineteen families, each family having an allotment of land for lodging and gardens, in proportion to the number of persons of which it consisted; and, to prevent disputes, the situation of each family was decided by lot. They agreed, likewise, upon some laws for their civil and military government, and having chosen a governor, they called the place of their settlement by the name of New Plymouth.

Inexpressible were the hardships these new planters underwent the first winter; a sad mortality raged among them, occasioned by the fatigues of their late voyage, by the severity of the weather, and their want of necessaries. The country was full of woods and thickets; their poor cottages could not keep them warm; they had no physician, or wholesome food, so that within two or three months half their company was dead, and of them who remained alive, which were about fifty, not above six or seven at a time were capable of helping the rest; but as the spring came on they recovered, and having received some fresh supplies from their

friends in England, they maintained their station, and laid the foundation of one of the noblest settlements in America, which from that time has proved an asylum for the Protestant Nonconformists under all their oppressions.*

To return to England: though the king had so lately expressed a zeal for the doctrines of Calvin at the Synod of Dort, it now appeared that he had shaken them off, by his advancing the most zealous Arminians, as Buckeridge, Neile, Harsnet, and Laud, to some of the best bishoprics in the kingdom. These divines, apprehending their principles hardly consistent with the Thirty-nine Articles, fell in with the prerogative, and covered themselves under the wing of his majesty's pretensions to unlimited power, which gave rise to a new distinction at court between Church and State Puritans. All were Puritans with King James who stood by the laws of the land in opposition to his arbitrary government, though otherwise never so good churchmen; these were Puritans in the State, as those who scrupled the ceremonies, and espoused the doctrines of Calvin, were in the Church. The Church Puritans were comparatively few, but being joined by those who stood by the Constitution, they became the majority of the nation. To balance these, the king protected and countenanced the Arminians and papists, who joined heartily with the prerogative, and became a state faction against the old English Constitution. The parties, being thus formed, grew up into hatred of each other. All who opposed the king's arbitrary measures were called at court by the name of Puritans; and

* This colony is honourably distinguished from all others in ancient or modern times. It was planted under the influence of Christian principles, and was designed to be a refuge whither the persecuted in England might repair with safety. The parties who originated it were men of exalted piety; and the motives which swayed their conduct were of the highest and purest order of which human nature admits. Other colonies had been founded at the impulse of national glory, or of commercial enterprise; but this sprang from a sacred regard to the interests of religion, whose healthful tone and vigorous nature it proclaimed to the communities of Europe. The character of the colonists gave a religious complexion to their affairs, while their fortitude and piety revived the hopes of their brethren at home, and gave promise of a better state of things than had yet been realized. The world which the enterprising genius of Columbus had revealed to the European nations was a theatre on which new maxims of government and new forms of religion were to be subjected to the test of experiment. Many of the settlements effected on its shores were conducted by men of piety, who were more solicitous for the preservation of Christian truth than for the accumulation of worldly gain. The experiment was therefore made under the happiest auspices, and the rising communities of the New World were speedily in a condition to speak the language of freedom to the enfeebled and decrepit forms of despotism in Europe. Their early history was distinguished by some inconsistencies flowing from the errors they had imbibed in infancy. The peculiarity of their situation, and the perplexing and hazardous nature of the circumstances amid which they were required to act, unhappily led them to forget on some occasions the tolerant and generous principles which the noble Robinson had inculcated. But his spirit revived among them, and ultimately effected the extinction of those laws and usages which were alike inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the professions of their fathers.—C. See *Pricc*.

those that stood by the crown in opposition to the Parliament went by the names of papists and Arminians. These were the seeds of those factions which occasioned all the disturbances in the following reign.

The Palatinate being lost, and the king's son-in-law and daughter forced to take sanctuary in Holland, the whole world murmured at his majesty's indolence, both as a father and a Protestant: these murmurs obliged him, at length, to have recourse to a Parliament, from whom he hoped to squeeze a little money to spend upon his pleasures; at the opening of the session, January 20, 1620-1, his majesty told them, "that they were no other than his council, to give him advice as to what he should ask. It is the king," says he, "that makes laws, and ye are to advise him to make such as will be best for the commonwealth." With regard to his tolerating popery, on the account of his son's match, he professes "he will do nothing but what shall be for the good of religion." With regard to the Palatinate, he says, "If he cannot get it restored by fair means, his crown, his blood, and his son's blood, shall be spent for its recovery." He therefore commands them not to hunt after grievances, but to be quick and speedy in giving him money. Though the Parliament did not credit the king's speech, yet the occasion was so reasonable, that the Commons immediately voted him two entire subsidies, and the clergy three; but finding his majesty awed by the Spaniard, and making no preparation for war, they began to inquire into grievances, upon which the king adjourned the houses (a power not claimed by any of his predecessors); but upon the day of adjournment the Commons drew up a declaration, wherein they say, "that being touched with a true sense and fellow-feeling of the sufferings of the king's children and of the true professors of the same Christian religion professed by the Church of England in foreign parts, as members of the same body, they unanimously declare that they will be ready, to the utmost of their power, both with their lives and fortunes, to assist his majesty, so as that he may be able to do that with his sword which, by a peaceable course, shall not be effected."

Upon their reassembling in the month of November, finding the king still amused by the Spanish match, while the Protestant interest in the Palatinate was expiring, the Commons drew up a large remonstrance, in which they represent the danger of the Protestant religion from the growth of popery; from the open resort of papists to the ambassador's chapels; from the frequent and numerous conventicles both in city and country; from the interposing of foreign ambassadors in their favour; from the compounding of their forfeitures for such small sums of money as amount to little less than a toleration; from the education of gentlemen's children in popish seminaries, and the licentious printing and publishing popish books; wherefore they pray his majesty to take his sword in hand for the recovery of the Palatinate, to put the laws in execution against papists, to break off the Spanish match, and to marry his son to a Protestant princess. The king, hearing of this remonstrance, sent the speaker a letter from Newmarket to acquaint the house, "that he absolutely forbid their meddling with anything concern-

ing his government, or with his son's match;" and to keep them in awe, his majesty declared, "that he thinks himself at liberty to punish any man's misdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their sitting as after, which he means not to spare hereafter upon occasion of any man's insolent behaviour in the house."* In answer to this letter, the Commons drew up a petition to present with their remonstrance, in which they insist upon the laws of their country, and the freedom of debates in Parliament. The king returned them a long answer, which concludes with denying them what they call their "ancient and undoubted right and inheritance." The Commons, in debate upon his majesty's answer, drew up a protestation in maintenance of their claim, and caused it to be entered in their journal-book. Upon this, the king being come to London, declared in council the protestation to be null, and with great indignation tore it out of the book with his own hand. A few days after he dissolved the Parliament, and issued a proclamation forbidding his subjects to talk of state affairs.† He also committed the leading members to prison, as Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, and Mr. Mallery; others were sent into Ireland, and the Earls of Oxford and Southampton were confined in the Tower.‡

The king having parted with his Parliament, was at liberty to gratify the Spaniards by indulging the papists; for this purpose the lord-keeper Williams, by his majesty's command, wrote to all the judges, "that in their several circuits they discharge all prisoners for church recusancy; or for refusing the oath of supremacy; or for dispersing popish books; or hearing or saying mass; or for any other point of recusancy that concerned religion only."§ Accordingly, the Jesuits and popish recusants of all sorts were enlarged, to the number, says Mr. Prynne, of four thousand;|| all prosecutions were stayed, and the penal laws suspended. Upon this great numbers of Jesuits and other missionaries flocked into England; mass was celebrated openly in the countries; and in London their private assemblies were so crowded, that at a meeting in Blackfriars [November 5, 1622, N. S.], the floor sunk under them, and killed the preacher and ninety-three of the hearers.

While the papists were countenanced, the court and the new bishops bore hard upon the Puritans, filling the pulpits with men of arbitrary principles, and punishing those who dared to preach for the rights of the subject. The Rev. Mr. Knight, of Broadsgate Hall, in a sermon before the University of Oxford, on 2

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 208, 211, folio edition.

† Wilson, p. 190, 191; Rapin, vol. ii., p. 212, and note 4, folio edition.

‡ According to Tyndal, as observes Dr. Grey, the Earl of Southampton was committed to the Dean of Westminster.—Ed. § Fuller, b. x., p. 101.

|| Dr. Grey quotes here the authority of Fuller against Prynne's account, who says that, according to John Gee's perfect list, all the Jesuits in England did not amount to more than two hundred and twenty-five. But Prynne's account, which Mr. Neal adopts, is, on the other hand, confirmed by Tyndal, who informs us, on the testimony of Wilson, that Gondamar used to boast that four thousand recusants had been released through his intercession.—*Rapin's History*, vol. ii., p. 215, note 7.—Ed.

Kings, xix., 9, advanced this proposition, that "subordinate magistrates might lawfully make use of force, and defend themselves, the commonwealth, and the true religion, in the field, against the chief magistrate, within the cases and conditions following: 1. When the chief magistrate turns tyrant. 2. When he forces his subjects upon blasphemy or idolatry. 3. When any intolerable burdens or pressures are laid upon them. 4. When resistance is the only expedient to secure their lives, their fortunes, and the liberty of their consciences." The court being informed of this sermon, sent for the preacher, and asked him what authority he had for this assertion; he answered, Paraus on Romans, xiii., but that his principal authority was King James himself, who was sending assistance to the Rochellers against their natural prince. Upon this bold answer, Mr. Knight was confined in the Gate-house, Paraus's commentaries were burned at Oxford and London, his assertions were condemned as false and seditious, and the University of Oxford, in full convocation, passed a decree that it was not lawful for subjects to appear offensively in arms against their king on the score of religion, or on any other account, according to the Scripture. How this was reconcilable with the king's assisting the French Huguenots, I must leave with the reader. But to bind the nation down forever in principles of slavery, all graduates of the University of Oxford were enjoined to subscribe the above-mentioned decree, and to swear that they would always continue of the same opinion. Was there ever such an unreasonable oath? for a man to swear he will always be of the same mind! Yet such was the severity of the times:

But to distress the Puritans more effectually, the king sent the following directions to the archbishop, to be communicated to all the clergy of his province, dated from Windsor, August 10, 1622:

1. "That no preacher, under a bishop or dean, shall make a set discourse, or fall into any commonplace of divinity in his sermons, not comprehended in the Thirty-nine Articles.*

2. "That no parson, vicar, curate, or lecturer shall preach any sermon hereafter on Sundays or holydays in the afternoon, but expound the Catechism, Creed, or Ten Commandments,† and that those be most encouraged who catechise children only.

3. "That no preacher, under a bishop or dean, presume to preach in any popular auditory on the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation; or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace.

4. "That no preacher, of any degree soever, shall henceforth presume in any auditory to declare, limit, or set bounds to the prerogative, power, or jurisdiction of sovereign princes, or meddle with matters of state.

5. "That no preacher shall use railing speeches against papists or Puritans, but endeavour to free the doctrine and discipline of the Church in a grave manner from the aspersions of both adversaries.

6. "That the archbishop and bishops be more wary for the future in licensing preachers; and that all lecturers throughout the kingdom be licensed in the court of faculties, by recommendation from the bishop of the diocese, with a fiat from the archbishop, and a confirmation under the great seal of England.

"Those that offended against any of these injunctions were to be suspended *ab officio et beneficio* for a year and a day, till his majesty should prescribe some farther punishment, with advice of convocation."

Here is nothing that could affect papists or Arminians, but almost every article points at the Puritans. The king had assisted in maintaining these doctrines in Holland, but will not have them propagated in England. The Thirty-nine Articles were established by law, and yet none under a bishop or dean may preach on the seventeenth, concerning predestination. The ministers of God's Word may not limit the prerogative, but they may preach concerning its unlimited extent; and, though the second injunction admits of their expounding the catechism, Fuller says, "The bishops' officials were so active, that in many places they tied up preachers in the afternoon to the very letter of the catechism, allowing them no liberty to expound or enlarge upon any of the answers."* The Puritans had suffered hitherto only for the neglect of ceremonies, but now their very doctrine is an offence. From this time all Calvinists were in a manner excluded from court preferments. The way to rise in the Church was to preach up the absolute power of the king, to disclaim against the rigours of Calvinism, and to speak favourably of popery. Those who scrupled this were neglected, and distinguished by the name of Doctrinal Puritans; but it was the glory of this people that they stood together, like a wall, against the arbitrary proceedings of the king, both in Church and State.

Archbishop Abbot was at the head of the Doctrinal Puritans, and often advised the king to return to the old parliamentary way of raising money. This cost him his interest at court, and an accident happened this year which quite broke his spirits, and made him retire from the world. Lord Zouch invited his grace to a buck-hunting in Bramshill Park, in Hampshire, and while the keeper was running among the deer to bring them to a fairer mark, the archbishop, sitting on horseback, let fly a barbed arrow, which shot him under the armpit and killed him on the spot. His grace was so distressed in mind with the accident, that he retired to one of his own almshouses at Guilford; and though upon examination of the case it was judged casual homicide, he kept that day as a fast as long as he lived, and allowed the keeper's widow £20 a year for her maintenance. The king, also, being moved with compassion, sent for him to Lambeth, and gave him a royal pardon and dispensation to prevent all exceptions to his episcopal character; but he prudently withdrew from the council-board, where his advice had been little regarded before, as coming from a person of unfashionable principles.

The Puritans lost an eminent practical writer and preacher about this time, Nicholas Byfield,

* Or, as Dr. Grey would add, "some of the homilies of the Church of England."—Ed.

† Or, as the same writer would subjoin, "the Lord's Prayer" (funeral sermons alone excepted).—Ed.

born in Warwickshire, and educated in Exeter College, Oxford. After four years, he left the university, and went for Ireland; but preaching at Chester, the inhabitants gave him a unanimous invitation to St. Peter's Church in that city, where he resided seven years. From thence he removed to Isleworth in Middlesex, and remained there till his death. He was a divine of a profound judgment, a strong memory, quick invention, and unwearied industry, which brought the stone upon him, which sent him to his grave, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His body being opened, a stone was taken out of his bladder that weighed thirty-three ounces, and was in measure about the edge fifteen inches and a half; about the length and breadth thirteen inches, and solid like a flint; an almost incredible relation! But Dr. William Gonge, who drew up this account, was an eyewitness of it, with many others. Mr. Byfield was a Calvinist, a nonconformist to the ceremonies, and a strict observer of the Sabbath. He published several books in his lifetime;* and his commentaries upon the Colossians and St. Peter, published after his death, show him to be a divine of great piety, capacity, and learning.†

The archbishop being in disgrace, the council were unanimous, and met with no interruption in their proceedings. The Puritans retired to the new plantations in America, and popery came in like an armed man. This was occasioned partly by the new promotions at court, but chiefly by the Spanish match, which was begun about the year 1617, and drawn out to a length of seven years, till the Palatinate was lost, and the Protestant religion in a manner extirpated out of the kingdom of Bohemia and other parts of Germany; and then the match itself was broke off.

To trace this affair from its beginning, because it was the source of the ensuing calamities of this and the following reign. Prince Charles being arrived at the state of manhood, the king had thoughts of marrying him, but could find no Protestant princess of an equal rank. He despised the princess of Germany, and would hear of nothing beneath a king's daughter. This put him upon seeking a wife for him out of the house of Austria, sworn enemies to the Protestant religion; for which purpose he entered into a treaty with Spain for the infanta. Under colour of this match, Gondamar, the Spanish ambassador, made the king do whatever he pleased. If he inclined to assist his son-in-law in recovering the Palatinate, he was told he must keep fair with the house of Austria, or the match was at an end. If he denied any favours to the papists at home, the court of Rome, and all the Roman Catholic powers, were disoblged, and then it could never take place. To obviate these and other objections, his majesty promised, upon the word of a king, that no Roman Catholic should be proceeded against capitally; and though he could not at present repeal the pecuniary laws, that he would mitigate them to the satisfaction of the Catholic king; and the

lengths his majesty went in favour of papists on this occasion will appear by the following articles, which were inserted both into the Spanish and French treaty which afterward took place.

The articles of the intended Spanish match relating to religion were these:

Art. 6. "The infanta herself, her men and maid servants, their children and descendants, and all their families, of what sort soever, serving her highness, may freely and publicly profess themselves Catholics.*

Art. 5, 7, and 8. "Provide a church, a chapel, and an oratory for her highness, with all popish ornaments, utensils, and decorations.

Art. 10, 11, and 12. "Allow her twenty-four priests and assistants, and over them a bishop, with full authority and spiritual jurisdiction.

Art. 14. "Admits the infanta and her servants to procure from Rome dispensations, indulgences, jubilees, &c., and all graces, as shall seem meet to them.

Art. 17. "Provides that the laws made against Roman Catholics in England, or in any of the king's dominions, shall not extend to the children of this marriage; nor shall they lose their succession to the crown, although they be Roman Catholics.

Art. 18 and 21. "Authorize the infanta to choose nurses for her children, and to bring them up in her religion till they are ten years of age." But the term was afterward enlarged to twelve, and in the match with France, to thirteen.

King James swore to the observation of these articles, in the presence of the two Spanish ambassadors, and twenty-four privy counsellors who set their hands to the treaty. Besides which, his majesty and the Prince of Wales swore to the four following private ones: "(1.) That no laws against papists should hereafter be put in execution. (2.) That no new laws shall be made against them; but that there shall be a perpetual toleration of the Roman Catholic religion in private houses, throughout all his majesty's dominions, which his counsel shall swear to. (3.) That he will never persuade the infanta to change her religion. (4.) That he will use all his authority and influence to have these conditions ratified by Parliament, that so all penal laws against papists may not only be suspended, but legally disannulled."

The words of the Prince of Wales's oath were these: "I, Charles, prince of Wales, engage myself—that all things contained in the foregoing articles, which concern as well the suspension as abrogation of all laws made against Roman Catholics, shall within three years infallibly take effect, and sooner if possible; which we will have to lie upon our conscience and royal honour: and I will intercede with my father that the ten years of education of the children that shall be born of this marriage, which the Pope of Rome desires may be lengthened to twelve, shall be prolonged to the said term. And I swear, that if the entire power of disposing this matter be devolved upon me, I will grant and approve of the said term.† Furthermore, as oft as the infanta shall desire that I should give ear to divines and others,

* Bishop Wilkins passes a high encomium on his sermons, classing them with the very best of the day. His works which still exist, though very rare, amount to fifteen.—C.

† Wood's Athen. Oxon., vol. i., p. 402; Fuller's Worthies, 1684, p. 833.

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 86; Rapin, vol. ii., 217, 218, folio edit.

† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 89.

whom her highness shall be pleased to employ in matters of the Roman Catholic religion, I will hearken to them willingly, without all difficulties, and laying aside all excuses."

Under these advantages, the papists appeared openly, and behaved with an offensive insolence; but the hearts of all true Protestants trembled for themselves and their posterity. And Archbishop Abbot, though under a cloud, ventured to write to the king upon the subject, beseeching him to consider "whether, by the toleration which his majesty proposes, he is not setting up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of Rome, the whore of Babylon? How hateful must this be to God, and grievous to your good subjects," says he, "that your majesty, who hath learnedly written against these wicked heresies, should now show yourself a patron of those doctrines, which your pen has told the world, and your conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable. Besides, this toleration, which you endeavour to set up by proclamation, cannot be done without a Parliament, unless your majesty will let your subjects see that you will take a liberty to throw down the laws at your pleasure. And, above all, I beseech your majesty to consider, lest by this toleration your majesty do not draw upon the kingdom in general, and on yourself in particular, God's heavy wrath and indignation."*

But this wise king, instead of hearkening to the remonstrances of his Protestant subjects, put the peace of his kingdom, and the whole Protestant religion, into the hands of the Spaniard, by sending his son with the Duke of Buckingham to Madrid, to fetch home the infanta; a piece of confidence that the "Solomon of the age" should not have been guilty of. When the prince was gone, it is said that Archy, the king's fool, clapped his cap upon the king's head. The king asking him the reason, he answered, because he had sent the prince into Spain. But, says his majesty, What if he should come back safe? Why, then, says Archy, I will take my cap off from your head, and put it on the King of Spain's.† The Spaniards gave out that the design of the prince's journey was to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome. It is certain the pope wrote to the Bishop of Conchen to lay hold of this opportunity to convert him,‡ and directed a most persuasive letter to the prince himself to the same purpose, dated April 20, 1623, which the prince answered June 20, in a very obliging manner, giving the pope the title of the Most Holy Father, and encouraging him to expect that, when he came to the crown, there should be but one religion in his dominions, seeing, says he, that both Catholics and Protestants believe in one Jesus Christ. He was strongly solicited to change his religion by some of the first quality, and by the most learned priests and Jesuits, who carressed his highness with speeches, dedicated books to him, invited him to their processions, and gave him a view of their most magnificent churches and relics; by which artifices, though he was not converted, he was confirmed in his resolution of attempting a coalition of the two

churches;* for the attempting of which he afterwards lost both his crown and life.† It was happy, after all, that the prince got safe out of the Spanish territories, which, as Spanheim observes, that politic court would not have permitted, had they not considered that the Queen of Bohemia, next heir to the crown, was a greater enemy to popery than her brother.‡ But, after all, when this memorable treaty of marriage had been upon the carpet seven years, and wanted nothing but celebration, the portion being settled, the pope's dispensation obtained, the marriage articles sworn to on both sides, and the very day of celebration by proxy appointed, it was broke off by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham upon the prince, who ordered the Earl of Bristol not to deliver the proxy till the time limited by the dispensation was expired; the King of Spain, suspecting the design, in order to throw all the blame upon the King

* "This," says Bishop Warburton, "is an utter calumny; a coalition of the two churches was never in the king's thoughts; happy for him if he had never had worse; what he aimed at was arbitrary power." It is strange how his lordship could give his pen a license to pass this unjust censure on Mr. Neal, when the conduct of Charles I. furnished so many proofs of his wishes and endeavours to coalesce with the Church of Rome. His letter to the pope from Madrid, the articles of the marriage-treaty, to which he solemnly signed and swore, and the private articles to which he also swore, are witnesses to the truth of Mr. Neal's assertion. If he had not aimed at this, why did he disown the foreign Protestants? Why did he restrain the press with respect to books written against popery, and license publications in favour of it? Why was popery not only tolerated, but countenanced and favoured? See the facts to this purpose fully stated in Towgood's "Essay towards a true Idea of the Character of Charles I." chap. ix. So far did he carry his views and endeavours on this business. Whitelocke informs us a scheme was in agitation to set up a new popish hierarchy by the bishops in all the counties in England, by the authority of the pope.—*Memorials*, p. 72. And the Jesuit Francisus a Clara, the queen's chaplain, certainly thought things were in a train for such a coalition; for in one of his publications, he asserted, "that if any synod were held *non intermixtis Puritanis*, setting Puritans aside, our articles and their religion would soon be agreed."—*May's History of the Parliament*, p. 74. Dr. Grey also aims to controvert this passage of Mr. Neal, and with this view refers us to Rusliworth, Frankland, Hacket, and Burnet; but the quotations he adduces from these writers are not to the point, and prove only, as Mr. Neal allows, that Charles was not converted to popery.—See *Dr. Grey's Examination of Neal*, vol. ii., p. 71.—Ed.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 226, vide note, folio edit.

‡ Dr. Grey censures Mr. Neal for not quoting Spanheim fairly; and this writer, as Tyndal and Welwood, from whom he borrows the passage, represent his words, does not, it is true, say that the Queen of Bohemia was a greater enemy to popery than her brother, but only resolves the conduct of the court of Spain into the consideration of her and her children being next heirs to the crown of England. Mr. Neal, therefore, is to be understood as suggesting the reason why the consideration of her and her children had so much weight with the court of Spain. Few who reflect on the firm attachment of that lady to the Protestant cause will suspect Mr. Neal of mistaking the cause of the Spanish policy. It would have been, however, more accurate in him to have quoted at large the words of Spanheim, and then to have subjoined his own suggestion as explanatory of them.—Ed.

* Fuller, b. x., p. 106.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 226, the note, folio edit.

‡ Wilson, p. 230; Rapin, vol. ii., p. 221, folio edit.

of England, signed a promise with his own hand, and delivered it to the ambassador, wherein he obliged himself to cause the Palatinate to be restored to the elector palatine, in case the marriage took effect; but his highness was immovable, and obliged the king to recall his ambassador.

From this time the prince and duke seemed to turn Puritans, the latter having taken Dr. John Preston, one of their chief ministers, into his service, to consult him about alienating the dean and chapter lands to the purpose of preaching. They also advised the king to convene a Parliament, which his majesty did, and made such a speech to them as one would think impossible to come from the same lips with the former. "I assure you," says he, speaking of the Spanish match, "on the faith of a Christian king, that it is *res integra* presented unto you, and that I stand not bound nor either way engaged, but remain free to follow what shall be best advised." His majesty adds, "I can truly say, and will avouch it before the seat of God and angels, that never did king govern with a purer, sincerer, and more uncorrupt heart than I have done, far from ill-will and meaning of the least error and imperfection in my reign. It has been talked of my remissness in maintenance of religion, and suspicion of a toleration [of popery];* but, as God shall judge me, I never thought nor meant, nor ever in word expressed, anything that savoured of it. I never, in all my treaties, agreed to anything to the overthrow and disannulling of those laws, but had in all a chief regard to the preservation of that truth which I have ever professed." The reader will remember how this agrees with the marriage articles above mentioned, to which the king had sworn.

But the Parliament, taking things as the king had represented them, advised his majesty to break off the match, and to declare war for the recovery of the Palatinate; and, at the same time, petitioned his majesty that all Jesuits and seminary priests might be commanded to depart the realm; that the laws might be put in execution against popish recusants; that all such might be removed from court, and ten miles from London.† To which the king made this remarkable answer, which must strike the reader with surprise and wonder: "What religion I am of my books declare; I wish it may be written in marble, and remain to posterity as a mark upon me, when I shall swerve from my religion; for he that dissembles with God is not to be trusted with men. I protest before God that my heart hath bled when I have heard of the increase of popery. God is my judge, it hath been such a grief to me, that it hath been as thorns in my eyes and pricks in my sides. It hath been my desire to hinder the growth of popery; and I could not be an honest man if I had done otherwise. I will order the laws to be put in execution against popish recusants as they were before these treaties, for the laws are still in being, and were never dispensed with by me; God is my judge, they were never so intended by me."

What solemn appeals to Heaven are these against the clearest and most undeniable facts!

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 227, 228, folio edit.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 229, 230, folio edit.; Rushworth, p. 141-143.

It requires a good degree of charity to believe this prince had either religion or conscience remaining. For though he assured his Parliament that his heart bled within him when he heard of the increase of popery, yet this very Parliament presented him with a list of fifty-seven popish lords and knights who were in public offices, none of whom were displaced, while the Puritan ministers were driven out of the kingdom, and hardly a gentleman of that character advanced to the dignity of a justice of peace.

The Parliament being prorogued, the king, instead of going heartily into the war, or marrying his son to a Protestant princess, entered into a treaty with Louis XIII., king of France, for his sister, Henrietta Maria.* Upon this occasion the Archbishop of Ambrun was sent into England, who told the king the best way to accomplish the match for his son was to grant a full toleration to Catholics. The king replied, that he intended to grant it, and was willing to have an assembly of divines to compromise the difference between Protestants and papists, and promised to send a letter to the pope to bring him into the project. In this letter, says Monsieur Deageant in his memoirs, the king styles the pope Christ's vicar, and head of the Church universal, and assures him he would declare himself a Catholic as soon as he could provide against the inconveniences of such a declaration; but whether this was so or not, it is certain he immediately relaxed the penal laws against papists, and permitted Ambrun to administer confirmation to ten thousand Catholics at the door of the French ambassador's house, in the presence of a great concourse of people. In the mean time the treaty of marriage went forward, and was at last signed, November 10, 1624, in the thirty-three public articles, and three secret ones, wherein the very same or greater advantages were stipulated for the Catholics than in those of Madrid;† but, before the dispensation from the pope could be obtained, his majesty fell sick at Theobald's of a tertian ague, which put an end to his life, not without suspicion of poison,‡ March 27, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.§

To review the course of this reign. It is evident that both popery and Puritanism increased prodigiously, while the friends of the hierarchy sunk into contempt; this was owing partly to the spiritual promotions, and partly to the arbitrary maxims of state that the king had advanced. In promoting of bishops the king discovered a greater regard to such as would yield a servile compliance to his absolute commands than to such as would fill their sees with reputation, and be an example to the people of religion and virtue, of which number were Bishop Neile, Buckeridge, Harsnet,|| Laud, &c. The

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 231, 232, folio edit.

† Ibid., vol. ii., p. 233, 234.

‡ Those who wish to have an enlarged and accurate knowledge of the reign of James should consult Jesse's *Memoirs of the House of Stuart*, a very amusing work.—C.

§ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 235; Welwood's *Memoirs*, 9th edit., p. 35; and Dr. Harris's *Life of James I.*, p. 237-242.

|| This prelate, Bishop Warburton says, "was a man of the greatest learning and parts of his time." This he might be, and yet advanced not on account of his learning, but because his courtly dispositions

fashionable doctrines at court were such as the king had condemned at the Synod of Dort, and which, in the opinion of the old English clergy, were subversive of the Reformation. The new bishops admitted the Church of Rome to be a true church, and the pope the first bishop of Christendom. They declared for the lawfulness of images in churches; for the real presence; and that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a school nicety. They pleaded for confession to a priest, for sacerdotal absolution, and the proper merit of good works. They gave up the morality of the Sabbath, and the five distinguishing points of Calvinism, for which their predecessors had contended. They claimed an uninterrupted succession of the episcopal character from the apostles through the Church of Rome, which obliged them to maintain the validity of her ordinations, when they denied the validity of those of the foreign Protestants. Farther, they began to imitate the Church of Rome in her gaudy ceremonies, in the rich furniture of their chapels, and the pomp of their worship. They complimented the Roman Catholic priests with their dignitary titles, and spent all their zeal in studying how to compromise matters with Rome, while they turned their backs upon the old Protestant doctrines of the Reformation, and were remarkably negligent in preaching or instructing the people in Christian knowledge. Things were come to such a pass, that Gondamar, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to Spain that there never were more hopes of England's conversion, for "there are more prayers," says he, "offered to the Mother than to the Son [of God]."* The priests and Jesuits challenged the established clergy to public disputations; the Duke of Buckingham's mother being a papist, a conference was held in her presence between Fisher a Jesuit, on the one part, and Drs. White, Williams, and Laud, on the other. Each of them disputed with the Jesuit a day before a great discourse of people, but not to the countess's conversion, which was not at all strange, upon their principles. Among other popish books that were published, one was entitled "A New Gag for the Old Gospel;" which Dr. Montague, rector of Stamford-Rivers, an-

recommended him to the royal taste. Fuller speaks of him "as a zealous asserter of ceremonies, using to complain of conformable Puritans." So that the justness of his claims to be considered as a man of erudition being admitted, neither the candour nor veracity of the historian for classing him as he does is impeached by it. Learning and soundness of mind are by no means inseparable.—Ed.

* This is not a just or accurate representation of the words. As Rapin relates it, Gondamar, perceiving most addresses for preferment were made first to the mother of the Marquis of Buckingham, and by her conveyed to her son, who could deny her nothing, among his other witty pranks, wrote merrily in his despatches to Spain, "that never was there more hope of England's conversion to Rome than now; for there are more prayers offered here to the mother than to the son." The words "of God," as Bishop Warburton and Dr. Grey observe, should be erased. It was a mere joke of the Spanish ambassador, speaking of court corruption under the terms of religion. Mr. Neal, by not referring to his authority, appears to quote it by recollection, and, indeed, to have mistaken the matter. Bishop Warburton is, however, very severe in his reflections on him, calling his statement of it "a vile perversion of facts." The reader will decide on his lordship's candour here.—Ed.

swered in such a manner as gave great offence to the old clergy, yielding up all the points above mentioned, and not only declaring for Arminianism, but making dangerous advances towards popery itself. The book occasioning a great noise, Mr. Ward and Yates, two ministers at Ipswich, made a collection of the popish and Arminian tenets it contained, in order to lay them before the next Parliament; but the author, with the king's leave, took shelter under the royal wing, and prepared for the press his "Apello Cesarem," or a just appeal from two unjust informers; which White, bishop of Carlisle, licensed in these words, that "there was nothing contained in the same but what was agreeable to the public faith, doctrine, and discipline established in the Church of England." But before the book was published the king died.

These advances of the court divines towards popery made most of the people fall in with the Puritans, who, being constant preachers, and of exemplary lives, wrought them up by their awakening sermons to an abhorrence of everything that looked that way.* Many of the nobility and gentry favoured them. Lady Bowes, afterward Lady Darcy, gave £1000 per annum to maintain preachers in the north, where there were none, and all her preachers were silenced Nonconformists. Almost all the famous practical writers of this reign, except Bishop Andrews, were Puritans, and sufferers for non-conformity, as Dr. Willet, Mr. Jer. Dyke, Dr. Preston, Sibbs, Byfield, Bolton, Hildersham, Dod, Ball, Whately, and others, whose works have done great service to religion. The character of these divines was the reverse of what the learned Selden† gives of the clergy of these times in his "History of Tithes," where he taxes them with ignorance and laziness; and adds, "that they had nothing to support their credit but beard, title, and habit; and that their learning reached no farther than the postils and the polyanthia." Upon the whole, if we may believe Mr. Coke, the Puritan party had gathered so much strength, and was in such reputation with the people, that they were more in number than all the other parties in the kingdom put together.

* Rothwell, p. 69, annexed to his General Martyrology. † In Preface, p. 1, second edition, 1618.

‡ Bishop Warburton severely censures Mr. Neal for applying the words of Selden as if spoken of the episcopal clergy. "Here," says he, "is another of the historian's arts; Selden speaks of the Puritan clergy." Not to urge, in reply, that Selden can be understood as speaking of those clergy only to whom his doctrine of tithes would be offensive, who could not be the Puritan clergy, it is fortunate for our author that his interpretation of Selden's words is sanctioned by Heylin, who represents Selden's work as the execution of "a plot set on foot to subvert the Church, in the undoing of the clergy. The author," he adds, "was highly magnified, the book held unanswerable, and all the clergy looked on but as pigmies to that great Goliath." And then, to show that the reproach cast on the clergy was not well founded, he appeals to the answers given to Selden by Nettles, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, Dr. Montague, and Archdeacon Tillesly. "By which," says Heylin, "he found that some of the ignorant and lazy clergy were of as retired studies as himself; and could not only match, but overmatch him, too, in his philology." If Mr. Neal misrepresented Selden, so did Heylin.—Heylin's *Hist. of Presb.*, p. 391.—Ed.

With regard to King James himself, it is hard to draw his just character, for no prince was ever so much flattered who so little deserved it. He was of a middle stature, not very corpulent, but stuffed out with clothes, which hung so loose, and being quilted, were so thick as to resist a dagger. His countenance was homely, and his tongue too big for his mouth, so that he could not speak with decency. While he was in Scotland he appeared sober and chaste, and acquired a good degree of learning,* but, upon his accession to the English crown, he threw off the mask, and by degrees gave himself up to luxury and ease, and all kinds of licentiousness. His language was obscene, and his actions very often lewd and indecent. He was a profane swearer, and would often be drunk, and when he came to himself would weep like a child, and say he hoped God would not impute his infirmities to him. He valued himself upon what he called kingcraft, which was nothing else but deep hypocrisy and dissimulation in every character of life, resulting from the excessive timorousness of his nature. If we consider him as a king, he never did a great or generous action throughout the course of his reign,† but prostituted the honour of the English nation beyond any of his predecessors. He stood still while the Protestant religion was suppressed in France, in Bohemia, in the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany. He surrendered up the cautionary towns‡ to the Dutch for less

* "His learning," observes Dr. Warner, "was not that of a prince, but a pedant, and made him more fit to take the chair in public schools than to sit on the throne of kings." He was one of those princes "who," as Bishop Shipley expresses it, "was so unwise as to write books." The only thing that does him honour as an author is, that Mr. Pope pronounced his version of the Psalms the very best in the English language.—*Warner's Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 508.—Ed.

† To this Dr. Grey opposes his bounty to the Church of Ripon, in Yorkshire, in which he founded a dean and chapter of seven prebendaries, and settled £247 per annum of crown-lands for their maintenance. The doctor also quotes from Fuller, Wilson, and Laud, warm encomiums of his liberality. But it ought to be considered whether a liberality which did not, as Dr. Warner says, "flow from reason or judgment, but from whim, or mere benignity of humours," deserved such praises. Besides, Mr. Neal evidently refers to "such great and generous actions" as advance the interest and prosperity of a kingdom, and add to the national honour. This cannot be said of favours bestowed on parasites and jovial companions, or on a provision made that a few clerical gentlemen may loll in stalls.—Ed.

‡ These were the Brill and Flushing, with some other places of less note; and Dr. Grey, to screen the reputation of James from Mr. Neal's implied reflection, observes that the Dutch had pawned these towns to Queen Elizabeth for sums of money which she lent them when they were distressed by the Spaniards. The sum borrowed on this security was eight millions of florins, and they were discharged for ten millions seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand florins, though eighteen years' interest was due. In equity and by stipulation, the Dutch had a right, on repaying the money, to reclaim the towns they had mortgaged. This Dr. Grey must be understood as insinuating by setting up the fact of the mortgage in defence of James's character. Yet, in all just estimation, his character must ever suffer by his surrender of these towns. He restored them

than a fourth part of the value, and suffered them to dispossess us of our factories in the East Indies. At home, he committed the direction of all affairs in Church and State to two or three favourites, and cared not what they did if they gave him no trouble. He broke through all the laws of the land, and was as absolute a tyrant as his want of courage would admit.* He revived the projects of monopolies, loans, benevolences, &c., to supply his exchequer, which was exhausted by his profuseness towards his favourites, and laid the foundation of all the calamities of his son's reign. Upon the whole, though he was flattered by hungry courtiers as the Solomon and phoenix of his age, he was, in the opinion of Bishop Burnet, "the scorn of the age, a mere pedant, without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, his reign being a continued course of mean practices."

It is hard to make any judgment of his religion; for one while he was a Puritan, and then a zealous churchman; at first a Calvinist and Presbyterian, afterward a Remonstrant or Arminian; and at last a half, if not an entire, doctrinal papist. Sir Ralph Winwood, in his Memoirs, says that, as long ago as the year 1596, he sent Mr. Ogilby, a Scots baron, to Spain, to assure his Catholic majesty he was then ready to turn papist, and to propose an alliance with that king and the pope against the Queen of England, but for reasons of state the affair was hushed.† Rapin says he was neither a sound Protestant nor a good Catholic, but had formed a plan of uniting both churches, which must effectually have ruined the Protestant interest, for which, indeed, he never expressed any real concern. But I am rather of opinion that all his religion was his boasted kingcraft. He was certainly the meanest prince that ever sat on the British throne.‡ England never sunk in its

without an equivalent, and without the advice or consent of Parliament, to raise money to lavish on his favourites. And by this step he lost the dependence those provinces before had on the English crown.—See this matter fully stated in *Rapin's History*, vol. ii., p. 122, and 191, 192; and by *Dr. Harris* in his *Life of James I.*, p. 162–167.—Ed.

* In this book, entitled "The True Law of Free Monarchy," he asserted that "the Parliament is nothing else but the head court of the king and his vassals; that the laws are but craved by his subjects; and that, in short, he is above the law." This is a proof that his speculative notions of regal power were, as Mr. Granger expresses it, "as absolute as those of an Eastern monarch."—*Secret History of Charles II.*, vol. i., Introd., p. 20., the note.—Ed.

† A copy of this infamous letter to Pope Gregory XV., under date September 30, 1662, is to be found in a rare volume by the title of "Cabala, or Mysteries of State, in Letters of the Great Ministers of King James and Charles; wherein much of the Publick Manage of Affaires is related. Faithfully collected by a Noble hand," London, 1654.—C.

‡ To Mr. Neal's character of James Dr. Grey particularly opposes that drawn of him by the pen of Spotswood, who was preferred by him to the archbishopric of St. Andrew's. "In this, Dr. Harris," says Grey, "did not quite so right. For court bishops, by some fate or other, from the time of Constantine down, at least, to the death of James, and a little after, have had the characters of flatterers, panegyrist, and others of like import, and, therefore, are always to have great abatements made in the accounts of their benefactors; it being well known

reputation, nor was so much exposed to the scorn and ridicule of its neighbours, as in his reign. How willing his majesty was to unite with the papists, the foregoing history has discovered; and yet, in the presence of many lords, and in a very remarkable manner, he made a solemn protestation "that he would spend the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it; and prayed that before any of his issue should maintain any other religion than his own [the Protestant], that God would take them out of the world." How far this imprecation took place on himself, or any of his posterity, I leave, with Mr. Archdeacon Echard, to the determination of an Omniscient Being.*

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING JAMES I. TO THE DISSOLUTION OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT OF KING CHARLES I. IN THE YEAR 1628.

BEFORE we enter upon this reign, it will be proper to take a short view of the court, and of the most active ministers under the king for the first fifteen years.

King Charles I. came to the crown at the age of twenty-five years, being born at Dumferling, in Scotland, in the year 1600, and baptized by a Presbyterian minister of that country. In his youth he was of a weakly constitution and stammering speech; his legs were somewhat crooked, and he was suspected (says Mr. Echard) to be of a perverse nature. When his father [King James] came to the English crown, he took him from his Scots tutors and placed him under those who gave him an early aversion to that kirk into which he had been baptized,† and to those doctrines of Christianity

that such they endeavour to hand down to posterity under the notion of saints, as they always blacken and deface their adversaries."—*Life of James I.*, p. 246, 247.—Ed.

* The reader will be pleased to hear the sentiments of a learned foreigner on the reign and character of King James. The same bias will not be imputed to him as to Mr. Neal. "In the year 1625 died James I., the bitterest enemy of the doctrine and discipline of the Puritans, to which he had been in his youth most warmly attached; the most inflexible and ardent friend of the Arminians, in whose ruin and condemnation in Holland he had been singularly instrumental; and the most zealous defender of episcopal government, against which he had more than once expressed himself in the strongest terms. He left the Constitution of England, both ecclesiastical and civil, in a very unsettled and fluctuating state, languishing under intestine disorders of various kinds."—*Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, translated by *Maclaine*, second edition, vol. iv., p. 517, 518.—Ed.

† The expression here, whether it be Mr. Neal's own or that of any writer of the times, is inaccurate, improper, and proceeds upon a wrong notion of the design of baptism. This rite, resting solely on the authority of Christ, refers not to the peculiar sentiments of the Church, or the particular party of Christians among whom a person may happen to have it administered to him. It expresseth a profession of Christianity only, and refers exclusively to the authority of its Author, acting in the name of God the Father, and having his ministry sealed by the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The notion of being baptized into the Kirk of Scotland, or into the Church of Eng-

land, is entirely repugnant to the reasoning of Paul in 1 Cor. i., who, as Dr. Clarke expresses, "we find was very careful, was very solicitous, not to give any occasion to have it thought that there was any such thing as the doctrine of Paul, much less any such thing as the doctrine of the Church of Corinth or Rome, or of any other than Christ only, in whose name only we were baptized."—*Clarke's Sermons*, vol. iv., p. 95, 8vo.—Ed. (Toulmin).

* Dr. Grey controverts this assertion of Mr. Neal, and calls it "groundless;" with a view to confute it, he quotes Rymer, Clarendon, and Bishop Fleetwood. The first and last authorities go to prove only the king's firm adherence to Protestantism and the Church of England, so far as concerned his own personal profession of religion; the former alleges that the attempt of the court of Spain to convert him to popery was inefficient; the latter is only a pulpit eulogium to the memory of Charles on the 30th of January. The quotation from Lord Clarendon apparently proves more than these authorities, for it asserts "that no man was more averse from the Romish Church than he [i. e., King Charles] was." But, to be consistent with himself, his lordship must be understood with a limitation, as speaking of his remoteness from a conformity to popery in his own belief and practice, not of his disposition towards that religion as professed by others. Dr. Harris has produced many proofs that the king was not a papist himself. But he has also evinced, by many authorities, that professed papists were favoured, caressed, and preferred at court. The articles of the marriage-treaty, to which he signed and solemnly swore, sanctioned the profession of that religion in his kingdom. The clergy, who enjoyed the smiles of the court, preached in favour of the practices and tenets of popery. And popish recusants were not only tolerated, but protected by this prince.—See *Harris's Life of Charles I.*, p. 198 to 204, and from p. 204 to 208. The facts of this nature are also amply stated in "An Essay towards attaining a true Idea of the Character and Reign of King Charles I.," chap. ix. On these grounds Mr. Neal is fully vindicated, for he speaks, it should be observed, not of the king's being a papist, but of his "leaning towards popery." But it might be sufficient to quote against Dr. Grey even Lord Clarendon only, who tells us "that the papists were upon the matter absolved from the severest parts of the law, and dispensed with for the gentlest. They were looked upon as good subjects at court, and as good neighbours in the country, all the restraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten." His lordship expatiates largely on the favours they received and on the boldness they assumed.—*History of the Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 148, 8vo, edit. of 1707.—Ed.

† In confutation of this assertion, Dr. Grey quotes Rushworth, who says, that at the court of Spain "Prince Charles gained a universal love, and earned it, from first to last, with the greatest affability." The doctor did not observe that his authority was not to the point, for Mr. Neal speaks of Charles's deportment after he had been in Spain, and of his general temper: Rushworth's delineation is confined to his conduct at court, where he was treated with all imaginable respect, and when the object of his visit would of course animate a youth to good-humour, politeness, and gallantry. Mr. Neal is fully supported by many authorities, which the reader may see collected by Dr. Harris, p. 68-72, and "An Essay towards attaining a true Idea," &c., chap. i.—Ed.

“that he would not marry any mortal whose religion he hated; he might therefore depend upon it that he would always abstain from such actions as might testify a hatred to the Roman Catholic religion, and would endeavour that all sinister opinions might be taken away; that as we all profess one individual Trinity, we may unanimously grow up into one faith.” His majesty began his reign upon most arbitrary principles, and though he had good natural abilities, was always under the direction of some favourite, to whose judgment and conduct he was absolutely resigned. Nor was he ever master of so much judgment in politics as to discern his own and the nation’s true interest, or to take the advice of those who did. With regard to the Church, he was a punctual observer of its ceremonies, and had the highest dislike and prejudice to that part of his subjects who were against the ecclesiastical constitution, “looking upon them as a very dangerous and seditious people, who would, under pretence of conscience, which kept them from submitting to the spiritual jurisdiction, take the first opportunity they could find or make,” says Lord Clarendon,* “to withdraw themselves from his temporal jurisdiction; and, therefore, his majesty caused this people [the Puritans] to be watched and provided against with the utmost vigilance.”

Upon his majesty’s accession, and before the solemnity of his father’s funeral, he married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV., and sister of Louis XIII., then king of France. The marriage was solemnized by proxy; first at Paris, with all the ceremonies of the Romish Church, and afterward at Canterbury, according to the rites of the Church of England; and the articles being in a manner the same with those already mentioned in the Spanish match. Her majesty arrived at Dover, June 13, 1625, and brought with her a long train of priests and menial servants of the Romish religion; for whose devotion a chapel was fitted up in the king’s house at St. James’s. “The queen was an agreeable and beautiful lady, and by degrees,” says Lord Clarendon, “obtained a plenitude of power over the king. His majesty had her in perfect adoration,† and would do nothing without her, but was inexorable as to everything that he promised her.” Bishop Burnet says, “The queen was a lady of great vivacity, and loved intrigues of all sorts, but was not secret in them as she ought; she had no manner of judgment, being bad at contrivance, but worse at execution. By the liveliness of her discourse, she made great impressions upon the king; so that to the queen’s little practice, and the king’s own temper, the sequel of all his misfortunes was owing.” Bishop Kennet adds, “that the king’s match with this lady was a greater judgment to the nation than the plague, which then raged in the land; for, considering the malignity of the popish religion, the impiousness of the French government, the influence of a stately queen over an affectionate husband, and the share she must needs have in

the education of her children [till thirteen years of age], it was then easy to foresee it might prove very fatal to our English prince and people, and lay in a vengeance to future generations.” The queen was a very great bigot to her religion;* her conscience was directed by her confessor, assisted by the pope’s nuncio, and a secret cabal of priests and Jesuits. These controlled the queen, and she the king; so that in effect the nation was governed by popish counsels, till the Long Parliament.

The prime minister under the king was G. Villiers, duke of Buckingham, a graceful young gentleman, but very unfit for his high station. He had full possession of the king’s heart, inasmuch that his majesty broke measures with all his parliaments for his sake. “Most men,” says Lord Clarendon,† “imputed all the calamities of the nation to his arbitrary councils; so that few were displeased at the news of his murder by Felton, in the year 1628, when he was not above thirty-four years of age.”

Upon the duke’s death, Dr. William Laud, then Bishop of London, became the chief minister both in Church and State.‡ He was born at Reading, and educated in St. John’s College, Oxford, upon the charitable donation of Mr. White, founder of Merchant Tailors’ School. Here he continued till he was fifty years of age, and behaved in such a manner that nobody knew what to think of him. “I would I knew,” says the pious Bishop Hall in one of his letters, “where to find you: to-day you are with the Romanists, to-morrow with us; our adversaries think you ours, and we theirs; your conscience finds you with both and neither: how long will you halt in this indifferency?” Dr. Abbot says, “He spent his time in picking quarrels with the lectures of public readers, and giving advice to the then Bishop of Durham, that he might fill the ears of the king [James I.] with prejudices against honest men, whom he called Puritans.”§ Heylin confesses it was thought dangerous to keep him company. By the interest of Bishop Williams, he was first advanced|| to a Welsh bishopric, and from

* As the demand to have the solemnity of the coronation performed by the bishops of her own religion was refused, and such was her bigotry it would not permit her to join in our church ceremonies, she appeared, therefore, as a spectator only on that occasion.—Granger, as before, vol. ii., p. 96, note.—Ed.

† Clarendon, vol. i., p. 837.

‡ “As to his preferences in the state,” says Dr. Grey, “I should be glad to know what they were.” Though the doctor, who was ignorant of them, is now out of the reach of a reply, for the information of the reader they shall be mentioned. In 1635 he was put into the great committee of trade; and on the death of the Earl of Portland, was made one of the commissioners of the treasury and revenue; “which,” says Lord Clarendon, “he had reason to be sorry for, because it engaged him in civil business and matters of state.”—*History of the Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 98, 8vo, 1707. *British Biography*, vol. iv., p. 269.—Ed.

§ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 444.

|| To refute this account of the cause of Laud’s preference, Dr. Grey quotes Mr. Wharton. The circumstance in itself is of no importance to the credit or design of Mr. Neal’s history. And the passage even admits the fact that Laud owed his preferences to Bishop Williams’s solicitations, on the authority of Laud’s Diary and Bishop Hacket, Williams’s biographer; but the drift of Mr. Wharton is to exculpate Laud from the charge of ingratitude to

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 81.

† “Whoever sees her charming portrait at Windsor,” says Mr. Granger, “will cease to admire at her great influence over the king.”—*The Biographical History of England*, vol. ii., p. 96, 8vo.—Ed.

thence by degrees to the highest preferments in Church and State. He was a little man, of a quick and rough temper, impatient of contradiction even at the council-table, of arbitrary principles both in Church and State, always inclined to methods of severity, especially against the Puritans; vastly fond of external pomp and ceremony in Divine worship; and though he was not an absolute papist, he was ambitious of being the sovereign patriarch of three kingdoms.*

Lord-chief-justice Finch was a man of little knowledge in his profession, except it was for making the laws of the land give place to orders of council. Mr. Attorney-general Noy† was a man of affected pride and morosity, who valued himself (says Lord Clarendon‡) upon making that to be law which all other men believed not to be so. Indeed, all the judges were of this stamp, who, instead of upholding the law as the defence and security of the subjects' privileges, set it aside upon every little occasion, distinguishing between a rule of law and a rule of government: so that those whom they could not convict by statute law were sure to suffer by the rule of government, or a kind of political justice. The judges held their places during the king's pleasure; and when the prerogative was to be stretched in any particular instances, Laud would send for their opinions beforehand, to give the greater sanction to the proceedings of the council and Star Chamber, by whom they were often put in mind, that if they did not do his majesty's business to satisfaction, they would be removed. Upon the whole, they were mercenary men, and (according to Lord Clarendon) scandalous to their profession.

The courts of Westminster Hall had little to do between the crown and the subject; all business of this kind being transferred to the council-table, the Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission.

The council-table was the Legislature of the kingdom, their proclamations and orders being made a rule of government, and the measure of the subject's obedience. Though there was not one single law enacted in twelve years, there were no less than two hundred and fifty proclamations; every one of which had the force of a law, and bound the subject under the severest penalties. The Lord-keeper Finch, upon a demurrer put into a bill that had no other equity than an order of council, declared upon the bench, that while he was keeper, no man should be so saucy as to dispute those orders, but that the wisdom of that board should always be ground good enough for him to make a decree in Chancery. Judge Berkeley, upon a like occasion, declared that there was a rule of law and a rule of government, that many things that might not be done by the rule of

Bishop Williams on this ground; that the latter, in the service he rendered the former, was not actuated by kindness, but by selfish and interested views. This does not confute, in any degree, Mr. Neal, who says nothing about the motives by which Bishop Williams was governed.—C.

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 99.

† Bishop Warburton censures Mr. Neal for not informing his reader that Noy was a great lawyer.

‡ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 71, 73, 74.

law, might be done by the rule of government: his lordship added, that no act of Parliament could bind the king not to command away his subjects' goods and money.

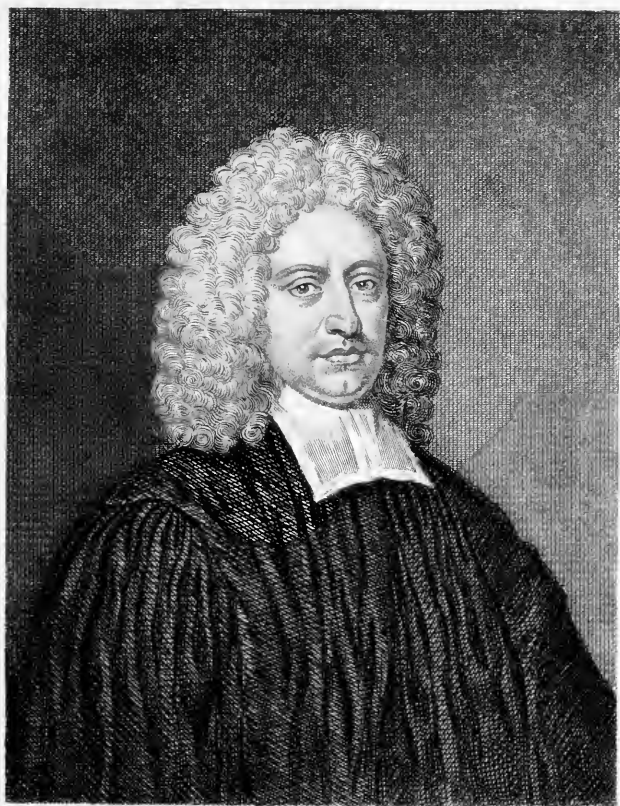
"The Star Chamber," says Lord Clarendon, † "was in a manner the same court with the council-table, being but the same persons in several rooms: they were both grown into courts of law, to determine right; and courts of revenue, to bring money into the treasury: the council-table by proclamations enjoining to the people what was not enjoined by law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star Chamber censuring the breach and disobedience to those proclamations, by very great fines and imprisonment; so that any disrespect to any acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right by which men valued their security, were never in more danger of being destroyed.

"The High Commission also had very much overflowed the banks that should have contained it, not only in meddling with things not within their cognizance, but in extending their sentences and judgments beyond that degree that was justifiable, and grew to have so great a contempt of the common law, and the professors of it, that prohibitions from the supreme courts of law, which have and must have the superintendency over all the inferior courts, were not only neglected, but the judges were reprehended for granting them, which, without perjury, they could not deny.‡ Besides, from an ecclesiastical court for reformation of manners, it was grown to a court of revenue, and imposed great fines upon those who were culpable before them; sometimes above the degree of the offence, had the jurisdiction of fining been unquestionable, which it was not; which course of fining was much more frequent, and the fines heavier, after the king had granted all that revenue for the reparation of St. Paul's, which made the grievance greater;" and gave occasion to an unlucky observation, that the church was built with the sins of the people. These commissioners, not content with the business that was brought before them, sent their commissaries over the whole kingdom to superintend the proceedings of the bishops' courts in their several diocesses, which of themselves made sufficient havoc among the Puritans, and were under a general odium for the severe exercise of their power: but if the bishop or his officers were negligent in their citations, or showed any degree of favour to the Puritan ministers, notice was immediately sent to Lambeth, and the accused persons were cited before the High Commission, to their utter ruin. They also detained men in prison many months, without bringing them to a trial, or so much as acquainting them with the cause of their commitment. Sir Edward Deering says, that "their proceedings were in some sense worse than the Romish Inquisition, because they do not punish men of their own religion established by law; but with us," says he, "how many scores of poor distressed ministers, within a few years, have been suspended, degraded, and excommunicated, though not guilty of a breach.

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 74.

† Ibid., p. 68, 69.

‡ Ibid., p. 283.



MR JOHN HOWE, A.M.



of any established law!" All which was so much the worse, because they knew that the court had no jurisdiction of fining at all; for the House of Commons, in the third and seventh of King James I., resolved that the Court of High Commission's fining and imprisoning men for ecclesiastical offences was an intolerable grievance, oppression, and vexation, not warranted by the statute 1 Eliz., chap. i. And Sir Edward Coke, with the rest of the judges, at a conference with the prelates, in the presence of King James, gave it as their unanimous opinion, that the High Commission could fine in no case, and imprison only in cases of heresy and incontinence of a minister, and that only after conviction, but not by way of process before it, so that the jurisdiction of the court to fine was not only questionable, but null and void. Notwithstanding which, they hunted after their prey with full cry, "and brought in the greatest and most splendid transgressors; persons of honour and great quality," says the noble historian, "were every day cited into the High Commission, upon the fame of their incontinency or scandal of life, and very heavy fines were levied upon them, and applied to the repairing of St. Paul's Cathedral."

Upon the accession of King Charles to the throne, the Duke of Buckingham threw off the mask, and shook hands with his old friend Dr. Preston, whom he never loved any farther than as a tool to promote his interest among the people. Laud was his confessor and privy-counsellor for the Church, whose first care was to have none but Arminian and anti-Puritanical chaplains about the king: for this purpose, he drew up a small treatise and put it into the duke's hand, proving the Arminian doctrines to be orthodox, and showing, in ten particulars, that the anti-Arminian tenets were no better than doctrinal Puritanism. Agreeably to the scheme, he presented the duke [April 9] with a list of divines for his majesty's chaplains, distinguishing their characters by the two capital letters O. for orthodox [that is, Arminian], and P. for Puritans [that is, Calvinists]. At the same time, he received orders to consult Bishop Andrews how to manage, with respect to the five distinguishing points of Calvinism, in the ensuing convocation; but the wise bishop advised his brother by all means to be quiet, and keep the controversy out of the house: "for," says he, "the truth in this point is not so generally entertained among the clergy; nor is Archbishop Abbot, nor many of the prelates, so inclinable to it as to venture the deciding it in convocation." It was, therefore, wisely dropped, the majority of the Lower House being zealous Calvinists; and forty-five of them (according to Dr. Leo, who was one of the number) had made a covenant among themselves to oppose everything that tended towards Pelagianism or semi-Pelagianism: but the controversy was warmly debated without doors, till the king put a stop to it by his royal declaration.

Popery advanced hand in hand with Arminianism, and began the disputes between the king and his first Parliament, which met June 16, 1625. His majesty, towards the close of his speech, having asked their assistance for the recovery of the Palatinate, assured them that, though he had been suspected as to his religion,

he would let the world see that none should be more desirous to maintain the religion he professed than himself. The houses thanked the king for his most gracious speech, but, before they entered upon other business, joined in a petition against popish recusants, which his majesty promised to examine, and give a satisfactory answer to the particulars.

The petition sets forth the causes of the increase of popery, with the remedies: the causes are,

The want of the due execution of the laws against them. The interposing of foreign powers by their ambassadors and agents in their favour. The great concourse of papists to the city, and their frequent conferences and conventicles there. Their open resort to the chapels of foreign ambassadors. The education of their children in foreign seminaries. The want of sufficient instruction in the Protestant religion in several places of the country. The licentious printing of popish books. The employment of men ill affected to the Protestant religion in places of government.*

They therefore pray that the youth of the kingdom may be carefully educated under Protestant schoolmasters; which his majesty, in his answer to their petition, promised: That the ancient discipline of the universities may be restored; which his majesty approved: That the preaching of the Word of God may be enlarged; and that to this purpose the bishops be advised to make use of the labours of such able ministers as have been formerly silenced, advising and beseeching them to behave themselves peaceably; and that pluralities, nonresidences, and commendams may be moderated. Answer. "This his majesty approved, so far as the ministers would conform to church government. But he apprehends that pluralities, &c., are now so moderated that there is no room for complaint; and recommends it to the Parliament to take care that every parish allow a competent maintenance for an able minister." That provision might be made against transporting children to popish seminaries, and for recalling those that were there. Answ. "To this his majesty agreed." That no popish recusant be admitted to come to court but upon special occasion, according to statute 3 Jac. Answ. "This also his majesty promised." That the laws against papists be put in execution, and that a day be fixed for the departure of all Jesuits and seminary-priests out of the kingdom, and that no natural-born subject, nor strange bishops, nor any other by authority from the see of Rome, confer any ecclesiastical orders, or exercise any ecclesiastical functions, upon your majesty's subjects. Answ. "It shall be so published by proclamation." That your majesty's learned council may have orders to consider of all former grants of recusant lands, that such may be avoided as are avoidable by law. Answ. "It shall be done according as is desired." That your majesty give order to your judges and all officers of justice to see the laws against popish recusants duly executed. Answ. "His majesty leaves the laws to their course." That your majesty will remove from places of authority and government all popish recusants. Answ. "His majesty will

* Rushworth, p. 183-186.

give order accordingly." That order be taken for disarming all popish recusants convict according to law, and that popish recusants be commanded to retire to their houses, and be confined within five miles of home. Answ. "The laws shall be put in execution." That none of your majesty's natural-born subjects go to hear mass at the houses or chapels of foreign ambassadors. Answ. "The king will give order accordingly." That the statute of 1 Eliz., for the payment of twelvence every Sunday by such as absent from Divine service in the church without a lawful excuse, be put in execution. Answ. "The king promises the penalties shall not be dispensed with." That your majesty will extend your princely care to Ireland, that the like course may be taken there for establishing the true religion. Answ. "His majesty will do all that a religious king can do in that affair."*

It is surprising that the king should make these promises to his Parliament within six months after he had signed his marriage-articles, in which he had agreed to set all Roman Catholics at liberty, and to suffer no search or molestation of them for their religion, and had, in consequence of it, pardoned twenty Romish priests, and (in imitation of his royal father) given orders to his lord-keeper to direct the judges and justices of peace all over England "to forbear all manner of proceedings against his Roman Catholic subjects, by information, indictment, or otherwise; it being his royal pleasure that there should be a cessation of all and singular pains and penalties whereunto they were liable by any laws, statutes, or ordinances of this realm."† But, as a judicious writer observes,‡ it seems to have been a maxim in this and the last reign that no faith is to be kept with parliaments. The papists were apprized of the reasons of state that obliged the king to comply outwardly with what he did not really intend; and, therefore, though his majesty directed a letter to his archbishop [December 15, 1625] to proceed against popish recusants, and a proclamation was published to recall the English youths from popish seminaries, little regard was paid to them. The king himself released eleven Romish priests out of prison, by special warrant, the next day; the titular Bishop of Chalcedon, by letters dated June 1, 1625, appointed a popish vicar-general and archdeacons all over England,§ whose names were published

* Rushworth, p. 173.

† The remark of Dr. Warner here is too pertinent and forcible, especially considering from whose pen it comes, to be omitted. "These gracious answers of his majesty," says he, "to the several articles of the petition presented to him by both houses of Parliament, wanted nothing but the performance of the promises which he made, to gain him the love of all his Protestant subjects. But if we may judge by the continual complaints of the Parliament throughout this reign, about these very points on which the king had given this satisfaction, we shall find reason to think that his promises were observed no better than James his father observed his."—*Warner's Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 513.—Ed. † Rapiu.

§ Fuller tells us that this titular Bishop of Chalcedon, whose name was Smith, appeared in his pontificalibus in Lancashire, with his mitre and crozier. This was an evident proof that the Catholics presumed on the indulgence and connivance, if not the protection, of the court. To show which, the fact

in the year 1643;* and when the next Parliament petitioned for the removal of papists from offices of trust, it appeared, by a list annexed to their petition, that there were no less than fifty-nine of the nobility and gentry of that religion then in the commission †

But the king not only connived at the Roman Catholics at home, but, unhappily, contributed to the ruin of the Protestant religion abroad. Cardinal Richelieu having formed a design to extirpate the Huguenots of France, by securing all their places of strength, laid siege to Rochelle, a seaport town with a good harbour and a number of ships sufficient for its defence. Richelieu, taking advantage of the king's late match with France, sent to borrow seven or eight ships, to be employed as the King of France should direct, who appointed them to block up the harbour of Rochelle; but when the honest sailors were told where they were going, they declared they would rather be thrown overboard, or hanged upon the top of the masts, than fight against their Protestant brethren. Notwithstanding Admiral Pennington and the French officers used all their rhetoric to persuade them, they remained inflexible. The admiral, therefore, acquainted the king, who sent him a warrant to the following effect: "That he should consign his own ship immediately into the hands of the French admiral, with all her equipage, artillery, &c., and require the other seven to put themselves into the service of our dear brother the French king; and in case of backwardness or refusal, we command you to use all forcible means, even to their sinking." In pursuance of this warrant, the ships were delivered into the hands of the French, but all the English sailors and officers deserted except two. The French, having got the ships and artillery, quickly manned them with sailors of their own religion, and, joining the rest of the French fleet, they blocked up the harbour, destroyed the little fleet of the Rochellers, and cut off their communication by sea with their Protestant friends, by which means they were reduced to all the hardships of a most dreadful famine; and after a long blockade, both by sea and land, were forced to surrender the chief bulwark of the Protestant interest in France into the hands of the papists.

To return to the Parliament. It has been remembered that Mr. Richard Montague, a clergyman, and one of the king's chaplains, published a book in the year 1623, entitled "A new Gag for an old Goose," in answer to a popish

is brought forward by Mr. Neal, whose candour in this matter Dr. Grey impeaches, because he does not inform his reader that the king issued his proclamation for apprehending this Romish agent. But it seems to have escaped Dr. Grey's attention that a proclamation not issued till the 11th of December, 1628, and not then till drawn from him by a petition of both houses against recusants, can have little weight against the imputation on the king which this fact is alleged to support.—*Rushworth's Collections*, vol. i., p. 511.—Ed.

* Rushworth, p. 158, 159, and Fuller's Church Hist., b. xi., p. 132, 133.

† See Rushworth's Collection, vol. i., p. 393, &c. The names of some of these persons, perhaps, were returned only on the ground of suspicion, because their wives and children were of the Romish communion, or did not come to church. "Mr. Neal," therefore, according to Dr. Grey, "mistook Rushworth."—Ed.

book, entitled "A Gag for the new Gospel."* The book containing sundry propositions tending to the public disturbance, was complained of in the House of Commons, who, after having examined the author at their bar, referred him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who dismissed him with an express prohibition to write no more about such matters. But Montague, being encouraged from court, went on and published "An Appeal to Cæsar," designing it for King James; but he being dead before it was ready, it was dedicated to King Charles, and recommended at first by several court-bishops, who, upon better consideration, artfully withdrew their names from before it, and left Dr. Francis White to appear by himself, as he complained publicly. The appeal was calculated to promote Arminianism, to attempt a reconciliation with Rome, and to advance the king's prerogative above law. The House appointed a committee to examine into its errors; after which they voted it to be contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, and bound the author in a recognisance of £2000 for his appearance.

Bishop Laud, apprehending this to be an invasion of the prerogative, and a dangerous precedent, joined with two other bishops in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, to engage his majesty to take the cause into his own hands: the letter says, † "that the Church of England, when it was reformed, would not be too busy with school-points of divinity; now the points for which Mr. Montague is brought into trouble are of this kind: some are the resolved doctrines of the Church of England, which he is bound to maintain; and others are fit only for schools, wherein men may abound in their own sense. To make men subscribe school-opinions is hard, and was one great fault of the Council of Trent. Besides, disputes about doctrines in religion ought to be determined in a national synod or convocation, with the king's license, and not in Parliament; if we submit to any other judge, we shall depart from the ordinance of Christ, we shall derogate from the honour of the late king, who saw and approved of all the opinions in that book; as well as from his present majesty's royal prerogative, who has power and right to take this matter under his own care, and refer it in a right course to church consideration. Some of the opinions which are opposite to Mr. Montague's will prove fatal to the government, if publicly taught and maintained: when they had been concluded upon at Lambeth, Queen Elizabeth caused them to be suppressed, and so they continued, till of late some of them received countenance from the Synod of Dort; a synod whose conclusions have no authority in this country, and it is to be hoped never will." Signed, Jo. Roffensis, Jo. Oxon, and Gulielmus Menevensis, August 2, 1625.

This letter had its effect, and procured Montague his *quietus* at present. The king declared he would bring the cause before the council, it being a branch of his supremacy to determine matters of religion. He expressed his displeasure against the Commons for calling

his chaplain to their bar, and for alarming the nation with the danger of popery. But these affairs, with the king's assisting at the siege of Rochelle, made such a noise at Oxford, where the Parliament was reassembled because of the plague at London, that the king was obliged to dissolve them [August 12] before they had granted the supplies necessary for carrying on the war. Nor did his majesty pass any act relating to religion, except one, which was soon after suspended by his royal declaration; it was to prevent unlawful pastimes on the Lord's Day. The preamble sets forth that the holy keeping of the Lord's Day is a principal part of the true service of God: "Therefore it is enacted that there shall be no assemblies of people out of their own parishes for any sports or pastimes whatsoever; nor any bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, common plays, or any other unlawful exercises or pastimes, within their own parishes, on forfeiture of three shillings and sixpence for every such offence to the poor." However, this law was never put in execution. Men were reproached and censured for too strict an observation of the Lord's Day, but none that I have met with for the profanation of it.

His majesty having dismissed his Parliament before they had given him the necessary supplies for the war with Spain, resolved to try his credit in borrowing money, by way of loan, of such persons as were best able to lend; for this purpose gentlemen were taxed at a certain sum, and had promissory letters under the privy seal to be repayed in eighteen months.* With this money the king fitted out a fleet against Spain, which, after it had waited about two months for the Plate fleet, returned without doing any action worth remembrance.

The ceremony of the king's coronation, † which was not performed till the beginning of February, was another expense which his majesty thought fit to provide for by issuing out a proclamation that all such as had £40 a year or more, and were not yet knights, should come and receive the order of knighthood, or compound for it. ‡ This was a new grievance loudly complained of in the following Parliaments. The coronation was performed by Archbishop Abbot, assisted by Bishop Laud as Dean of Westminster, § who, besides the old regalia which were in his custody, that is, the crown,

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 196, 197.

† Senhouse, bishop of Carlisle, who had been his chaplain when Prince of Wales, was selected to preach his coronation sermon. The bishop took for his text Rev., ii., 10, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," a passage which was considered by the superstitious as far more suitable for his funeral sermon than as adapted to the brilliant occasion on which it was delivered. Charles, contrary to the custom of his ancestors, had selected a robe of white, instead of purple, as his coronation dress. There were various portents of ill augury which identified themselves with the inauguration of the ill-fated monarch.—*Court of the Stuarts by Jesse*, vol. ii., p. 59, 60.—C.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii., p. 235, 236, folio ed.

§ Dr. Grey properly corrects Mr. Neal here: Laud officiated in the place of the Dean of Westminster, the Bishop of Lincoln, with whom the king was so displeased, that he would not permit him to perform any part of the coronation service.—*Fuller's Church Hist.*, b. x., p. 121.—Ed.

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 177.

† Cabala, p. 103; Rushworth, vol. i., p. 180, 181, or 110, 111, of the edition in 1663.

the sceptre, the spurs, &c., of King Edward the Confessor, brought forth an old crucifix, and placed it upon the altar. As soon as the archbishop had put the crown upon the king's head, and performed the other usual ceremonies,* his majesty being seated on the throne, ready to receive the homage of the lords, Bishop Laud came up to him, and read the following extraordinary passage, which is not to be found in former coronations: "Stand, and hold fast from henceforth the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us, and all the bishops and servants of God. And as you see the clergy to come nearer to the altar than others, so remember that in all places convenient you give them greater honour, that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne, to be a mediator between the clergy and the laity, and that you may reign forever with Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords."† This and sundry other alterations were objected to the archbishop at his trial, which we shall mention hereafter.

The king's treasury being exhausted, and the war continuing with Spain, his majesty was obliged to call a new Parliament; but to avoid the choice of such members as had exclaimed against the Duke of Buckingham, and insisted upon redress of grievances, the court pricked them down for sheriffs, which disqualified them from being rechosen members of Parliament; of this number were Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Philips, and Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterward Lord Strafford. The houses met February 6, 1626, and fell immediately upon grievances. A committee for religion was appointed, of which Mr. Pym was chairman, who examined Mr. Montague's writings, viz., his "Gag," his "Appeal," and his treatise of the "Invocation of the Saints;" out of which they collected several opinions contrary to the Book of Homilies and the Thirty-nine Articles, which they reported to the House; as,

1. "That he maintained the Church of Rome is, and ever was, a true church, contrary to the sixteenth homily of the Church of England.

2. "That the said Church had ever remained firm upon the same foundation of sacraments and doctrine instituted by God.

3. "That speaking of the doctrines of faith, hope, and charity, he affirmed that none of these are controverted between the papists and Protestants; but that the controverted points are of a lesser and inferior nature, of which a man may be ignorant without any danger of his soul.

4. "That he maintained the use of images, for instruction of the ignorant, and exciting devotion.

5. "That in his treatise of the 'Invocation of Saints,' he affirmed that some saints have a peculiar patronage, custody, protection, and power (as angels have) over certain persons and countries.

* The ceremonial of the coronation is given at length by Fuller, b. xi., p. 121, &c.—Ed.

† "The manuscript coronation-book, which the king held in his hand, and which is still in being," says Dr. Grey, "proves that the words were not spoken by Laud, but by the archbishop."—Ed.

6. "That in his 'Appeal' he maintained that men justified may fall away from grace, and may recover again, but not certainly nor necessarily.

7. "That the said R. Montague has endeavoured to raise factions among the king's subjects, by casting the odious and scandalous name of Puritans upon those who conform to the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church. That he scoffed at preaching, at lectures, and all shows of religion; and that the design of his book was apparently to reconcile the Church of England with the See of Rome."*

In what manner the Commons designed to prosecute this impeachment is uncertain, for Montague was not brought to his defence, the king having intimated again to the House that their proceeding against him without his leave was displeasing to him; that as to their holding him to bail, he thought his servants might have the same protection as an ordinary Burgess, and, therefore, he would take the cause into his own hands; and soon after dissolved the Parliament.‡

Though the Arminian controversy was thus wrested out of the hands of the Parliament, it was warmly debated without doors; Montague was attacked in print by Dr. Carleton, bishop of Chichester; Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter; Dr. Featly, Dr. Goad, Mr. Ward, Burton, Yates, Wotton, Prynne, and Fran. Rouse, Esq., &c. Conferences were appointed to debate the point of the possibility of the elects' falling from grace.‡ One was at York House, February 11, 1625-6, before the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Warwick, and other lords; Dr. Bucke-ridge, bishop of Rochester, and Dr. White, dean of Carlisle, being on one side, and Dr. Moreton, bishop of Coventry, and Dr. Preston, on the other. The success of the dispute is variously related; but the Earl of Pembroke said that none went from thence Arminians, save those who came thither with the same opinions. Soon after, February 17, there was a second conference in the same place, Dr. White and Mr. Montague on one side, and Dr. Moreton and Preston on the other;§ Dr. Preston carried it clear at first, by dividing his adversaries, who quickly perceiving their error, united their forces, says my author, in a joint opposition to him; but, upon the whole, these conferences served rather to increase the differences than abate them. The king, therefore, issued out a proclamation, containing very express commands not to preach or dispute upon the controverted points of Arminianism. It was dated January 24, 1626, and sets forth "that the king will admit of no innovation in the doctrine, dis-

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 213-215.

† Dr. Grey adds here, "yet the king thought fit to call his book in." The doctor says this on the authority of Rushworth, whose farther account of the proceeding should be laid before the reader. "Ere this proclamation was published," says he, "the books were for the most part vented and out of danger of seizure, and the suppressing of all writing and preaching in answer therunto was (it seems by some) the thing mainly intended; for the several answers were all suppressed, and divers of the printers questioned by the High Commission."—*Rushworth*, vol. ii., p. 647.—Ed.

‡ Prynne's *Cant. Doom.*, p. 158, 159; Fuller, b. ix., p. 124.

§ Fuller, b. xi., p. 125.

cipline, or government of the Church, and, therefore, charges all his subjects, and especially the clergy, not to publish, or maintain in preaching or writing, any new inventions or opinions contrary to the said doctrine and discipline established by law, assuring them that his majesty will proceed against all offenders against this order with all that severity their contempt shall deserve, that by the exemplary punishment of a few, others may be warned against falling under the just indignation of their sovereign.*

One would have thought this proclamation to be in favour of Calvinism, but the execution of it being in the hands of Laud and the bishops of his party, the edge was turned against the Puritans, and it became, says Rushworth,† the stopping of their mouths, and gave an uncontrolled liberty to the tongues and pens of the Arminian party. Others were of opinion that Laud and Neile procured this injunction, in order to have an opportunity to oppress the Calvinists who should venture to break it, while the disobedience of the contrary party should be winked at. The Puritans thought they might still write in defence of the Thirty-nine Articles; but the press being in the hands of their adversaries, some of their books were suppressed, some were castrated, and others that got abroad were called in,‡ and the authors and publishers questioned in the Star Chamber and High Commission for engaging in a controversy prohibited by the government. By these methods effectual care was taken that the Puritan and Calvinian writers should do their adversaries no harm; Bishop Laud, with two or three of his chaplains, undertaking to judge of truth and error, civility and good manners, for all the wise and great men of the nation; in doing of which they were so shamefully partial, that learning and industry were discouraged, men of gravity and great experience not being able to persuade themselves to submit their labours to be mangled and torn in pieces by a few younger divines, who were both judges and parties in the affair. At length, the booksellers being almost ruined, preferred a petition to the next Parliament§ [1628], complaining that the writings of their best authors were stifled in the press, while the books of their adversaries [papists and Arminians] were published and spread over the whole kingdom. Thus Cheney's "Collectiones Theologicae," an Arminian and popish performance, was licensed, when the learned Dr. Twisse's answer to Arminius, though written in Latin, was stopped in the press.|| Mr. Montague's book, entitled "God's Love to Mankind," was licensed and published, when Dr. Twisse's reply to the same book was suppressed. Many affidavits of this kind were made against Laud at his trial by the most famous Calvinistical writers, as will be seen hereafter.

The case was just the same with regard to books against popery; the queen and the Roman Catholics must not be insulted, and, therefore, all offensive passages, such as calling the pope antichrist, the Church of Rome no true

church, and everything tending to expose images in churches, crucifixes, penance, auricular confession, and popish absolution, must be expunged. Sir Edward Deering compares the licensers of the press to the managers of the *index expurgatorius* among the papists, "who clip the tongues of such witnesses whose evidences they do not like; in like manner," says he, "our licensers suppress the truth, while popish pamphlets fly abroad *cum privilegio*; nay, they are so bold as to deface the most learned labours of our ancient and best divines. But herein the Roman *index* is better than ours, that they approve of their own established doctrines; but our innovators alter our settled doctrines, and superinduce points repugnant and contrary. This I do affirm, and can take upon myself to prove."

Terrible were the triumphs of arbitrary power over the liberty and property of the subject, in the intervals between this and the succeeding Parliament; gentlemen of birth and character, who refused to lend what money the council was pleased to assess them, were taken out of their houses and imprisoned at a great distance from their habitations;* among these were Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Strangeways, Sir Thomas Grantham, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, John Hampden, Esq., and others; some were confined in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, the Gate-house, and other prisons about London, as Sir John Elliot, Mr. Selden, &c.

Upon the whole, there were imprisoned by order of council nineteen knights, thirteen esquires, and four gentlemen in the county jails; three knights, one esquire, and four wealthy citizens in the Fleet, besides great numbers in other places. Those of the lower sort who refused to lend were pressed for the army, or had soldiers quartered on them, who, by their insolent behaviour, disturbed the peace of families, and committed frequent felonies, burglaries, rapines, murders, and other barbarous cruelties, insomuch that the highways were dangerous to travel, and the markets unfrequented. The king would have borrowed £100,000 of the city of London, but they excused themselves. However, his majesty got a round sum of money from the papists, by issuing a commission to the Archbishop of York to compound with them for all their forfeitures that had been due for recusancy since the tenth of King James I., or that should be due hereafter. By this fatal policy (says the noble historian) men well affected to the hierarchy, though enemies to arbitrary power, were obliged to side with the Puritans to save the nation, and enable them to oppose the designs of the court.

To convince the people that it was their duty to submit to the loan, the clergy were employed to preach up the doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance, and to prove that the absolute submission of subjects to the royal will and pleasure was the doctrine of Holy Scripture;‡ among those was Dr. Sibthorp, a man of mean parts, but of sordid ambition, who, in his sermon at the Lent assizes at Northampton, from Romans, xiii., 7, told the people, "that if princes commanded anything which subjects might

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 416, Bib. Regia.

† Rushworth, p. 417. Rapin, vol. ii., p. 258, folio ed. ‡ Prynne, p. 158, 159.

§ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 667.

|| Prynne, p. 166, 167, &c.

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 426, 432, 435, 495.

† Ibid., p. 426, 440.

not perform, because it is against the laws of God or of Nature, or impossible, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment, without resisting, or railing, or reviling; and so to yield a passive obedience where they cannot yield an active one." Dr. Manwaring went farther, in two sermons preached before the king at Oatlands, and published under the title of "Religion and Allegiance." He says, "The king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subjects' rights and liberties, but that his royal will and pleasure, in imposing taxes without consent of Parliament, doth oblige the subjects' conscience on pain of damnation; and that those who refuse obedience transgress the laws of God, insult the king's supreme authority, and are guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion. That the authority of both houses of Parliament is not necessary for the raising aids and subsidies, as not suitable to the exigencies of the state." These were the doctrines of the court; "which," says the noble historian, "were very unfit for the place and very scandalous for the persons, who presumed often to determine things out of the verge of their own profession, and in *ordine ad spiritualia*, gave unto Cæsar that which did not belong to him."

Sibthorp dedicated his sermon to the king, and carried it to Archbishop Abbot to be licensed, which the honest old prelate refused, for which he was suspended from all archiepiscopal functions, and ordered to retire to Canterbury or Ford, a moorish, unhealthy place, five miles beyond Canterbury. The sermon was then carried to the Bishop of London, who licensed and recommended it as a sermon learnedly and discreetly preached, agreeable to the ancient doctrine of the primitive Church, both for faith and good manners, and to the established doctrine of the Church of England.

Archbishop Abbot had been out of favour for some time, because he would not give up the laws and liberties of his country, nor treat the great Duke of Buckingham with that servile submission that he expected.* Heylin says the king was displeased with him for being too favourable to the Puritans and too remiss in his government; and that, for this reason, he seized his jurisdiction, and put it into hands more disposed to act with severity. Fuller says† that a commission was granted to five bishops, whereof Laud was one, to suspend him for casual homicide that he had committed seven years before, and of which he had been cleared by commissioners appointed to examine into the fact in the reign of King James; besides, his grace had a royal dispensation to shelter him from the canons, and had ever since exercised his jurisdiction without interruption, even to the consecrating of Laud himself to a bishopric. But the commission mentions no cause of his suspension, and only takes notice that the archbishop cannot at present, in his own person, attend the services which are otherwise proper for his cognizance and jurisdiction. But why could he not attend them? Because his majesty had commanded him to retire, for refusing to license Sibthorp's sermon. The blame of this severity fell upon Laud, as if, not having

patience to wait for the reverend old prelate's death, he was desirous to step into the archiepiscopal chair while he was yet alive; for no sooner was Abbot suspended, than his jurisdiction was put into the hands of five bishops by commission, of whom Laud was the chief.

There was another prelate that gave the court some uneasiness, viz., Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, late lord-keeper of the great seal, who, being in disgrace, retired to his diocese, and became very popular among his clergy.* He declared against the loan, and fell in with the Puritans and country party, inasmuch that Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorp informed the council that they were grieved to see the Bishop of Lincoln give place to unconformable ministers, when he turned his back upon those who were conformable; that the Puritans ruled all with him; and that divers of them in Leicestershire being convened before the commissaries, his lordship would not admit proceedings to be had against them. That they [the commissaries for the High Commission] had informed the bishop, then at Bugden, of several of the factious Puritans in his diocese who would not come up to the table to receive the communion kneeling; of their keeping unlawful fasts and meetings; that one fast held from eight in the morning till nine at night; and that collections for money were made without authority, upon pretence for the Palatinate; that, therefore, they had desired leave from the bishop to proceed against them *ex officio*; but the bishop replied that he would not meddle against the Puritans; that, for his part, he expected not another bishopric; they might complain of them if they would to the council-table, for he was under a cloud already. He had the Duke of Buckingham for his enemy, and, therefore, would not draw the Puritans upon him, for he was sure they would carry all things at last. Besides, he said, the king, in the first year of his reign, had given answer to a petition of the Lower House, at Oxford, in favour of the Puritans.

It appeared by the information of others, that Lamb and Sibthorp pressed the bishop again to proceed against the Puritans of Leicestershire; that the bishop then asked them, What sort of people they were, and of what condition? To which Sir John Lamb replied, in the presence of Dr. Sibthorp, "that they seemed to the world to be such as would not swear, whore, nor be drunk, but yet they would lie, cozen, and deceive; that they would frequently hear two sermons a day, and repeat the same again, too, and afterward pray, and that sometimes they would fast all day long." Then the bishop asked whether the places where those Puritans were did lend money freely upon the collection for the loan. To which Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorp replied that they did. Then said the bishop, No man of discretion can say that that place is a place of Puritans: for my part (said the bishop), I am not satisfied to give way to proceedings against them: at which Sibthorp was much discontented, and said he was troubled to see that the Church was no better regarded. This information being transmitted to the council, was sealed up for the present, but was afterward, with some other matters, pro-

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 61, 435. Collyer, p. 742.
† Church History, b. xi., p. 127.

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 424, 425.

duced against his lordship in the Star Chamber, as will be seen hereafter.

Though the king was at war with Spain, and with the house of Austria, and (if I may be allowed to say it) with his own subjects; though he had no money in his exchequer, and was at the greatest loss how to raise any; yet he suffered himself to be prevailed with to enter into a new war with France, under the colour of maintaining the Protestant religion in that country, without so much as thinking of ways and means to support it. But when one considers the character of this king and his ministry, it is hard to believe that this could be the real motive of the war, for his majesty and the whole court had a mortal aversion to the French Huguenots.* Buckingham had no religion at all; Weston and Conway were Catholics; *Laud and Neile thought there was no salvation for Protestants out of the Church of England*; how, then, can it be supposed that they should make war in defence of a religion for which they had the utmost contempt? Lord Clarendon says the war was owing to Buckingham's disappointment in his amours at the French court;† but it is more likely he advised it to keep up the misunderstandings between the king and his parliaments, by continuing the necessity of raising money by extraordinary methods, upon which his credit and reputation depended. War being declared, the queen's domestics were sent home, and a fleet was fitted out, which made a fruitless descent upon the Isle of Rhee, under the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, with the loss of five thousand men. This raised a world of complaints and murmurs against the duke, and obliged the weak and unhappy king to try the experiment of another Parliament, which was appointed to meet March 17, 1627-8.

As soon as this resolution was taken in council, orders were despatched to all parts of the kingdom to release the gentlemen imprisoned for the loan, to the number of seventy-eight, most of whom were chosen members for the ensuing Parliament. In the mean time, his majesty went on with raising money by excise; and instead of palliating and softening the mistakes of his government, put on an air of high sovereignty, and told his Parliament, that if they did not provide for the necessities of the state, he should use those other means that God had put into his hands, to save that which the follies of other men would hazard. "Take not this," says his majesty, "as a threatening, for I scorn to threaten my inferiors,‡ but as an admonition from him, who by nature and duty has most care for your preservation and prosperity."§

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 260, folio ed.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 38, 39.

‡ "Any but equals."—*Rushworth*. Dr. Grey, who gives this correction, quotes other passages from the king's speech with a view to soften Mr. Neal's representation of it; but with little propriety; for though he expresses "a hope of being laid under such obligations as would tie him by way of thankfulness to meet them often," the whole wears the same air of sovereignty as the passage above. It is more in the tone of an angry monarch to his offending subjects, than of a constitutional king of England to his parliament.—ED.

§ *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 480. The leaders of the popular party were unmoved by this silly tirade. They were aware of the crisis which had arrived,

But the Parliament not being awed by this language, began with grievances; and though they voted five subsidies, they refused to carry the bill through the House till they had obtained the royal assent to their petition of right, which asserted, among others, the following claims contained in Magna Charta:

1. That no freeman shall be detained in prison by the king and privy council without the cause of commitment be expressed for which by law he ought to be detained.

2. That a *habeas corpus* ought not to be denied where the law allows it.

3. That no tax, loan, or benevolence shall be imposed without act of Parliament.

4. That no man shall be forejudged of life or limb, or be exiled or destroyed, but by the judgment of his peers, according to the laws of the land, or by act of Parliament.

The king gave the royal assent to this bill in the most ample manner, which I mention that the reader may remember what regard his majesty paid to it in the twelve succeeding years of his reign.

In the mean time, the House of Lords* went upon Manwaring's sermons, already mentioned, and passed the following sentence upon the author: "That he be imprisoned during pleasure, and be fined one thousand pounds; that he make his submission at the bar of the House, and be suspended from his ministry for three years; that he be disabled forever from preaching at court, be incapable of any ecclesiastical or secular preferment, and that his sermons be burned in London and both universities."† Pur-

and were admirably qualified to meet it. I beg the reader to examine the character of the leaders of the party; their intellectual endowments were of the highest order, and their moral standing gave weight and influence to their opinions. Look at Sir Edward Coke, yet regarded as the oracle of English law; John Selden, the most learned man of his time; Sir John Eliot, one of the purest of patriots; and John Hampden, the glory of the land. Lingard says, the leaders of the country party conducted their proceedings with the most consummate address. They advanced step by step, first resolving to grant a supply, then fixing it at the tempting amount of five subsidies. But no art, no entreaty could prevail on them to pass their resolution in the shape of a bill. It was held out as a lure to the king, it was gradually brought nearer and nearer to his grasp, but they still refused to surrender their hold; they required, as a previous condition, that he should give his assent to those liberties which they claimed as the birthright of Englishmen.—C.

* A declaration against Manwaring was presented to the Lords by Pym, supported in one of those lucid and masterly expositions of constitutional law which rendered him so formidable an opponent to the court. "The circumstances of aggravation annexed to this case," said Pym, "are these. The first, from the place where those sermons were preached; the court, the king's own family, where such doctrine was before so well believed that no man needed to be converted, &c. The second was from the consideration of his holy functions: he is a preacher of God's Holy Word, and yet he had endeavoured to make that, which was the only rule of justice and goodness, to be the warrant for violence and oppression. He is a messenger of peace, but he had endeavoured to sow strife and dissension, not only among private persons, but even between the king and his people, to the disturbance and danger of the whole state."—C.

† *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 601, 612, 613.

suant to this sentence, Manwaring appeared upon his knees at the bar of the House, June 23 [1628], and made ample acknowledgment and submission, craving pardon of God, the king, the Parliament, and the whole commonwealth, in words drawn up by a committee; but the Houses were no sooner risen than his fine was remitted and himself preferred, first to the living of Stamford-Rivers, with a dispensation to hold St. Giles's-in-the-fields, then to the deanery of Worcester, and after some time to the bishopric of St. David's.*

Within a month after this [August 22] Montague was promoted to the bishopric of Chester, while he lay under the censure of Parliament. At his consecration at Bow Church, Mr. Jones, a stationer of London, stood up and excepted against his qualification for a bishopric, because the Parliament had voted him incapable of any preferment in the Church; but his exceptions were overruled, not being delivered in by a proctor, though Jones averred that he could not prevail with any one to appear for him, though he offered them their fees; so the consecration proceeded.

Sibthorp, the other incendiary, was made prebendary of Peterborough, and rector of Burton-Latimer, in Wiltshire, though the Oxford historian† confesseth he had nothing to recommend him but forwardness and servile flattery.

While the money bill was going through the House of Lords, the Commons were busy in drawing up a remonstrance of the grievances of the nation, with a petition for redress; but as soon as the king had obtained his money he came to the House. June 26th, and prorogued the Parliament, first to the 20th of October, and then to the 26th of January. The Commons being disappointed of presenting their remonstrance, dispersed it through the nation, but the king called it in, and after some time published an answer drawn up by Bishop Laud, as was proved against him at his trial.

The remonstrance was dated June 11, and besides the civil grievances of billeting soldiers, &c., complains with regard to religion.

1. Of the great increase of popery by the laws not being put in execution; by conferring honours and places of command upon papists; by issuing out commissions to compound for their recusancy, and by permitting mass to be said openly at Denmark House and other places.

The answer denies any noted increase of popery, or that there is any cause to fear it. As for compositions, they are for the increase of his majesty's profit, and for returning that into his purse which the connivance of inferior officers might perhaps divert another way.

2. The remonstrance complains of the discountenancing orthodox and painful ministers, though conformable and peaceable in their behaviour, insomuch that they are hardly permit-

ted to lecture where there is no constant preaching. That their books are prohibited, when those of their adversaries are licensed and published. That the Bishops Neile and Laud are justly suspected of Arminianism and popish errors; and that this being the way to church preferment, many scholars bend the course of their studies to maintain them.

The answer denies the distressing or discountenancing good preachers, if they be, as they are called, good; but affirms that it was necessary to prohibit their books, because some whom the remonstrance calls orthodox had assumed an insufferable license in printing. That great wrong was done to the two eminent prelates mentioned without any proof; for should they or any others attempt innovations of religion, says his majesty, we should quickly take order with them, without staying for the remonstrance; and as for church preferments, we will always bestow them as the reward of merit, but, as the preferments are ours, we will be judge, and not be taught by a remonstrance.

3. The remonstrance complains of the growth of Arminianism, as a cunning way to bring in popery.

The answer says, this is a great wrong to ourself and government, for our people must not be taught by a parliamentary remonstrance, or any other way, that we are so ignorant of truth, or so careless of the profession of it, that any opinion or faction should thrust itself so fast into our dominions without our knowledge. This is a mere dream, and would make our loyal people believe we are asleep.

But the following letter, written at this time by a Jesuit in England to the rector of the college at Brussels, sufficiently supports the Parliament's charge, and shows how Arminianism and popery, which have no natural connexion, came to be united at this time against the Protestant religion and the liberties of England.

"Let not the damp of astonishment seize upon your ardent and zealous soul," says the Jesuit, "in apprehending the unexpected calling of a Parliament; we [the papists] have not opposed, but rather furthered it.

"You must know the council is engaged to assist the king by way of prerogative, in case the Parliament fail. You shall see this Parliament will resemble the pelican, which takes pleasure to dig out with her beak her own bowels.

"The elections have been in such confusion of apparent faction, as that which we were wont to procure with much art and industry, when the Spanish match was in treaty.

"We have now many strings to our bow, and have strongly fortified our faction, and have added two bulwarks more; for when King James lived, he was very violent against Arminianism, and interrupted our strong designs in Holland.

"Now we have planted that sovereign drug, Arminianism, which we hope will purge the Protestants from their heresy, and it flourishes and bears fruit in due season.

"The materials that build up our bulwark are the projectors and beggars of all ranks and qualities; however, both these factions co-op-

* In this manner did Charles express his contempt for Parliament, and purchase the services of an unprincipled priesthood to his purposes of tyranny. And yet there are *American citizens* who see no flaw in Charles, no blemish in Laud! We understand their position, however, when we find them, like that persecuting prelate, groping about amid the fooleries of popery. To escape from the testimony of history, they term it "*a tissue of lies!*"—C.

† Athenæ Oxon., vol. i., p. 180.

erate to destroy the Parliament, and to introduce a new species and form of government, which is oligarchy.

"These serve as mediums and instruments to our end, which is the universal Catholic monarchy; our foundation must be mutation, and mutation will cause a relaxation.

"We proceed now by counsel and mature deliberation, how, and when to work upon the duke's [Buckingham's] jealousy and revenge; and in this we give the honour to those that merit it, which are the church Catholics.

"There is another matter of consequence which we must take much into our consideration and tender care, which is, to stave off Puritans, that they hang not in the duke's ears: they are impudent, subtle people, and it is to be feared lest they should negotiate a reconciliation between the duke and the Parliament at Oxford and Westminster; but now we assure ourselves that we have so handled the matter that both the duke and Parliament are irreconcilable.

"For the better prevention of the Puritans, the Arminians have already locked up the duke's ears, and we have those of our own religion that stand continually at the duke's chamber, to see who goes in and out. We cannot be too circumspect and careful in this regard. I cannot choose but laugh to see how some of our own coat have accoutred themselves; and it is admirable how in speech and gesture they act the Puritans. The Cambridge scholars, to their woful experience, shall see we can act the Puritan a little better than they have done the Jesuits. They have abused our sacred patron in jest, but we will make them smart for it in earnest.

"But to return to the main fabric, our foundation is Arminianism; the Arminians and projectors affect mutation; this we second and enforce by probable arguments. We show how the king may free himself of his ward, and raise a vast revenue without being beholden to his subjects, which is by way of excise. Then our church Catholics show the means how to settle the excise, which must be by a mercenary army of foreigners and Germans; their horse will eat up the country where they come, though they be well paid; much more if they be not paid. The army is to consist of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; so that if the country rise upon settling the excise, as probably they will, the army will conquer them, and pay themselves out of the confiscation. Our design is to work the Protestants as well as the Catholics to welcome in a conqueror. We hope to dissolve trade, to hinder the building of shipping, and to take away the merchant-ships, that they may not easily light upon the West India fleet," &c.

It appears from this letter that Puritanism was the only bulwark of the Constitution, and of the Protestant religion, against the inroads of popery and arbitrary power.*

* Here Dr. Grey asks, "Whence does this appear? not from those words in the same letter, which show that the Puritans were the tools which the Jesuits designed to make use of, in order to subvert the constitution in the Church and State?" The reply to the doctor is, that the truth of Mr. Neal's remark appears from those paragraphs of the letter in which

4. To go on with the Parliament's remonstrance, which complains farther of the miserable condition of Ireland, where the popish religion is openly professed, and their ecclesiastical discipline avowed, monasteries, nunneries, and other religious houses re-edified, and filled with men and women of several orders, even in the city of Dublin itself.

The answer says that the Protestant religion is not in a worse condition than Queen Elizabeth left it; and adds, that it is a disparagement to the king's government to report the building of religious houses in Dublin, and other places, when the king himself had no account of it.

But it seems the Parliament knew more of the affairs of Ireland than Bishop Laud; the agents for that kingdom had represented the Protestant religion in great danger, by the suspending all proceedings against the papists ever since the king came to the crown; by this means they were become so bold, that when Lord Falkland summoned their chiefs to meet at Dublin, 1626, in order to a general contribution for defence of the kingdom against a foreign invasion, they declared roundly that they would contribute nothing without a toleration, and liberty to build religious houses; upon which the assembly was dismissed. This awakened the Protestant bishops, who met together and signed the following protestation, November 26, 1626.

"The religion of papists is superstitious and idolatrous, and their Church anti-apostolical; to give them, therefore a toleration is a grievous sin, because it makes ourselves accessory to all the abominations of popery,* and to the perdition of those souls that perish thereby; and because granting a toleration in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made

are expressed strong apprehensions that impediments and obstructions to the views and schemes it unfolds would arise from the Puritans. Nay, the justness of the remark appears from the words which Dr. Grey produces as refuting it. For, if the Jesuits acted the Puritan, could it be with a sincere desire to advance the influence of the Puritans, and promote their wishes? could it be with any other design than to turn against them the confidence into which by this means they insinuated themselves, and to undermine the Reformation by increasing divisions and fomenting prejudices against it? of this the collection of papers called "Foxes and Firebrands" furnishes evident proofs. Of this two curious letters, given by Dr. Grey from the MS. of Sir Robert Cotton, furnish convincing proofs. Yet the doctor again asks, "Can Mr. Neal, after all, be so weak as to imagine that the Jesuits would have put on the Puritan guise, in order to have ruined the Constitution, had the Puritans been the only bulwark of the Constitution?" Weak as it might be in Mr. Neal to imagine it, it is a fact, that they did assume the character of the Puritans in order to carry those purposes to which the Puritans were inimical. Dr. Grey, probably, would not have thought this so weak a policy as he represents it, had he recollected what is said of the false teachers in the primitive Church, who "transformed themselves into the apostles of Christ." Had he recollected that it is said of Satan, that "he transformed himself into an angel of light," and this to overturn those interests of truth and virtue, of which the former knew that the latter were the bulwark.—Ed.

* "From so silly a sophism, so gravely delivered, I conclude," says Bishop Warburton, "Usher was not that great man he has been represented."—Ed.

by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls that Christ has redeemed with his blood; we therefore beseech the God of truth to make those who are in authority zealous for God's glory, and resolute against all popery, superstition, and idolatry." Signed by Archbishop Usher and eleven of his brethren.

But, notwithstanding this protestation, the papists gained their point, and in the fourth year of the king's reign had a toleration granted them in consideration of the sum of £120,000, to be paid in three years.*

With regard to the building religious houses, it is wonderful that neither the king nor his prime minister should know anything of it, when the Lord-deputy Falkland had this very summer issued out a proclamation with this preamble: "Forasmuch as we cannot but take notice that the late intermission of the legal proceeding against popish pretended or titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, and others of that sort, that derive their authority and orders from Rome, hath bred such an extraordinary insolence and presumption in them as that they have dared of late not only to assemble themselves in public places, but also have erected houses and buildings called public oratories, colleges, mass-houses, and convents of friars, monks, and nuns, in the eye and open view of the state and elsewhere, and do frequently exercise jurisdiction against his majesty's subjects, by authority derived from Rome, and, by colour of teaching schools in their pretended monasteries, to train up youth in their superstitious religion, contrary to the laws and ecclesiastical government of this kingdom: we, therefore, will and require them to forbear to exercise their jurisdiction within this kingdom, and to relinquish and break up their convents and religious houses," &c. Could such a proclamation be printed and dispersed over the kingdom of Ireland without being known to the English court?

But farther, to show that Bishop Laud himself was not long ignorant of the dangerous increase of popery in Ireland, the Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, Dr. Bedell, sent him the following account soon afterward; it was dated April 1, 1630. "The popish clergy are more numerous than those of the Church of England; they have their officials and vicars-general for ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and are so hardy as to excommunicate those who appear at the courts of the Protestant bishops. Almost every parish has a priest of the Romish communion; masses are sometimes said in churches, and, excepting a few British planters, not amounting

to the tenth part of the people, the rest are all declared recusants. In each diocess there are about seven or eight of the Reformed clergy well qualified, but these not understanding the language of the natives, cannot perform Divine service, nor converse with their parishioners with advantage, and, consequently, are in no capacity to put a stop to superstition.*"

Let the reader now judge whether the answer to the remonstrance be not very evasive. Could this great statesman be ignorant of so many notorious facts? was the growth of Arminianism and arbitrary power a dream? was any wrong done to himself, or his brother of Winchester, by saying they countenanced these principles? was not the increase of popery both in England and Ireland notorious, by suspending the penal laws, ever since the king came to the crown, and granting the papists a toleration for a sum of money? where, then, was the policy of lulling the nation asleep, while the enemy were increasing their numbers, and whetting their swords for a general massacre of the Protestants, which they accomplished in Ireland about twelve years afterward?

The bishop observes in his diary, that this Parliament laboured his ruin, because they charged him with unsoundness of opinion; but his lordship had such an influence over the king as rendered all their attempts fruitless; for the See of London becoming vacant this

* It is to be regretted that Mr. Neal did not refer to his authority for this assertion. Dr. Grey quotes against it Collyer, vol. ii., p. 739, who says, that the protestation of the bishops "prevailed with the government to waive the thoughts of a toleration, and pitch upon some other expedients." The doctor might have added, from Fuller, that the motion was crushed by the bishops, and chiefly by Bishop Downham's sermon in Dublin, on Luke, i., 47.—*Church History*, b. xi., p. 128. Though we cannot ascertain the authority on which Mr. Neal speaks, the reader will observe that he is not contradicted by Collyer and Fuller, for they speak of the immediate effect of the opposition of the bishops to the toleration of the Irish Catholics, and he writes of a measure adopted in repugnance to it, two years afterward.—Ed.

* "Here," says Dr. Grey, "we have a long train of mistakes." There are, it is true, several. Dr. Bedell is called Dr. Beadle, and bishop elect of Kilmore, whereas he had the contiguous sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, and was the actual bishop of both when this letter was written, April 1, 1630, having been consecrated 13th September, 1629. These mistakes are imputed to Mr. Neal, but Dr. Grey should have possessed the candour to have informed his readers that they belong to Mr. Collyer, from whom the whole paragraph is taken. This he could not but have observed, for he immediately refers himself to Collyer, to blame Mr. Neal for not mentioning a remark of that author, viz., that Bishop Bedell's account related to his own two diocesses only. This the reader would of course understand to be the case, and, even with this limitation, it is a proof of the increase of popery in Ireland, though it should not be presumed to be a specimen of the state of things in other diocesses. The bishop's letter was written, as we have said, in April, 1630, and Mr. Neal introduces it as sent about that time of which he was writing, *i. e.*, about June, 1628. This is charged against him as an anachronism, but it is a small mistake, and even a blunder. But in a matter of this nature, where the existing state of things must have been the result of causes that had been some time operating, and shows a settled complexion of men and manners, it may admit a question whether the space of a year and nine months can be deemed an anachronism. The bishop's account certainly indicates what had been the growing state of things for many months.

Mr. Neal, by quoting Collyer in the above paragraph, has missed the most striking clause in Bishop Bedell's letter. He concludes by saying, "His majesty is now with the greatest part of this country, as to their hearts and consciences, king, but at the pope's discretion." Though it is not to the design of these notes, the editor is tempted here to give a trait in the character of this prelate's lady, who, it is said, "was singular in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence she paid to her husband."—*Bishop Burnet's Life of Bedell*, p. 47, 230.—Ed.

summer, Laud was translated to it July 15;* and the Duke of Buckingham being stabbed at Portsmouth by Felton, August 23 following, this ambitious prelate became prime minister in all affairs both of Church and State.

One of the bishop's first enterprises, after his translation to London, was to stifle the predestinarian controversy, for which purpose he procured the Thirty-nine Articles to be reprinted, with the following declaration at the head of them : †

By the King.

"Being by God's ordinance, and our just title, defender of the faith, &c., within these dominions, we hold it agreeable to our kingly office, for the preservation of unity and peace, not to suffer any unnecessary disputations which may nourish faction in the Church or commonwealth; we, therefore, with the advice of our bishops, declare that the Articles of the Church of England which the clergy generally have subscribed do contain the true doctrine of the Church of England, agreeable to God's Word, which we do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all our loving subjects to continue in the uniform profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said articles. We take comfort in this, that all clergymen within our realm have always most willingly subscribed the Articles, which is an argument that they all agree in the true usual literal meaning of them; and that in those curious points in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles to be for them, which is an argument again, that none of them intend any desertion of the Articles established: wherefore we will that all curious search into these things be laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles according to them; and that no man hereafter preach or print to draw the article aside any way, but shall submit to it, in the plain and full manner thereof, and shall not put his own sense or comment to the meaning of the article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense; that if any public reader in the universities, or any other person, shall affix any new sense to any article, or shall publicly read, or hold disputation on either side; or if any divine in the universities shall preach or print anything either way, they shall be liable to censure in the ecclesiastical commission, and we will see there shall be due execution upon them." ‡

* Bib. Reg., sect. iii., No. 4; or Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 188.

† Mr. Neal does not give the declaration at full length, but has omitted some clauses, and even two paragraphs; but in my opinion, without affecting the sense and tenour of it; though Dr. Grey says, "he has by this altered and curtailed the sense of it, and then charged it with blunders, which are of his own making."—Ed.

‡ This declaration, Dr. Harris observes, has been produced and canvassed in the famous Bangorian and Trinitarian controversies, which engaged the attention of the public for a great number of years.—*Life of Charles I.*, p. 183-190. Dr. Blackburn has at large discussed the validity of it, and is disposed to consider James I. as the first publisher of it. He shows that it has been corrupted by the insertion of the word *now*; as, "we will not endure any varying,

Surely there never was such a confused, unintelligible declaration printed before; but the Calvinist divines understood the king's intention, and complained in a petition of "the restraints they were laid under by his majesty's forbidding them to preach the saving doctrines of God's free grace in election and predestination to eternal life, according to the seventeenth article of the Church. That this had brought them under a very uncomfortable dilemma, either of falling under the Divine displeasure, if they did not execute their commission, in declaring the whole counsel of God, or of being censured for opposition to his majesty's authority, in case they preached the received doctrines of the Church, and attacked the Pelagian and Arminian heresies boldly published from the pulpit and the press, though censured by King James as arrogant and atheistical; and those who avow them to be agreeable to the Church of England are called gross liars. Therefore, they humbly entreat that his majesty would be pleased to take the forementioned evils and grievances into his princely consideration, and, as a wise physician, apply such speedy remedies as may both cure the present distemper, and preserve the Church and State from those plagues with which their neighbours had not been a little distressed." But this address was stopped in its progress, and never reached the king's ears.

In pursuance of his majesty's declaration, all books relating to the Arminian controversy were called in by proclamation and suppressed, and among others, Montague's and Manwaring's, which was only a feint to cover a more deadly blow to be reached at the Puritans; for, at the same time, Montague and Manwaring received the royal pardon, and were preferred to some of the best livings in the kingdom (as has been observed), while the answer to their books, by Dr. Featly, Dr. Goad, Mr. Burton, Ward, Yates, and Rouse, were not only suppressed, but the publishers questioned in the Star Chamber.

The king put on the same thin disguise with regard to papists; a proclamation was issued out against priests and Jesuits, and particularly against the Bishop of Chalcedon; orders were also sent to the Lord-mayor of London to make search after them, and commit them to prison, but, at the same time, his majesty appointed commissioners to compound with them for their recusancy; so that, instead of being suppressed, they became a branch of the revenue, and Sir Richard Weston, a notorious papist, was created Earl of Portland, and made lord-high-treasurer of England.

When the Parliament met according to prerogation, January 20, they began again with grievances of religion; Oliver Cromwell, Esq., being of the committee, reported to the House the countenance that was given by Dr. Neile, bishop of Winchester, to divines who preached Arminian and popish doctrine; he mentioned the favours that had been bestowed upon Montague and Manwaring, who had been censured the last sessions of Parliament; and added, "or departing, in the least degree, from the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England now established;" a language, he justly observes, inconsistent with the principles of our present constitution.—*Confessional*, p. 131-143, 3d edit.—Ed.

"If this be the way to church preferment, what may we expect?" Upon debating the king's late declaration, the House voted "that the main end of that declaration was to suppress the Puritan party, and to give liberty to the contrary side." Several warm and angry speeches were likewise made against the new ceremonies that began now to be introduced into the Church, as images of saints and angels, crucifixes, altars, lighted candles, &c.

Mr. Rouse stood up and said, "I desire it may be considered what new paintings have been laid upon the old face of the whore of Babylon, to make her show more lovely. I desire it may be considered how the See of Rome doth eat into our religion, and fret into the very banks and walls of it, the laws and statutes of this realm. I desire we may consider the increase of Arminianism an error that makes the grace of God lackey after the will of man. I desire we may look into the belly and bowels of this Trojan horse, to see if there be not men in it ready to open the gates to Romish tyranny, for an Arminian is the spawn of a papist, and, if the warmth of favour come upon him, you shall see him turn into one of those frogs that rose out of the bottomless pit; these men having kindled a fire in our neighbour-country, are now endeavouring to set this kingdom in a flame."*

Mr. Pym said, "that, by the articles set forth 1562, by the catechism set forth in King Edward VI.'s days, by the writings of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, by the constant professions sealed with the blood of many martyrs, as Cranmer, Ridley, and others, by the Thirty-six Articles of Queen Elizabeth, and by the articles agreed upon at Lambeth, as the doctrine of the Church of England, which King James sent to Dort and to Ireland, it appears evidently what is the established religion of the realm. Let us, therefore, show wherein these late opinions differ from those truths; and what men have been since preferred who have professed the contrary heresies; what pardons they have had for false doctrine; what prohibiting of books and writings against their doctrine, and permitting of such books as have been for them. Let us inquire after the abettors, and after the pardons granted to them that preach the contrary truth before his majesty. It belongs to parliaments to establish true religion and to punish false. We must know what parliaments have done formerly in religion. Our parliaments have confirmed general councils. In the time of King Henry VIII., the Earl of Essex was condemned [by Parliament] for countenancing books of heresy. The convocation is but a provincial synod of Canterbury, and cannot bind the whole kingdom. As for York, it is distant, and cannot bind us or the laws; and as for the High Commission, it is derived from Parliament."†

Sir John Eliot said, "If there be any difference in opinion concerning the interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles, it is said the bishops and clergy in convocation have power to dispute it, and to order which way they please. A slight thing, that the power of religion should be left to these men! I honour their profes-

sion; there are among our bishops such as are fit to be made examples for all ages, who shine in virtue, and are firm for religion; but the contrary faction I like not. I remember a character I have seen in a diary of King Edward VI., where he says of the bishops, that 'some for age, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, were unfit for discipline and government.' We see there are some among our bishops that are not orthodox, nor sound in religion as they should be; witness the two bishops complained of the last meeting of this Parliament; should we be in their power, I fear our religion would be overthrown. Some of these are masters of ceremonies, and labour to introduce new ceremonies into the Church. Let us go to the ground of our religion, and lay down a rule on which all others may rest, and then inquire after offenders."*

Mr. Secretary Cook said, "that the fathers of the Church were asleep; but, a little to awaken their zeal, it is fit," says he, "that they take notice of that hierarchy that is already established, in competition with their lordships, for they [the papists] have a bishop consecrated by the pope; this bishop has his subaltern officers of all kinds, as vicars-general, archdeacons, rural deans, apparitors, &c.; neither are these nominal or titular officers only, but they all execute their jurisdictions, and make their ordinary visitations throughout the kingdom, keep courts, and determine ecclesiastical causes; and, which is an argument of more consequence, they keep ordinary intelligence by their agents in Rome, and hold correspondence with the nuncios and cardinals both at Brussels and France. Neither are the seculars alone grown to this height, but the regulars are more active and dangerous. Even at this time they intend to hold a concurrent assembly with this Parliament." After some other speeches of this kind, the House of Commons entered into the following vow:

"We, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which, by the public act of the Church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others that differ from us."†

Bishop Laud, in his answer to this protestation, has several remarks. "Is there by this act," says his lordship, "any interpretation of the Articles or not? If none, to what end is the act? If a sense or interpretation be declared, what authority have laymen to make it? for interpretation of an article belongs to them only that have power to make it." To which

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 660, 661.

† "This protestation," Dr. Blackburne remarks, "is equivalent at least to any other resolution of the House. It is found among the most authentic records of Parliament. And whatever force or operation it had the moment it was published, the same it has to this hour; being never revoked or repealed in any succeeding Parliament, nor containing any one particular which is not in perfect agreement with every part of our present Constitution, civil and religious."
—*Confessional*, v. 142.

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 657-668.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 659.

it might be answered, that the Commons made no new interpretation of the Articles, but avowed for truth the current sense of expositors before that time, in opposition to the modern interpretation of Jesuits and Arminians. But what authority have laymen to make it? Answer. The same that they had in the 13th of Elizabeth to establish them as the doctrine of the Church of England; unless we will say, with Mr. Collyer, that neither the sense of the Articles, nor the Articles themselves, were established in that Parliament, or in any other.* If so, they are no part of the legal Constitution, and men may subscribe the words without putting any sense upon them at all: an admirable way to prevent diversity of opinions in matters of faith! But his lordship adds, "that it is against the king's declaration, which says, we must take the general meaning of them, and not draw aside any way, but take them in the literal and grammatical sense."† Has the king, then, a power, without convocation or Parliament, to interpret and determine the sense of the Articles for the whole body of the clergy? By the general meaning of the Articles, the declaration seems to understand no one determined sense at all. Strange! that so learned and wise a body of clergy and laity, in convocation and Parliament, should establish a number of articles with this title, "For the avoiding of diversity of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion," without any one determined sense! The bishop goes on, and excepts against the current sense of expositors, "because they may, and perhaps do, go against the literal sense." Will his lordship, then, abide by the literal and grammatical sense! No; but "if an article bear more senses than one, a man may choose what sense his judgment directs him to, provided it be a sense according to the analogy of faith, till the Church determine a [particular] sense; but it is the wisdom of the Church to require consent to articles in general as much as may be, and not require assent to particulars." His lordship had better have spoken out, and said that it would be the wisdom of the Church to require no subscriptions at all. To what straits are men given to comply with the laws, when their sentiments differ from the literal and grammatical sense of the Articles of the Church! Mr. Collyer says they have no established sense; King Charles, in his declaration, that they are to be understood in a general sense, but not to be drawn aside to a particular determined sense; Bishop Laud thinks that if the words will bear more senses than one, a man may choose what sense his judgment directs him to, provided it be a sense according to the analogy of faith, and all this for avoiding diversity of opinions! But I am afraid this reasoning is too wonderful for the reader.

While the Parliament were expressing their zeal against Arminianism and popery, a new controversy arose, which provoked his majesty to dissolve them, and to resolve to govern without parliaments for the future; for, though the king had so lately signed the petition of right in full Parliament, he went on with levying money by his royal prerogative. A bill was depending in the House to grant his majesty the duties of

tonnage and poundage; but before it was passed, the custom-house officers seized the goods of three eminent merchants, viz., Mr. Rolls, Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Vassal, for non-payment. Mr. Chambers was fined £2000, besides the loss of his goods, and suffered six years imprisonment: Mr. Rolls's warehouses were locked up, and himself taken out of the House of Commons and imprisoned. This occasioned some warm speeches against the custom-house officers and farmers of the revenues; but the king took all the blame on himself, and sent the House word, that what the officers had done was by his special direction and command, and that it was not so much their act as his own. This was a new way of covering the unwarrantable proceedings of corrupt ministers, and was said to be the advice of the Bishops Laud and Neile; a contrivance that laid the foundation of his majesty's ruin. It is a maxim in law, that the king can do no wrong, and that all maladministrations are chargeable upon his ministers; yet now, in order to screen his servants, his majesty will make himself answerable for their conduct. So that if the Parliament will defend their rights and properties, they must charge the king personally, who in his own opinion was above law, and accountable for his actions to none but God. It was moved in the House that, notwithstanding the king's answer, the officers of the customs should be proceeded against, by separating their interests from the king's; but when the speaker, Sir John Finch, was desired to put the question, he refused, saying the king had commanded the contrary.* Upon which the House immediately adjourned to January 25, and were then adjourned by the king's order to March 2, when meeting again, and requiring the speaker to put the former question, he again refused, and said he had the king's order to adjourn them to March 16; but they detained him in the chair, not without some tumult and confusion, till they made the following protestation:

1. "Whosoever shall, by favour or countenance, seem to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism, shall be reputed a capital enemy of the kingdom.

2. "Whosoever shall advise the levying the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, shall be reputed a capital enemy.

3. "If any merchant shall voluntarily pay those duties, he shall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to the same."†

The next day warrants were directed to Denzil Hollis, Sir John Eliot,‡ William Coriton,

* Whitelocke's Memorial, p. 12. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 669. † Rushworth, vol. i., p. 670.

‡ The subsequent history of Sir John Eliot possesses all the interest of a romance. It is not exceeded, in the developments of high principle and heroic fortitude, by any tale in ancient or modern times. He had evidently contemplated, from the commencement of this reign, the probability of such a termination of his patriotic life. He had read the character of Charles from the first, and knew that there was neither generosity nor justice in his heart. Laud he had uniformly opposed, as the despoiler of religion and the enemy of his country; and the pseudo-patriotism of Wentworth, now a baron of the realm and president of the North, had always been regarded by him with more than suspicion. From

* Eccles. Hist., p. 747.

† Prynne, Cant. Doom, p. 164.

Benjamin Valentine, John Selden, Esqrs., and four more of the principal members of the House, to appear before the council on the morrow :

such a monarch, aided by such counsellors, Eliot had nothing to expect. Yet he spurned with virtuous indignation the freedom which was proffered him on condition of his tendering an acknowledgment of guilt. He was removed from one apartment of the Tower to another, and the rigour of his imprisonment was steadily increased. At length his health rapidly declined; but his brutal oppressors, instead of being moved to pity, were solicitous to hasten the deadly malady which preyed on his frame. His friends were prohibited from visiting him; and though he was sinking in a consumption, and the season was wintery, and his prison damp, he was scarcely allowed the comfort of a fire.

This description of Eliot's treatment is fully borne out by the following letter of the dying patriot to his friend John Hampden, bearing the date Dec. 26, 1631. "That I write not to you anything of intelligence will be excused, when I do let you know that I am under a new restraint by warrant from the king, for a supposed abuse of liberty in admitting a free resort of visitants, and under that colour, holding consultations with my friends. My lodgings are removed, and I am now where candle-light may be suffered, but scarce fire. I hope you will think that this exchange of places makes not a change of mind. The same protection is still with me, and the same confidence; and these things can have end, by Him that gives them being. None but my servants, hardly my son, may have admittance to me. My friends I must desire, for their own sakes, to forbear coming to the Tower. You among them are chief, and have the first place in this intelligence."—*Forster's Eliot*, p. 115. Towards the close of 1632, a motion was made to the judges of the King's Bench, that as his physicians were of opinion he could never recover from his consumption, unless he breathed purer air, "they could for some certain time grant him his enlargement for the purpose." Richardson, the chief-justice, however, replied, "that although Sir John were brought low in body, yet was he as high and lofty in mind as ever, for he would neither submit to the king nor to the justice of that court." He was, therefore, referred to the monarch; but, knowing that it was hopeless to petition without a confession of guilt, Eliot resumed the occupation with which he had long sought to relieve the dreariness of his prison. This was the composition of a philosophical treatise, entitled "The Monarchy of Man," in which the independence of his mind, and its control over the passions and infirmities of his nature, are exhibited with an admirable combination of philosophical acuteness and strong practical sense. Having concluded this treatise, his health sank rapidly, when the impertinency of friends prevailed with him to petition the king. Mr. Forster has given the following account of his applications in a letter from Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering: "He first," says the letter-writer, "presented a petition to his majesty, by the hand of the lieutenant his keeper, to this effect: 'Sir, your judges have committed me to prison here, in your Tower of London, where, by reason of the quality of the air, I am fallen into a dangerous disease. I humbly beseech your majesty you will command your judges to set me at liberty, that for recovery of my health I may take some fresh air,' &c. Whereunto his majesty's answer was, 'It was not humble enough.' Then Sir John sent another petition, by his own son, to the effect following: 'Sir, I am heartily sorry I have displeased your majesty, and, having so said, do humbly beseech you once again to command your judges to set me at liberty, that when I have recovered my health, I may return back to my prison, there to undergo such punishment as God has allotted unto me,' &c. Upon this the lieutenant came and expostulated with him, saying, It was proper to him, and common to none

four of them appeared accordingly, viz., Mr. Hollis, Eliot, Coriton, and Valentine; who, refusing to answer out of Parliament for what

else, to do that office of delivering petitions for his prisoners.

"And if Sir John, in a third petition, would humble himself to his majesty, in acknowledging his fault, and craving pardon, he would willingly deliver it, and made no doubt but he should obtain his liberty. Unto this Sir John's answer was, 'I thank you, sir, for your friendly advice; but my spirits are grown feeble and faint, which when it shall please God to restore unto their former vigour, I will take it farther into my consideration.'"—*Life of John Eliot*, 119.

The following letter, addressed to Hampden, was probably the last which Eliot wrote. It is too characteristic of the man, and of his friend, to be omitted. It reveals the secret of their character by disclosing the religious impulse under which they acted.

"Besides the acknowledgment of your favour, that have so much compassion on your friend, I have little to return you from him that has nothing worthy of your acceptance, but the constation that I have between an ill body and the air, that quarrel and are friends, as the summer winds affect them. I have these three days been abroad, and as often brought in new impressions of the cold; yet, in body, and strength, and appetite, I find myself bettered by the motion. Cold at first was the occasion of my sickness; heat and tenderness, by close keeping in my chamber, have since increased my weakness. Air and exercise are thought most proper to repair it, which are the prescriptions of my doctors, though no physic. I thank God, other medicines I now take not but those catholicons, and do hope I shall not need; as children learn to go, I shall get acquainted with the air; practice and use will compass it; and now and then a fall is an instruction for the future. These varieties He doth try us with, that will have us perfect at all parts; and, as he gives the trial, he likewise gives the ability that will be necessary for the work; he will supply that doth command the labour; whose delivering from the lion and the bear, has the Philistines also at the dispensation of his will, and those that trust him, under his protection and defence. O infinite mercy of our Master, dear friend, how it abounds to us that are unworthy of his service! How broken, how imperfect, how perverse and crooked are our ways in obedience to him! How exactly straight is the line of his providences to us, drawn out through all the occurments and particulars to the whole length and measure of our time; how fearful is his hand, that has given his Son unto us, and with him hath promised likewise to give us all things, relieving our wants, sanctifying our necessities, preventing our dangers, freeing us from all extremities, and died himself for us! What can we render? what retribution can we make worthy so great a majesty, worthy such love and favour? We have nothing but ourselves, who are unworthy above all; and yet that, as all other things, is his; for us to offer up that, is but to give him his own, and that in far worse condition than we at first received it, which yet (for infinite is his goodness for the merits of his Son) he is contented to accept. This, dear friend, must be the comfort of his children; this is the physic we must use in all our sickness and extremities; this is the strengthening of the weak, the enriching of the poor, the liberty of the captive, the health of the diseased, the life of those that die the death of that wicked life, sin; and this happiness have his saints. The contemplation of this happiness has led me almost beyond the compass of a letter; but the haste I use unto my friends, and the affection that does move it, will, I hope, excuse me. Friends should communicate their joys; this, as the greatest, therefore, I could not but impart unto my friends, being therein

was said in the House, were committed close prisoners to the Tower. The studies of the rest were ordered to be sealed up, and a proclamation issued for apprehending them; though the Parliament not being dissolved, they were actually members of the House. On the 10th of March, the king came to the House of Lords, and without sending for the Commons, or passing one single act, dissolved the Parliament, with a very angry speech against the leading members of the Lower House, whom he called vipers, that cast a mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes; "and as those vipers," says his majesty, "must look for their reward of punishment, so you, my lords, must justly expect from me that favour that a good king oweth to his loving and faithful nobility."*

The undutifulness of the Commons was only their keeping the speaker in the chair after he had signified that the king had adjourned them, which his majesty had no power of doing; and no king before King James I. pretended to adjourn Parliaments; and when he claimed that power, it was complained of as a breach of privilege. It is one thing to prorogue or dissolve a Parliament, and another to adjourn it, the latter being the act of the House itself, and the consequence of vesting such a power in the crown might be very fatal; for if the king may adjourn the House in the midst of their debates, or forbid the speaker to put a question when required, it is easy to foresee the whole business of Parliament must be under his direction.† The members above mentioned were sentenced to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and were accordingly kept under close confinement many years, where Sir John Eliot died a martyr to the liberties of his country.‡ Mr. Hollis was fined a thousand marks,

moved by the present expectation of your letters, which always have the grace of much intelligence, and are happiness to him that is truly yours, J. E."—*Vaughan's Stuart Memorials*, 417.

Eliot was released from his sufferings and imprisonment on the 27th of November, 1632. His son requested permission to carry his body into Cornwall, his native county; but the king replied, with his accustomed want of true nobility of feeling, "Let Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the church of that parish where he died." Such was the end of one of the purest, most enlightened, and devout of English patriots. His character has risen in the estimation of his countrymen in exact proportion as his actions and the tenour of his life have become known. His fame has survived the slanders which the malevolence of party writers has invented, and is now regarded as the property of the nation, and the honour of his age. His sufferings were not fruitless, nor was the triumph of his enemies forgotten. "Faithful and brave hearts," says his biographer, "were left to remember this; and the sufferings of Eliot were not undergone in vain. They bore their part in the heat and burden of the after struggle. His name was one of its watchwords, and it had none more glorious."—*Forster's Life of Eliot*, 223, and *Price's Nonconformity*, vol. ii., p. 44. Mr. Forster has vindicated Eliot from the base charges preferred against him by Echard, the archdeacon, and retailed with such industrious malice by Mr. D'Israeli.—*Life*, p. 2-6.—C. * Rushworth, vol. i., 672.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 279, folio edit.

‡ "An affecting portrait of this gentleman is now in the possession of Lord Eliot. He is drawn pale, languishing, and emaciated; but disdaining to make the abject submission required of him by the tyrant, he expired under the excessive rigours of his con-

Sir John Eliot £2000, Valentine £500, and Long two thousand marks.

Great were the murmurings of the people upon this occasion; libels were dispersed against the Prime Minister Laud; one of which says, "Laud, look to thyself; be assured thy life is sought. As thou art the fountain of wickedness, repent of thy monstrous sins before thou be taken out of this world; and assure thyself, neither God nor the world can endure such a vile counsellor or whisperer to live."* But to justify these proceedings to the world, his majesty published "A Declaration of the Causes of dissolving the last Parliament."

The declaration vindicates the king's taking the duties of tonnage and poundage from the examples of some of his predecessors, and as agreeable to his kingly honour. It justifies the silencing the predestinarian controversy, and lays the blame of not executing the laws against papists upon subordinate officers and ministers in the country: "We profess," says his majesty, "that as it is our duty, so it shall be our care, to command and direct well; but it is the part of the others to perform the ministerial office; and when we have done our office, we shall account ourself, and all charitable men will account us, innocent, both to God and men; and those that are negligent, we will esteem culpable, both to God and us." The declaration concludes with a profession that "the king will maintain the true religion of the Church of England, without conniving at popery or schism: that he will maintain the rights and liberties of his subjects, provided they do not misuse their liberty, by turning it to licentiousness, wantonly and frowardly resisting our lawful and necessary authority; for we do expect our subjects should yield as much submission to our royal prerogative, and as ready obedience to our authority and commandments, as has been performed to the greatest of our predecessors. We will not have our ministers terrified by harsh proceedings against them; for as we expect our ministers should obey us, they shall assure themselves we will protect them."†

This declaration not quieting the people, was followed by a proclamation, which put an end to all prospects of recovering the Constitution for the future. The proclamation declares his majesty's royal pleasure "that spreaders of false reports shall be severely punished; that such as cheerfully go on with their trades shall have all good encouragement; that he will not overcharge his subjects with any new burdens, but will satisfy himself with the duties received by his royal father, which he neither can nor will dispense with. And whereas, for several ill ends, the calling of another Parliament is divulged, his majesty declares that the late abuse having, for the present, driven his majesty unwillingly out of that course, he shall account it confinement, leaving the portrait as a legacy and memento to his posterity; and to mankind; who, in the contemplation of such enormities, have reason to rejoice

"When vengeance in the lucid air
Lifts her red arm exposed and bare."

—*Belsham's Memoirs of the House of Brunswick Lunenburg*, vol. i., p. 185, note.—Ed.

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 672.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., Appen., p. 3-10.

presumption for any to prescribe any time to his majesty for parliaments, the calling, continuing, and dissolving of which is always in the king's own power.* Here was an end of the old English Constitution for twelve years. England was now an absolute monarchy: the king's proclamations and orders of council were the laws of the land; the ministers of state sported themselves in the most wanton acts of power; and the religion, laws, and liberties of this country lay prostrate and overwhelmed by an inundation of popery and oppression.

This year died the Reverend Dr. John Preston, descended of the family of the Prestons in Lancashire. He was born at Heyford, in Northamptonshire, in the parish of Bugbrook, 1587, and was admitted of King's College, Cambridge, 1604, from whence he was afterward removed to Queen's College, and admitted fellow in the year 1609.† He was an ambitious and aspiring youth, till, having received some religious impressions from Mr. Cotton, in a sermon preached by him at St. Mary's Church, he became remarkably serious, and bent all his studies to the service of Christ in the ministry. When the king came to Cambridge, Mr. Preston was appointed to dispute before him: the question was, Whether brutes had reason, or could make syllogisms? Mr. Preston maintained the affirmative; and instanced in a hound, who, coming to a place where three ways meet, smells one way and the other, but not finding the scent, runs down the third with full cry, concluding that the hare, not being gone either of the first two ways, must necessarily be gone the third. The argument had a wonderful effect on the audience, and would have opened a door for Mr. Preston's preferment, had not his inclinations to Puritanism been a bar in the way. He therefore resolved upon an academical life, and took upon him the care of pupils, for which he was qualified beyond most in the University. Many gentlemen's sons were committed to his care, who trained them up in the sentiments of the first Reformers, for he affected the very style and language of Calvin. When it came to his turn to be catechist, he went through a whole body of divinity with such general acceptance, that the outward chapel was usually crowded with strangers before

the fellows came in, which created him envy. Complaint was made to the vice-chancellor of this unusual way of catechising, and that it was not safe to suffer Dr. Preston to be thus adored, unless they had a mind to set up Puritanism and pull down the hierarchy; it was therefore agreed in the convocation-house that no stranger, neither townsman nor scholar, should, upon any pretence, come to those lectures, which were only designed for the members of the college.

There was little preaching in the University at this time, except at St. Mary's, the lectures at Trinity and St. Andrew's being prohibited; Mr. Preston, therefore, at the request of the townsmen and scholars of other colleges, attempted to set up an evening sermon at St. Botolph's, belonging to Queen's College; but when Dr. Newcomb, commissary to the Bishop of Ely, heard of it, he came to the church and forbade it, commanding that evening prayers only should be read; there was a vast crowd, and earnest entreaty that Mr. Preston might preach at least for that time; but the commissary was inexorable, and, to prevent farther importunities, went home with his family; after he was gone, Mr. Preston was prevailed with to preach, and because much time had been spent in debates, they adventured for once to omit the service, that the scholars might be present at their college prayers. Next day the commissary went to Newmarket, and complained both to the bishop and king; he represented the danger of the hierarchy, and the progress of nonconformity among the scholars, and assured them that Mr. Preston was in such high esteem, that he would carry all before him if he was not thoroughly dealt with. Being called before his superiors, he gave a plain narrative of the fact; and added, that he had no design to affront the bishop or his commissary. The bishop said the king was informed that he was an enemy to forms of prayer, which Mr. Preston denying, he was ordered to declare his judgment upon that head, in a sermon at St. Botolph's Church, and so was dismissed.

Some time after, King James being at Newmarket, Mr. Preston was appointed to preach before him, which he performed with great applause, having a fluent speech, a commanding voice, and a strong memory, to deliver what he had prepared without the assistance of notes. The king spoke familiarly to him; and, though his majesty expressed a dislike to some of his Puritan notions, he commended his opposing the Arminians. And the Duke of Buckingham, not knowing what friends he might want among the populace, persuaded the king to admit him one of the prince's chaplains in ordinary, and to wait two months in the year, which he did. Soon after this he was chosen preacher of Lincoln's Inn, and, upon the resignation of Dr. Chadderton, master of Emanuel College, in the year 1622, at which time he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. The doctor was a fine gentleman, a complete courtier, and in high esteem with the Duke of Buckingham, who thought by his means to ingratiate himself with the Puritans,* whose power was growing

* Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 3.

† Clarke's Life of Dr. Preston, annexed to his General Martyrology, p. 75. Sir Fulke Greville, afterward Lord Brook, was such an admirer of Dr. Preston, that he settled fifty pounds a year upon him. Lord Brook was a zealous patriot and an open advocate for liberty. On account of the arbitrary measures of Charles I., he determined to seek freedom in New-England; and he and Lord Say actually determined to transport themselves to Massachusetts; but, upon the meeting of the Long Parliament, and the sudden change of public affairs, they were hindered in the project. He was afterward commander in the Parliamentary army, and having reduced Warwickshire, he advanced into Staffordshire, on the festival of St. Chad, to whom the Cathedral of Litchfield is dedicated; he ordered his men to storm the adjoining close, to which Lord Chesterfield had retired with a body of the king's forces. But before his orders could be put in execution, he received a musket-shot in the eye, of which he instantly expired, in the year 1643. It was the opinion of the papists that St. Chad directed the bullet. Archbishop Laud made a particular memorial of this in his diary.—*Prynne's Breviate of Laud*, p. 27.—C.

* "But Preston, who was as great a politician as the duke," says Mr. Granger, "was not to be over-reached."—Ed.

very formidable in Parliament. The duke offered him the bishopric of Gloucester, but the doctor refused, and chose rather the lectureship of Trinity Church, which he kept till his death. By his interest in the duke and prince he did considerable service for many silenced ministers; he was in waiting when King James died, and came up with the young king and duke in a close coach to London. But some time after, the duke, having changed measures, and finding that he could neither gain over the Puritans to his arbitrary designs nor separate the doctor from their interests, he resolved to shake hands with his chaplain. The doctor, foreseeing the storm, was content to retire quietly to his college, where, it is apprehended, he would have felt some farther effects of the duke's displeasure, if God, in his providence, had not cut him out work of a different nature, which engaged all his thoughts to the time of his death.

Dr. Preston lived a single life, being never married; nor had he any cure of souls. He had a strong constitution, which he wore out in his study and in the pulpit. His distemper was a consumption in the lungs, for which, by the advice of physicians, he changed the air several times; but the failure of his appetite, with other symptoms of a general decay, prevailed with him at length to leave off all medicine, and resign himself to the will of God. And being desirous of dying in his native country, and among his old friends, he retired into Northamptonshire, where he departed this life in a most pious and devout manner,* in the fifty-first year of his age, and was buried in Fawsley Church, old Mr. Dod, minister of the place, preaching his funeral sermon to a numerous auditory, July 20, 1623. Mr. Fuller† says, "He was an excellent preacher, a subtle disputant, a great politician; so that his foes must confess that (if not having too little of the dove) he had enough of the serpent. Some will not stick to say he had parts sufficient to manage the broad-seal, which was offered him, but the conditions did not please. He might have been the duke's right hand, but his grace finding that he could not bring him nor his party off to his side, he would use him no longer," which shows him to be an honest man. His practical works and sermons were printed by his own order, after his decease.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DISSOLUTION OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT OF KING CHARLES I. TO THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP ABBOT.

The ancient and legal government of Eng-

* As he felt the symptoms of death coming upon him, he said, "I shall not change my company, for I shall still converse with God and saints." A few hours previous to his departure, being told it was the Lord's Day, he said, "A fit day to be sacrificed on! I have accompanied saints on earth, now I shall accompany angels in heaven. My dissolution is at hand. Let me go to my home, and to Jesus Christ, who hath bought me with his precious blood." He soon added, "I feel death coming to my heart; my pain shall now be turned into joy."—*Clarke's Lives*, p. 113. Echard styles Dr. Preston "the most celebrated of the Puritans, an exquisite preacher, a noble disputant, and a deep politician."—C.

† Book xi., p. 131.

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land, by king, lords, and commons, being now suspended by the royal will and pleasure, his majesty resolved to supply the necessities of the state by such other methods as his council should advise, who gave a loose to their actions, being no longer afraid of a parliamentary inquiry, and above the reach of ordinary justice. Instead of the authority of king and Parliament, all public affairs were directed by proclamations of the king and council, which had the force of so many laws, and were bound upon the subject under the severest penalties. They levied the duties of tonnage and poundage, and laid what other imposts they thought proper upon merchandise, which they let out to farm to private persons; the number of monopolies was incredible; there was no branch of the subject's property that the ministry could dispose of but was bought and sold. They raised above £1,000,000 a year by taxes on soap, salt, candles, wine, cards, pins, leather, coals, &c., even to the sole gathering of rags. Grants were given out for weighing hay and straw within three miles of London, for gauging red-herring-barrels and butter-casks, for marking iron and sealing lace,* with a great many others, which, being purchased of the crown, must be paid for by the subject. His majesty claimed a right, in cases of necessity (of which necessity himself was the sole judge), to raise money by ship-writs, or royal mandates, directed to the sheriffs of the several counties to levy on the subject the several sums of money therein demanded, for the maintenance and support of the royal navy. The like was demanded for the royal army, by the name of coat and conduct money, when they were to march, and when they were in quarters the men were billeted upon private houses. Many were put to death by martial law who ought to have been tried by the laws of the land, and others, by the same martial law, were exempted from the punishment which by law they deserved. Large sums of money were raised by commissions under the great seal, to compound for depopulations, for nuisances in building between high and low water mark, for pretended encroachments on the forests, &c., besides the exorbitant fines of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court, and the extraordinary projects of loans, benevolences, and free gifts. Such was the calamity of the times, that no man could call anything his own longer than the king pleased, or might speak or write against these proceedings without the utmost hazard of his liberty and estate.

The Church was governed by the like arbitrary and illegal methods; Dr. Laud, bishop of London, being prime minister, pursued his wild scheme of uniting the two Churches of England and Rome,† without the least regard to the

* Stevens's Historical Account of all Taxes, p. 183, 184, 2d edit.

† Dr. Grey is much displeas'd with Mr. Neal for this representation of Laud's views; but, without bringing any direct evidence to refute it, he appeals to the answer of Fisher, and the testimonies of Sir Edward Deering and Limborch, to show that the archbishop was not a papist. This may be admitted, and the proofs of it are also adduced by Dr. Harris (*Life of Charles I.*, p. 207), yet it will not be so easy to acquit Laud of a partiality for the Church, though not the court, of Rome, according to the distinction May makes in his "Parliamentary History." It will not

rights of conscience, or the laws of the land, and very seldom to the canons of the Church, bearing down all who opposed him with unrelenting severity and rigour. To make way for this union, the churches were not only to be repaired, but ornamented with pictures, paintings, images, altar-pieces, &c., the forms of public worship were to be decorated with a number of pompous rites and ceremonies, in imitation of the Church of Rome, and the Puritans, who were the professed enemies of everything that looked like popery, were to be suppressed or driven out of the land. To accomplish the latter, his lordship presented the king with certain considerations for settling the Church, which were soon after published, with some little variation, under the title of "Instructions to the two Archbishops, concerning certain Orders to be observed and put in execution by the several Bishops."

Here his majesty commands them to see that his declaration for silencing the predestinarian controversy be strictly observed; and that special care be taken of the lectures and afternoon sermons, in their several dioceses, concerning which he is pleased to give the following instructions:*

1. "That in all parishes the afternoon sermons be turned into catechising by question and answer, where there is not some great cause to break this ancient and profitable order.

2. "That every lecturer read Divine service before lectures in surplice and hood.

3. "That where there are lectures in market towns, they be read by grave and orthodox divines, and that they preach in gowns, and not in cloaks, as too many do use.

4. "That no lecturer be admitted that is not ready and willing to take upon him a living with cure of souls.

5. "That the bishops take order that the sermons of the lecturers be observed.

6. "That none under noblemen, and men qualified by law, keep a private chaplain.

7. "That care be taken that the prayers and catechisings be frequented, as well as sermons." Of all which his majesty requires an account once a year.

By virtue of these instructions, the Bishop of London summoned before him all ministers and lecturers in and about the city, and in a solemn speech insisted on their obedience. He also sent letters to his archdeacons, requiring them to send him lists of the several lecturers within their archdeaconries, as well in places exempt as not exempt, with the places where they

be so easy to clear him of the charge of symbolizing with the Church of Rome in its two leading features superstition and intolerance. Under his primacy the Church of England, it is plain, assumed a very popish appearance. "Not only the pomps of ceremonies were daily increased, and innovations of great scandal brought into the Church, but, in point of doctrine, many fair approaches made towards Rome. Even Heylin says, the doctrines are altered in many things; as, for example, the pope not anti-christ, pictures, free-will, &c.; the Thirty-nine Articles seeming impatient, if not ambitious also, of some Catholic sense."—*May's Parliamentary History*, p. 22, 23, and *Heylin's Life of Laud*, p. 152.—Ed.

* A liberal mind will reprobate these instructions as evading argument, preventing discussion and inquiry, breathing the spirit of intolerance and persecution, and indicating timidity.—Ed.

preached, and their quality or degree; as also the names of such gentlemen who, not being qualified, kept chaplains in their own houses. His lordship required them, farther, to leave a copy of the king's instructions concerning lecturers with the parson of every parish, and to see that they were duly observed.

These lecturers were chiefly Puritans, who, not being satisfied with a full conformity so as to take upon them a cure of souls, only preached in the afternoon, being chosen and maintained by the people. They were strict Calvinists, warm and affectionate preachers, and distinguished themselves by a religious observance of the Lord's Day, by a bold opposition to popery and the new ceremonies, and by an uncommon severity of life. Their manner of preaching gave the bishop a distaste to sermons, who was already of opinion that they did more harm than good, insomuch that on a fast-day for the plague, then in London, prayers were ordered to be read in all churches, but not a sermon to be preached, lest the people should wander from their own parishes. The lecturers had very popular talents, and drew great numbers of people after them. Bishop Laud would often say "they were the most dangerous enemies of the state, because by their prayers and sermons they awakened the people's disaffection, and, therefore, must be suppressed."

Good old Archbishop Abbot was of another spirit, but the reins were taken out of his hands. He had a good opinion of the lecturers, as men who had the Protestant religion at heart, and would fortify their hearers against the return of popery.* When Mr. Palmer, lecturer of St. Alphage, in Canterbury, was commanded to desist from preaching by the archdeacon, because he drew great numbers of factious people after him and did not wear the surplice, the archbishop authorized him to continue: the like he did by Mr. Udney, of Ashford, for which he was complained of as not enforcing the king's instructions, whereby the commissioners, as they say, were made a scorn to the factious, and the archdeacon's jurisdiction inhibited. But in the diocese of London Bishop Laud proceeded with the utmost severity. Many lecturers were put down, and such as preached against Arminianism, or the new ceremonies, were suspended and silenced; among whom were the Reverend Mr. John Rogers, of Dedham, Mr. Daniel Rogers, of Wethersfield, Mr. Hooker, of Chelmsford, Mr. White, of Knightsbridge, Mr. Archer, Mr. William Martin, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Jones, Mr. Dod, Mr. Hildersham, Mr. Ward, Mr. Saunders, Mr. James Gardiner, Mr. Foxley, and many others.

The Rev. Mr. Bernard, lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, London, having used this expression in his prayer before sermon, "Lord, open the eyes of the queen's majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she has pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry,"† was summoned before the High Commission, January 28, and upon his humble submission was dismissed; but some time after, in his sermon at St. Mary's, in Cambridge, speaking offensive words

* Prynne's *Introd.*, p. 94, 361, 373.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 32, 140. Prynne, p. 365, 367

against Arminianism and the new ceremonies, Bishop Laud sent for a copy of his sermon, and having cited him before the High Commission, required him to make an open recantation of what he had said, which his conscience not suffering him to, he was suspended from his ministry, excommunicated, fined £1000, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to New Prison, where he lay several months, being cruelly used, and almost starved for want of necessaries, of which he complained to the bishop in sundry letters, but could get no relief unless he would recant. Mr. Bernard offered to confess his sorrow and penitence for any oversights or unbecoming expressions in his sermons, which could not be accepted, so that in conclusion he was utterly ruined.

Mr. Charles Chauncey, minister of Ware, having said in a sermon "that the preaching of the Gospel should be suppressed, and that there was much atheism, popery, Arminianism, and heresy crept into the Church," was questioned for it in the High Commission, and not dismissed till he had made an open recantation, which we shall meet with hereafter.

Mr. Peter Smart, one of the prebendaries of Durham, and minister of that city, was imprisoned by the High Commission of York this summer, for a sermon preached from these words, "I hate all those that love superstitious vanities, but thy law do I love," in which he took occasion to speak against images and pictures, and the late pompous innovations. He was confined four months before the commissioners exhibited any articles against him, and five more before any proctor was allowed him. From York he was carried up to Lambeth, and from thence back again to York, and at length was deprived of his prebend, degraded, excommunicated, fined £500, and committed close prisoner, where he continued eleven years, till he was set at liberty by the Long Parliament in 1640. He was a person of a grave and reverend aspect,* but died soon after his release, the severity of a long imprisonment having contributed to the impairing his constitution.†

* Fuller's Church History, b. ii., p. 173.

† "Here the historian," remarks Bishop Warburton, "was much at a loss for his confessor's good qualities, while he is forced to take up with his grave and reverend aspect." It might have screened this passage from his lordship's sneer and sarcasm, that these are the words of Fuller, whose history furnished the whole paragraph, and whose description of Mr. Smart goes into no other particulars. His lordship certainly did not wish Mr. Neal to have drawn a character from his own invention; not to urge that the countenance is the index of the mind. It appears, as Dr. Grey observes, that the proceedings against Smart commenced in the High Commission Court in Durham.—See *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii., p. 11. The doctor, and Nelson in his *Collections*, vol. i., p. 518, 519, produce some paragraphs from Smart's sermon to show the strain and spirit of it. There was printed a virulent tract at Durham, 1736, entitled "An Illustration of Mr. Neal's History of the Puritans, in the Article of Peter Smart, A.M." It is a detail of the proceedings against Smart, and of subsequent proceedings in Parliament against Dr. Cosins upon the complaint of Smart, whom the author aims to represent in a very unfavourable point of view; but without necessity, as the very persecution of him shows that he must have been very offensive to those who were admirers of the superstitions and ceremonies against which he

The king's instructions and the violent measures of the prime minister brought a great deal of business into the spiritual courts; one or other of the Puritan ministers was every week suspended or deprived, and their families driven to distress; nor was there any prospect of relief, the clouds gathering every day thicker over their heads, and threatening a violent storm. This put them upon projecting a farther settlement in New-England, where they might be delivered from the hands of their oppressors, and enjoy the free liberty of their consciences; which gave birth to a second grand colony in North America, commonly known by the name of the Massachusetts Bay. Several persons of quality and substance about the city of London engaging in the design, obtained a charter dated March 4, 1628-9, wherein the gentlemen and merchants therein named, and all who should thereafter join them, were constituted a body corporate and politic, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England. They were empowered to elect their own governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates, and to make such laws as they should think fit for the good of the plantation, not repugnant to the laws of England. Free liberty of conscience was likewise granted to all who should settle in those parts, to worship God in their own way.* The new planters being all Puritans, made their application to the Reverend Mr. Higginson, a silenced minister in Leicestershire, and to Mr. Skelton, another silenced minister of Lincolnshire, to be their chaplains, desiring them to engage as many of their friends as were willing to embark with them. The little fleet that went upon this expedition consisted of six sail of transports, from four to twenty guns, with about three hundred and fifty passengers, men, women, and children. They carried with them one hundred and fifteen head of cattle, as horses, mares, cows, &c., forty-one goats, six pieces of cannon for a fort, with muskets, pikes, drums, colours, and a large quantity of ammunition and provisions. The fleet sailed May 11, 1629, and arrived the 24th of June following, at a place called by the natives Neumkeak, but by the new planters Salem, which in the Hebrew language signifies peace.

Religion being the chief motive of their retreating into these parts,† that was settled in the first place. August the 6th being appointed for the solemnity of forming themselves into a religious society, the day was spent in fasting and prayer;

invighed. He was afterward not only set at liberty, but by the order of the Lords, in 1642, was restored to his prebend in Durham, and was presented to the Vicarage of Aycliff in the same diocese—*Nelson's Collections*, vol. ii., p. 406. The Puritans, by whom he was esteemed a protomartyr, it is said, raised £400 a year for him by subscription.—*Granger's History of England*, vol. ii., p. 177.—Ed.

* This is a mistake: the charter did not once mention liberty of conscience or toleration.—See *Gordon's History of the American War*, vol. i., p. 19.—Ed.

† What a commentary upon *this statement* does the history of Salem afford! It is probable that no community on the globe, of the same population, can exhibit a finer harvest resulting from the cultivation of Gospel principles. The churches and the schools of Salem are demonstrations that, *as men sow, they shall also reap!*—C.

and thirty persons who desired to be of the communion, severally, in the presence of the whole congregation, declared their consent to a confession of faith which Mr. Higginson had drawn up, and signed the following covenant with their hands :

"We covenant with our Lord, and one another. We bind ourselves, in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself to us in his blessed Word of truth, and do profess to walk as follows, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

"We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

"We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to reject all canons and constitutions of men in worship.

"We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies, suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them ; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us.

"In public and private we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the Church, but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

"We will not in the congregation be forward, either to show our own gifts and parts in speaking, or scrupling, or in discovering the weaknesses or failings of our brethren ; but attend an ordinary call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his Gospel, and the profession of it, slighted by our distempers and weaknesses in public.

"We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that are within or without, no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be ; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and so to converse as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

"We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in Church and commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places by our not grieving their spirits by our irregularities.

"We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning idleness, as the bane of any state ; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards.

"Promising, also, to the best of our ability, to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and of his will, that they may serve him also. And all this not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant made in his name."

After this, they chose Mr. Skelton their pastor, Mr. Higginson their teacher, and Mr. Houghton their ruling elder, who were separated to their

several offices by the imposition of the hands of some of the brethren appointed by the Church to that service.* The first winter proved a fatal one to the colony, carrying off above one hundred of their company, and among the rest Mr. Houghton, their elder, and Mr. Higginson, their teacher ; the latter of whom, not being capable of undergoing the fatigues of a new settlement, fell into a hectic, and died in the forty-third year of his age. Mr. Higginson had been educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, proceeding M.A., being afterward parson of one of the five churches in Leicester, where he continued for some years, till he was deprived for nonconformity ; but such were his talents for the pulpit, that after his suspension, the town obtained liberty from Bishop Williams to choose him for their lecturer, and maintained him by their voluntary contributions, till Laud, being at the head of the Church affairs, he was articulated against in the High Commission, and expected every hour a sentence of perpetual imprisonment ; this induced him to accept of an invitation to remove to New-England, which cost him his life. Mr. Skelton, the other minister, was a Lincolnshire divine, who, being silenced for nonconformity, accepted of a like invitation, and died of the hardships of the country, August 2, 1634. From this small beginning is the Massachusetts province grown to the figure it now makes in the American world.

Next summer the governor went over with a fresh recruit of two hundred ministers, and others, who were forced out of their native country by the heat of the Laudean persecution. Upon embarkation they left behind them a paper, which was soon after published, entitled, "The Humble Request of his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Governor and Company lately gone for New-England, to the rest of their Brethren in and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their Prayers, and removal of Suspicions and Misconstructions of their Intentions." Wherein they entreated the reverend fathers and brethren of the Church of England to recommend them to the mercies of God in their constant prayers, as a new church now springing out of their bowels : "for you are not ignorant," say they, "that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul to make a continued mention of the Church of Philippi, which was a colony from Rome. Let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing ; and what goodness shall extend to us, in this or any other Christian kindness, we, your brethren in Christ, shall labour to repay in what duty we are or shall be able to perform ; promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalf, wishing our heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us."

When it appeared that the planters could subsist in their new settlement, great numbers of their friends, with their families, flocked after them every summer. In the succeeding twelve years of Archbishop Laud's administration,

* Neal's History of New-England, p. 126.

* Mather's Hist. of New-England, b. iii., p. 74, 76.

there went over about four thousand planters,* who laid the foundation of several little towns and villages up and down the country, carrying over with them, in materials, money, and cattle, &c., not less than to the value of £192,000, besides the merchandise intended for traffic with the Indians. Upon the whole, it has been computed that the four settlements of New-England, viz., Plymouth, the Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New-Haven, all which were accomplished before the beginning of the civil wars, drained England of four or five hundred thousand pounds in money (a very great sum in those days); and if the persecution of the Puritans had continued twelve years longer, it is thought that a fourth part of the riches of the kingdom would have passed out of it through this channel.

The chief leaders of the people into these parts were the Puritan ministers, who, being hunted from one diocess to another, at last chose this wilderness for their retreat, which has proved (through the overruling providence of God) a great accession to the strength and commerce of these kingdoms. I have before me a list of seventy-seven divines, who became pastors of sundry little churches and congregations in that country before the year 1640, all of whom were in orders in the Church of England. The reader will meet with an account of some of them in the course of this history; and I must say, though they were not all of the first rank for deep and extensive learning, yet they had a better share of it than most of the neighbouring clergy; and, which is of more consequence, they were men of strict sobriety and virtue; plain, serious, affectionate preachers, exactly conformable in sentiment to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, and took a great deal of pains to promote Christian knowledge, and a reformation of manners in their several parishes.

To return to England. Though Mr. Davenant, the learned Bishop of Salisbury, had declared for the doctrine of universal redemption at the Synod of Dort, he was this year brought into trouble for touching upon the point of predestination,† in his Lent sermon before the king, on Romans, vi., 23, "The gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." This was construed as a contempt of the king's injunctions, for which his lordship was two days after summoned before the privy council, where he presented himself upon his knees, and so had continued, for any favour he received from any of his own function then present; but the temporal lords bade him rise and stand to his defence. The accusation was managed by Dr. Harsnet, archbishop of York; Laud walking by all the while in silence, without speaking a word. Harsnet put him in mind of his obligations to King James; of the piety of his present majesty's instructions, and then aggravated his contempt of them with great vehemence and acrimony. Bishop Davenant replied, with mildness, that he was sorry that an established doctrine of the Church should be so distasted; that he had preached nothing but what was expressly contained in the seventeenth article, and was ready to justify the truth

of it. It was replied that the doctrine was not gainsaid, but the king had commanded these questions should not be debated, and, therefore, his majesty took it more offensively that any should do it in his own hearing. The bishop replied that he never understood that his majesty had forbidden the handling any doctrine comprised in the Articles of the Church, but only the raising new questions, or putting a new sense upon them, which he never should do; that in the king's declaration all the Thirty-nine Articles are confirmed, among which the seventeenth, of predestination, is one; that all ministers are obliged to subscribe to the truth of this article, and to continue in the true profession of that as well as the rest; the bishop desired it might be shown wherein he had transgressed his majesty's commands, when he had kept himself within the bounds of the article, and had moved no new or curious questions. To which it was replied that it was the king's pleasure that, for the peace of the Church, these high questions might be forborne. The bishop then said he was very sorry he understood not his majesty's intention, and that for the time to come he would conform to his commands.* Upon this he was dismissed without farther trouble, and was after some time admitted to kiss the king's hand, who did not fail to remind him that the doctrine of predestination was too big for the people's understanding, and, therefore, he was resolved not to give leave for discussing that controversy in the pulpit. Hereupon the bishop retired, and was never afterward in favour at court.

Soon after, Mr. Madye, lecturer of Christ Church, London, was cited before the High Commission, and [March 10, 1630] was, by act of court, prohibited to preach any more within the diocess of London, because he had disobeyed the king's declaration, by preaching on predestination. Dr. Cornelius Burges, Mr. White, the famous Dr. Prideaux, Mr. Hobbes, of Trinity College, and Mr. Cook, of Brazen-nose, with others, suffered on the same account.

But Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scots divine, and father of the worthy and celebrated prelate of that name, so highly commended by Bishop Burnet in the "History of his Life and Times," met with severe usage in the Star Chamber, for venturing to write against the hierarchy of the Church.† This divine had published, during the last session of Parliament, an "Appeal to the Parliament; or, Zion's Plea against Prelacy,"‡ wherein he speaks not only with

* Prynne, p. 173, 876.

† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 55-57.

‡ Dr. Harris, who had read by far the greatest part of this piece, says that "it was written with spirit, and more sense and learning than the writers of that stamp usually showed in their productions;" and adds, "I cannot for my life see anything in it deserving so heavy a censure."—*Life of Charles I.* p. 225. His calling the queen "a daughter of Heth," as Mr. Pierce observes, meant no more than that she was a papist. Bishop Tillotson afterward used a not much better expression concerning foreign popish princes, without giving any umbrage, in styling them "the people of these abominations." Such language had much countenance from the taste and spirit of the age. Whitelocke, as well as Heylyn, represents Dr. Leighton as charged with exciting the Parliament to kill all the bishops, and smite them under the fifth rib; and other writers have repeated

* Mather's Hist. N. E., b. i., p. 17, 23.

† Fuller, b. xi., p. 138.

freedom, but with very great rudeness and indecency against bishops; calling them "men of blood," and saying "that we do not read of a greater persecution and higher indignities done towards God's people in any nation than in this, since the death of Queen Elizabeth." He calls the prelacy of the Church "anti-Christian." He declaims vehemently against the canons and ceremonies; and adds, that "the Church has her laws from the Scripture, and that no king may make laws for the house of God." He styles the queen a daughter of Heth, and concludes with saying what a pity it is that so ingenious and tractable a king should be so monstrously abused by the bishops, to the undoing of himself and his subjects. Now, though the warmth of these expressions can no ways be justified, yet let the reader consider whether they bear any proportion to the sentence of the court. The cause was tried June 4, 1630. The defendant, in his answer, owned the writing of the book, denying any ill intention, his design being only to lay these things before the next Parliament for their consideration. Nevertheless, the court adjudged unanimously that for this offence "the doctor should be committed to the prison of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of £10,000; that the High Commission should degrade him from his ministry; and that then he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the court was sitting, and be whipped; after whipping, be set upon the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S. for a sower of sedition: that then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days be pilloried a second time in Cheapside, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in close prison for the remainder of his life." *Bishop Laud pulled off his cap while this merciless sentence was pronouncing, and gave God thanks for it!*

Between passing the sentence and execution, the doctor made his escape from prison, but was retaken in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the Fleet. On Friday, November 6, part of the sentence was executed upon him, says Bishop Laud in his diary, after this manner: "He was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory. 2. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off. 3. One side of his nose slit. 4. Branded on the cheek with a redhot iron with the letters S. S. On that day sevennight, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face being

the accusation; a circumstance not noticed by Mr. Neal. It appears to be ungrounded, for Mr. Pierce could not find it in the books, but only a call on the Parliament utterly to root out the hierarchy. Nor did it form any one of the articles of information against Dr. Leighton in the Star Chamber.—*Pierce's Vindication*, p. 177; and *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 55. It greatly aggravated the injustice and cruelty of the sentence passed on him, that his book was printed for the use of the Parliament only, and not in England, but in Holland. The heads were previously sanctioned by the approbation of five hundred persons under their hands, whereof some were members of Parliament. And when the Parliament was dissolved he returned, without bringing any copies of it into the land, but made it his special care to suppress them.—*A Letter from General Ludlow to Dr. Hollingworth*, printed at Amsterdam, 1692, p. 23.—ED.

not yet cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek.* He was then carried back to prison, where he continued in close confinement for ten years, till he was released by the Long Parliament.† The doctor was between forty and fifty years of age, of a low stature, a fair complexion, and well known for his learning and other abilities: but his long and close confinement had so impaired his health, that when he was released he could hardly walk, see, or hear. The sufferings of this learned man moved the people's compassion; and, I believe, the records of the Inquisition can hardly furnish an example of equal severity.

To make the distance between the Church and the Puritans yet wider, and the terms of conformity more difficult, Bishop Laud introduced sundry pompous innovations in imitation of popery, that had no foundation in the laws of the realm or the canons of the Church. These were enforced both upon clergy and laity, with all the terrors of the High Commission, to the ruin of many families, and the raising very great disturbances in all parts of the kingdom.

St. Katherine Creed Church, in the city of London, having been lately repaired, was suspended from all Divine service till it was again consecrated; the formality of which being very extraordinary, may give us an idea of the superstition of this prelate. On Sunday, January 16, 1630, Bishop Laud came thither about nine in the morning, attended with several of the High Commission, and some civilians.‡ At his approach to the west door of the church, which was shut and guarded by halberdiers, some, who were appointed for that purpose, cried with a loud voice, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may come in;" and presently, the doors being opened, the bishop, with some doctors and principal men, entered. As soon as they were come within the place, his lordship fell down upon his knees, and with eyes lifted up, and his arms spread abroad, said, "This place is holy; the ground is holy: in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy." Then walking up the middle aisle towards the chancel, he took up some of the dust, and threw it into the air several times. When he approached near the rail of the communion-table, he bowed towards it five or six times, and returning, went round the church with his attendants in procession, saying first the hundredth, and then the nineteenth Psalm, as prescribed by the Roman pontificate. He then read several collects, in one of which he prays God to accept of that beautiful building, and concludes thus: "We consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common use." In another he prays "that all that should hereafter be buried within the circuit of this holy and sacred place may rest in their sepulchres in peace, till Christ's coming to judgment, and may then rise to eternal life and happiness."§ After this, the bishop, sitting under a cloth of

* *Rushworth's Collections*, vol. i., p. 57, 58.

† *Pierce*, p. 179-181.

‡ *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 77.

§ *Prynne's Complete History*, p. 114.

state in the aisle of the chancel, near the communion-table, took a written book in his hand, and pronounced curses upon those who should thereafter profane that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping profane law-courts, or carrying burdens through it, and at the end of every curse he bowed to the east, and said, "Let all the people say, Amen." When the curses were ended, which were about twenty, he pronounced a like number of blessings upon all who had any hand in framing and building of that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on those who had given, or should hereafter give, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or other utensils; and at the end of every blessing he bowed to the east, and said, "Let all the people say, Amen." After this followed the sermon, and then the sacrament, which the bishop consecrated, and administered after the following manner:

As he approached the altar, he made five or six low bows, and coming up to the side of it, where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed seven times; then, after reading many prayers, he came near the bread, and gently lifting up the corner of the napkin, beheld it, and immediately letting fall the napkin, retreated hastily a step or two, and made three low obeisances. His lordship then advanced, and having uncovered the bread, bowed three times as before; then laid his hand on the cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it, which having let go, he stepped back, and bowed three times towards it; then came near again, and lifting up the cover of the cup, looked into it, and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover again, retired back, and bowed as before: after which the elements were consecrated, and the bishop, having first received, gave it to some principal men in their surplices, hoods, and tippets; towards the conclusion, many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended.

He consecrated St. Giles's Church in the same manner, which had been repaired, and part of it new built in his predecessor's (Bishop Mountain) time.* Divine service had been performed, and the sacrament administered in it for three or four years since that time without exception; but as soon as Laud was advanced to the bishopric of London, he interdicted the church, and prohibited Divine service therein, till it should be reconsecrated, which is more than even the canon law requires. Sundry other chapels and churches, which had been built long since, were, by the bishop's direction, likewise shut up till they were consecrated in this manner—as Immanuel Chapel, in Cambridge, built 1584 Sidney College Chapel, built 1596, and several others.

This method of consecrating churches was new to the people of England, and in the opinion of the first Reformers, superstitious and absurd; for though it is reasonable there should be public buildings reserved and set apart for public worship, and that at the first opening of them prayers should be offered for a Divine blessing on the ordinances of Christ that may at any time be administered in them, yet have we not the least ground to believe that bishops or other dignitaries of the Church can, by their declaration or form of prayer, hallow the building, or make the ground holy, or intro-

duce a Divine presence or glory into the place, as was in the temple of old: where is their commission? or what example have we of this kind in the New Testament? The synagogues of the Jews were not consecrated in this manner; nor was the temple of Solomon consecrated by a priest, but by a king. Our Saviour tells his disciples, "that wheresoever two or three of them should be gathered together in his name, he would be in the midst of them;" and the woman of Samaria, "that the hour was coming, when neither at that mountain, nor at Jerusalem, they should worship the Father." Besides, the changes made by time and various accidents in towns and cities render it impossible to prevent the alienation or profanation of holy ground: for, to look no farther than the city of London, would it not be very hard if all the curses that Bishop Laud pronounced in Creed Church should rest upon those who live in houses built by act of Parliament, in places where there were consecrated churches or churchyards before the fire of London? Archbishop Parker, therefore, in his "*Antiquitates Ecclesiae Britan.*," p. 85, 86, condemns this practice as superstitious; nor was there any form for it in the public offices of the Church. But this being objected to Archbishop Laud at his trial, as an evidence of his inclination to popery, we shall there see his grace's defence, with the learned reply of the House of Commons, concerning the antiquity of consecrating churches.

A proclamation had been published last year, "commanding the archbishops and bishops to take special care that the parish churches in their several diocesses, being places consecrated to the worship of God, be kept in decent repair, and to make use of the power of the ecclesiastical court to oblige the parishioners to this part of their duty."* The judges were also required not to interrupt this good work by too easily granting prohibitions from the spiritual courts. It seems sundry churches since the Reformation were fallen to decay; and some that had been defaced by the pulling down of images, and other popish relics, had not been decently repaired, the expense being too heavy for the poorer country parishes; it was therefore thought necessary to oblige them to their duty; and under colour of this proclamation, Laud introduced many of the trappings and decorations of popery, and punished those ministers in the High Commission Court that ventured to write or preach against them.

His lordship began with his own Cathedral of St. Paul's, for repairing and beautifying of which a subscription and contribution were appointed over the whole kingdom. Several houses and shops adjoining the Cathedral were, by injunction of council, ordered to be pulled down and the owners to accept a reasonable satisfaction; but if they would not comply, the sheriff of London was required to see them demolished. The Church of St. Gregory was pulled down, and the inhabitants assigned to Christ Church, where they were to assemble for the future. The bishop's heart was in this work, and to support the expense, he gave way to many oppressions and unjustifiable methods of raising money, by compositions with recusants, commutation of penance, exorbitant fines in the

* Prynne, *Cant. Doom*, p. 117.

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 29.

Star Chamber and High Commission, insomuch that it became a proverb that St. Paul's was repaired with the sins of the people. Before the year 1640, above £113,000 were expended thereon, with which the body of the church was finished, and the steeple scaffolded. There was also a stately portico built at the west end, supported with pillars of the Corinthian order, and embellished with the statues of King James and King Charles; but the rebuilding the spire and the inside decorations miscarried by the breaking out of the civil war.*

What these decorations and ornaments of paintings, carvings, altars, crucifixes, candlesticks, images, vestments, &c., would have been, can only be guessed by the fashion of the times, and by the scheme that was now formed to recover and repair the broken relics of superstition and idolatry which the Reformation had left, or to set up others in imitation of them; for though the Reformation of Queen Elizabeth had destroyed a great many monuments of this kind, yet some were left entire, and others very little defaced.† In the Cathedral of Canterbury, over the door of the choir, remained thirteen images, or statues of stone, twelve of them representing the twelve apostles, and the thirteenth, in the middle of them, our Saviour Christ. Over these were twelve other images of popish saints. In the several windows of the Cathedral were painted the picture of St. Austin the monk, the first bishop of that see, and seven large pictures of the Virgin Mary, with angels lifting her up to heaven, with this inscription: "Gaude Maria, sponsa Dei." Under the Virgin Mary's feet were the sun, moon, and stars, and in the bottom of the window this inscription: "In laudem & honorem beatissimæ Virginis." Besides these were many pictures of God the Father, and of the Holy Ghost, and of our Saviour lying in a manger, and a large image of Thomas Becket, and others, all which were taken away by the Long Parliament.

In the Cathedral of Durham there was an altar of marble stone set upon columns decorated with cherubim, pictures, and images, which cost above £2000. There were three statues of stone in the church; one standing in the midst, representing Christ with a golden beard, a blue cap, and sun-rays upon his head, as the record of Parliament says, though Dr. Cosins, in his vindication, says it was mistaken for the top of Bishop Hatfield's tomb. There was also an image of God the Father, and many other carved images, pictures, &c., which the present dignitaries of the Cathedral held in profound admiration; and, to keep up the pomp, they bought copes of mass priests, with crucifixes and images of the Trinity embroidered upon them. They had consecrated knives to cut the sacramental bread, and great numbers of lighted candles upon the altars on Sundays and saints' days. On Candlemas Day there were no less than two hundred, whereof sixty were upon and about the altar,‡ all which were reck-

oned among the beauties of the sanctuary. "But these *fopperies*," says Bishop Kennet, "did not, perhaps, gain over one papist, but lost both the king and bishops the hearts and affections of the Protestant part of the nation, and were (as his lordship observes) contrary to Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, 1559, which appoint that all candlesticks, trentals, rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, &c., be removed out of churches."*

However, Bishop Laud was mightily enamoured with them, and as soon as he was translated to Lambeth, repaired the painting in the windows of that chapel, in one pane of which had been the picture of Christ crucified, with a scull and dead men's bones under it, a basket full of tools and nails, with the high-priest and his officers on horseback, and the two thieves on foot. In the next were the two thieves on crosses, Abraham offering up his son Isaac, and the brazen serpent on a pole. In other panes were the pictures of Christ rising out of the grave and ascending up into heaven, with his disciples kneeling about him—the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles in the shape of cloven tongues—God, giving the law upon Mount Sinai; his coming down from heaven at the prayer of Elisha—Christ and his twelve apostles sitting in judgment on the world. In other parts of the church were painted the Virgin Mary, with the babe Christ sucking at her breast—the wise men of the East coming to adore him—the history of the Annunciation, with the picture of the Virgin Mary, and of the Holy Ghost overshadowing her, together with the birth of Christ. All which having been defaced at the Reformation, were now restored, according to the Roman missal, and beautified at the archbishop's cost. The like reparations of paintings, pictures, and crucifixes were made in the king's chapel at Whitehall, Westminster Abbey, and both the universities, as was objected to the archbishop at his trial, where the reader will meet with his grace's defence of their lawfulness and antiquity. The Puritans apprehended these decorations of churches tended to image-worship, and were directly contrary to the homily of the peril of idolatry; their ministers, therefore, preached and wrote against them, and in some places removed them, for which they were severely handled in the High Commission.

Bishop Laud had been chosen Chancellor of Oxford last year (April 12th, 1630), where the Puritans soon gave him some disturbance. Mr. Hill, of Hart Hall, Mr. Ford, of Magdalen Hall, Mr. Giles Thorne, of Baliol College, and Mr. Giles Hodges, of Exeter College, were charged with preaching against Arminianism and the new ceremonies, in their sermons at St. Mary's. Hill made a public recantation, and was quickly released; but the very texts of the others, says Mr. Fuller,† gave offence: one preached on Numbers, xiv., 4, "Let us make us a captain, and let us return into Egypt;" and another on 1 Kings, xiii., 2, "And he cried against the altar in the word of the Lord, and said, O altar, altar," &c. These divines being convened before the vice-chancellor, Dr. Smith, as offenders against the king's instructions, appealed from the vice-chancellor to the proctors,

* Collyer's Eccles. Hist., p. 751.

† Parl. Chron., p. 101.

‡ The Puseyites of England, the glorifiers of Laud, are faithfully treading in his steps, and there are now to be seen, in many of the churches, candles at the altar.—C.

* Cant. Doom, p. 59-61.

† Church Hist., b. xi., p. 141.

who received their appeal. Upon this the chancellor complained to the king, and procured the cause to be heard before his majesty at Woodstock, August 23, when the following sentence was passed upon them: "That Mr. Ford, Thorne, and Hodges be expelled the University; that both the proctors be deprived of their places for accepting the appeal; and that Dr. Prideaux, rector of Exeter College, and Dr. Wilkinson, principal of Magdalen Hall, receive a sharp admonition for their misbehaviour in this business."* Mr. Thorne and Hodges, after a year's deprivation, desiring to be restored, preached a recantation sermon, and read a written submission in the convocation-house on their bended knees, before the doctors and regents; † but Mr. Ford, making no address to be restored, returned to his friends in Devonshire; and being like to be chosen lecturer or vicar of Plymouth, the inhabitants were required not to choose him, upon pain of his majesty's high displeasure; and, in case he was chosen, the Bishop of Exeter was commanded not to admit him.

Mr. Crowder, vicar of Vell, near Nonsuch, was about this time committed close prisoner to Newgate for sixteen weeks, and then deprived by the High Commission, without any articles exhibited against him, or any proof of a crime. It was pretended that matters against him were so foul, that they were not fit to be read in court; but then they ought to have been certified to him, that he might have had an opportunity to disprove or confess them, which could not be obtained. Mr. Crowder was a pious man, and preached twice a day, which was an unpardonable crime so near the court.

Sundry eminent divines removed to New-England this year; and, among others, the famous Dr. Eliot, the apostle of the Indians, who, not being allowed to teach school in his native country, retired to America, and spent a long and useful life in converting the natives, and, with indefatigable pains, translated the Bible into the Indian language. †

Two very considerable Puritan divines were also removed into the other world by death, viz., Mr. Arthur Hildersham, born at Stechworth, Cambridgeshire, October 6th, 1563, and educated in Christ's College, Cambridge, of an ancient and honourable family; his mother, Anne Poole, being niece to the cardinal of that name. His father educated him in the popish religion, and because he would not go to Rome at fourteen or fifteen years of age, disinherited him: but the Earl of Huntingdon, his near kinsman, provided for him, sending him to Cambridge, where he proceeded M.A., and entered into holy orders. In the year 1587 he was placed by his honourable kinsman above mentioned at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire,

* Rushworth, vol. i., part ii., p. 110.

† Prymie, Cant. Doom, p. 175.

‡ For the interesting details connected with the labours of this apostolic minister of Christ, I would refer to his life in my friend Dr. Sparks's admirable series of American Biography, and to a memoir in the "Lives of Eminent Missionaries, by John Carne, Esq." Eliot's Bible is now become exceedingly rare; few perfect copies are to be met with. A fine copy was sold at the auction of the late Rev. Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris's library, for thirty-nine dollars, to Mr. Winthrop, of Boston.—C.

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and inducted into that living soon after.* But here he was silenced for nonconformity, as in the year 1590, in the year 1605, and again in the year 1611, under which last suspension he continued many years. In the year 1613 he was enjoined by the High Commission not to preach, or exercise any part of the ministerial function, till he should be restored. In the year 1615 he was committed to the Fleet by the High Commission for refusing the oath *ex officio*, where he continued three months, and was then released upon bond. In November, 1616, the High Commission proceeded against him, and pronounced him refractory and disobedient to the orders, rites, and ceremonies of the Church; and because he refused to conform, declared him a schismatic, fined him £2000, excommunicated him, and ordered him to be attached and committed to prison, that he might be degraded of his ministry; but Mr. Hildersham wisely absconded, and kept out of the way. In the year 1625 he was restored to his living; but when Laud had the ascendant, he was silenced again for not reading Divine service in the surplice and hood, and was not restored till a few months before his death. Though he was a Nonconformist in principle, as appears by his last will and testament, yet he was a person of great temper and moderation: † he loved and respected all good men, and opposed the separation of the Brownists, and the semi-separation of Mr. Jacob. His lectures on the fifty-first Psalm, and his other printed works, as well as the encomiums of Dr. Willet and Dr. Preston, show him to have been a most excellent divine: what a pity was it that his usefulness in the Church should be so long interrupted! He died, March 4, 1631, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, having been minister of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, as the times would suffer him, above forty-three years.

Mr. Robert Bolton was born at Blackburn, in Lancashire, 1572, educated first in Lincoln College, and afterward in Brazenose College, Oxford, of which he was a fellow. Here he became famous for his lectures in moral and natural philosophy, being an excellent Grecian, † and well versed in school divinity, while he continued a profane, wicked man. During his residence at college he contracted an acquaintance with one Anderton, a popish priest, who, taking advantage of his mean circumstances, would have persuaded him to reconcile himself to the Church of Rome, and go over to one of the popish seminaries in Flanders. Mr. Bolton accepted the motion, and appointed a place of meeting to conclude the affair; but Anderton disappointing him, he returned to the college, and fell under strong convictions for his former misspent life, so that he could neither eat nor sleep, nor enjoy any peace of mind for several months, till at length, by prayer and humiliation, he received comfort. Upon this

* Clarke's Life of Hildersham, annexed to his General Martyrology, p. 114.

† "He dissented not from the Church in any article of faith, but only about wearing the surplice, baptizing with the cross, and kneeling at the sacrament."—*Granger's History of England*, vol. i., p. 371, 8vo.—Ed.

‡ The Greek language was so familiar to him, that he could speak it with almost as much facility as his mother tongue.—Ed.

he resolved to enter upon the ministry, in the thirty-fifth year of this age. About two years after he was presented to the living of Broughton, in Northamptonshire, where he continued till his death. He was a most awakening and authoritative preacher, having the most strong, masculine, and oratorical style of any of the age in which he lived. He preached twice every Lord's Day, besides catechising. Upon every holyday, and every Friday, before the sacrament, he expounded a chapter: his constant course was to pray six times a day, twice in secret, twice with his family, and twice with his wife, besides many days of private humiliation that he observed for the Protestant churches in Germany. He was of comely, grave presence, which commanded respect in all companies; zealous in the cause of religion, and yet so prudent as to escape being called in question all the time he lived in Northamptonshire. At length he was seized with a tertian ague, which, after fifteen weeks, put a period to his valuable and useful life, December 17, 1631, in the sixtieth year of his age. He made a most devout and exemplary end, praying heartily for all his friends that came to see him; bidding them make sure of heaven, and bear in mind what he had formerly told them in his ministry, protesting that what he had preached to them for twenty years was the truth of God, as he should answer it at the tribunal of Christ. He then retired within himself, and said, Hold out faith and patience, your work will speedily be at an end. The Oxford historian* calls him a most religious and learned Puritan, a painful and constant preacher, a person of great zeal towards God, charitable and bountiful, but, above all, an excellent casuist for afflicted consciences; his eloquent and excellent writings will recommend his memory to the latest posterity.†

About the year 1627 there was a scheme formed by several gentlemen and ministers to promote preaching in the country by setting up lectures in the several market towns of England, and to defray the expense a sum of money was raised by voluntary contribution for the purchasing such impropriations as were in the hands of the laity, the profits of which were to be parcelled out into salaries of £40 or £50 per annum for the subsistence of their lecturers; the money was deposited in the hands of the following ministers and gentlemen, in trust for the aforesaid purposes, under the name and character of feoffees, viz., Dr. William Gouge, Dr. Sibbs, Dr. Offspring, and Mr. Davenport, of the clergy; Ralph Eyre and Simon Brown, Esqrs., of Lincoln's Inn, and C. Sherman, of Gray's Inn, and John White, of the Middle Temple, Esqrs., lawyers; Mr. John Gearing, Mr. Richard Davis, Mr. G. Harwood, and Mr. Francis Bridges, citizens of London. There were at this time three thousand eight hundred

* *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. i., p. 479; see also Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 586.

† When he lay at the point of death, one of his friends, taking him by the hand, asked him if he was not in great pain: "Truly," said he, "the greatest pain I feel is your cold hand," and instantly expired. His book "On Happiness" was the most celebrated of his works, and has gone through many editions.—*Granger's History of England*, vol. i., p. 365, 8vo; and Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 591.—Ed.

and forty-five parish churches appropriated to cathedrals, or to colleges, or impropriated as lay fees to private persons, having formerly belonged to abbeys. The gentlemen above mentioned dealt only in the latter, and had already bought in thirteen impropriations, which cost between £5000 and £6000. Most people thought this a very laudable design, and wished the feoffees good success; but Bishop Laud looked on them with an evil eye, and represented them to the king as in a conspiracy against the Church, because, instead of restoring the impropriations they purchased to the several livings, they kept them in their own hands for the encouragement of factious and seditious lecturers, who were to depend upon their patrons as being liable to be turned out if they neglected their duty.* He added, farther, that the feoffees preferred chiefly Nonconformist ministers, and placed them in the most popular market towns, where they did a great deal of mischief to the hierarchy. For these reasons an information was brought against them in the exchequer by Mr. Attorney-general Noy, as an illicit society formed into a body corporate without a grant from the king, for the purchasing rectories, tithes, prebendaries, &c., which were registered in a book, and the profits not employed according to law.

The defendants appeared, and in their answer declared that they apprehended impropriations in the hands of laymen, and not employed for the maintenance of preachers, were a damage to the Church; that the purchasing of them for the purposes of religion was a pious work, and not contrary to law, it being notorious that impropriations are frequently bought and sold by private persons; that the donors of this money gave it for this and such other good uses as the defendants should think meet, and not for the endowment of perpetual vicars; that they had not converted any of the money to their own use, nor erected themselves into a body corporate; and that to their knowledge they had never presented any to a church, or a place in their disposal, who was not conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and approved of by the ordinary of the place. But, notwithstanding all they could say, the court was of opinion that their proceedings were contrary to law, and decreed that their feoffment should be cancelled; that the impropriations they had purchased should be confiscated to the king, and the feoffees themselves fined in the Star Chamber; however, the prosecution was dropped as too invidious, it appearing in court, by the receipts and disbursements, that the feoffees were out of pocket already £1000. The odium of this prosecution fell upon Laud, whose chancellor told him upon this occasion, that he was miserably censured by the Separatists; upon which he made this reflection in his diary, "Pray God give me patience, and forgive them."

But his lordship had very little patience with those who opposed his proceedings. We have seen his zeal for pictures and paintings in churches, which some of the Puritans venturing to censure in their sermons and writings, were exposed to the severest punishments:

* Fuller's Church History, b. xi., p. 136. Appeal, p. 13. Prynne, p. 379, 385. Rushworth, vol. i., part. ii., p. 150.

among these was the Rev. Mr. John Hayden, of Devonshire, who, being forced to abscond, was apprehended in the diocese of Norwich by Bishop Harsnet, who, after he had taken from him his horse and money, and all his papers, caused him to be shut up in close prison for thirteen weeks,* after which, when the justices would have admitted him to bail at the quarter-sessions, his lordship sent him up to the High Commission, who deprived him of his ministry and orders, and set a fine upon him for preaching against decorations and images in churches. In the year 1634, Mr. Hayden venturing to preach occasionally without being restored, was apprehended again, and sent to the Gate-house by Archbishop Laud, and from thence to Bride-well, where he was whipped and kept to hard labour; here he was confined in a cold, dark dungeon during a whole winter, being chained to a post in the middle of the room, with irons on his hands and feet, having no other food but bread and water, and a pad of straw to lie on. Before his release, he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond, that he would preach no more, but depart the kingdom in a month, and not return. Bishop Harsnet did not live to see the execution of this part of the sentence, † though for his zeal against the Puritans he was promoted to the archbishopric of York, and made a privy-councillor. Some time before his decease he not only persecuted the Nonconformists, but complained of the conformable Puritans, as he called them, because they complied out of policy and not in judgment. How hard is the case when men shall be punished for not conforming, and be complained of if they conform! Queen Elizabeth used to say she would never trouble herself about the consciences of her subjects if they did but outwardly comply with the laws, whereas this prelate would ransack the very heart.

Henry Sherfield, Esq., a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and recorder of the city of Sarum, was tried in the Star Chamber, May 20, 1632, ‡ for taking down some painted glass out of one of the windows of St. Edmund's Church, in Salisbury, in which were seven pictures of God the Father in form of a little old man in a blue and red coat, with a pouch by his side: one represents him creating the sun and moon with a pair of compasses, others as working on the business of the six days' creation, and at last he sits in an elbow-chair at rest. § Many simple people, at their going in and out of church, did reverence to this window (as they say), because the Lord their God was there. This gave such offence to the recorder, who was also a justice of peace, that he moved the parish at a vestry for leave to take it down, and set up a new window of white glass in the place, which was accordingly granted, six justices of the peace being present. Some time after, Mr. Sherfield broke with his staff the pictures of God the Father, in order to new glaze the window, an account of which being transmitted to London, an information was exhibited against him in the Star Chamber, February 8, 1632-3. The information sets forth, "that being evil af-

fect to the discipline of the Church, he, with certain confederates, without consent of the bishops, had defaced and pulled down a fair and costly window in the church, containing the history of the creation, which had stood there some hundred years, and was a great ornament to it, which profane act might give encouragement to other schismatical persons to commit the like outrages."

Mr. Sherfield, in his defence, says that the Church of St. Edmund's was a *lay fee*, and exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, and the defendant, with the rest of the parishioners, had lawful power to take down the glass; and that it was agreed by a vestry that the glass should be changed, and the window made new, and that accordingly he took down a quarry or two in a quiet and peaceable manner; but he avers that the *true history* of the creation was not contained in that window, but a false and impious one: God the Father was painted like an old man with a blue coat, and a pair of compasses, to signify his compassing the heavens and earth. In the fourth day's work there were fowls of the air flying up from God their maker, which should have been the fifth day. In the fifth day's work a naked man is lying upon the earth asleep, with so much of a naked woman as from the knees upward growing out of his side, which should have been the sixth day; so that the history is false.

Further, this defendant holds it to be impious to make an image or picture of God the Father, which he undertakes to prove from Scripture, from canons and councils, from the mandates and decrees of sundry emperors, from the opinions of ancient doctors of the Church, and of our most judicious divines since the Reformation. He adds, that his belief is agreeable to the doctrine of the Church of England and to the homilies, which say that pictures of God are monuments of superstition, and ought to be destroyed; and to Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, which command that all pictures and monuments of idolatry should be removed out of churches, that no memory of them might remain in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere; which injunction is confirmed by the canons of the 13th of Elizabeth. Mr. Sherfield concludes his defence with denying that he was disaffected to the discipline of the Church of England, or had encouraged any to oppose the government of it under the reverend bishops.

Though it is hard to make a tolerable reply to this defence, yet Bishop Laud stood up and spake in excuse of the painter, saying, God the Father was called in Scripture the Ancient of Days; adding, however, that for his own part he did not so well approve of pictures of things invisible; but be the paintings better or worse, he insisted strongly that Mr. Sherfield had taken them down in contempt of the episcopal authority, for which he moved that he might be fined £1000 and removed from his recordership of the city of Sarum; that he be committed close prisoner to the Fleet till he pay his fine, and then be bound to his good behaviour. To all which the court agreed, except to the fine, which was mitigated to £500.

The Reverend Mr. John Workman, lecturer of St. Stephen's Church, Gloucester, in one of his sermons, asserted that pictures or images

* Usurpation of Prelates, p. 161, 162.

† Fuller's Church History, b. xi., p. 144.

‡ Rushworth, part ii., vol. i., p. 153-156.

§ Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 102.

were no ornaments to churches; that it was unlawful to set up images of Christ or saints in our houses, because it tended to idolatry, according to the homily.* For this he was suspended by the High Commission, excommunicated, and obliged to an open recantation in the court at Lambeth, in the Cathedral of Gloucester, and in the Church of St. Michael's; he was also condemned in costs of suit, and imprisoned. Mr. Workman was a man of great piety, wisdom, and moderation, and had served the Church of St. Stephen's fifteen years; in consideration whereof, and of his numerous family, the city of Gloucester had given him an annuity of £20 per annum, under their common seal, a little before his troubles, but for this act of charity the mayor, town-clerk, and several of the aldermen were cited before the High Commission and put to £100 charges, and the annuity was cancelled. After this Mr. Workman set up a little school, of which Archbishop Laud being informed, inhibited him, as he would answer the contrary at his peril. He then fell upon the practice of physic, which the archbishop likewise absolutely forbid; so that, being deprived of all methods of subsistence, he fell into a melancholy disorder and died.

Our bishop was no less watchful over the press than the pulpit, commanding his chaplains to expunge out of all books that came to be licensed such passages as disallowed of paintings, carvings, drawings, gildings; erecting, bowing, or praying before images and pictures, as appeared by the evidence of Dr. Featly and others at his trial.

This great prelate would have stretched out his arm not only against the Puritans in England, but even to reach the factories beyond sea, had it been in his power. The English church at Hamburg managed their affairs according to the Geneva discipline, by elders and deacons. In Holland they conformed to the discipline of the States, and met them in their synods and assemblies with the consent of King James and of his present majesty, till Secretary Widebank, at the instance of this prelate, offered some proposals to the privy council for their better regulation; † the proposals consisted of ten articles: "1. That all chaplains of English regiments in the Low Countries shall be exactly conformable to the Church of England. 2. That the merchants residing there shall admit of no minister to preach among them but one qualified as before. 3. That if any one, after his settlement among them, prove a Nonconformist, he shall be discharged in three months. 4. That the Scots factories shall be obliged to the same conformity. 5. That no minister abroad shall speak, preach, or print anything to the disadvantage of the English discipline and ceremonies. 6. That no Conformist minister shall substitute a Nonconformist to preach for him in the factories. 7. That the king's agents shall see the service of the Church of England exactly performed in the factories. The last articles forbid the English ministers in Holland to hold any classical assemblies, and, especially, not to ordain ministers, because by so doing they would maintain

a standing nursery for Nonconformity and schism." These proposals were despatched to the factories, and the bishop wrote in particular to Delft, that it was his majesty's express command that their ministers should conform themselves in all things to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and to all the orders prescribed in the canons, rubric, and liturgy, and that the names of such as were refractory should be sent over to him. But it was not possible to succeed in the attempt, because most of the English congregations, being supported by the States, must, by so doing, have run the hazard of losing their maintenance and of being dissolved, as was represented to the king by a petition in the name of all the English ministers in the Low Countries. However, though the bishop could not accomplish his designs abroad, we shall find him hereafter retaliating his disappointment upon the French and Dutch churches at home.

His lordship met with better success in Scotland for the present, as being part of his majesty's own dominions. He had possessed the king with vast notions of glory in bringing the Kirk of Scotland to an exact conformity with England; a work which his father had attempted, but left imperfect. The king readily fell in with the bishop's motion, and determined to run all hazards for accomplishing this important design, having no less veneration for the ceremonies of the Church of England than the bishop himself. There had been bishops in Scotland for some years, but they had little more than the name, being subject to an assembly that was purely Presbyterian. To advance their jurisdiction, the king had already renewed the High Commission, and abolished all general assemblies of the Kirk, not one having been held in his reign; yet still, says the noble historian, there was no form of religion, no liturgy, nor the least appearance of any beauty of holiness. To redress these grievances, as well as to show the Scots nation the pomp and grandeur of the English hierarchy, his majesty resolves upon a progress into his native country to be crowned, and, accordingly, set out from London, May 13, attended by several noblemen and persons of quality, and, among others, by Bishop Laud. June 18 [1633] his majesty was crowned at Edinburgh, the ceremony being managed by the direction of his favourite bishop, who thrust away the Bishop of Glasgow from his place because he appeared without the coat of his order, which, being an embroidered one, he scrupled to wear, being a moderate churchman.*

On the 20th of June the Parliament met, and voted the king a large sum of money. After which his majesty proposed to them two acts relating to religion; one was concerning his royal prerogative, and the apparel of kirkmen; the other, a bill for the ratification of former

* Rushworth, part ii., vol. i., p. 182. "It was proposed that, during the ceremony, the king should be supported on each side by the Archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow. The latter prelate being inclined to the tenets of the Puritans, appeared in the procession without his episcopal robes. The high churchman, Laud, actually thrust him from the king's side. 'Are you a churchman,' he said, 'and want the coat of your order?'—*Jesse's Court of the Stuarts*, vol. ii., p. 381. See, also, *Clarendon*, vol. i., p. 81.—C.

* Prynne, p. 107, 109.

† Collyer's *Eccles. Hist.*, p. 752, 753. Prynne's *Cant. Doom*, p. 389.

acts touching religion. It being the custom in Scotland for kings, Lords, and Commons to sit in one house, when the question was put for the first bill, his majesty took a paper out of his pocket and said, "Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I will know who will do me service, and who will not, this day." Nevertheless, it was carried in the negative; thirteen lords, and the majority of the Commons, voting against it. The Lords said they agreed to the act as far as related to his majesty's prerogative, but dissented from that part of it which referred to the apparel of kirkmen, fearing that under that cover the surplice might be introduced. But his majesty said he would have no distinction, and commanded them to say yes or no to the whole bill. The king marked every man's vote, and upon casting them up the clerk declared it was carried in the affirmative; which some of the members denying, his majesty said the clerk's declaration must stand, unless any would go to the bar and accuse him of falsifying the record of Parliament, at the peril of his life.*

This manner of treating the whole representative body of the nation disgusted all ranks and orders of his subjects. A writing was immediately dispersed abroad, setting forth how grievous it was for a king to overawe and threaten his Parliament in that manner; and that the same was a breach of privilege; that Parliaments were a mere pageantry if the clerk might declare the votes as he pleased, and no scrutiny allowed. Lord Balmerino, in whose custody this libel was found, was condemned to lose his head for it, but was afterward pardoned.

After eight days the Parliament was dissolved, but the king would not look upon the dissenting lords, or admit them to kiss his hand. The act concerning the apparel of ministers says, that "Whereas it was agreed in the Parliament of 1606, that what order soever his majesty's father, of blessed memory, should prescribe for the apparel of kirkmen, and send in writ to his clerk of register, should be a sufficient warrant for inserting the same in the books of Parliament, to have the strength of any act thereof; the present Parliament agrees that the same power shall remain with our sovereign lord that now is, and his successors." The bill touching religion ratifies and approves all acts and statutes made before about the liberty and freedom of the true Kirk of God, and the religion at present professed within this kingdom, and ordains the same to stand in full force as if they were particularly mentioned.

The king left his native country July 16, having lost a great deal of ground in the affections of his people,† by the contempt he poured upon

the Scots clergy, and his high behaviour in favour of the English ceremonies. His majesty was attended throughout his whole progress by Laud, bishop of London, which service his lordship was not obliged to, and no doubt would have been excused from, if the design of introducing the English liturgy into Scotland had not been in view.* He preached before the king in the royal chapel at Edinburgh, which scarce any Englishman had ever done before, and insisted principally upon the benefit of the ceremonies of the Church, which he himself observed to the height. It went against him to own the Scots presbyters for ministers of Christ; taking all occasions to affront their character, which created a high disgust in that nation, and laid the foundation of those resentments that they expressed against him under his sufferings.

When the king left Scotland, he erected a new bishopric at Edinburgh; and, about two months after, Laud, being then newly advanced to the province of Canterbury, framed articles for the reformation of his majesty's royal chapel in that city, which were sent into Scotland under his majesty's own hand, with a declaration that they were intended as a pattern for all cathedrals, chapels, and parish churches in that kingdom.† The articles appoint, "that prayers be read twice a day in the choir, according to the English liturgy, till some course be taken to make one that may fit the custom and constitution of that church. That all that receive the sacrament in the chapel do it kneeling. That the dean of the chapel always come to church in his whites, and preach in them. That the copes which are consecrated to our use be carefully kept, and used at the celebration of the sacrament; and that all his majesty's officers and ministers of state be obliged, at least once a year, to receive the sacrament at the royal chapel, kneeling, for an example to the rest of the people." Thus were the liberties of the Kirk of Scotland invaded by an English bishop, under the wing of the supremacy, without consent of Parliament or General Assembly. The Scots ministers in their pulpits preached against the English hierarchy, and warned the people against surrendering up the liberties of their kirk into the hands of a neighbouring nation, that was undermining their discipline; so that

aged with such magnificence that all was entertainment and show: yet he adds, "that the king left Scotland much discontented." The proceedings on the bill concerning the royal prerogative, &c., show that every proposal from the court was not pleasing. Whitelocke (Memoirs, p. 18) tells us, that though the king was crowned with all show of affection and duty, and gratified many with new honours, yet, before he left Scotland, some began to murmur, and afterward to mutiny; and he was in some danger passing over Dumfries. And such, in particular, was the effect of the prosecution of Lord Balmerino on the public mind, that the ruin of the king's affairs in Scotland was in a great measure owing to it. Dr. Grey refers to the preambles to some acts passed in the Scotch Parliament, as proving the high degree of esteem the king was then in among them; as if an argument were to be drawn from formularies drawn up according to the routine of the occasion, and composed, probably, by a court lawyer: as if such formularies were proof against matter of fact.—*Burnet's History of his Own Times*, vol. i., 24-31, 12mo.—Ed.

* Rushworth, p. 183.

† Dr. Grey confronts Mr. Neal here with a passage from Lord Clarendon, to show that his account of the king's reception in Scotland differs widely from this of our author. "The great civility of that people," says his lordship, "being so notorious and universal, that they would not appear unconformable to his majesty's wish in any particular." But this quotation has little or no force against Mr. Neal, who is not representing the reception the king met with, but the impression left on the minds of the people by the time of his departure. The king's entry and coronation, Bishop Burnet says, was man-

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 81, 82, † Rushworth, part ii., vol. ii., p. 205, 206.

when the new liturgy came to be introduced about four years after, all the people as one man rose up against it.

The king was no sooner returned from Scotland than Dr. Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, died. He was born at Guilford, in Surrey, 1562, and educated in Baliol College, Oxford, where he was a celebrated preacher. In the year 1597 he proceeded doctor in divinity, and was elected master of University College: two years after he was made Dean of Winchester, and was one of those divines appointed by King James to translate the New Testament into English. In the year 1609 he was consecrated Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry; from thence he was translated to London, and upon the death of Archbishop Bancroft, to Canterbury, April 9, 1611, having never been rector, vicar, or incumbent in any parish church in England. Lord Clarendon* has lessened the character of this excellent prelate. contrary to almost all other historians, by saying that "he was a man of very morose manners, and of a very sour aspect, which in that time was called gravity; that he neither understood nor regarded the constitution of the Church; that he knew very little of ancient divinity, but adhered stiffly to the doctrine of Calvin, and did not think so ill of his discipline as he ought to have done; but if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy, let their private practice be as it would, he would give them no disturbance; that his house was a sanctuary to disaffected persons, and that he licensed their writings, by which means his successor [Laud] had a very difficult task to reduce things to order." The Oxford historian,† who was no friend to our archbishop's principles, confesses that he was a pious, grave person, exemplary in his life and conversation, a plausible preacher, and that the many things he has written show him to be a man of parts, learning, and vigilance; an able statesman, and of unwearied study, though overwhelmed with business. Fuller‡ says he was an excellent preacher, and that his severity towards the clergy was only to prevent their being punished by lay judges to their greater shame. Mr. Coke and Dr. Welwood§ add, that he was a prelate of primitive sanctity, who followed the true interests of his country, and of the Reformed churches at home and abroad; that he was a divine of good learning, great hospitality, and wonderful moderation, showing upon all occasions an unwillingness to stretch the king's prerogative or the Act of Uniformity beyond what was consistent with law or necessary for the peace of the Church; this brought him into all his troubles, and has provoked the writers for the prerogative to leave a blot upon his memory, which on this account will be revered by all true lovers of the Protestant religion and the liberties of their country; and if the court had followed his wise and prudent counsels, the mischiefs that befell the crown and Church some years after his death would have been prevented. We have mentioned his casual homicide in the year 1621, which occasioned his keeping

an annual fast as long as he lived, and maintaining the widow. Notwithstanding this misfortune, if he would have betrayed the Protestant religion and been the dupe of the prerogative, he might have continued in high favour with his prince; but for his steady opposition to the arbitrary measures of Buckingham and Laud, and for not licensing Sibthorp's sermon, he was suspended from his archiepiscopal jurisdiction [1628],* whereupon he retired to Croydon, having no more interest at court, or influence in the government of the Church: here he died in his archiepiscopal palace, August 4, 1633, aged seventy-one, and was buried in Trinity Church, in Guilford, the place of his nativity, where he had erected and endowed a hospital for men and women. There is a fine monument over his grave, with his effigies in full proportion, supported by six pillars of the Doric order of black marble, standing on six pedestals of piled books, with a large inscription thereon to his memory.†

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP ABBOT TO THE BEGINNING OF THE COMMOTIONS IN SCOTLAND, IN THE YEAR 1637.

DR. LAUD was now at the pinnacle of preferment, being translated to the see of Canterbury two days after Archbishop Abbot's death. His grace was likewise chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, privy-councillor for England and Scotland, first commissioner of the

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 435.

† In addition to our author's character of Archbishop Abbot, it may be observed that Dr. Warner has entered largely into the description of it, "not only," he says, "in conformity to the rule he prescribed to himself in his work, but," he adds, "to rescue the memory of this prelate from the injury done to it by Lord Clarendon, with so notorious a partiality as does no honour to his history." The doctor sums up his view of Archbishop Abbot's character by saying, "that he was a man of good parts and learning as a divine; that he was a prelate of a very pious, exemplary conversation; and an archbishop who understood the constitution of his country in Church and State, to which he steadfastly adhered, without any regard to the favour or the frowns of princes." The learned translator of Mosheim also censures Lord Clarendon's account of this eminent prelate as most unjust and partial, and in a long note ably and judiciously appreciates the archbishop's merit and excellence. It was, he shows, by the zeal and dexterity of Abbot that things were put into such a situation in Scotland as afterward produced the entire establishment of the episcopal order in that nation. It was by the mild and prudent counsels of Abbot, when he was chaplain to the Lord-high-treasurer Dunbar, that there was passed a famous act of the General Assembly of Scotland, which gave the king the authority of calling all general assemblies, and investing the bishops, or their deputies, with various powers of interference and influence over the Scotch ministers. These facts confute the charge of his disregarding the constitution of the Church. It deserves to be mentioned, that this prelate had a considerable hand in the translation of the New Testament now in use.—*Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv., p. 513, and note (f.), 1768. *Warner's Eccles. History*, vol. ii., p. 522-524. *Granger's Biogr. History of England*, vol. i., p. 341, 8vo.—ED.

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 88, 89.

† *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. i., p. 499.

‡ *Church History*, b. xi., p. 123.

§ *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 36, edit. 1718.

exchequer, and one of the committee for trade and for the king's revenues : he was also offered a cardinal's cap [August 17], which he declined, as he says, because there was something dwelt within him which would not suffer it till Rome was otherwise than it was.* We are now to see how he moved in this high sphere. Lord Clarendon admits "that the archbishop had all his life eminently opposed Calvin's doctrine, for which reason he was called a papist ; and it may be," says his lordship, "the Puritans found the more severe and rigorous usage for propagating the calumny. He also intended that the discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of." The truth of this observation has appeared in part already, and will receive stronger evidence from the seven ensuing years' of his government.

The archbishop's antipathy to Calvinism, and zeal for the external beauty of the Church, carried him to some very imprudent and unjustifiable extremes ; for if the Puritans were too strict in keeping holy the Sabbath, his grace was too lax in his indulgence, by encouraging revels, May-games, and sports on that sacred day.

Complaint having been made to the Lord-chief-justice Richardson and Baron Denham, in their western circuit, of great inconveniences arising from revels, church-ales, and clerk-ales, on the Lord's Day, the two judges made an order at the assizes for suppressing them, and appointed the clerk to leave copies of the order with every parish minister, who was to give a note under his hand to publish it in his church yearly, the first Sunday in February and the two Sundays before Easter.† Upon the return of the circuit, the judges required an account of the execution of their order, and punished some persons for the breach of it ; whereupon the archbishop complained to the king of their invading the episcopal jurisdiction, and prevailed with his majesty to summon them before the council. When they appeared, Richardson pleaded that the order was made at the request of the justices of the peace, and with the unanimous consent of the whole bench, and justified it from the following precedents : September 10, Eliz. 38th, the justices assembled at Bridgewater ordered that no church-ale, clerk-ale, or bid-ale be suffered ; signed by Popham, lord-chief-justice, and ten others. The same order was repeated 1599, and 41st of Eliz., and again at Exeter, 1615, and 13th of Jac., and even in the present king's reign, 1627, with an order for the minister of every parish church to publish it yearly. But notwithstanding all the chief-just-

tice could allege, he received a sharp reprimand, and a peremptory injunction to revoke his order at the next assizes, which he did in such a manner as lost him his credit at court for the future ; for he then declared to the justices "that he thought he had done God, the king, and his country good service by that good order that he and his brother Denham had made for suppressing unruly wakes and revels, but that it had been misreported to his majesty, who had expressly charged him to reverse it ; accordingly," says he, "I do, as much as in me lies, reverse it, declaring the same to be null and void, and that all persons may use their recreations at such meetings as before." This reprimand and injunction almost broke the judge's heart, for when he came out of the council-chamber he told the Earl of Dorset, with tears in his eyes, that he had been miserably shaken by the archbishop, and was like to be choked with his lawn-sleeves.

Laud having thus humbled the judge, and recovered his episcopal authority from neglect, took the affair into his own hand, and wrote to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, October 4 [1663], for fuller information. In his letter he takes notice that there had been of late some noise in Somersetshire about the wakes ; that the judges had prohibited them under pretence of some disorders, by which argument, says he, anything that is abused may be quite taken away ; but that his majesty was displeased with Richardson's behaviour at the last two assizes, and especially the last ; being of opinion that the feasts ought to be kept for the recreation of the people, of which he would not have them debarred under any frivolous pretences, to the gratifying of the humorists, who were very numerous in those parts, and united in crying down the feasts ; his grace, therefore, requires the bishop to give him a speedy account how these feasts had been ordered.

Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, in answer to this letter, acquaints the archbishop "that the late suppression of the revels was very unacceptable, and that the restitution of them would be very grateful to the gentry, clergy, and common people ;* for proof of which he had procured the hands of seventy-two of the clergy, in whose parishes these feasts are kept, and he believes that if he had sent for a hundred more he should have had the same answer from them all ; but these seventy-two," says his lordship, "are like the seventy-two interpreters that agreed so soon in the translation of the Old Testament in the Greek." He then proceeds to explain the nature of these feasts : "There are," says he, "in Somersetshire, not only feasts of dedication [or revel days], but also church-ales, clerk-ales, and bid-ales."

"The feasts of dedication are in memory of the dedication of the several churches ; those churches dedicated to the Holy Trinity have their feasts on Trinity Sunday ; and so all the feasts are kept upon the Sunday before or after the saint's day to whom the churches are dedicated, because the people have not leisure to observe them on the week days ; this," says his lordship, "is acceptable to the people, who otherwise go into tippling-houses, or else to conventicles.

* Arthur Wilson, in his life of himself, speaks of an interview he had with Dr. Weston, a Catholic, at Bruges, the particulars of which are interesting. "The little Archbishop of Canterbury," he says, "Weston could not endure. I pulled a book out of my pocket, written by the provincial of the English friars, which tended to reconcile the Church of England and the Church of Rome. 'I know the man,' said Weston : 'he is one of Canterbury's trencher flies, and eats perpetually at his table ; a creature of his making.' 'Then,' said I, 'you should better approve of my Lord of Canterbury's actions, seeing he tends so much to your way.' 'No,' replied he : 'he is too subtle to be yoked, too ambitious to have a superior. He will never submit to Rome. He means to frame a motley religion of his own, and be lord of it himself.'—*Desid. Curiosa*, lib. xii., p. 22.—C.

† Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 153.

* Cant. Doom, p. 142.

"Church-ales are when the people go from afternoon prayers on Sundays, to their lawful sports and pastimes in the churchyard, or in the neighbourhood, in some public-house, where they drink and make merry. By the benevolence of the people at these pastimes many poor parishes have cast their bells, and beautified their churches, and raised stocks for the poor, and there had not been observed so much disorder at them as is commonly at fairs or markets.

"Clerks-ales [or lesser church-ales] are so called because they were for the better maintenance of the parish clerk; and there is great reason for them," says his lordship, "for in poor parishes, where the wages of the clerk are but small, the people, thinking it unfit that the clerk should duly attend at church and gain by his office, send him in provision, and then come on Sundays and feast with him, by which means he sells more ale, and tastes more of the liberality of the people than their quarterly payment would amount to in many years; and since these have been put down, many ministers have complained to me," says his lordship, "that they are afraid they shall have no parish clerks.

"A bid-ale is when a poor man, decayed in his substance, is set up again by the liberal benevolence and contribution of his friends at a Sunday's feast."

The people were fond of these recreations, and the bishop recommends them as bringing the people more willingly to church; as tending to civilize them, and to compose differences among them; and as serving to increase love and unity, forasmuch as they were in the nature of feasts of charity, the richer sort keeping in a manner open house; for which, and some other reasons, his lordship thinks them fit to be retained.

But the justices of peace were of another mind, and signed an humble petition to the king, in which they declare that these revels had not only introduced a great profanation of the Lord's Day, but riotous tipping, contempt of authority, quarrels, murders, &c., and were very prejudicial to the peace, plenty, and good government of the country, and, therefore, they pray that they be suppressed. Here we observe the laity petitioning for the religious observation of the Lord's Day, and the bishop, with his clergy, pleading for the profanation of it.

To encourage these disorderly assemblies more effectually, Archbishop Laud put the king upon republishing his father's declaration of the year 1618, concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays after Divine service, which was done accordingly, October 18, with this remarkable addition. After a recital of the words of King James's declaration, his majesty adds, "Out of a like pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of those humours that oppose truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his majesty's well-deserving people, he doth ratify his blessed father's declaration, the rather, because of late, in some of the counties of the kingdom, his majesty finds that, under the pretence of taking away an abuse, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts

of the dedication of churches, commonly called wakes; it is therefore his will and pleasure that these feasts, with others, shall be observed, and that all neighbourhood and freedom with manlike and lawful exercises be used, and the justices of the peace are commanded not to molest any in their recreations, having first done their duty to God and continued in obedience to his majesty's laws." And he does farther will "that publication of this his command be made by order from the bishops, through all the parish churches of their several diocesses respectively."

The declaration revived the controversy of the morality of the Sabbath, which had slept for many years; Mr. Theophilus Bradbourne, a Suffolk minister, had published, in the year 1628, "A Defence of the most Ancient and Sacred Ordinance of God, the Sabbath Day," and dedicated it to the king. But Mr. Fuller* observes, "that the poor man fell into the ambush of the High Commission, whose well-tempered severity so prevailed with him, that he became a convert, and conformed quietly to the Church of England." Francis White, bishop of Ely, was commanded by the king to confute Bradbourne; and after him appeared Dr. Pocklington, with his "Sunday no Sabbath;" and after him Heylin the archbishop's chaplain, and others. These divines, instead of softening some rigours in Bradbourne's sabbatarian strictness, ran into the contrary extreme, denying all manner of Divine right or moral obligation to the observance of the whole or any part of the Lord's Day, making it depend entirely upon ecclesiastical authority, and to oblige no farther than to the few hours of public service; and that in the intervals, not only walking (which the Sabbatarians admitted), but mixed dancing, masks, interludes, revels, &c., were lawful and expedient.

Instead of convincing the sober part of the nation, it struck them with a kind of horror, to see themselves invited, by the authority of the king and Church, to that which looked so like a contradiction to the command of God. It was certainly out of character for bishops and clergymen, who should be the supports of religion, to draw men off from exercises of devotion in their families and closets, by enticing them to public recreations. People are forward enough of themselves to indulge these liberties, and need a check rather than a spur; but the wisdom of these times was different. The court had their balls, masquerades, and plays on the Sunday evenings, while the youth of the country were at their morrice-dances, May-games, church and clerk ales, and all such kinds of revelling.†

The revival of this declaration was charged upon Archbishop Laud at his trial, but his grace would not admit the charge, though he confessed his judgment was in favour of it. It was to be published in all parish churches, either by the minister or any other person, at the discretion of the bishop, and therefore the putting this hardship on the clergy was their act and deed; but Laud knew it would distress the Puritans, and purge the Church of a set of men for whom he had a perfect aversion. The reason given for obliging them to this service was,

* Book xi., p. 144.

† Dr. Warner adops these remarks.—Ed.

because the two judges had enjoined the ministers to read their order against revels in the churches; and, therefore, it was proper to have it reversed by the same persons and in the same place.*

The severe pressing this declaration made sad havoc among the Puritans for seven years. Many poor clergymen strained their consciences in submission to their superiors. Some, after publishing it, immediately read the fourth commandment to the people, "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy;" adding, "This is the law of God; the other the injunction of man." Some put it upon their curates, while great numbers refused to comply upon any terms whatsoever. Fuller† says, "that the archbishop's moderation in his own diocese was remarkable, silencing but three, in whom also was a concurrence of other nonconformities; but that his adversaries imputed it not to his charity, but policy, foxlike, preying farthest from his own den, and instigating other bishops to do more than he would appear in himself." Sir Nath. Brent, his grace's vicar-general, attested upon oath at the archbishop's trial, that he gave him a special charge to convene all ministers before him who would not read the Book of Sports on the Lord's Day, and to suspend them for it; and that he gave particular order to suspend the three following Kentish ministers by name, viz., Mr. Player, Mr. Hieron, and Mr. Culmer.‡ Whereupon he did, against his judgment, suspend them all *ab officio et beneficio*, though the king's declaration, as has been observed, does not oblige the minister to read it, nor authorize the bishops to inflict any punishment on the refusers. When the suspended ministers repaired to Lambeth, and petitioned to be restored, the archbishop told them, if they did not know how to obey, he did not know how to grant their petition. So their suspension continued till the beginning of the commotions in Scotland, to the ruin of their poor families, Mr. Culmer having a wife and seven children to provide for. §

Several clergymen of other dioceses were also silenced, and deprived on the same account; as, Mr. Thomas Wilson, of Otham, who being sent for to Lambeth, and asked whether he had read the Book of Sports in his church, answered, No; whereupon the archbishop replied immediately, "I suspend you forever from your office and benefice till you read it;" and so he continued four years, being cited into the

High Commission and article against for the same crime. Mr. Wrath and Mr. Erbery were brought up from Wales, Mr. William Jones from Gloucestershire, with divers others, and censured by the High Commission (of which the archbishop was chief) for not reading the declaration, and not bowing his body at the blessed name of Jesus, &c.* To these may be added, Mr. Whitfield, of Ockley, Mr. Garth, of Woversh, Mr. Ward, of Pepper-Harrow, Mr. Farrol, of Purbricht, and Mr. Pegges, of Wexford, to whom the archbishop said that he suspended him *ex nunc prout ex tunc*, in case he did not read the king's declaration for sports on the Sunday se'night following.

The reverend and learned Mr. Lawrence Snelling, rector of Paul's-Cray, was not only suspended by the High Commission at Lambeth for four years, but deprived and excommunicated, for not reading the declaration, &c. † He pleaded in his own defence the laws of God and of the realm, and the authority of councils and fathers; he added, that the king's declaration did not enjoin ministers to read it, nor authorize the bishops or High Commissioners to suspend or punish ministers for not reading it; that it being merely a civil, not an ecclesiastical declaration enjoined by any canons or authority of the Church, no ecclesiastical court could take cognizance of it. All which Mr. Snelling offered to the commissioners in writing, but the archbishop would not admit it, saying, in open court, that "whosoever should make such a defence, it should be burned before his face, and he laid by the heels." Upon this he was personally and judicially admonished to read the declaration within three weeks, which he refusing, was suspended *ab officio et beneficio*. About four months after he was judicially admonished again, and refusing to comply, was excommunicated, and told that unless he conformed before the second day of next term he should be deprived, which was accordingly done, and he continued under the sentence many years, to his unspeakable damage.

"It were endless to go into more particulars; how many hundred godly ministers in this and other dioceses," says Mr. Prynne, ‡ "have been suspended from their ministry, sequestered, driven from their livings, excommunicated, prosecuted in the High Commission, and forced to leave the kingdom for not publishing this declaration, is experimentally known to all men." Dr. Wren, bishop of Norwich, says that great numbers in his diocese had declined it, and were suspended; that some had since complied, but that still there were thirty who peremptorily refused, and were excommunicated.

* Fuller's Church History, b. xi., p. 148.

† Ibid.

‡ Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 149.

§ Dr. Grey introduces here a long quotation from Anthony Wood, and refers to a bad character of Mr. Culmer drawn by Mr. Lewis in Dr. Calamy's continuation of ejected ministers, to show what small reason Mr. Neal had to defend him. It should seem, from those authorities, that he was a man of warm and violent temper, and some heavy charges are brought against him. But not to say that prejudice appears to have drawn his picture, admitting the truth of everything alleged against him, it is irrelevant to the vindication of Archbishop Laud, whose severity against Mr. Culmer had not for its object his general deportment, or any immorality, but his not reading the Book of Sports, i.e., a royal invitation to men to give themselves up to dissipating, riotous, and intemperate diversions on a day sacred to sobriety.—See, on Mr. Culmer's character, *Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. ii., p. 77.—Ed.

* Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 151.

† Dr. Grey, to impeach the fairness of Mr. Neal, quotes here Rushworth to show that sentence was passed on Mr. Snelling for omitting to "read the litany and wear the surplice, and for not bowing, or making any corporeal obeisance at hearing or reading the name of Jesus." It is true, that on these premises also the sentence of deprivation was passed; but it appears from Rushworth that he had been previously suspended *ab officio et beneficio*, and excommunicated, solely on the ground of refusing to read the Book of Sports; and that this offence was the primary cause of the deprivation.—*Rushworth's Collections*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 460, 461.—Ed.

‡ Cant. Doom, p. 153.

This the bishop thinks a small number, although, if there were as many in other diocesses, the whole would amount to near eight hundred.

To render the Common Prayer Book more unexceptionable to the papists, and more distant from Puritanism, the archbishop made sundry alterations* in the later editions, without the sanction of convocation or Parliament. In the collect for the royal family, the Princess Elizabeth and her children were left out,† and these words were expunged, "O God, who art the Father of thine elect and of their seed," as tending towards particular election or predestination ‡. In the prayer for the 5th of November were these words: "Root out that antichristian and Babylonish sect which say of Jerusalem, Down with it even to the ground. Cut off those workers of iniquity, whose religion is rebellion, whose faith is faction, whose practice is murdering both soul and body;" which in the last edition are thus changed: "Root out the antichristian and Babylonish sect of them, which say of Jerusalem, Down with it. Cut off those workers of iniquity, who turn religion into rebellion," &c. The design of which alteration was to relieve the papists, and to turn the prayer against the Puritans, upon whom the popish plot was to have been fathered. In the epistle for Palm-Sunday, instead of "in the name of Jesus," as it was heretofore, it is now, according to the last translation, "at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow." But it was certainly very high presumption for a single clergyman, or any number of them, to altar a service-book established by act of Parliament, and impose those alterations upon the whole body of the clergy.

The Puritans always excepted against bowing at the name of Jesus; it appeared to them very superstitious, as if worship was to be paid to a name, or to the name of Jesus, more than to that of Christ or Immanuel. Nevertheless, it was enjoined by the eighteenth canon, and in compliance with that injunction our last translators inserted it into their text by rendering *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*, "in the name of Jesus," as it was before, both in the Bible and Common Prayer Book, "at the name of Jesus," as it now stands; however, no penalty was annexed to the neglect of this ceremony, nor did any suffer for it, till Bishop Laud was at the head of the Church, who pressed it equally with the rest, and caused above twenty ministers to be fined, censured, and put by their livings, for not bowing at the name of Jesus, or for preaching against it. §

On the 3d of November was debated, before his majesty in council, the question of removing the communion-table at St. Gregory's Church, near St. Paul's, from the middle of the chancel to the upper end of it, and placing it there in form of an altar. This being enjoined upon the church-wardens by the dean and chap-

ter of St. Paul's without the consent of the parishioners, they opposed it, and appealed to the Court of Arches, alleging that the Book of Common Prayer, and eighty-second canon, gave liberty to place the communion-table where it might stand with most convenience. His majesty being informed of the appeal, and acquainted by the archbishop that it would be a leading case all over England, was pleased to order it to be debated before himself in council, and, after hearing the arguments on both sides, declared that the liberty given by the eighty-second canon was not to be understood so, as if it were to be left to the discretion of the parish, much less to the fancies of a few humorous persons, but to the judgment of the ordinary [or bishop], to whose place it properly belonged to determine these points; he therefore confirmed the act of the ordinary, and gave commandment that if the parishioners went on with their appeal, the dean of the Arches, who was then attending at the hearing of the cause, should confirm the order of the dean and chapter.* This was a sovereign manner of putting an end to a controversy, very agreeable to the archbishop.

When the sacrament was administered in parish churches the communion-table was usually placed in the middle of the chancel, and the people received round it, or in their several places thereabout; but now all communion-tables were ordered to be fixed under the east wall of the chancel with the ends north and south in form of an altar; they were to be raised two or three steps above the floor, and encompassed with rails. Archbishop Laud ordered his vicar-general to see this alteration made in all the churches and chapels of his province; to accomplish which, it was necessary to take down the galleries in some churches, and to remove ancient monuments. This was resented by some considerable families, and complained of as an injury to the dead, and such an expense to the living as some country parishes could not bear; yet those who refused to pay the rates imposed by the archbishop for this purpose were fined in the spiritual courts contrary to law. † It is almost incredible what a ferment the making this alteration at once raised among the common people all over England. Many ministers and church-wardens were excommunicated, fined, and obliged to do penance, for neglecting the bishop's injunctions. Great numbers refused to come up to the rails and receive the sacrament, for which some were fined, and others excommunicated, to the number of some hundreds, say the committee of the House of Commons at the archbishop's trial.

Books were written for and against this new practice, with the same earnestness and contention for victory as if the life of religion had been at stake. Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, published two treatises against it, one entitled "A Letter to the Vicar of Grantham:" the other, "The Holy Table, Name, and Thing;" filled with so much learning, and that learning so closely and solidly applied, says Lord Clarendon, as showed he had spent his time in his retirement with his books very profitably. Dr. Heylin, who answered the bish-

* Dr. Grey says that the archbishop cleared himself in this particular by informing us [Troubles and Trial, p. 357] "that the alterations were made either by the king himself, or some other about him, when he was not at court."—E.

† The Queen of Bohemia, a thorough Protestant, and on whose children the hopes of the nation had rested, till the birth of Charles's son.—C.

‡ Cant. Doom, p. 111, 112.

§ Usurpation of Prelates, p. 165.

* Rushworth, vol. ii, part ii., p. 207.

† Prynne's Cant. Doom, p. 100, 101.

op, argued from the words of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, 1559; from the orders and advertisements of 1562 and 1565; from the practice of the king's chapels and cathedrals; and, finally, from the present king's declaration, recommending a conformity of the parish churches to their cathedrals. The bishop, and with him all the Puritans, insisted upon the practice of *primitive antiquity*, and upon the eighty-second canon of 1603, which says, "We appoint, that the table for the celebration of the holy communion shall be covered with a fair linen cloth at the time of administration, and shall then be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby the minister may more conveniently be heard of the communicants in his prayer, and the communicants may more conveniently and in more numbers communicate." They urged the rubric in the Common Prayer Book; that altars in churches were a popish invention, of no greater antiquity in the Christian Church than the sacrifice of the mass; and insisted strenuously on the discontinuance of them since the Reformation. But the archbishop, being determined to carry his point, prosecuted the affair with unjustifiable rigour over all the kingdom, punishing those who opposed him, without regard to the laws of the land. This occasioned a sort of schism among the bishops, and a great deal of uncharitableness among the inferior clergy; for those bishops who had not been beholden to Laud for their preferments, nor had any farther expectation, were very cool in the affair, while the archbishop's creatures, in many places, took upon them to make these alterations by their own authority, without the injunctions or directions of their diocesans, which laid the foundation of many lawsuits. Those who opposed the alterations were called Doctrinal Puritans, and the promoters of them Doctrinal Papists.

The court-clergy were of the latter sort, and were vehemently suspected of an inclination to popery, because of their superstitious *bowing to the altar*, not only in time of Divine service, but at their going in and out of church.* This was a practice unknown to the laity of the Church of England before this time, but Archbishop Laud introduced it into the royal chapel at Whitehall, and recommended it to all the clergy by his example; for when he went in and out of chapel, a lane was always made for him to see the altar, and do reverence towards it. All his majesty's chaplains, and even the common people, were enjoined the same practice. In the new body of statutes for the Cathedral of Canterbury, drawn up by his grace, and confirmed under the great seal, the dean and prebendaries are obliged by oath to bow to the altar at coming in and going out of the church; which could arise from no principle but a belief of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament or altar, or from a superstitious imitation of the pagans worshipping towards the east. †

To make the adoration more significant, the altars in cathedrals were adorned with the most pompous furniture, and all the vessels underwent a solemn consecration. The Cathedral of Canterbury was furnished according to

Bishop Andrew's model, who took it from the Roman Missal, with two candlesticks and tapers, a basin for oblations, a cushion for the service-book, a silver-gilt canister for the wafers, like a wicker-basket lined with cambric lace, the tonne on a cradle; a chalice with the image of Christ and the lost sheep, and of the wise men and star, engraven on the sides and on the cover. The chalice was covered with a linen napkin, called the *aire*, embroidered with coloured silk; two patens, the *tricanale* being a round ball with a screw cover, out of which issued three pipes for the water of mixture; a credentia or side-table, with a basin and ewer on napkins, and a towel to wash before the consecration; three kneeling stools covered and stuffed, the foot-pace, with three ascents, covered with a Turkey carpet; three chairs used at ordinations, and the septum or rail with two ascents. Upon some altars was a pot called the *incense-pot*, and a knife to cut the sacramental bread.

The consecration of this furniture was after this manner: the archbishop in his cope, attended by two chaplains in their surplices, having bowed several times towards the altar, read a portion of Scripture; then the vessels to be consecrated were delivered into the hands of the archbishop, who, after he had placed them upon the altar, read a form of prayer desiring God to bless and accept of these vessels, which he severally touched and elevated, offering them up to God, after which they were not to be put to common use. We have seen already the manner of his grace's consecrating the sacramental elements at Creed Church; there was a little more ceremony in cathedrals, where the wafers and wine being first placed with great solemnity on the credentia or side-table, were to be removed from thence by one of the archbishop's chaplains, who, as soon as he turns about his face to the altar with the elements in his hands, bows three times, and again when he comes to the foot of it, where he presents them upon his knees, and lays them upon the altar for consecration. How far the bringing these inventions of men into the worship of God is chargeable with superstition, and with a departing from the simplicity of the Christian institution, I leave with the reader; but surely the imposing them upon others under severe penalties, without the sanction of convocation, Parliament, or royal mandate, was not to be justified.

The lecturers, or afternoon preachers, giving his grace some disturbance, notwithstanding the attempts already made to suppress them, the king sent the following injunctions to the bishops of his province: * 1. "That they ordain no clergyman without a presentation to some living. Or, 2. Without a certificate that he is provided of some void church. Or, 3. Without some place in a cathedral or collegiate church. Or, 4. Unless he be a fellow of some college. Or, 5. A master of arts of five years' standing, living at his own charge. Or, 6. Without the intention of the bishop to provide for him." †

* Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 214.

† Dr. Grey truly observes, that none of these injunctions were new, but only an enforcement of the thirty-third canon of 1603. He refers the reader to Bishop Gibson's Codex, p. 162, and might have re-

* This, too, is now adopted in many of the English churches, and has its imitators in the United States.
—C. † Collyer's Ecclesiastical History, p. 762.

By virtue of these injunctions no chaplainship to a nobleman's family, or any invitation to a lecture, could qualify a person for ordination without a living.

In the annual account the archbishop gave the king of the state of his province this year, we may observe how much the suppressing of these popular preachers lay upon his mind. "The Bishop of Bath and Wells," says his grace, "has taken a great deal of pains in his late visitations to have all the king's instructions observed, and particularly he has put down several lecturers in market towns, who were benefited in other diocesses, because he found, when they had preached factious sermons, they retired without the reach of his jurisdiction.

"And whereas his majesty's instructions require that lecturers should turn their afternoon sermons into catechisings, some parsons or vicars object against their being included, because lecturers are only mentioned; but the bishops will take care to clear their doubts and settle their practice.

"The Bishop of Peterborough* had suppressed a seditious lecture at Repon, and put down several monthly lectures kept with a fast, and managed by a moderator. He had also suppressed a meeting called the running lecture, because the lecturer went from village to village.

"The Bishop of St. Asaph says that his diocess is, without exception, abating the increase of Romish recusants in some places, by their superstitious concourse to St. Winifred's Well.

"The Bishop of Landaff certifies that he has not one stubborn Nonconformist, or schismatical minister, within his diocess, and but two lecturers.

"All the bishops declare that they take special care of that branch of his majesty's instructions relating to Calvinism, or preaching upon the predestinarian points; and the archbishop prays his majesty that no layman whatsoever, and least of all the companies of the city of London, or corporations, should, under any pretence, have power to put in or turn out any lecturer or other minister."

In this account the reader will observe very little complaint of the growth of popery, which we shall see presently was at a prodigious height; but all the archbishop's artillery is pointed against the Puritan clergy, who were the most determined and resolved Protestants in the nation.

Towards the close of this year came on the

ferred to his own work, entitled "A System of English Ecclesiastical Law," extracted from the Codex, p. 43, 44. But though these injunctions were not formed for the occasion, the application of them at that time was particularly directed against the lecturers, who were pointed at in the king's letter which accompanied the injunctions, as persons "wandering up and down to the scandal of their calling, and to get a maintenance falling upon such courses as were most unfit for them, both by humouring their auditors and otherways altogether unseufferable." It is easy to perceive what dictated this representation. "By reason of these strict rules," says Rushworth, "no lecture whatsoever was admitted to be a canonical title."—Ed.

* It should be of Litchfield and Coventry, says Dr. Grey, from Laud's Trials and Troubles, p. 527.—Ed.

famous trial of William Prynne, Esq., barrister at law, and member of Lincoln's Inn, for his *Histriomastix*,* a book written against plays, masks, dancing, &c. The information sets forth, that though the author knew that the queen and lords of council were frequently present at those diversions, yet he had railed against these and several others, as Maypoles, Christmas keeping, dressing houses with ivy, festivals, &c.; that he had aspersed the queen, and commended factious persons; which things are of dangerous consequence to the realm and state.† The cause was heard in the Star Chamber, February 7, 1633. The counsel for Mr. Prynne were Mr. Atkyns, afterward a judge of the Common Pleas, Mr. Jenkins, Holbourne, Herne, and Lightfoot. For the king was Mr. Attorney-general Noy. The counsel for the defendant pleaded that he had handled the argument of stage-plays in a learned manner, without designing to reflect on his superiors;‡ that the book had been licensed according to law; and that if any passages may be construed to reflect on his majesty, or any branch

* This book is a thick quarto, containing one thousand and six pages. It abounded with learning, and had some curious quotations, but it was a very tedious and heavy performance; so that it was not calculated to invite many to read it. This circumstance exposes the weakness, as the severity of the sentence against him does the wickedness, of those who pursued the author with such barbarity. He was a man of sour and austere principles, of great reading, and most assiduous application to study. It was supposed that, from the time of his arrival at man's estate, he wrote a sheet for every day of his life. "His custom," Mr. Wood informs us, "was, when he studied, to put on a long quilted cap, which came an inch over his eyes, serving as an umbrella to defend them from too much light; and seldom eating a dinner, would every three hours or more be manching a roll of bread, and now and then refresh his exhausted spirits with ale." To this Butler seems to allude in his address to his muse:

Thou that with ale or viler liquors
Didst inspire Withers, Prynne, and Vicars;
And teach them, though it were in spite
Of nature and their stars, to write.

His works amounted to forty volumes, folio and quarto. The most valuable, and a very useful performance, is his "Collection of Records," in four large volumes.—*Harris's Life of Charles I.*, p. 226, 227. *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii., p. 315; and *Granger's Biog. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 230, 8vo. The prosecution of Mr. Prynne originated with Archbishop Laud, who on a Sunday morning went to Noy, the attorney-general, with the charges against him. Prynne had investigated the resentment of Laud and other prelates by his writings against Arminianism and the jurisdiction of the bishops, and by some prohibitions he had moved and got to the High Commission Court. "Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ."—*Whitlocke's Memoirs*, p. 18. A fine copy of *Histriomastix* is in the library of Yale College.—C.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 221.

‡ A passage quoted by Dr. Grey from Lord Cottington's speech, at the trial of Mr. Prynne, will afford a specimen of the spirit and style of the *Histriomastix*: "Our English ladies," he writes, "shorn and frizzled madams, have lost their modesty; that the devil is only honoured in dancing; that they that frequent plays are damned; and so are all that do not concur with him, in his opinion, whores, panders, foul, incarnate devils, Judases to their Lord and Master." But this way of speaking was in the taste of the times; and the speech of Lord Dorset, given above, shows that a nobleman did not come behind him in severe and foul language.—Ed.

of his government, he humbly begs pardon. But Mr. Attorney aggravated the charge in very severe language, and pronounced it a malicious and dangerous libel. After a full hearing, he was sentenced to have his book burned by the hands of the common hangman, to be put from the bar, and to be forever incapable of his profession, to be turned out of the society of Lincoln's Inn, to be degraded at Oxford, to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, to lose both his ears, one in each place, to pay a fine of £5000, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. Remarkable was the speech of the Earl of Dorset on this occasion: "Mr. Prynne," says he, "I declare you to be a schism-maker in the Church, a sedition-sower in the commonwealth, a wolf in sheep's clothing; in a word, *omnium malorum nequissimus*. I shall fine him £10,000, which is more than he is worth, yet less than he deserves. I will not set him at liberty, no more than a plagued man or mad dog, who, though he can't bite, will foam: he is so far from being a social soul, that he is not a rational soul. He is fit to live in dens with such beasts of prey as wolves and tigers, like himself; therefore I condemn him to perpetual imprisonment; and for corporeal punishment I would have him branded in the forehead, slit in the nose, and have his ears chopped off."* A speech more fit for an American savage than an English nobleman!

A few months after, Dr. Bastwick, a physician at Colchester, having published a book entitled "Elenchus Religionis Papisticae," with an appendix called "Flagellum Pontificis et Episcoporum Latialium," which gave offence to the English bishops, because it denied the Divine right of the order of bishops above presbyters, was cited before the High Commission, who discarded him from his profession [1634], excommunicated him, fined him £1000, and imprisoned him till he recanted.†

Mr. Burton, B.D., minister of Friday-street, having published two exceptionable sermons, from Prov. xxiv., 21, 22, entitled, "For God and the King," against the late innovations, had his house and study broken open by a sergeant-at-arms, and himself committed close prisoner to the Gate-house, where he was confined several years.

These terrible proceedings‡ of the commissioners made many conscientious Nonconformists retire with their families to Holland and

* Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 233, 240.

† Dr. Grey's remark here, as doing credit to himself, deserves to be quoted: "The severity of the sentence," says the doctor, "I am far from justifying."—*Eo*.

‡ "The punishment of these men, who were of three great professions," says Mr. Granger, "was ignominious and severe: though they were never objects of esteem, they soon became objects of pity. The indignity and severity of their punishment gave general offence, and they were no longer regarded as criminals, but confessors." While these persecutions were carried on with unrelenting severity, Chowney, a fierce papist, who wrote a book in defence of the popish religion and of the Church of Rome, averring it to be the true Church, was not only not punished, or even questioned for his performance, but was permitted to dedicate it to the archbishop, and it was favoured with his patronage.—*Granger's Biogr. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 192; and *Whitelocke's Memoirs*, p. 211.—*Ed*.

New-England, for fear of falling into the hands of men whose tender mercies were cruelty.*

Among others who went over this year was the reverend and learned Mr. John Cotton, B.D., fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and minister of Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he was in such repute that Dr. Preston and others from Cambridge frequently visited him; he was an admired preacher, and of a most meek and gentle disposition; he became a Nonconformist upon this principle, That no church had power to impose indifferent ceremonies, not commanded by Christ, on the consciences of men.† He therefore omitted some of the ceremonies, and administered the sacrament to such as desired it without kneeling, for which he was informed against in the High Commission, and Laud being now at the head of affairs, the Bishop of Lincoln, his diocesan, could not protect him. Mr. Cotton applied to the Earl of Dorset for his interest with the archbishop, but the earl sent him word that "if he had been guilty of drunkenness, uncleanness, or any such lesser fault, he could have got his pardon; but the sin of Puritanism and Nonconformity," says his lordship, "is unpardonable, and, therefore, you must fly for your safety." Upon this he travelled to London in disguise, and took passage for New-England, where he arrived September 3, 1633, and spent the remainder of his days, to the year 1652.

Mr. John Davenport, B.D., and vicar of Coleman-street, London, resigned his living and retired to Holland this summer, 1633.‡ He had fallen under the resentments of his diocesan, Bishop Laud, for being concerned in the seoffments, which, together with some notices he received of being prosecuted for nonconformity, induced him to embark for Amsterdam, where he continued about three years, and then returning to England, he shipped himself, with some other families, for New-England, where he began the settlement of New-Haven, in the year 1637. He was a good scholar and an admired preacher, but underwent great hardships in the infant colony, with whom he continued till about the year 1670, when he died.

The Rev. Mr. Thomas Hooker, fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and lecturer of Chelmsford, in Essex, after four years' exercise of his ministry, was obliged to lay it down for nonconformity, though twenty-seven conformable ministers in the neighbourhood subscribed a petition to the bishop [Laud], in which they declare that Mr. Hooker was, for doctrine, orthodox; for life and conversation, honest; for disposition, peaceable; and in no wise turbulent or factious.§ Notwithstanding which, he was silenced by the spiritual court, 1630, and bound in a recognisance of £50 to appear before the High Commission; but by the advice of his friends he forfeited his recognisance and fled to Holland; here he continued about two

* Is it any matter of surprise that our pilgrim fathers in New-England had "prejudices against episcopacy," after they witnessed these prelatial pranks from the head of the Church? Ought not their posterity to be alarmed when ministers of the Episcopal Church, in New-England at the present time, eulogize this tormentor-general?—*C*.

† Mather's *Hist. N. E.*, b. iii., p. 18, &c.

‡ *Ibid.*, b. iii., p. 52.

§ *Ibid.*, b. iii., p. 60.

years fellow-labourer with old Mr. Forbes, a Scotsman, at Delft, from whence he was called to assist Dr. Ames at Rotterdam, upon whose death he returned to England, and being pursued by the bishop's officers from place to place, he embarked this summer for New-England, and settled with his friends upon the banks of the Connecticut River, where he died in the year 1647. He was an awakening preacher, and a considerable practical writer, as appears by his books of Preparation for Christ, Contrition, Humiliation, &c.

The reverend and learned Dr. William Ames, educated at Cambridge, under the famous Mr. Perkins, fled from the persecution of Archbishop Bancroft, and became minister of the English church at the Hague, from whence he was invited by the states of Friesland to the divinity-chair in the University of Franeker, which he filled with universal reputation for twelve years. He was in the Synod of Dort, and informed King James's ambassador at the Hague, from time to time, of the debates of that venerable assembly. He wrote several treatises in Latin against the Arminians, which, for their conciseness and perspicuity, were not equalled by any of his time. His other works are *Manuductio Logica*, *Medulla Theologiæ*, *Cases of Conscience*, *Analysis on the Book of Psalms*, *Notes on the First and Second Epistles of Peter*, and upon the Catechistical Heads. After twelve years Dr. Ames resigned his professorship, and accepted of an invitation to the English congregation at Rotterdam, the air of Franeker being too sharp for him, he being troubled with such a difficulty of breathing that he concluded every winter would be his last; besides, he had a desire to be employed in the delightful work of preaching to his own countrymen, which he had disused for many years. Upon his removal to Rotterdam he wrote his "Fresh Suit against Ceremonies;" but his constitution was so shattered that the air of Holland did him no service; upon which he determined to remove to New-England, but his asthma returning at the beginning of the winter before he sailed, put an end to his life at Rotterdam, where he was buried November 14, N.S., 1633. Next spring his wife and children embarked for New-England, and carried with them his valuable library of books, which was a rich treasure to the country at that time. The doctor was a very learned divine, a strict Calvinist in doctrine, and of the persuasion of the Independents, with regard to the subordination and power of classes and synods.*

Archbishop Laud, being now chancellor of the University of Dublin, and having a new vice-chancellor [Wentworth] disposed to serve the purposes of the prerogative, turned his thoughts against the Calvinists of that king-

* He filled the divinity-chair with admirable abilities. His fame was so great that many came from remote nations to be educated under him. In "An Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters," London, 1751, is a quotation from a piece of his in these words: "Learned Amestius breathed his last breath into my bosom, who left his professorship in Friesland to live with me, because of my church's independency at Rotterdam. He was my colleague, and chosen brother to the church, where I was an unworthy pastor."—*Granger's History of England*, vol. ii., p. 198, 199, 8vo.—Ed.

dom, resolving to bring the Church of Ireland to adopt the articles of the Church of England. Archbishop Usher, and some of his brethren, being informed of his design, moved in convocation that their own articles, ratified by King James in the year 1615, might be confirmed; but the motion was rejected, because it was said they were already fortified with all the authority the Church could give them, and that a farther confirmation would imply a defect. It was then moved on the other side, that for silencing the popish objections of a disagreement among Protestants, a canon should be passed for approving the articles of the Church of England, which was done only with one dissenting voice; one Calvinist, says Mr. Collyer, having looked deeper into the matter than the rest.

The canon was in these words: "For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England, in the confession of the same Christian faith and doctrine of the sacrament, we do receive and approve the book of articles of religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops, &c., in the year 1562, for the avoiding diversity of opinions, and for establishing consent touching true religion; and, therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm that any of these articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated."*

The Irish bishops thought they had lost nothing by this canon, because they had saved their own articles, but Laud took advantage of it during the time of his chancellorship; for hereby the Church of Ireland denounced the sentence of excommunication against all that affirmed any of the Thirty-nine Articles to be superstitious or erroneous, that is, against the whole body of the Puritans; and Fuller adds, that their own articles, which condemned Arminianism, and maintained the morality of the Sabbath, were utterly excluded.

This summer the Reverend Mr. Thomas Sheppard, † A.M., fled to New-England. He had been lecturer at Earl's-Coln, in Essex, several years, but when Laud became Bishop of London his lecture was put down, and himself silenced; he then retired into the family of a private gentleman, but the bishop's officers following him thither, he travelled into Yorkshire, where Neile, archbishop of that province, commanded him to subscribe or depart the country; upon this he went to Hedon, in Northumberland, where his labours were prospered to the conversion of some souls, but the Bishop of Durham, by the direction of Archbishop Laud, forbade his preaching in any part of his diocese, which obliged him to take shipping at Yarmouth for New-England, where he continued pastor of the church at Cambridge till his death, which happened August 25, 1649, in the forty-fourth year of his age ‡ He was a hard student, exemplary Christian, and an eminent practical writer, as appears by his "Sincere Convert," and other practical works that go under his name. ||

* Bib. Reg., § xiii., p. 13.

† Church History, b. xi., p. 149.

‡ The family papers give the name *Shepard*.—C.

§ Mather's Hist. New-England, b. iii., p. 86, &c.

|| When the Antinomian and Familistic errors

The Reverend Mr. John Norton went over in the same ship with Mr. Sheppard,* being driven out of Hertfordshire by the severity of the times. He settled at Ipswich, in New-England, and was afterwards removed to Boston, where he died in the year 1665.† Mr. Fuller says he was a divine of no less learning than modesty, as appears sufficiently by his numerous writings.

His grace of Canterbury, having made some powerful efforts to bring the churches of Scotland and Ireland to a uniformity with England, resolved, in his metropolitan visitation this summer, to reduce the Dutch and French churches (which were ten in number, having between five and six thousand communicants) to the same conformity; for this purpose he tendered them these three articles of inquiry.

1. "Whether do you use the Dutch or French liturgy?"

2. "Of how many descents are you since you came into England?"

3. "Do such as are born here in England conform to the English ceremonies?"

The ministers and elders demurred upon these questions, and insisted upon their charter of privileges granted by King Edward VI., and confirmed no less than five times in the reign of King James, and twice by King Charles himself, by virtue of which they had been exempt from all archiepiscopal and episcopal jurisdic-

broke out in Boston and its vicinity, Mr. Shepard, by his exertions, was the happy means of stopping this infectious malady. He was an excellent preacher, and took great pains in his preparations for the pulpit. He used to say, "God will curse that man's labours who goes idly up and down all the week, and then goes into his study on a Saturday afternoon. God knows that we have not too much time to pray in, and weep in, and get our hearts into a fit frame for the duties of the Sabbath." His most celebrated production is on the "Parable of the Ten Virgins," which contains a rich fund of experimental and practical divinity. Fuller gives Mr. Shepard a place among the learned writers who were fellows of Emanuel College, Cambridge. His son and grandson were, in succession, pastors of the church at Charlestown.—C.

* Mather's Hist. of New-England, p. 34.

† Mr. Norton and Simon Bradstreet, Esq., were sent to England as agents of the colony, on the restoration of Charles II., with an address to his majesty soliciting the continuance of their privileges. This address contains the following passage: "To enjoy our liberty, and to walk according to the faith and order of the Gospel, was the cause of us transplanting ourselves, with our wives, our little ones, and our substance; choosing the pure Scripture worship, with a good conscience, in this remote wilderness, rather than the pleasures of England, with submission to the impositions of the hierarchy, to which we could not yield without an evil conscience. We are not seditious to the interests of Cæsar, nor schismatical in matters of religion. We distinguish between churches and their impurities. We could not live without the public worship of God, but were not allowed to observe it without such a yoke of superstition and conformity as we could not consent to without sin."—*Massachusetts Papers*, p. 345-371. I hope the reader will compare this serious statement, at the foot of the throne, with the *flagrant misrepresentations and deliberate perversions of history* to be found on pages 337-8-9 of the "Double Witness of the Church," by the Rev. W. I. Kipp, 1843, than which, a more specious yet audacious attack on the large majority of professing Christians in this country, has never appeared.—C.

tion till this time; yet Laud, without any regard to their charter, sent them the two following injunctions by his vicar-general:

1. "That all that were born in England of the Dutch and Walloon congregations should repair to their parish churches.

2. "That those who were not natives, but came from abroad, while they remained strangers, might use their own discipline as formerly."

In this emergency the Dutch and Walloon churches petitioned for a toleration, and showed the inconveniences that would arise from the archbishop's injunctions; as, that if all their children born in England were taken from their communion, their churches must break up and return home; for as they came into England for the liberty of their consciences, they would not continue here after it was taken from them.* They desired, therefore, it might be considered what damages would arise to the kingdom by driving away the foreigners with their manufactures, and discouraging others from settling in their room. The mayor and corporation of Canterbury assured his grace that above twelve hundred of their poor were maintained by the foreigners, and others interceded with the king in their favour; but his majesty answered, "We must believe our Archbishop of Canterbury," who used their deputies very roughly, calling them a nest of schismatics, and telling them it were better to have no foreign churches than to indulge their nonconformity. In conclusion, he assured them, by a letter dated August 19, 1635, that his majesty was resolved his injunctions should be observed, viz., "That all their children of the second descent, born in England, should resort to their parish churches;† "and," says his grace, "I do expect all obedience and conformity from you, and if you refuse, I shall proceed against the natives according to the laws and canons ecclesiastical." Accordingly, some of their churches were interdicted, others shut up and the assemblies dissolved; their ministers being suspended, many of their people left the kingdom, especially in the diocese of Norwich, where Bishop Wren drove away three thousand manufacturers in wool, cloth, &c., some of whom employed a hundred poor people at work, to the unspeakable damage of the kingdom.

As a farther mark of disregard to the foreign Protestants, the king's ambassador in France was forbidden to frequent their religious assemblies. "It had been customary," says Lord Clarendon, "for the ambassadors employed in any parts where the reformed religion was exercised, to frequent their churches, and to hold correspondence with the most powerful persons of that religion, particularly the English ambassadors at Paris constantly frequented the church at Charenton; but the contrary to this was now practised, and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the ambassador, to forbear any commerce with the men of that religion.

* It is said that Richelieu made the following speech on this exacted conformity: "If a king of England, who is a Protestant, will not permit two disciplines in his kingdom, why should a king of France, who is a papist, admit two religions?"—*Mrs. Macaulay's History of England*, vol. ii., p. 145, note, 8vo.—Ed.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 273.

Lord Scudamore, who was the last ambassador before the beginning of the Long Parliament, instead of going to Charenton, furnished his chapel after the new fashion, with candles upon the altar, &c., and took care to publish, upon all occasions, that the Church of England looked not on the Huguenots as a part of their communion, which was likewise industriously discoursed at home. This made a great many foreign Protestants leave the kingdom, and transport themselves into foreign parts." The Church of England by this means lost the esteem of the Reformed churches abroad, who could hardly pity her, when a few years after she sunk down into the deepest distress.

To give another instance of the archbishop's disaffection to the foreign Protestants, the Queen of Bohemia, the king's sister, solicited the king, in the most pressing manner, to admit of a public collection over England for the poor persecuted ministers of the Palatinate, who were banished their country for their religion. Accordingly, the king granted them a brief to go through the kingdom; but when it was brought to the archbishop he excepted against the following clause: * "Whose cases are the more to be deplored, because this extremity has fallen upon them for their sincerity and constancy in the true religion, which we together with them professed, and which we are all bound in conscience to maintain to the utmost of our powers. Whereas these religious and godly persons, being involved among others their countrymen, might have enjoyed their estates and fortunes, if with other backsliders in the times of trial they would have submitted themselves to the anti-Christian yoke, and have renounced or dissembled the profession of their religion." His grace had two exceptions to this passage: 1. The religion of the Palatine churches is affirmed to be the same with ours, which he denied, because they were Calvinists, and because their ministers had not episcopal ordination. 2. He objected to the Church of Rome's being called an anti-Christian yoke, because it would then follow that she was in no capacity to convey sacerdotal power in ordinations, and, consequently, the benefit of the priesthood, and the force of holy ministrations, would be lost in the English Church, forasmuch as she has no orders but what she derives from the Church of Rome. Laud having acquainted the king with his exceptions, they were expunged in another draught. But the collection not succeeding in this way, Dr. Sibbes, Gouge, and other divines of the Puritan party, signed a private recommendatory letter, desiring their friends to enlarge their charity, as to men of the same faith and profession with themselves, and promising to see to the right distribution of the money; but as soon as Laud heard of it, he cited the divines before the High Commission, and put a stop to the collection.

This year [1634] put an end to the life of the Rev. Mr. Hugh Clarke, born at Burton-upon-Trent, 1563, and educated partly at Cambridge and partly at Oxford. He was first minister of Oundle, in Northamptonshire, and then of Woolston, in Warwickshire, from whence he was suspended, and afterward excommunicated for expounding upon the catechism. At length

he was indicted for high treason, because he had prayed "that God would forgive the queen [Elizabeth] her sins,"* but was acquitted. He was an awakening preacher, of a warm spirit, and a robust constitution, which he wore out with preaching twice every Lord's Day, and frequently on the week days. His ministry met with great success even to his death, which happened November 6, 1634, in the seventy-second year of his age.†

About the same time died the reverend and pious Mr. John Carter, a man that feared God from his youth, and was always employed in acts of devotion and charity. He was born in Kent, 1554, and educated in Clare Hall, Cambridge. He was first minister of Bramford, in Suffolk, for thirty-four years, and then rector of Bedstead, in the same county; and though often in trouble for his nonconformity, he made a shift, by the assistance of friends, to maintain his liberty without any sinful compliance.‡ He was mighty in prayer, frequent and fervent in preaching, and a resolute champion against popery, Arminianism, and the new ceremonies. He lived to a good old age, and died suddenly, as he was lying down to sleep, in the eightieth year of his age, greatly lamented by all who

† Here Bishop Warburton censures Mr. Neal as guilty of "an unfair representation." His lordship adds, "that they were the sins of persecuting the holy discipline which he prayed for the remission of; and that reflecting on her administration was the thing which gave offence." The bishop is certainly right in this construction of Mr. Clarke's prayer; but there is no occasion, methinks, for the charge he brings against Mr. Neal, who does not refer the expression, or insinuate that it was to be referred, to the personal vices of the queen, but rather the contrary, for he speaks of it as the ground on which Mr. Clarke was indicted for high treason. He might as well suppose that his reader would understand the language as pointing to the oppressions of her government, and the severities which the Puritans suffered under it. This would have been perfectly clear, had Mr. Neal added from his author, that this prayer, though in modest expressions, was offered up when the persecution of the Nonconformists was becoming hot.—Ed.

‡ Clarke's Lives annexed to his General Martyrology, p. 127. He was the father of Rev. Samuel Clarke, of Bennet Fink, the author of the General Martyrology, and the biographer of the Puritans. Almost all we know of some of the best men of that age we have received from his voluminous biographies. He has great claims on our gratitude.—C.

† Mr. Carter's chief trials proceeded from Bishop Wren, who was successively Bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely, a prelate of most intolerant principles, and too much inclined to the oppressions and superstitions of popery. While he sat in the chair of Norwich, he proceeded, according to *Clarendon*, "so warmly and passionately against the dissenting congregations, that many left the kingdom," to the "unspeakable injury of the manufactories of this country." His portrait was published and prefixed to a book entitled "Wren's Anatomy, discovering his notorious Pranks, &c.," printed in the year when Wren ceased to domineer," 1641. In this portrait the bishop is represented sitting at a table, with two labels proceeding from his mouth, one of which is inscribed "Canonical Prayers," the other, "No Afternoon Sermons." On one side stand several clergymen, over whose heads is written "Altar Cringing Priests." On the other side, two men in lay habits, above whom is this inscription, "Church-wardens for Articles."—*Prynne's Cant. Doom*, p. 531. *Clarendon's Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 74. *Granger's Biog. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 157.—C.

* Cyp. Ang., Collyer, vol. ii., p. 764, 765.

had a taste for practical religion and undissembled piety.* His funeral sermon was preached before a vast concourse of people, from these words, "My father, my father, the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!"

Conformity to the new ceremonies and the king's injunctions was now pressed with the utmost rigour. The Rev. Mr. Crook, of Brazenose College, and Mr. Hobbes, of Trinity College, Oxford, were enjoined a public recantation for reflecting upon the Arminians.

Mr. Samuel Ward, of Ipswich, having preached against the Book of Sports, and bowing at the name of Jesus, added, that the Church of England was ready to ring changes in religion; and that the Gospel stood a tiptoe, ready to be gone to America;† for which he was suspended, and enjoined a public recantation. Another underwent the same censure for saying it was suspicious that the night was approaching, because the shadows were so much longer than the body, and ceremonies more enforced than the power of godliness.

The Rev. Mr. Chauncey, late minister of Ware, but now of Marston Lawrence, in the diocese of Peterborough, was imprisoned, condemned in cost of suit, and obliged to read the following recantation for opposing the railing in the communion-table:

"Whereas I, Charles Chauncey, clerk, late Vicar of Ware, stand convicted for opposing the setting up a rail round the communion-table, and for saying it was an innovation, a snare to men's consciences, a breach of the second commandment, an addition to God's worship, and that which drove me from the place, I do now, before this honourable court, acknowledge my great offence, and protest I am ready to declare upon oath, that I am now persuaded in my conscience, that kneeling at the communion is a lawful and commendable gesture; that the rail is a decent and convenient ornament, and that I was much to blame for opposing it; and do promise from henceforth, never by word or deed to oppose that, or any other laudable rites and ceremonies used in the Church of England."‡

After this he was judicially admonished and discharged; but the recantation went so much against his conscience, that he could enjoy no peace till he had quitted the Church of England, and retired to New-England, where he made an open acknowledgment of his sin.

The church-wardens of Beckington, in Somersetshire, were excommunicated by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, for refusing to remove the communion-table from the middle of the chancel to the east end, and not pulling down the seats to make room for it. They produced a certificate that their communion-table had stood time out of mind in the midst of the chancel; that the ground on which it was placed was raised a foot, and enclosed with a decent wainscot border, and that none went within it but the minister, and such as he required. This not availing, they appealed to the Arches, and at last to the king; but their appeal was rejected. After

they had remained excommunicated for a year, they were east into the common jail, where they continued till the year 1637, and were then obliged to do public penance in the parish church of Beckington, and two others, the shame of which broke their hearts; one of them declaring upon his death-bed soon after, that the penance and submission, so much against his conscience, had sunk his spirits, and was one principal cause of his death.*

In the archbishop's metropolitical visitation this summer, Mr. Lee, one of the prebendaries of Litchfield, was suspended for churching refractory women in private, for being averse to the good orders of the Church, and for ordering the bellman to give notice in open market of a sermon.† Mr. Randal, of Tuddington, near Hampton Court, Middlesex, was suspended for preaching a sermon above an hour long on Sunday in the afternoon, though it was a farewell sermon to the exercise of catechising. His grace's account of his province this year gives a farther relation of the sufferings of the Puritans:‡ he acquaints his majesty that the French and Dutch churches had not as yet thoroughly complied with his injunctions. That in the diocese of London, Dr. Houghton, rector of Aldermanbury, Mr. Simpson, curate and lecturer of St. Margaret, Fish-street, Mr. John Goodwin, vicar of Coleman-street, and Mr. Viner of St. Lawrence, Old Jewry, had been convened for breach of canons, and had submitted; to whom his grace might have added, Dr. Sibbes, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Gouge, Mr. White, of Dorsetshire, and about twenty more; some of whom fled into Holland, and others retired into New-England. The Bishop of Bath and Wells certified that he had not one single lecture in any corporation town, and that all afternoon sermons were turned into catechisings in all parishes. In the diocese of Norwich were many Puritans, but that Mr. Ward of Yarmouth was in the High Commission. From the diocese of Llandaff, Mr. Wroth and Mr. Erbury, two noted schismatics, were brought before the High Commission. And that in the diocese of Gloucester were several popular and factious ministers.

It must be confessed that the zeal of the Puritans was not always well regulated, nor were their ministers so much on their guard in the pulpit or conversation as they ought, considering the number of informers that entered all their churches, that insinuated themselves into all public conversation, and, like so many locusts, covered the land. These were so numerous and corrupt that the king was obliged to bring them under certain regulations; for no man was safe in public company, nor even in conversing with his friends and neighbours. Many broke up housekeeping, that they might breathe in a freer air, which the council being informed of, a proclamation was published [July 21, 1635], forbidding all persons except soldiers, mariners, merchants and their factors, to depart the kingdom without his majesty's license.

But, notwithstanding this prohibition, numbers went to New-England this summer, and among others the Rev. Mr. Peter Bulkley, B.D.,

* Ut supra, p. 132.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 285. Prynne, p. 285.

‡ Prynne, p. 95, 97, 100. Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 301, 316.

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* Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 300.

† Prynne, p. 381.

‡ Collyer's Eccles. Hist., vol. ii., p. 763.

and fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. He was son of Dr. Edward Bulkley, of Bedfordshire, and succeeded him at Woodhill, or Odel, in that county. Here he continued above twenty years, the Bishop of Lincoln conniving at his nonconformity: but when Dr. Laud was at the helm of the Church, and the Bishop of Lincoln in disgrace, Bulkley was silenced by the vicar-general, Sir Nathaniel Brent, upon which he sold a very plentiful estate, and transported himself and his effects to New-England, where he died in the year 1658-9, and the seventy-seventh of his age. He was a thundering preacher, and a judicious divine, as appears by his treatise "Of the Covenant," which passed through several editions, and was one of the first books published in that country.*

Mr. Richard Mather, educated in Brazen-nose College, Oxon, and minister of Toxteth, near Liverpool, for about fifteen years, a diligent and successful preacher, was suspended for nonconformity in the year 1633, but by the intercession of friends, after six months he was restored. Next summer, the Archbishop of York sending his visiters into Lancashire, this good man was again suspended by Dr. Cosins, upon an information that he had not worn the surplice for fifteen years. After this no intercession could obtain the liberty of his ministry; upon which he took shipping at Bristol, and arrived at Boston, in New-England, August 17, 1635. He settled at Dorchester, and continued with his people, a plain and profitable preacher, to the year 1669, when he died. This was the grandfather of the famous Dr. Cotton Mather.

In Scotland the fire was kindling apace which in three years' time set both kingdoms in a flame. The restoring episcopacy, by the violent methods already mentioned, did not sit easy upon the people; the new Scots bishops were of Bishop Laud's principles; they spoke very-favourably of popery in their sermons, and cast some invidious reflections on the Reformers: they declared openly for the doctrines of Arminius, for sports on the Sabbath, and for the liturgy of the English Church, which was imagined to be little better than the mass.† This lost them their esteem with the people, who had been trained up in the doctrines and discipline of Calvin, and in the strict observation of the Lord's Day. But the king, to support them, cherished them with expressions of the greatest respect and confidence; he made eleven of them privy-councillors; the Archbishop of St. Andrew's was lord-chancellor, and the Bishop of Ross was in nomination to be lord-high-treasurer; divers of them were of the exchequer, and had engrossed the best secular preferments, which made them the envy of the nobility and gentry of that nation. The bishops were so sensible of this, that they advised the king not to trust the intended alterations in religion to parliaments or general assemblies, but to introduce them by his regal authority.

When the king was last in Scotland, it was taken notice of as a great blemish in the Kirk, that it had no liturgy or book of canons. To supply this defect, the king gave orders to the

new bishops to prepare draughts of both, and remit them to London, to be revised by the Bishops Laud, Juxon, and Wren. The book of canons being first finished, was presented to the king, and by him delivered to Laud and Juxon to examine, alter, and reform at pleasure, and to bring it as near as possible to a conformity with the English canons. The bishops having executed their commission, and prepared it for press, the king confirmed it under the great seal by letters patent, dated at Greenwich, May 23, 1635. The instrument sets forth, "that his majesty, by his royal and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical, ratifies and confirms the said canons, orders, and constitutions, and all and everything in them contained, and strictly commands all archbishops, bishops, and others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to see them punctually observed."

To give the reader a specimen of these canons, which were subversive of the whole Scots constitution both in Kirk and State:

1. "The first canon excommunicates all those who affirm the power and prerogative of the king not to be equal with the Jewish kings, that is, absolute and unlimited.

2. "The second excommunicates those who shall affirm the worship contained in the Book of Common Prayer [which was not yet published], or the government of the Kirk by archbishops, bishops, &c., to be corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful.

3. "The third restrains ordinations to the *quatuor tempora*, that is, the first weeks of March, June, September, and December.

5. "The fifth obliges all presbyters to read, or cause to be read, Divine service, according to the form of the Book of the Scottish Common Prayer, and to conform to all the offices, parts, and rubrics of it [though not yet published.]"

The book decrees farther, "that no assembly of the clergy shall be called but by the king.

"That none shall receive the sacrament but upon their knees.

"That every ecclesiastical person dying without children shall give part of his estate to the Church.

"That the clergy shall have no private meetings for expounding Scripture.

"That no clergyman shall conceive prayer, but pray only by the printed form, to be prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.

"That no man shall teach school without a license from the bishop; nor any censures of the Church be pronounced but by the approbation of the bishop.

"That no presbyter shall reveal anything in confession, except his own life should by the concealment be forfeited."

After sundry other canons of this nature, as appointing fonts for baptism, church ornaments, communion-tables, or altars, &c., the book decrees, that no person shall be admitted to holy orders, or to preach, or administer the sacraments, without first subscribing the forementioned canons.

This book was no sooner published than the Scots presbyters declared peremptorily against it; * their objections were of two sorts: they disliked the matter of the canons, as inconsis-

* Rabin, vol. ii., p. 394, folio edit. Mr. Bulkley made additions to Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs.—See vol. iii., p. 861-863.—C.

† Burnet's Memoirs of D. Hamilton, p. 29, 30.

* Collyer's Eccles. Hist., p. 764.

ent with their kirk government, and severer in some particulars than those of the Church of England: they protested also against the manner of imposing them, without consent of Parliament or General Assembly. It was thought intolerable vassalage, by a people who had asserted the independent power of the Church to convene assemblies of the clergy, and who had maintained that their decrees were binding without the confirmation of the crown, to have the king and a few foreign bishops dictate canons to them, without so much as asking their advice and consent. Such a high display of the supremacy could not fail of being highly resented by a church that had never yielded it to the king in the latitude in which it had been claimed and exercised in England. Besides, it was very preposterous to publish the book of canons before the Book of Common Prayer, and to require submission and subscription to things that had no existence; for who could foretell what might be inserted in the Common Prayer Book? or what kind of service might be imposed upon the Kirk? This looked too much like pinning the faith of a whole nation on the lawn sleeves.

To return to England. Towards the end of this year it pleased God to remove out of this world the Reverend Dr. Richard Sibbes, one of the most celebrated preachers of his time. He was born at Sudbury, 1579, and educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, where he went through all the degrees. Having entered into the ministry, he was first chosen lecturer of Trinity Church, in Cambridge, where his ministry was very successful to the conversion and reformation of his hearers. About the year 1618 he was appointed preacher to the honourable society of Gray's Inn, London, in which station he became so famous, that, besides the lawyers of the house, many of the nobility and gentry frequented his sermons. In the year 1625 he was chosen master of Katherine Hall, in the University of Cambridge, the government of which he made a shift to continue to his death, though he was turned out of his fellowship and lecture in the university for nonconformity, and often cited before the High Commission. He was a divine of good learning, thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures, a burning and shining light, and of a most humble and charitable disposition; but all these talents could not screen him from the fury of the times. His works* discover him to have been of a heavenly, evangelical spirit, the comforts of which he enjoyed at his death, which happened the latter end of this summer, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.†

To aggrandise the Church yet farther, the archbishop resolved to bring part of the business of Westminster Hall into the ecclesiastical

courts. The civilians had boldly and unwarrentably opposed and protested against prohibitions and other proceedings at law, in restraint of their spiritual courts, and had procured some privileges and orders from the king in favour of the ecclesiastical courts, which had greatly offended the gentlemen of the law. But the archbishop now went a step farther, and prevailed with the king to direct that half the masters in chancery should always be civil lawyers; and to declare that no others, of what condition soever, should serve him as masters of request; these were more akin to the Church than the common lawyers, their places being in the bishop's disposal (as chancellors, commissaries, &c.), and, therefore, it was supposed their persons would be so too; but this was false policy, says the noble historian,* because it disgusted a whole learned profession, who were more capable of diserving the Church in their estates, inheritances, and stewardships, than the Church could hurt them in their practice. Besides, it was wrong in itself; for I have never yet spoken with one clergyman, says his lordship, who hath had experience of both litigations, that has not ingenuously confessed, that he had rather, in respect of his trouble, charge, and satisfaction to his understanding, have three suits depending in Westminster Hall than one in the Arches, or any ecclesiastical court.

As a farther step towards the sovereign power of the Church, his grace prevailed with the king to allow the bishops to hold their ecclesiastical courts in their own names, and by their own seals, without the king's letters patent under the great seal; the judges having given it as their opinion that a patent under the great seal was not necessary for examinations, suspensions, and other church censures. This was undoubtedly contrary to law, for by the statute 1 Edw. VI., cap. ii., it is declared "that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction is immediately from the crown, and that all persons exercising such jurisdiction shall have in their seal the king's arms, and shall use no other seal of jurisdiction on pain of imprisonment."† This statute being repealed, 1 Maria, cap. ii., was again revived by 1 Jac., cap. xxv., as has been observed.‡ Hereupon, in the Parliaments of the 3d and 7th of King James I., the bishops were proceeded against, and two of them, in a manner, attainted in a premunire by the House of Commons, for making citations and processes in their own names, and using their own seals, contrary to this statute and to the common law, and in derogation of the prerogative. So that by this concession the king dispensed with the laws, and yielded away the ancient and undoubted right of his crown, and the bishops were brought under a premunire for exercising spiritual jurisdiction without any special commission, patent, or grant from, by, or under his majesty, whereas all jurisdiction of this kind ought to have been exercised in the king's name, and by virtue of his authority only, signified by letters patent under his majesty's seal.

The archbishop was no less intent upon enlarging his own jurisdiction, claiming a right to

* Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 305, 306.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 450.

‡ Usurpation of Prelates, p. 92, 115.

* Of these, the most noted was his "Bruised Reed," to which, Mr. Baxter tells us, he in a great measure owed his conversion. This circumstance alone, observes Mr. Granger, would have rendered his name memorable.—*History of England*, vol. ii., p. 176, 8vo. *Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i., p. 4. This interesting memoir was one of the favourite volumes of Coleridge, who always kept it by him. No minister should lose an opportunity to obtain this very scarce and valuable work.—C.

† Clarke's Lives, annexed to his General Martyrology, p. 143.

visit the two universities *jure metropolitico*, which being referred to the king and council, his majesty was pleased to give judgment against himself. As chancellor of Oxford, his grace caused a new body of statutes to be drawn up for that university, with a preface, in which are some severe reflections on good King Edward and his government; it says that the discipline of the university was discomposed and troubled by that king's injunctions and the flattering novelty of the age. It then commends the reign of his sister, the bloody Queen Mary, and says that the discipline of the Church revived and flourished again in her days under Cardinal Pole, when, by the much-desired felicity of those times, an inbred candour supplied the defect of statutes.* Was this spoken like a Protestant prelate, whose predecessors in the sees of London and Canterbury were burned at Oxford by Queen Mary, in a most barbarous manner? Or, rather, like one who was aiming at the return of those happy times?

The last and most extravagant stretch of episcopal power that I shall mention was the bishops framing new articles of visitation in their own names, without the king's seal and authority, and administering an oath of inquiry to the church-wardens concerning them.† This was an outrage upon the laws, contrary to the Act of Submission, 25 Hen. VIII., cap. xxv., and even to the twelfth canon of 1603, which says, "that whosoever shall affirm it lawful for any sort of ministers or lay persons to assemble together and make rules, orders, and constitutions, in causes ecclesiastical, without the king's authority, and shall submit themselves to be ruled and governed by them, let him be excommunicated;" which includes the framers of the orders as well as those who act under them. The administering an oath to church-wardens, without a royal commission, had no foundation in law, for by the common law no ecclesiastical judge can administer an oath (except in cases of matrimony and testaments) without letters patent, or a special commission under the great seal. It was also declared contrary to the laws and statutes of the land, by Sir Edward Coke and the rest of the judges, 3 James, in the case of Mr. Wharton, who, being church-warden of Blackfriars, London, was excommunicated and imprisoned on a *capias excommunicatum*, for refusing to take an oath to present upon visitation articles; but bringing his *habeas corpus*, he was discharged by the whole court, both from his imprisonment and excommunication, for this reason, because the oath and articles were against the laws and statutes of this realm, and so might and ought to be refused. Upon the whole, the making the mitre thus independent of the crown, and

* An answer to Mr. Neal, it is urged by Dr. Grey, may be supplied from Frankland's Annals of King Charles I., according to whom, what is applied above to Queen Mary's time only, relates to all former times as well as hers, during which the uncertainty of the statutes lasted, and put the university to an inconvenience; and who asserts that the preface mentioned by Mr. Neal was written by Dr. Peter Turner, of Merton College, a doctor of civil law. The reader, however, will probably apprehend that it expressed the sentiments of Archbishop Laud, and was virtually his.—Ed.

† Usurpation of Prelates, p. 229, 240.

not subject to a prohibition from the courts of Westminster Hall, was setting up *imperium in imperio*, and going a great way towards re-establishing one of the heaviest grievances of the papacy; but the bishops presumed upon the felicity of the times and the indulgence of the crown, which at another time might have involved them in a premonition.

The articles of visitation differed in the several diocesses; the church-wardens' oath was generally the same, viz.:

"You shall swear, that you, and every of you, shall duly consider and diligently inquire of all and every of these articles given you in charge; and that all affection, favour, hope of reward and gain, or fear of displeasure, or malice set aside, you shall present all and every such person that now is, or of late was, within your parish, or hath committed any offence, or made any default mentioned in any of these articles, or which are vehemently suspected, or defamed of any such offence or default, wherein you shall deal uprightly and fully, neither presenting nor daring to present any contrary to truth, having in this action God before your eyes, with an earnest zeal to maintain truth, and to suppress vice. So help you God, and the holy contents of this book."

By virtue of this oath, some, out of conscience, thought themselves obliged to present their ministers, their neighbours, and their near relations, not for immorality or neglect of the worship of God, but for omitting some superstitious injunctions. Others acted from revenge, having an opportunity put into their hands to ruin their conscientious neighbours. Many church-wardens refused to take the oath, and were imprisoned, and forced to do penance. But, to prevent this for the future, it was declared, "that if any man affirmed it was not lawful to take the oath of a church-warden, or that it was not lawfully administered, or that the oath did not bind, or that the church-wardens need not inquire, or, after inquiry, need not answer, or might leave out part of their answers,"* such persons should be presented and punished.

Several of the bishops published their primary articles of visitation about this time. as the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Winchester, and Bath and Wells; but the most remarkable and curious were Dr. Wren's, bishop of Norwich, entitled, "Articles to be inquired of within the Diocese of Norwich, in the first Visitation of Matthew, Lord-bishop of Norwich."† The book contains one hundred and thirty-nine articles, in which are eight hundred and ninety-seven questions, some very insignificant, others highly superstitious, and several impossible to be answered. To give the reader a specimen of them: Have you the book of constitutions or canons ecclesiastical, and a parchment register book, Book of Common Prayer, and a book of homilies? Is your communion-table so placed within the chancel as the canon directs? Doth your minister read the canons once every year? Doth he pray for the king with his whole title? Doth he pray for the archbishops and bishops? Doth he observe

* Visit. Art., chap. vi., § 9.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 186, 187. Prynne, p. 374. Rapin, vol. ii., p. 289, 290, folio edit.

all the orders, rites, and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and administering the sacrament? Doth he receive the sacrament kneeling himself, and administer to none but such as kneel? Doth he admit to the sacrament any notorious offenders or schismatics? Do the strangers of other parishes come often, or frequently to your church? Doth your minister baptize with the sign of the cross? Is your minister licensed, and by whom? Doth he wear the surplice while he is reading prayers and administering the sacrament? Doth he catechise and instruct the youth in the Ten Commandments? Doth he solemnize marriage without the bans? Doth he, in Rogation-days, use the perambulation round the parish? Doth he every six months denounce in the parish [or publicly declare the names of] all such as persevere in the sentence of excommunication, not seeking to be absolved? Doth he admit any excommunicate persons into the church without a certificate of absolution? Is your minister a favourer of recusants? Is he noted to be an incontinent person; a frequenter of taverns, alehouses; a common gamester, or a player at dice? Hath your minister read the Book of Sports in his church or chapel? Doth he read the second service at the communion-table? Doth he use conceived prayers before or after sermon? With regard to churchyards, are they consecrated? Are the graves dug east and west, and the bodies buried with their heads to the west? Do your parishioners, at going in and out of the church, do reverence towards the chancel? Do they kneel at confession, stand up at the creed, and how at the glorious name of Jesus? * &c., with divers articles of the like nature. †

The weight of these inquiries fell chiefly upon the Puritans, for within the compass of two years and four months no less than fifty able and pious ministers were suspended, silenced, and otherwise censured, to the ruin of their poor families, for not obeying one or other of these articles; among whom were the Rev. Mr. John Allen, Mr. John Ward, Mr. William Powell, Mr. John Carter, Mr. Ashe, Mr. William Bridges, Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, Mr. Greenhill, Mr. Edmund Calamy, Mr. Hudson, Peck, Raymond, Green, Mott, Kent, Allen, Scott, Beard, Moth, Manning, Warren, Kirrington, and others, in the diocese of Norwich. In other diocesses were Mr. Jonathan Burre, Mr. William Leigh, Mr. Matthew Brownrigge, Mr. G. Huntley, Vicars, Proud, Workman, Crowder, Snelling, &c., some of whom spent their days in silence, others departed their country into parts beyond sea, and none were released without a promise to conform to the bishops' injunctions *editis et edendis*, i. e., already published, or hereafter to be published.

* Cant. Doom, p. 96.

† One article, which Mr. Neal has omitted, required "that the church-wardens in every parish of his diocese should inquire whether any persons presumed to talk of religion at their tables and in their families." Not to say the gross ignorance which this restraint would cause, it showed the extreme of jealousy and intolerance, was subversive of the influence and endearments of domestic life, and converted each private house into a court of inquisition.—*Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken*, 1768, vol. iii., p. 307, 308.—Ed.

Bishop Montague, who succeeded Wren in the diocese of Norwich, 1638, imitated his successor in his visitation-articles; it being now fashionable for every new bishop to frame separate articles of inquiry for the visitation of his own diocese. Montague pointed his inquiries against the Puritan lecturers, of which he observes three sorts.*

"1. Such as were superinducted into another man's cure; concerning which he enjoins his visitors to inquire, Whether the lecturer's sermons in the afternoons are popular or catechetical? Whether he be admitted with consent of the incumbent and bishop? Whether he read prayers in his surplice and hood? Of what length his sermons are, and upon what subject? Whether he bids prayer, according to the fifty-fifth canon?

"2. The second sort of lecturers are those of combination, when the neighbouring ministers agreed to preach by turns at an adjoining market town on market days; inquire who the combiners are, and whether they conform as above?

"3. A third sort are running lecturers, when neighbouring Christians agree upon such a day to meet at a certain church in some country town or village, and after sermon and dinner to meet at the house of one of their disciples to repeat, censure, and explain the sermon; then to discourse of some points proposed at a foregoing meeting by the moderator of the assembly, derogatory to the doctrine or discipline of the Church; and, in conclusion, to appoint another place for their next meeting. If you have any such lecturers, present them."

Dr. Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, suppressed all lecturers in market towns, and elsewhere throughout his diocese, alleging that he saw no such need of preaching now, as was in the apostles' days. He suspended Mr. Devenish, minister of Bridgewater, for preaching a lecture in his own church on a market day, which had continued ever since the days of Queen Elizabeth; and afterward, when he absolved him upon his promise to preach it no more, he said to him, "Go thy way, sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee." † His lordship put down all afternoon sermons on Lord's Days, and suspended Mr. Cornish for preaching a funeral sermon in the evening. And whereas some ministers used to explain the questions and answers in the catechism, and make a short prayer before and after, the bishop reproved them sharply for it, saying that was as bad as preaching, and charged them to ask no questions, nor receive any answers but such as were in the Book of Common Prayer; and for not complying with this injunction, Mr. Barret, rector of Berwick, and some others, were enjoined public penance. The Bishop of Peterborough, and all the new bishops, went in the same track; and some of them upon this sad principle, That afternoon sermons on Sundays were an impediment to the revels in the evening.

The Church was now in the height of its triumphs, and grasped not only at all spiritual jurisdiction, but at the capital preferments of state. This year Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, was declared Lord-high-treasurer of England, which

* Prynne, p. 376.

† *Ibid.*, p. 377.

is the first office of profit and power in the kingdom, and has precedence next to the archbishop. Juxon's name had hardly been known at court above two years;* then he was no more than a private chaplain to the king, and head of a poor college at Oxford. Besides, no churchman had held this post since the darkest times of popery, in the reign of King Henry VII.; but Laud valued himself upon this nomination: "Now," says he, in his diary, "if the Church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more."† When the staff of treasurer was put into the hands of Juxon, Lord Clarendon observes, "that the nobility were inflamed, and began to look upon the Church as a gulf ready to swallow all the great offices of state, there being other churchmen in view who were ambitious enough to expect the rest. The inferior clergy took advantage of this situation of their affairs, and did not live towards their neighbours of quality, or patrons, with that civility and good manners as they used to do, which disposed others to withdraw their countenance and good neighbourhood from them, especially after they were put into the commissions of peace in most counties of England." One of the members of the House of Commons said, "That the clergy were so exalted that a gentleman might not come near the tail of their mules; and that one of them had declared openly, that he hoped to see the day when a clergyman should be as good a man as any upstart Jack gentleman in the kingdom." It is certain the favourable aspect of the court had very much exalted their behaviour, and their new notions had made them conceive themselves an order of men above the rank of the laity, forasmuch as they had the keys of the kingdom of heaven at their

* Dr. Juxon, having been elected to the See of Hereford before he was consecrated, was translated on the 19th of September, 1633, to that of London. His first preferment was, in 1627, to the Deanery of Worcester: but his constant connexion with the court was not formed till the 10th of July, 1632, when he was, at the suit of Archbishop Laud, sworn clerk of his majesty's closet, two years and eight months before he was declared lord-high-treasurer. So that Mr. Neal's expression, that his name had hardly been known at court above two years, at which Dr. Grey carps, does not greatly deviate from the exact fact. The doctor quotes, also, many testimonies to the amiable temper and virtues of Bishop Juxon. But, though they justly reflect honour on his memory, the personal virtues of the bishop did not render the investing a clergyman with the high office to which he was exalted a measure more politic in itself, or less obnoxious to the people. And the shorter was the time during which he had been known at court, the fewer opportunities he had enjoyed to display his virtues, and the more probable it was that he owed his dignity, not to the excellence of his own character, but to the influence and views of Laud. This circumstance, together with the vast power connected with the office, and the exaltation supposed to be thus given to the clerical order, created jealousy and gave offence. In this light Mr. Neal places the matter, without impeaching the merit of Bishop Juxon.—Ed.

† Bishop Warburton's remarks here *deserve attention*: "Had he been content," says his lordship, "to do nothing, the Church had stood. Suppose him to have been an honest man and sincere, which I think must be granted, it would follow that he knew nothing of the constitution either of civil or religious society, and was as poor a churchman as he was a politician."—Ed.

girdle, and upon their priestly character depended the efficacy of all Gospel institutions. This made some of them remarkably negligent of their cures up and down the country; others lost the little learning they had acquired at the university, and many became very scandalous in their lives; though Lord Clarendon* says that there was not one churchman in any degree of favour or acceptance [at court] of a scandalous insufficiency in learning, or of a more scandalous condition of life; but, on the contrary, most of them of confessed eminent parts in knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemished lives.

Great numbers of the most useful and laborious preachers in all parts of the country were buried in silence, and forced to abscond from the fury of the High Commission; among whom were the famous Mr. John Dod, Mr. Whatley, Dr. Harris, Mr. Capel, and Mr. John Rogers, of Dedham, one of the most awakening preachers of his age, of whom Bishop Brownrigge used to say, "that he did more good with his wild notes than we [the bishops] with our set music." Yet his great usefulness could not screen him from those suspensions and deprivations which were the portion of the Puritans in these times.† His resolutions about subscribing I will relate in his own words: "If I come into trouble for nonconformity, I resolve, by God's assistance, to come away with a clear conscience; for, though the liberty of my ministry be dear to me, I dare not buy it at such a rate. I am troubled at my former subscription, but I saw men of good gifts, and of good hearts (as I thought), go before me; and I could not prove that there was anything contrary to the Word of God, though I disliked the ceremonies, and knew them to be unprofitable burdens to the Church of God; but if I am urged again I will never yield; it was my weakness before, as I now conceive, which I beseech God to pardon. Written in the year 1627." But after this the good man was overtaken again, and yielded, which almost broke his heart; he adds, "For this I smarted, 1631. If I had read over this [my former resolution], it may be I had not done what I did." How severe are such trials to a poor man with a numerous family of children! And how sore the distresses of a wounded conscience!

Others continued to leave their country, according to our blessed Saviour's advice, Matt., x., 23, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." Among these were Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, son of Mr. John Rogers, of Dedham, educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, and settled at Assington in Suffolk, where he continued five years; but seeing the storm that had driven his neighbours from their au-

* Vol. i., p. 77.

† Mr. Rogers was a thorough Puritan, but of an humble and peaceable behaviour. He loved all who loved Christ, and was greatly beloved by them. When Laud suppressed his lecture, he said, "Let them take me, and hang me up by the neck if they will, but remove those stumbling-blocks out of the Church." Mr. Giles Firmin, one of the ejected Nonconformists, was converted, when a boy at school, under his ministry. His works are valuable, and the chief that are extant are, *The Doctrine of Faith*, 1627; *Exposition on First Epistle of Peter*, 1659; *A Treatise on Love*; and *Sixty Memorials of a Godly Life*.—C.

chor, and being fearful of his own steadfastness in the hour of temptation, he resigned his living into the hands of his patron, and forsaking the neighbourhood of his father, and all prospects of worldly advantage, cast himself and his family upon the providence of God, and embarked for New-England, where he arrived about the middle of November, 1636, and settled with Mr. Norton, at Ipswich, with whom he continued to his death, which happened in the year 1655.*

About the same time went over Mr. Lambert Whiteing, M.A., a Lincolnshire divine, who continued at Shirbeck, near Boston, unmolested, till Bishop Williams's disgrace, after which he was silenced by the spiritual courts, and forced into New-England, where he arrived with his family this summer, and continued a useful preacher to a little flock at Lynn till the year 1679, when he died, in the eighty-third year of his age.

The Star Chamber and High Commission exceeded all the bounds, not only of law and equity, but even of humanity itself.† We have related the sufferings of Mr. Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, in the year 1633. These gentlemen, being shut up in prison, were supposed to employ their time in writing against the bishops and their spiritual courts; Bastwick was charged with a book, published 1636, entitled "Apologeticus ad præsales Anglicanos;" and with a pamphlet called "The New Litany:" the others, with two anonymous books, one entitled "A Divine Tragedy, containing a Catalogue of God's Judgments against Sabbath Breakers;" the other, "News from Ipswich;" which last was a satire upon the severe proceedings of Dr. Wren, bishop of that diocese. For these they were cited a second time into the Star Chamber, by virtue of an information laid against them by the attorney-general, for writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books against the hierarchy of the Church, and to the scandal of the government. When the defendants had prepared their answers, they could not get counsel to sign them: upon which they petitioned the court to receive them from themselves, which would not be admitted; however, Prynne and Bastwick, having no other remedy, left their answers at the office, signed with their own hands, but were nevertheless proceeded against *pro confesso*. Burton prevailed with Mr. Holt, a bencher of Gray's Inn, to sign his answer; but the court ordered the two chief-justices to expunge what they thought unfit to be brought into court, and they struck out the whole answer, except six lines at the beginning, and three or four at the end; and because Mr. Burton would not acknowledge it thus purged, he was also taken *pro confesso*.

In Bastwick's answer the prelates are called "invaders of the king's prerogative, contemners and despisers of the Holy Scriptures, advancers of popery, superstition, idolatry, and profaneness; they are charged with oppressing the king's loyal subjects, and with great cruelty, tyr-

* He was an eminently holy man, an admirable preacher, and an incomparable master of the Latin tongue. "I shall do an injury to his memory," says Cotton Mather, "if I do not declare that he was one of the greatest men, and one of the best ministers, that ever set his foot on the American shore."—*History of New-England*, b. iii., p. 106-108.—C.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 380, &c.

anny, and injustice." Mr. Prynne's answer reflected upon the hierarchy, though in more moderate and cautious terms. All the defendants offered to maintain their several answers at the peril of their lives; but the court finding them not filed upon record, would not receive them. The prisoners at the bar cried aloud for justice, and that their answers might be read; but it was peremptorily denied, and the following sentence passed upon them: that "Mr. Burton be deprived of his living, and degraded from his ministry, as Prynne and Bastwick had been from their professions of law and physic; that each of them be fined £5000; that they stand in the pillory at Westminster, and have their ears cut off; and because Mr. Prynne had already lost his ears by sentence of the court, 1633, it was ordered that the remainder of his stumps should be cut off, and that he should be stigmatized on both cheeks with the letters S. L., and then all three were to suffer perpetual imprisonment in the remotest prisons of the kingdom." This sentence was executed upon them June 30, 1637, the hangman rather sawing the remainder of Prynne's ears than cutting them off; after which they were sent, under a strong guard, one to the Castle of Launceston, in Cornwall, another to the Castle of Lancaster, and a third to Carnarvon Castle, in Wales;* but these prisoners not being thought distant enough, they were afterward removed to the islands of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, where they were kept without the use of pen, ink, or paper, or the access of friends, till they were released by the Long Parliament.

At passing this sentence, Archbishop Laud made a laboured speech to clear himself from the charge of innovations with which the Puritans loaded him. He begins with retorting the crime upon the Puritans, who were for setting aside the order of bishops, whereas in all ages since the apostles' time the Church had been governed by bishops, whose calling and order, in his grace's opinion, was by Divine right, the office of lay-elders having never been heard of before Calvin. He then vindicates the particular innovations complained of, as, 1. Bowing towards the altar, or at coming into the church. This, he says, was the practice in Jewish times: Psalm xcvi., 6, "O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before the Lord our maker;" and yet the government is so moderate that no man is forced to it, but only religiously called upon. "For my own part," says his grace, "I shall always think myself bound to worship God with my body as well as soul, in what consecrated place soever I come to pray. You, my honoured lords of the Garter, do reverence towards the altar as the greatest place of God's residence upon

* The archbishop's revenge, not glutted by the severe sentence obtained against Mr. Prynne, pursued those who, at Chester and other places, as he was carrying to prison, showed him civilities. For, though his keepers were not forbidden to let any visit him, some were fined £500, some £300, and others £250.—*Rushworth Abridged*, vol. ii., p. 295, &c., as quoted in the *Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy*, vol. iii., p. 272. And the servant of Mr. Prynne was proceeded against in the High Commission, and sent from prison to prison, only for refusing to accuse his master.—*Id.*, p. 273. Neither fidelity nor humanity had merit with this prelate.—Ed.

earth; greater than the pulpit, for there is only the Word of God, but upon the altar is his body; and a greater reverence is due to the body than to the Word of the Lord; and this is no innovation, for you are bound to it by your order, which is no new thing."

His grace proceeds to consider the alterations in the collects and prayers, which he says the archbishops and bishops, to whom the ordering of the fast-book was committed, had power under the king to make, provided nothing was inserted contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; he then justifies the several amendments, and concludes most of his articles with showing that there is no connexion between the charge and the popular clamour raised against him, of an intent to bring in popery. But the several innovations here mentioned being objected to the archbishop at his trial, we shall defer our remarks to that place.

His grace concludes with a protestation that he had no design to alter the religion established by law, but that his care to reduce the Church to order, to uphold the external decency of it, and to settle it to the rules of the first Reformation, had brought upon him and his brethren all that malicious storm that had lowered so black over their heads. He then thanks the court for their just and honourable censure of these men, and for their defence of the Church; but because the business had some reference to himself, he forbears to censure them, leaving them to God's merey and the king's justice.

Notwithstanding this plausible speech, which the king ordered to be printed, the barbarous sentence passed upon these gentlemen moved the compassion of the whole nation. The three learned faculties of law, physic, and divinity took it to heart, as thinking their educations and professions might have secured them from such infamous punishment,* proper enough for the poorest and most mechanic malefactors, who could make no other satisfaction to the public for their offences, but very improper for persons of education, degrees, or quality. Nay, the report of this censure, and the smart execution of it, flew into Scotland, and the discourse was there that they must also expect a Star Chamber to strengthen the hands of their bishops, as well as a High Commission: "No doubt," says Archbishop Laud, "but there is a concurrence between them and the Puritan party in England, to destroy me in the king's opinion."†

Cruel as this sentence was, Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and the Reverend Mr. Osbaldeston, chief master of Westminster School, met with no less hardship.‡ The bishop had been Laud's very good friend in *persuading King James* to advance him to a bishopric; § but

upon the accession of King Charles he turned upon his benefactor, and got him removed from all his preferments at court; upon which Bishop Williams retired to his diocess,* and spent his time in reading and the good government of his diocess; here he became popular, entertaining the clergy at his table, and discoursing freely about affairs of Church and State.† He spoke with some smartness against the new ceremonies, and said once, in conversation, "that the Puritans were the king's best subjects, and he was sure would carry all at last; and that the king had told him that he would treat the Puritans more mildly for the future." Laud, being informed of this expression, caused an information to be lodged against him in the Star Chamber for revealing the king's secrets; but the charge not being well supported, a new bill was exhibited against him for tampering with the king's witnesses, and, though there was very little ground for the charge, his lordship was suspended in the High Commission Court from all his offices and benefices; he was fined £10,000 to the king, £1000 to Sir John Mounson, and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure. The bishop was accordingly sent from the bar to the Tower;‡ all his rich goods and chattels, to an immense value, were plundered and sold to pay the fine; his library seized, and all his papers and letters examined. Among his papers were found two or three letters, written to him by Mr. Osbaldeston about five years before, in which were some dark and obscure expressions, which the jealous archbishop interpreted against himself and the Lord-treasurer Weston. Upon the foot of these letters a new bill was exhibited against the bishop for divulging scandalous libels against the king's privy councillors. His lordship replied that he did not remember his having received the letters, and was sure he had never divulged them, because

into a compliance, exclaimed passionately, as he quitted the apartment, "Then take him to you, but, on my soul, you will repent it."—*Jesse's Court of the Stuarts*, vol. ii., p. 394.—C.

* The remarks of Bishop Warburton on the proceedings against Dr. Williams are just, though severe, and, by their *impartiality and spirit*, do honour to his lordship. "This prosecution," says he, "must needs give every one a bad idea of Laud's heart and temper. You might resolve his high acts of power in the state into reverence and gratitude to his master; his tyranny in the Church, to his zeal for and love of what he called religion; but the outrageous prosecution of these two men can be resolved into nothing but *envy and revenge*; and actions like these they were which occasioned all that bitter, but, indeed, just exclamation against the bishops in the speeches of Lord Falkland and Lord Digby."—Ed.

† Rushworth, p. 417.

‡ Here he was kept in close imprisonment about four years. During his confinement, in order to deprive him of his bishopric, he was examined upon a book of articles of twenty-four sheets. Among which were such frivolous charges as these, viz., that he had called a book, entitled "A Coal from the Altar," a pamphlet; that he had said that all flesh in England had corrupted their ways; that he had wickedly jested on St. Martin's hood. What must be thought of the temper of those who could think of depriving a bishop of his see on such grounds! The bishop was, however, so wary in his answers, that they could take no advantage against him.—*Fuller's Church History*, b. xi., p. 157.—Ed.

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 94.

† Rushworth, p. 385.

‡ Clarendon, vol. ii., part ii., p. 81.

§ The insight of King James into Laud's character is remarkable, and does credit to the penetration of that monarch. When pressed by Buckingham and Bishop Williams to consent to Laud's advancement, "Laud," he said, "is a restless spirit, to be kept back from all places of authority, for he cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and bring things to a reformation floating in his own brain." Phillips tells us, in his *Life of Lord-keeper Williams*, that the king having been wearied

they were still among his private papers; but, notwithstanding all he could say, he was condemned in a fine of £8000, £5000 to the king and £3000 to the archbishop, for the nonpayment of which he was kept close prisoner in the Tower till the meeting of the Long Parliament.

The Rev. Mr. Osbaldeston was charged with plotting with the Bishop of Lincoln to divulge false news, and to breed a difference between the Lord-treasurer Weston and the Archbishop of Canterbury, as long ago as the year 1634.* The information was grounded upon the two letters already mentioned, in which he reports a misunderstanding between the great leviathan and the little urchin. And though the counsel for the defendant absolutely denied any reference to the archbishop, and named the persons meant in the letter, yet "the court fined him £5000 to the king and £5000 to the archbishop, to be deprived of all his spiritual dignities and promotions, to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and to stand in the pillory in the dean's yard before his own school, and have his ears nailed to it." Mr. Osbaldeston being among the crowd in the court when this sentence was pronounced, immediately went home to his study at Westminster School, and, having burned some papers, absconded, leaving a note upon his desk with these words: "If the archbishop inquire after me, tell him I am gone beyond Canterbury." The messengers were soon at his house, and finding this note, sent immediately to the seaports to apprehend him; but he lay hid in a private house in Drury Lane till the search was over, and then concealed himself till the meeting of the Long Parliament; however, all his goods and chattels were seized and confiscated. This Mr. Osbaldeston was M.A. of Christ Church College, Oxford, and Prebendary of Westminster; he was an admirable master, and had eighty doctors in the two universities that had been his scholars before the year 1640; † he was afterward restored by the Long Parliament; but when he apprehended they went beyond the bounds of their duty and allegiance, he laid down his school and favoured the royal cause.

Mr. Lilburne, afterward a colonel in the army, for refusing to take an oath to answer all interrogatories concerning his importing and publishing seditious libels, was fined £500, and to be whipped through the streets from the Fleet to the pillory before Westminster Hall gate, April 8, 1638. While he was in the pillory he uttered many bold and passionate speeches against the tyranny of the bishops; whereupon the Court of Star Chamber, then sitting, ordered him to be gagged, which was done accordingly, and that, when he was carried back to prison, he should be laid alone, with irons on his hands and legs, in the wards of the Fleet, where the basest of the prisoners used to be put, and that no person should be admitted to see him. Here he continued, in a most forlorn and miserable condition, till the meeting of the Long Parliament.

In the midst of all these dangers the Puritan clergy spoke freely against their oppressors. ‡

Dr. Cornelius Burges, in a Latin sermon before the clergy of London, preached against the severities of the bishops, and, refusing to give his diocesan a copy of his sermon, was put into the High Commission. Mr. Wharton, of Essex, preached with the same freedom at Chelmsford, for which, it is said, he made his submission. Several pamphlets were dispersed against the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, which the Bishop of London declared he had reason to believe were written or countenanced by the clergy of his own diocese. Many private gentlemen in Suffolk maintained lecturers at their own expense, without consulting the bishop, who complained that they were factious, and did not govern themselves according to the canons; but, says his lordship [Wren], "What shall I do with such scholars, some in orders and others not, which gentlemen of figure entertain in their houses under pretence of teaching their children? and with those beneficed divines who take shelter in the houses of the rich laity, and do not live upon their cures?"* Here was the Puritans' last retreat; those who were not willing to go abroad found entertainment in gentlemen's families, and from thence annoyed the enemy with their pamphlets. Even the populace, who were not capable of writing, expressed their resentments against the archbishop by dispersing libels about the town, in which they threatened his destruction. His grace has entered some of them in his diary.

"Wednesday, August 23. My lord-mayor sent me a libel found by the watch at the south gate of St. Paul's, that the devil had left that house to me.

"Aug. 25. Another libel was brought me by an officer of the High Commission, fastened to the north gate of St. Paul's, that the government of the Church of England is a candle in a snuff, going out in a stench.

"The same night the lord-mayor sent me another libel, hanged upon the standard in Cheapside, which was my speech in the Star Chamber set in the pillory.

"A few days after, another short libel was sent me in verse."

Yet none of these things abated his zeal or relaxed his rigour against those who censured his arbitrary proceedings.

It was impossible to debate things fairly in public, because the press was absolutely at his grace's disposal, according to a new decree of the Star Chamber, made this summer, which ordains that "no book be printed unless it be first licensed, with all its titles, epistles, and prefaces, by the archbishop, or Bishop of London for the time being, or by their appointment; and within the limits of the university, by the chancellor or vice-chancellor, on pain of the printer's being disabled from his profession for the future, and to suffer such other punishment as the High Commission shall think fit. That before any books imported from abroad be sold, a catalogue of them shall be delivered to the archbishop, or Bishop of London, to be perused by themselves or their chaplains. And if there be any schismatical or offensive books, they shall be delivered up to the bishop, or to the High Commission, that the offenders may be punished. It was farther ordained that no per-

* Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 803-817.

† Athenæ Oxon., vol. i., p. 833.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon., vol. ii., p. 235.

* Rushworth, p. 467.

son shall print beyond sea any English book or books whereof the greatest part is English, whether formerly printed or not; nor shall any book be reprinted, though formerly licensed, without a new license. And, finally, if any person that is not an allowed printer shall set up a printing-press, he shall be set in the pillory, and be whipped through the streets of London."

These terrible proceedings, instead of serving the interests of the Church or State, awakened the resentments of all ranks and professions of men against those in power: the laity were as uneasy as the clergy, many of whom sold their effects, and removed with their families and trades into Holland or New-England. This alarmed the king and council, who issued out a proclamation, April 30th, 1637, to the following purpose: * "The king being informed that great numbers of his subjects were yearly transported into New-England, with their families and whole estates, that they might be out of the reach of ecclesiastical authority, his majesty therefore commands that his officers of the several ports should suffer none to pass without license from the commissioners of the plantations, and a testimonial from their minister of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the Church." And to bar the ministers, the following order of council was published:

"Whereas it is observed that such ministers who are not conformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church do frequently transport themselves to the plantations, where they take liberty to nourish their factious and schismatical humours, to the hinderance of the good conformity and unity of the Church, we therefore expressly command you, in his majesty's name, to suffer no clergyman to transport himself without a testimonial from the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London."†

This was a degree of severity hardly to be paralleled in the Christian world. When the edict of Nantes was revoked, the French king allowed his Protestant subjects a convenient time to dispose of their effects and depart the kingdom; but our Protestant archbishop will neither let the *Puritans live peaceably at home, nor take sanctuary in foreign countries*; a conduct hardly consistent with the laws of humanity, much less with the character of a *Christian bishop*; but while his grace was running things to these extremities, the people (as has been observed) took a general disgust, and almost all England became Puritan.

The bishops and courtiers being not insensible of the number and weight of their enemies among the more resolved Protestants, determined to balance their power by joining the papists; for which purpose the differences between the two Churches were said to be trifling, and the peculiar doctrines of popery printed and preached up as proper to be received by the Church of England. Bishop Montague, speaking of the points of faith and morality, affirmed that none of these are controverted between us, but that "the points in dispute were of a lesser nature, of which a man might be ignorant without any danger of salvation."‡ Francis-
cus de Clara, an eminent Franciscan friar, pub-

lished a book, wherein he endeavoured to accommodate the articles of the Church of England to the sense of the Church of Rome, so that both parties might subscribe them. The book was dedicated to the king, and the friar admitted to an acquaintance with the archbishop.*

Great stress was laid upon the uninterrupted succession of the episcopal character through the Church of Rome; for "miserable were we," says Dr. Pocklington, "if he that now sits Archbishop of Canterbury could not derive his succession from St. Austin, St. Austin from St. Gregory, and St. Gregory from St. Peter." Dr. Heylin, in his moderate answer to Mr. Burton, has these words: "That my Lord of Canterbury that now is, is lineally descended from St. Peter in a most fair and constant tenour of succession, you shall easily find if you consult the learned labours of Mason, 'De Ministerio Anglicano.'"

Bishop Montague published a treatise, "Of the Invocation of Saints," in which he says that "departed saints have not only a memory, but a more peculiar charge of their friends; and that some saints have a peculiar patronage, custody, protection, and power, as angels have also, over certain persons and countries by special deputation; and that it is not impiety so to believe."† Dr. Cosins says, in one of his sermons, that "when our Reformers took away the mass, they marred all religion; but that the mass was not taken away, inasmuch as the real presence of Christ remained still, otherwise it were not a reformed, but a deformed religion." And in order to persuade a papist to come to church, he told him that the *body of Christ was substantially and really in the sacrament.*‡ This divine printed a collection of private devotions, in imitation of the Roman Horary. The frontispiece had three capital letters, J. H. S.; upon these there was a cross encircled with the sun, supported by two angels, with two devout women praying towards it. The book contains the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer divided into seven petitions, the precepts of charity, the seven sacraments, the three theological virtues, the eight beatitudes, the seven deadly sins, with forms of prayer for the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours, and for the vespers and compline, formerly called the canonical hours; then

* Grey quotes a passage from the trial of Laud, by which it appears that he denied having given any encouragement to the publication of this book, and had absolutely prohibited its being printed in England; that Clara was never with him till the book was ready for the press, nor afterward above twice or thrice at most, when he made great friends to obtain the archbishop's sanction to his printing another book, to prove that bishops are by Divine right; and his request was again refused. For the archbishop replied, "that he did not like the way which the Church of Rome went in the case of episcopacy, would never consent to the printing of any such book here from the pen of a Romanist, and that the bishops of England were able to defend their own cause without calling in the aid of the Church of Rome, and would in due time."—Ed.

† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 214.

‡ Collyer's Eccles. Hist., p. 742. This divine, of course, is in high esteem with the Oxford Tractarians. It is tolerably clear that our Puritan fathers took precisely the same views of truth as those now entertained by the *opposers* of Puseyism in 1843.—C.

* Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 409. † Ib., p. 410.

† Ib., part i., p. 214.

followed the litany, with prayers for the sacrament, in time of sickness, and at the approach of death. *This book was licensed by the Bishop of London, and publicly sold when the books of the most resolved Protestants were suppressed.*

Mr. Adams, in a sermon at St. Mary's, in Cambridge, asserted the expedience of auricular confession, saying it was as necessary to salvation as meat is to the body.* Others preached up the doctrine of penance, and of authoritative priestly absolution from sin. Some maintained the proper merit of good works, in opposition to the received doctrine of justification by faith alone. Others, that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there was a full and proper sacrifice for sin. Some declared for images, crucifixes, and pictures in churches, for purgatory, and for preserving, reverencing, and even praying to, the relics of saints. The author of the English Pope, printed 1643, says that Sparrow paved the way for auricular confession, Watts for penance, Heylin for altar worship, Montague for saint worship, and Laud for the mass.

It was a very just observation of a Venitian gentleman, in his travels to England about this time,† "that the universities, bishops, and divines of England daily embraced Catholic doctrines, though they *professed them not* with open mouth: they held that the Church of Rome was a true church; that the pope was superior to all bishops; that to him it pertained to call general councils; that it was lawful to pray for souls departed; and that altars ought to be erected in all churches: in sum, they believed all that was taught by the *Church of Rome*, but not by the *court of Rome*." Remarkable are the words of Heylin to the same purpose:‡ "The greatest part of the controversy between us and the Church of Rome," says he, "not being in fundamentals, or in any essential points of the Christian religion, I cannot otherwise look upon it but as a most Christian and pious work to endeavour an agreement in the superstructure; as to the lawfulness of it, I could never see any reason produced against it: against the impossibility of it, it has been objected that the Church of Rome will yield nothing; if, therefore, there be an agreement, it must not be their meeting us, *but our going to them*; but that all in the Church of Rome are not so stiff, appears from the testimony of the Archbishop of Spalato, who acknowledged that the articles of the Church of England were not heretical, and by the treatise of Franciscus de Clara.§ Now, if,

without prejudice to truth, the controversies might be composed, it is most probable that other Protestant churches would have sued to be included in the peace; if not, the *Church of England will lose nothing by it*, as being hated by the Calvinists, and not loved by the Lutherans." This was the ridiculous *court scheme* which Archbishop Laud used all his interest to accomplish; and it is no impertinent story to our present purpose, because it is well attested, that a certain countess (whose husband's father the archbishop had married, and thereby brought himself into trouble) having turned papist, was asked by the archbishop the cause of her changing, to whom she replied, it was because she always hated to go in a crowd. Being asked again the reason of that expression, she answered, that she perceived his grace and many others were making haste to Rome, and, therefore, to prevent going in a press, she had gone before them.*

It is certain the papists were in high reputation at court; the king counted them his best subjects, and relaxed his penal laws, on pretence that hereby foreign Catholic princes might be induced to show favour to their subjects of the Reformed religion. Within the compass of four years, seventy-four letters of grace were signed by the king's own hand; sixty-four priests were dismissed from the Gate-house, and twenty-nine by warrant from the secretary of state, at the instance of the queen, the queen-mother, or some foreign ambassador. Protections were frequently granted, to put a stop to the proceedings of the court of justice against them.† I have before me a list of popish recusants, convicted in the twenty-nine English counties of the southern division, from the first of King Charles to the sixteenth, which amounts to no less than eleven thousand nine hundred and seventy (as the account was brought into the Long Parliament by Mr. John Pulford, employed in their prosecution by the king himself), all of whom were released and pardoned. And if their numbers were so great in the south, how must they abound in the northern and Welsh counties, where they are computed three to one!

Many of them were promoted to places of the highest honour and trust; Sir Richard Weston was lord-high-treasurer, Sir Francis Windbank secretary of state, Lord Cottington was chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Porter of the bedchamber; besides these, there were Lord Conway, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Toby Mathews, Mr. Montague, Jr., the Duchess of Montague, the Countess of Newport, and many others, all papists, who were in high favour,§ and had the king and queen's ear whensoever they pleased. The pope had a nuncio in Eng-

pleased neither party." The Spanish Inquisition put it into the Index Expurgatorius; and it would have been condemned at Rome had not the king and Archbishop Laud pressed Penzani, the pope's agent at London, to stop the prosecution. He died the 31st of May, 1680.—*Warburton's supplemental volume*, p. 483; and *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii., p. 415, &c.—*Fuller*.

* Fuller's Appeal, p. 61. It was the daughter of William, earl of Devonshire.—*Jesse's Court of the Stuarts*, vol. ii., p. 385.—C.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 284.

‡ Foxes and Firebrands, part iii., p. 75.

§ Collyer's Eccles. Hist., vol. ii., p. 780.

* Rushworth, p. 137. Prynne, p. 195, &c.

† May's Hist. of Parl., p. 25.

‡ Fuller's Appeal, part iii., p. 63, 65.

§ His real name was Christopher Davenport. He was the son of an alderman of Coventry, and, with his brother John, was sent to Merton College, in Oxford, in the year 1613. John became afterward a noted Puritan, and then an Independent. Christopher, by the invitation of some Romish priests living in or near Oxford, went to study at Douay in 1616. He afterward spent some time in the University of Salamanca, from whence he returned to Douay, and read first philosophy and then divinity there. At length he became a missionary into England, and a chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria, under the name of Franciscus a Sancta Clara. Among many learned works of which he was the author, was "An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles in the most favourable Sense." "But," says Bishop Warburton, "it

land, and the queen an agent at Rome; Cardinal Barberini was made protector of the English nation, and a society was erected under the title of "The Congregation for Propagating the Faith."* Richard Smith, tutelar bishop of Chalcodon, exercised episcopal jurisdiction over the English Catholics by commission from the pope; he conferred orders, and appeared in Lincolnshire with his mitre and crosier; † Scignior Con or Cunæus, the pope's legate, gained over several of the gentry, and attempted the king himself by presents of little popish toys and pictures, with which his majesty was wonderfully delighted. ‡ The papists had a common purse, § with which they purchased several monopolies, and bestowed the profits upon their best friends; several of their military men were put into commission, and great numbers were listed in his majesty's armies against the Scots. ||

But let the reader form his judgment of the number and strength of the Roman Catholics from Lord Clarendon, ¶ who says, "The papists had for many years enjoyed a great calm, being on the matter absolved from the severest parts of the law, and dispensed with for the gentlest. They were grown to be a part of the revenue, without any probable danger of being

made a sacrifice to the law. They were looked upon as good subjects at court, and good neighbours in the country, all the restraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten: but they were not prudent managers of their prosperity, being elated with the connivance and protection they received; and though I am persuaded their numbers increased not, their pomp and boldness did to that degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the state, they appeared more publicly, entertained and urged conferences more avowedly, than had before been known. They resorted at common hours to mass to Somerset House, and returned thence in great multitudes with the same barefacedness as others come from the Savoy, or other neighbouring churches. They attempted; and sometimes gained proselytes, of weak, un-informed ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage, and destroyed the charity, of great and powerful families, which longed for their suppression; they grew not only secret contrivers, but public professed promoters of, and ministers in, the most odious and most grievous projects, as in that of soap, formed, framed, and executed by almost a corporation of that religion, which under that license and notion might be, and were suspected to be, qualified for other agitations. The priests and such as were in orders (orders that in themselves were punishable with death) were departed from their former modesty and fear, and were as willing to be known as to be hearkened to; insomuch that a Jesuit at Paris, who was coming for England, had the boldness to visit the ambassador there, who knew him to be such, and offered him his service, acquainted him with his journey, as if there had been no laws there for his reception; and for the most invidious protection and countenance of that whole party, a public agent from Rome (first Mr. Con, a Scottish man, and after him the Count of Rossetti, an Italian) resided in London in great pomp, publicly visited the court, and was avowedly resorted to by the Catholics of all conditions, over whom he assumed a particular jurisdiction, and was caressed and presented magnificently by the ladies of honour who inclined to that profession. They had likewise, with more noise and vanity than prudence would have admitted, made public collections of money to a considerable sum, upon some recommendations from the queen, and to be by her majesty presented, as a free-will offering from his Roman Catholic subjects to the king, for the carrying on the war against the Scots; which drew upon them the rage of that nation, with little devotion and reverence to the queen herself, as if she desired to suppress the Protestant religion in one kingdom as well as the other, by the arms of the Roman Catholics."

From this account, compared with the foregoing relation, it is evident there never was a stronger combination in favour of popery, nor was the Protestant religion at any time in a more dangerous crisis, being deserted by its pretended friends, while it was secretly undermining by its most powerful enemies.

The case was the same with the civil liberties and properties of the people: no man had anything that he could call his own any longer than the king pleased; for in the famous trial of

* Fuller's Church History, b. xi., p. 137. Prynne, p. 198. † Foxes and Firebrands, part iii., p. 12.

‡ Mr. Neal here goes beyond his author, who says, "which yet could prevail nothing with the king." But then he remarks in the margin, that it "was strange that the king did not send Cunæus packing, when he thus tempted and assaulted him." On the truth and force of this remark, it may be presumed that Mr. Neal grounded his representation of the king's being delighted with the legate's presents; for, instead of dismissing him, he often received him at Hampton Court, and solicited his services for the Palatinate, which certainly indicated no displeasure at his gifts.—En.

§ Foxes and Firebrands, part iii., p. 134.

|| Dr. Grey properly observes, that the place in Collyer to which Mr. Neal here refers mentions not one syllable of this. The truth is, that Collyer is alleged only to prove the influence which the papists had at court. I have therefore annexed the reference to a preceding sentence. The doctor adds, "Nor do I believe that he (i. e., Mr. Neal) can produce the least authority for his assertion, that great numbers of papists were listed in his majesty's armies against the Scots." It is to be wished that Mr. Neal had referred here exactly to his authority. But to supply this omission, it may be observed that the queen employed Sir Kenelm Digby and Mr. Walter Montague to raise liberal contributions for the war from the papists, whose clergy vied with the English on this occasion; on this ground some styled the forces raised the popish army. The circumstance renders it, to say the least, exceedingly probable that papists were enlisted. It was afterward charged on the king that he employed them in his armies; the Earl of Newcastle did not deny it; and the Parliament produced lists of popish officers in the king's service, with their names, quality, and employs. It was also urged against the Parliament, that there were great numbers of papists, both commanders and others, in their army. Dr. Grey quotes Dugdale to prove this. Rapin observes on this charge, that not a single Catholic was named by those who brought the charge, nor were the muster-rolls to which the appeal was made ever published.—*Whitelocke's Memoirs*, p. 31. *Mrs. Macauley's History*, vol. ii., p. 270, 8vo. *Rapin*, vol. ii., p. 462, 468, folio. *An Essay towards a True Idea of the Character and Reign of Charles I.*, p. 69; and *Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles*, &c., p. 105, 564.—Ed. ¶ Vol. i., p. 148.

Mr. Hampden, of Buckinghamshire, in the case of ship-money, all the judges of England, except Crook and Hutton,* gave it for law "that the king might levy taxes on the subject by writ under the great seal, without grant of Parliament, in cases of necessity; or when the kingdom was in danger, of which danger and necessity his majesty was the sole and final judge; and that by law his majesty might compel the doing thereof in case of refusal or refractoriness." This determination was entered in all the courts of Westminster Hall, and the judges were commanded to declare it in their circuits throughout the kingdom, to the end that no man might plead ignorance. "The damage and mischief cannot be expressed," says Lord Clarendon,† "that the crown sustained by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended this behaviour of the judges, who, out of their courtship, submitted the grand questions of law to be measured by what they call the standard of general reason and necessity." While these extraordinary methods of raising money were built only upon the prerogative, people were more patient, hoping that some time or other the law would recover its power; but when they were declared by all the judges to be the very law itself, and a rule for determining suits between the king and subject, they were struck with despair, and concluded, very justly, that Magna Charta and the old English Constitution were at an end.

Let the reader now recollect himself, and then judge of the *candour* of the noble historian, who, notwithstanding the cruel persecutions and oppressions already mentioned, celebrates the felicity of these times in the following words: "Now, after all this, I must be so just as to say, that from the dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth year of the king, to the beginning of the Long Parliament, which was about twelve years, this kingdom, and all his majesty's dominions, enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people, in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with, to the wonder and envy of all other parts of Christendom: the court was in great plenty, or, rather, excess and luxury; the country rich and full, enjoying the pleasure of its own wealth; the Church flourished with learned and extraordinary men; and the Protestant religion was more advanced against the Church of Rome by the writings of Archbishop Laud and Chillingworth than it had been since the Reformation. Trade increased to that degree that we were the exchange of Christendom, foreign merchants looking upon nothing so much their own as what they had laid up in the warehouses of this kingdom. The reputation of the greatness and power of the king with foreign princes was much more than any of his progenitors. And lastly, for a complement of all these blessings, they were enjoyed under the protection of a king of the most harmless disposition, the most exemplary piety, and the greatest sobriety, chastity, and mercy that any prince had been endowed with, and who might have said that which Pericles was proud of upon his death-bed, concerning his citizens, 'that no English-

man had worn a mourning-gown through his occasion.' In a word, many wise men thought it a time wherein those two adjuncts, *imperium* and *libertas*, were as well reconciled as possible."*

Not a line of this panegyric will bear examination. When his lordship says "that no people in any age had been blessed with so great a calm, and such a full measure of felicity for so long a time together [twelve years]," he seems to have undervalued the long and pacific reign of his majesty's royal father, King James, who was distinguished by the title of Blessed. But where was the liberty or safety of the subject, when Magna Charta and the Petition of Right, which the king had signed in full Parliament, were swallowed up in the gulf of arbitrary power? and the statute laws of the land were exchanged for a rule of government depending upon the sovereign will and pleasure of the crown? If the court was in excess and luxury, it was with the plunder of the people, arising from loans, benevolences, ship-money, monopolies, and other illegal taxes on merchandise. The country was so far from growing rich and wealthy, that it was every year draining off its inhabitants and substance, as appears not only by the loss of the foreign manufacturers, but by his majesty's proclamations, forbidding any of his subjects to transport themselves and their effects to New-England without his special license. Was it possible that trade could flourish when almost every branch of it was engrossed, and sold by the crown for large sums of money, and when the property of the subject was so precarious that the king might call for it upon any occasion, and, in case of refusal, ruin the proprietor by exorbitant fines and imprisonment? Did no Englishman wear a mourning-gown in these times, when the Seldens, the Hollises, the Elliots, the Strouds, the Hobarts, the Valentines, the Coritons, and other patriots were taken out of the Parliament House and shut up for many years in close prisons, where some of them perished? How many of the nobility and gentry were punished with exorbitant fines in the Star Chamber? How many hundred ministers and others were ruined in the High Commission, or forced from their native country into banishment, contrary to law? The jails in the several counties were never free from State or Church prisoners during the past twelve years of his majesty's reign, and yet it seems no Englishman wore a mourning gown through his occasion? Is it possible to believe that the reputation of the greatness and power of King Charles I. with foreign princes (however harmless, pious, sober, chaste, and merciful he might be) was equal to that of Queen Elizabeth or King Henry VIII.? What service did he do by his arms or counsels for the Protestant religion, or for the liberties or tranquillity of Europe? When his majesty's affairs were in the greatest distress, what credit had he abroad! or where was the foreign prince (except his own son-in-law) that would lend him either men or money? If the Protestant religion was advanced in speculation by the writings of Archbishop Laud and Chillingworth, is it not suffi-

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 295, 296, folio edit.

† Vol. i., p. 70.

* Lord Clarendon's Representation of the Times, vol. i., p. 74, 76.

ciently evident that the Roman Catholics were prodigiously increased in numbers, reputation, and influence? Upon the whole, the people of England were so far from enjoying a full measure of felicity, that they groaned under a yoke of the heaviest oppression, and were prepared to lay hold of any opportunity to assert their liberties; so that to make his lordship's representation of the times consistent with truth, or with his own behaviour at the beginning of the Long Parliament, one is almost tempted to suspect it must have received some amendments or colourings from the hands of his editors. This was the state of affairs at the end of the pacific part of his reign, and forward to the beginning of the Long Parliament.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE COMMOTIONS IN SCOTLAND TO THE LONG PARLIAMENT IN THE YEAR 1640.

WE are now entering upon a scene of calamity which opened in the north, and in a few years, like a rising tempest, overspread both kingdoms, and involved them in all the miseries of a civil war. If Archbishop Laud could have been content with being metropolitan of the Church of England alone, he might have gone to his grave in peace; but grasping at the jurisdiction of another church, founded upon different principles, he pulled both down upon his head, and was buried in the ruins.

We have mentioned the preposterous publishing the Scots book of canons a year before their liturgy, which was not finished till the month of October, 1636. His majesty's reasons for compiling it were, that "his royal father had intended it, and made a considerable progress in the work, in order to curb such of his subjects in Scotland as were inclined to Puritanism; that his present majesty resolved to pursue the same design, and therefore consented to the publication of this book, which was in substance the same with the English liturgy, that the Roman party might not upbraid us with any material differences, and yet was so far distinct that it might be truly reputed a book of that Church's composing, and established by his royal authority as King of Scotland."*

The compilers of this liturgy were chiefly Dr. Wederburne, a Scots divine, beneficed in England, but now Bishop of Dunblain, and Dr. Maxwell, bishop of Ross. Their instructions from England were to keep such Catholic saints in their calendar as were in the English, and that such new saints as were added should be the most approved, but in no case to omit St. George and St. Patrick; that in the book of orders those words in the English book be not changed, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost;" and that sundry lessons out of the Apocrypha be inserted; besides these, the word presbyter be inserted instead of priest; and the water in the font for baptism was to be consecrated. There was a benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints; some passages in the communion were altered in favour of the real presence; the rubrics contained instructions to the people when

to stand, and when to sit or kneel: to all which the Scots had hitherto been strangers. The main parts of the liturgy were the same with the English, that there might be an appearance of uniformity; it was revised, corrected, and altered by Archbishop Laud and Bishop Wren, as appeared by the original found in the archbishop's chamber in the Tower, in which the alterations were *inserted with his own hand*.

The liturgy, thus modelled, was sent into Scotland, with a royal proclamation, dated December 20, 1636, commanding all his majesty's loving subjects of that kingdom to receive it with reverence, as the only form his majesty thinks fit to be used in that Kirk, without so much as laying it before a convocation, synod, general assembly, or Parliament of that nation. It was appointed to be read first on Easter Sunday, 1637, against which time all parishes were to be provided with two books at least; but the outcries of the people against it were so vehement, that it was thought advisable to delay it to the 23d of July, that the lords of the session [or judges] might see the success of it before the end of the term, which always ends the 1st of August, in order to report in their several counties the peaceable receiving the book at Edinburgh and parts adjacent. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's, with some of his more prudent brethren, foreseeing the disorders that would arise, advised the deferring it yet longer; but Archbishop Laud was so sanguine of success, that he procured a warrant from the king, commanding the Scots bishops to go forward at all events, threatening that if they moved heavily, or threw in unnecessary delays, the king would remove them, and fill their sees with churchmen of more zeal and resolution.*

In obedience, therefore, to the royal command, notice having been given in all the pulpits of Edinburgh that the Sunday following [July 23, 1637] the new service-book would be read in all the churches, there was a vast concourse of people at St. Giles's, or the great church, where both the archbishops and divers bishops, together with the lords of the session, the magistrates of Edinburgh, and many of the council were assembled; but as soon as the dean began to read, the service was interrupted by clapping of hands, and a hideous noise among the meaner sort of people at the lower end of the church; which the Bishop of Edinburgh observing, stepped into the pulpit and endeavoured to quiet them, but the disturbance increasing, a stool was thrown towards the desk; upon which the provost and bailiffs of the city came from their places, and with much difficulty

* "This," says Dr. Grey, "is not very likely; and as he [i. e., Mr. Neal] produces no vouchers for what he says, he cannot reasonably take it amiss if we do not readily assent to it." To this it is sufficient to reply, that the fact is stated by Collyer in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii., p. 770, whose words Mr. Neal uses. The eagerness of Laud to carry this point was stimulated by the Earl of Traquair, who carried a letter to him from some of the lately-preferred Scotch bishops, who had an overbalance of heat and spirits, urging execution and despatch in the business. In this instance the archbishop was the dupe of the insidious policy of the Earl of Traquair, whose aim was, by pushing things to extremity, to ruin the older Scotch bishops, who, as he thought, stood in the way of his ambitious views, and "might grow too big for his interest."—Ed.

* Rushworth, vol. i., part ii., p. 366.

thrust out the populace, and shut the church doors; yet such were the clamours from without, rapping at the doors, and throwing stones at the windows, that it was with much difficulty that the dean went through the service; and when he and the bishop came out of church in their habits, they were in danger of being torn in pieces by the mob, who followed them, crying out, "Pull them down; a pape, a pape, antichrist," &c.

Between the two sermons the magistrates took proper measures for keeping the peace in the afternoon, but after evening prayer the tumult was greater than in the morning; for the Earl of Roxburgh, returning to his lodgings with the bishop in his coach, was so pelted with stones and pressed upon by the multitude, that both were in danger of their lives. The clergy who read the liturgy in the other churches met with the like usage, insomuch that the whole city was in an uproar, though it did not yet appear that any besides the meaner people were concerned in it;* however, the lords of the council thought proper to dispense with reading the service next Sunday, till their express returned from England with farther instructions, which Laud despatched with all expedition, telling them it was the king's firm resolution that they should go on with their work, and blaming them highly for suspending it.

Among the ministers who opposed reading the liturgy were the Rev. Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Rollock, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Bruce, who were charged with letters of horning for their disobedience. But they stood by what they had done, and in their petition to the council gave the following reasons for their conduct: "(1.) Because the service-book had not been warranted by a general assembly, which is the representative body of the Kirk, nor by any act of Parliament. (2.) Because the liberties of the Scots Kirk, and the form of worship received at the Reformation, and universally practised, stood still warranted by acts of the General Assembly and acts of Parliament. (3.) Because the Kirk of Scotland is a free and independent Kirk, and, therefore, her own pastors are the proper judges what is most for her benefit. (4.) Some of the ceremonies contained in this book have occasioned great divisions in the Kirk, forasmuch as they are inconsistent with the form of worship practised in it, and symbolize with the Kirk of Rome, which is antichristian. (5.) Because the people, having been otherwise taught, are unwilling to receive the new book till they are better convinced." These reasons were of weight with the council, but they durst not show favour to the prisoners without allowance from England, which could not be obtained; the zealous archbishop stopping his ears against all gentle methods of accommodation, hoping to bear down all opposition with the royal authority.

While the country people were busy at harvest things were pretty quiet, but when that was over they came to Edinburgh in great numbers, and raised new disturbances, upon which the council issued out three proclamations: one, for the people that came out of the country to return home; a second, for removing the session or term from Edinburgh to Linlithgow;

and a third, for calling in and burning a seditious pamphlet, called a "Discourse against the English Popish Ceremonies, obtruded on the Kirk of Scotland;"* all dated October 17, 1637. These proclamations inflamed the people to such a degree, that the very next day the Bishop of Galloway would have been torn in pieces by the mob, as he was going to the council-house, if he had not been rescued by Mr. Steward; but, missing of his lordship, they beset the council-house, and threatened to break open the door, insomuch that the lords who were assembled were obliged to send for some of the popular nobility in town to their relief; however, the people would not disperse till the council had promised to join with the other lords in petitioning the king against the service-book, and to restore the silenced ministers.

Soon after this, two petitions were presented to the lord-chancellor and council against the liturgy and canons; one in the name of all the men, women, children, and servants of Edinburgh, and the other in the name of the noblemen, barons, gentry, ministers, and burgesses. Their objections against them were the same with those already mentioned. The petitions were transmitted to the king, who, instead of returning a soft answer, ordered a proclamation to be published from Stirling [Feb. 19, 1637] against the late disorderly tumults, in which, after having declared his abhorrence of all superstition and popery, he expressed his displeasure against the petitioners; and, to prevent any farther riots, his majesty ordered the term or session to be removed from Linlithgow to Stirling,† twenty-four miles from Edinburgh, with a strict injunction that no stranger should resort thither without special license. His majesty also forbade all assemblies or convocations of people to frame or sign petitions upon pain of high treason,‡ and yet declared, at the same time, that he would not shut his ears against them, if neither the form nor matter were prejudicial to his royal authority.

Upon publishing this proclamation, sundry noblemen, barons, ministers, and burghers met together, and signed the following protest: "1. That it is the undoubted right of the subjects of Scotland to have immediate recourse to the king by petition. 2. That archbishops and bishops ought not to sit in any judicatory in this

* Rushworth, vol. i., part ii., p. 400.

† "There is no order given in this proclamation (I will take upon me to say, having perused it carefully) for the removal of the session or term from Linlithgow to Stirling, as Mr. Neal affirms," says Dr. Grey. This is true; and Mr. Neal's inaccuracy here lies in representing the removal of the session from Linlithgow to Stirling, as directed by this proclamation; whereas it was the act of the council, after the Earl of Roxburgh arrived in Scotland with certain instructions from the king to the council, who were to meet at Dalkeith, to consider of the disorderly affairs of the kingdom. It should seem that this removal was in consequence of those instructions; especially as the proclamation expressly inhibited the resort of the people to Stirling, "where," says his majesty, "our council sits," without a warrant.—*Rushworth*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 730. Guthry, as quoted by Dr. Harris, expressly says that the king's proclamation ordained that the council and sessions should remove from Edinburgh, first to Lithgow, and afterward to Stirling.—*Life, &c., of Charles I.*, p. 282.—Ed.

‡ Rushworth, vol. ii., part ii., p. 731, 732.

* Rushworth's Collection, vol. ii., p. 388.

kingdom, civil or ecclesiastical, till they have purged themselves of those crimes which are ready to be proved against them. 3. That no proclamation of council, in presence of the archbishops and bishops, shall be prejudicial to any of our proceedings. 4. That neither we, nor any that adhere to us, shall incur any damages for not observing the liturgy or book of canons, as long as it is not established by General Assembly or act of Parliament. 5. That if any inconvenience fall out (which God prevent) upon pressing the late innovations, we declare the same is not to be imputed to us. 6. That all our proceedings in this affair have no other tendency but the preservation of the true Reformed religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom."

The council, being apprehensive of danger from these large assemblies and combinations of people, agreed that, if they would return peaceably to their houses, they might appoint some of their number of all ranks and orders to represent the rest, till his majesty's pleasure concerning their protest should be farther known.* Accordingly, four tables, as they were called, were erected at Edinburgh; one of the nobility, another of the gentry, a third of the burroughs, and a fourth of the ministers. These prepared and digested matters for the general table, formed of commissioners from the other four, where the last and binding resolutions were taken.

One of the first things concluded upon by the tables was the renewing their confession of faith, and the solemn league and covenant subscribed by King James and his royal household, March 2, 1580-1, and by the whole Scots nation in the year 1590, with a general band for maintenance of true religion and the king's person. To this covenant was now added a narrative of sundry acts of Parliament, by which the Reformed religion had been ratified since that time, with an admonition wherein the late innovations were renounced, and a band of defence for adhering to each other in the present cause.†

In their covenant they declare, in the most solemn manner, "that they believe with their hearts, confess with their mouths, and subscribe with their hands, that the confession of faith then established by act of Parliament is the true Christian faith and religion, and the only ground of their salvation. They farther declare their abhorrence of all kinds of popistry in general, and then enumerate sundry particulars of popish doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies, as the pope's pretended primacy over the Christian Church; his five bastard sacraments, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the mass, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and in an unknown language, justification by works, auricular confession, crosses, images, altars, dedicating of kirks, with all other rites, signs, and traditions brought into the Kirk without or contrary to the Word of God. All which they promise to oppose to the utmost of their power, and to defend the ancient doctrine and discipline of their Kirk all the days of their lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment, protesting

and calling the Searcher of all hearts to witness that their minds and hearts do fully agree with this their confession, promises, oath, and subscriptions. They protest and promise, under the same oath, handwriting, and pains, to defend the king's royal person and authority with their goods, bodies, and lives, in defence of Christ's Gospel, the liberties of their country, the administration of justice, the punishment of iniquity, against all his enemies within the realm and without; and this they do from their very hearts, as they hope God will be their defence in the day of death, and the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. To whom, with the Father and Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory eternally."

Then follows a recital of the acts of Parliament by which the Reformed religion was established among them. But instead of the band of defence annexed to the covenant of 1580, they framed a new one suited to the present time, in which, after reciting the king's coronation oath, they declare "that, as they will defend the king's royal person and authority, they will also support the authority of parliaments, upon which the security of the lands, livings, rights, and properties depend, and without which neither any law or lawful judicatory can be established. They declare the late innovations brought into the Kirk to be contrary to the covenant above mentioned, and, therefore, they will forbear the practice of them till they are tried and allowed in a free assembly, and in Parliament; and not only so, but they promise and swear, by the great name of God, to resist all these errors and corruptions to the utmost of their power all the days of their lives. They then promise and swear over again to defend the king's person and authority in the preservation of the aforesaid true religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and to assist and stand by one another at all adventures, without suffering themselves to be divided by any allurements or terror from this blessed and loyal conjunction, and without being afraid of the odious aspersions of rebellion or combination which their adversaries may cast upon them. And they conclude with calling the Searcher of hearts to witness to their sincerity, as they shall answer it to Christ in the day of account, and under pain of the loss of all honours and respect in this world, and God's everlasting wrath in the next." All this was sworn to and subscribed with great seriousness and devotion, first at Edinburgh, in the month of February, 1637-8, and afterward in the several counties and shires, where it was received by the common people as a sacred oracle, and subscribed by all such as were thought to have any zeal for the Protestant religion and the liberties of their country. The privy counsellors, the judges, the bishops, and the friends of arbitrary power, were the principal persons who refused. The Universities of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen were said to oppose it, and those of Glasgow did not subscribe without some limitations.

There cannot be a more solemn and awful engagement to God and each other than this! what the reasons were that induced King James and the whole Scots nation to enter into it in the years 1580 and 1590, are not necessary to

* Rushworth, vol. i., part ii., p. 734.

† Nalson's Collection, p. 20.

be determined; but certainly such a combination of subjects without the consent of their sovereign, in a well-settled government, is unwarrantable, especially when it is confirmed by an oath, as no oath ought to be administered but by commission from the chief magistrate. The only foundation, therefore, upon which this covenant can be vindicated is, that the Scots apprehended that their legal church establishment had been broken in pieces by the king's assuming the supremacy, by his erecting a High Commission, and by his imposing upon them a book of canons and liturgy without consent of Parliament or General Assembly.

The council sent advice of the proceedings of the covenanters from time to time, and acquainted his majesty that the cause of all the commotions was the fear of innovations in the doctrine and discipline of the Kirk, by introducing the liturgy, canons, and High Commission; that it was, therefore, their humble opinion, that the reading the service-book should not be urged at present. Upon this the king sent the Marquis of Hamilton, his high commissioner, into Scotland, with instructions to consent to the suspending the use of the service-book for the present, but at the same time to dissolve the tables, and to require the covenant to be delivered up within six weeks. His majesty adds, "that if there be not sufficient strength in the kingdom to oblige the covenanters to return to their duty, he will come in person from England at the head of a sufficient power to force them;" and, in the mean time, the marquis is empowered to use all hostile acts against them as a rebellious people.

Upon the marquis's arrival at Holyrood House, he was welcomed by great numbers of the covenanters of all ranks and qualities, in hopes that he would call a General Assembly and a free Parliament; but when he told them this was not in his instructions, they went home full of resentments. The people nailed up the organ-loft in the church, and admonished the marquis not to read the liturgy. The ministers cautioned their hearers against consenting to ensnaring propositions; and a letter was sent to the marquis and council, exhorting them to subscribe the covenant. His lordship sent advice of these things to court, and moved his majesty either to yield to the people or hasten his royal arms. The king replied that he would rather die than yield to their impertinent and damnable demands, but admitted of the marquis's flattering them to gain time,* provided he did not consent to the calling a General Assembly or Parliament till they had disavowed or given up the covenant.† When this was known, both ministers and people declared with one voice that they would as soon renounce their baptism as their covenant; but withal avowed their duty and allegiance to the king, and their resolutions to stand by his majesty, in defence of the true religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. The marquis, not being able to make any impression on the covenanters, returned to England with an account of the melancholy state of affairs in that kingdom, which surprised the English court,

and reflected some disgrace upon the archbishop; for, as his grace was going to council, Archibald, the king's jester, said to him, "Whae's feule now! Does not your grace hear the news from Striveling about the liturgy?"* His grace complaining of this usage to the council, Archibald Armstrong, the king's fool, was ordered to have his coat pulled over his ears, to be discharged the king's service, and banished the court.

After some time Hamilton was sent back, with instructions (if necessity required) to revoke the liturgy, the canons, the High Commission, and the five articles of Perth; and with authority to subscribe the confession of faith of 1580, with the band thereunto annexed, and to take orders that all his majesty's subjects subscribed the same.† He might also promise the calling a General Assembly and Parliament within a competent time, but was to endeavour to exclude the laity from the assembly. The design of subscribing the band of the old covenant of 1580 was to secure the continuance of episcopacy, because that band obliges them to maintain the religion at that time professed, which the king would interpret of prelatical government, as being not then legally discharged by Parliament, and because it contained no promise of mutual defence and assistance against all persons whatsoever, which might include the king himself. However, the covenanters did not think fit to subscribe over again, and therefore only thanked the king for discharging the liturgy, the canons, and High Commission.

At length the marquis published a proclamation for a General Assembly to meet at Glasgow, November 21 [1638]. The choice of members went everywhere in favour of the covenanters; the Rev. Mr. Henderson, one of the silenced ministers, was chosen moderator, and Mr. Johnston clerk-registrar; ‡ but the bishops presented a declinator, "declaring the assembly to be unlawful, and the members of it not qualified to represent the clergy of the nation: (1.) Because they were chosen before the presbyteries had received the royal mandate to make election. (2.) Because most of them had not subscribed the Articles of religion, nor sworn to the king's supremacy in presence of the bishops, for neglect of which they were *ipso facto* deprived. (3.) Because they had excluded the bishops, who, by the act of Assembly at Glasgow, 1610, were to be perpetual moderators. (4.) Because there were lay-elders among them who had no right to be there, nor had ordinarily sat in presbyteries for above forty years. (5.) Because they apprehended it absurd, as well as contrary to the practice of the Christian Church, that archbishops and bishops should be judged by a mixed assembly of clergy and laics." Signed by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the Bishops

* On the stool being thrown at the dean's head, who first read it in the cathedral at Edinburgh, Archy said it was "the stool of repentance." He had a particular spleen against Bishop Laud, and the gravity of history will be relieved by another stroke of his humour pointed at this prelate. Once, when the bishop was present, he asked leave to say grace, which being granted him, he said, "Great praise be given to God, and little Laud to the devil."—*Granger's Biog. History*, vol. ii., p. 400.—Ed.

† Rushworth, vol. i., part ii., p. 767, &c.

‡ Rushworth, p. 865-867.

* Dr. Grey would supply from the original, "by all the honest means you can, without forsaking your ground."—Ed.

† Rushworth, vol. i., part ii., p. 752, 762.

of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Galloway, Ross, and Brechin.

The force of these objections, how strong soever in themselves, was taken off by the king's owning the Assembly, and sitting in it by his commissioner seven days, though at the dissolution he declared their proceedings to be utterly destructive of the name and nature of a free assembly.

The bishops' declinator being read, was unanimously rejected, and a committee appointed to draw up an answer. In the mean time the Assembly was busy in examining elections, in which the covenanters carried everything before them; the marquis, therefore, despairing of any good issue, determined, according to his instructions, to dissolve them; and accordingly went to the great church where they sat, and read over his majesty's concessions: as, (1.) "That his majesty was willing to discharge the service-book and the book of canons. (2.) To dissolve the High Commission. (3.) That the articles of Perth should not be urged. (4.) That no oath should be required of any minister at his entrance into the ministry but what is required by act of Parliament. (5.) That for the future there should be general assemblies as often as the affairs of the Kirk shall require; and that the bishops should be censurable by the Assembly, according to their merits. (6.) That the confession of faith of 1580 should be subscribed by all his majesty's subjects of Scotland." These, although very considerable abatements, did not reach the requirements of the covenanters, which were, the dissolution of the order of the bishops, and of the above-mentioned grievances, by a statute law. The marquis went on, and in a long speech declaimed against lay-elders, "an office," as he said, "unknown in the Church for fifteen hundred years, such persons being very unfit to judge of the high mysteries of predestination, effectual grace, ante and post lapsarian doctrines, or to pass sentence upon their superiors in learning and office." He therefore advised them to break up and choose another assembly of all clergymen; but his motion striking at the very being and lawfulness of their present constitution, was unanimously rejected; whereupon the marquis dissolved them, after they had sat only seven days, forbidding them to continue their sessions upon pain of high treason; and next morning the dissolution was published by proclamation at the market-cross.

But the Assembly, instead of submitting to the royal command, continued sitting, and the very next day [November 29] published a protestation to justify their proceedings, wherein they affirm, "1. That ruling elders have constantly sat in their assemblies before the late times of corruption. 2. That his majesty's presence in their assemblies, either in his own person or by his commissioners, is not for voting, but as princes and emperors of old, in a princely manner, to countenance their meetings, and preside in them for external order. 3. That it is clear, by the doctrine and discipline of the Kirk, contained in the book of policy, and registered in the book of the Assembly, and subscribed by the presbyteries of this Kirk, that it is unlawful in itself, and prejudicial to the privileges that Christ has left his Church,

for the king to dissolve or break up the assembly of this Kirk, or to stay their proceedings, for then it would follow that religion and church government should depend absolutely upon the pleasure of the prince. 4. That there is no pretence by act of Assembly, or Parliament, or any preceding practice, whereby the king's majesty, or his commissioner, may lawfully dissolve the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland without their consent. 5. That the assemblies of the Kirk have continued sitting, notwithstanding any contramand, as it is evident by all the records thereof; and in particular, by the General Assembly of 1582. And, lastly, to dissolve the Assembly before any grievances are redressed, is to throw back the whole nation into confusion, and to make every man despair hereafter ever to see innovations removed, the subjects' complaints regarded, or offenders punished. For these reasons they declare it lawful and necessary to continue the present Assembly till they have tried and censured all the bygone evils, and the introductors of them, and have provided a solid course for continuing God's truth in this land with purity and liberty; they declare, farther, that the said Assembly is and shall be esteemed and obeyed as a most lawful, full, and free General Assembly of this kingdom, and that the acts, sentences, censures, and proceedings of it shall be obeyed and observed by all the subjects of this kingdom.*

Archbishop Laud was vexed at these bold and desperate proceedings of the Assembly, and thought of nothing but dispersing them by arms. "I will be bold to say," says his grace, "never were there more gross absurdities, nor half so many, in so short a time, committed in any public meeting; and for a national assembly, never did the Church of Christ see the like." "I am as sorry as your grace [the Marquis of Hamilton] can be that the king's preparations can make no more haste; I hope you think I have called upon his majesty, and by his command upon some others, to hasten all that may be, and more than this I cannot do; I have done, and do daily call upon his majesty for his preparations; he protests he makes all the haste he can, and I believe him, but the jealousies of giving the covenanters umbrage too soon have made preparations here so late."

The Assembly, according to their resolution, continued sitting several weeks, till they had passed the following acts: an act for annulling six late assemblies therein mentioned, held in the years 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, 1618, with the reasons; an act for abjuring and abolishing episcopacy; an act for condemning the five articles of Perth; an act for condemning the service-book, book of canons, book of ordination, and the High Commission; an act for condemning archdeacons, chapters, and preaching deacons; an act for restoring presbyteries, provincial and national assemblies, to their constitution of ministers and elders, and to their power and jurisdiction contained in the book of policy,† with many others of the like nature. They then pronounced sentence of deposition against the bishops, eight of whom were excommunicated, four excluded from the

* Rushworth, vol. i., part ii., p. 863-865.

† Ibid., p. 873.

ministerial function, and two only allowed to officiate as pastors or presbyters. Upon this, Dr. Spotswood, bishop of St. Andrew's, and lord-high-chancellor of Scotland, retired to London, where he died the next year. Most of his brethren the bishops took the same method; only four remained in the country, three of whom renounced their episcopal orders, viz., Alexander Ramsey, bishop of Dunkeld, George Graham, bishop of Orkney, and James Fairby, bishop of Argyle; but the fourth, George Guthrey, bishop of Murray, kept his ground and weathered the storm. At the close of the session, the Assembly drew up a letter to the king, complaining of his majesty's commissioner, who had proclaimed them traitors, and forbade the people to pay any regard to their acts, and praying the king to look upon them still as his good and faithful subjects. They also published another declaration to the good people of England, in vindication of their proceedings, which his majesty took care to suppress, and issued out a proclamation against the seditious behaviour of the covenanters, which he commanded to be read in all the churches in England.*

It was easy to foresee that these warm proceedings must issue in a war, especially when it is remembered that his majesty consulted with none but the declared enemies of their Kirk, viz., Laud, Hamilton, and Wentworth. On the 26th of January the king published his resolution to go in person against the Scots Covenanters at the head of an army; for this purpose the nobility were summoned to attend his majesty, and all the wheels of the prerogative were put in motion to raise men and money.† Dr. Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, in his letter to his clergy, calls it "bellum episcopale," a war for the support of episcopacy, that they should therefore stir up their clergy to a liberal contribution after the rate of three shillings and tenpence in the pound, according to the valuation of their livings in the king's books. The archbishop also wrote to his commissary, Sir John Lamb, for a contribution in the civil courts of Doctors' Commons, requiring him to send the names of such as refused to himself at Lambeth. The queen and her friends undertook for the Roman Catholics; the courtiers and the country gentlemen were applied to to lend money on this occasion, which the former readily complied with, but of the latter forty only contributed together about £1400. With these, and some other assistances, the king fitted out a fleet of sixteen men-of-war, and raised a splendid army of twenty-one thousand horse and foot.

The Scots, being informed of the preparations that were making against them in England, secured the important castles of Edinburgh, Dumbrifton, and Frith, and raised an army of such volunteers as had the cause of the Kirk at heart, and were determined to sacrifice their lives in defence of it; they sent for their old general, Lesley, from Germany, who upon this occasion quitted the emperor's service, and brought over with him several experienced officers. But their greatest distress was the want of firearms, ammuni-

tion, and money, there not being above three thousand arms to be found in the whole kingdom; and having no money, their soldiers made such a ragged appearance, that when the king saw them, he said, "they would certainly fight the English if it were only to get their fine clothes." But the success of this war will fall within the compass of the next year.

To return to England: the Star Chamber and High Commission went on with their oppressions as if they were under no apprehensions from the storm that was gathering in the North. Many ministers were suspended and shut up in prison, as Mr. Henry Wilkinson, B.D., of Magdalen College, Oxford; Mr. George Walker, Mr. Smith, Mr. Small, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Brewer, a Baptist preacher,* who lay in prison fourteen years; Mr. Foxley, of St. Martin's in the Fields, who was confined in a chamber in the Gatehouse not four yards square for twenty months, without pen, ink, or paper, or the access of any friends, even in his extreme sickness; and all this without knowing his crime, or so much as guessing at it, unless it was for speaking in favour of the feoffees.†

Great numbers of Puritans continued to flock into New-England, notwithstanding the prohibition of the council last year, insomuch that the Massachusetts Bay began to be too strait for them; in the latter end of the year 1636 about one hundred families travelled farther into the country, and settled on the banks of the River Connecticut, with the Reverend Mr. Hooker at their head; another detachment went from Dorchester, a third from Watertown, and a fourth from Roxbury, and built

* It does not appear whether he was ever benefited in the Established Church. The first account of him we meet with is, that in the year 1626 he was a preacher among the Separatists in and about Athford, in Kent. In that year, through the instigation of Laud, he was prosecuted and censured in the High Commission Court, and committed to prison, where he remained no less than fourteen years. The archbishop, afterward speaking of the mischief done by the nonconformity of Mr. Brewer and Mr. Turner, says, "The hurt which they have done is so deeply rooted that it is impossible to be plucked up on a sudden, but I must crave time to work it off by little and little." His grace, however, fixed upon the most direct and effectual method of doing this; for in his account of his province, addressed to the king in the year 1637, he says, "I must give your majesty to understand, that at and about Athford, in Kent, the Separatists continue to hold their conventicles, notwithstanding the excommunication of so many of them as have been discovered. Two or three of their principal ringleaders, Brewer, Fenner, and Turner, have long been kept in prison, and it was once thought fit to proceed against them by the statute of abjuration. Not long since Brewer slipped out of prison, and went to Rochester and other parts of Kent, and held conventicles, and put a great many people into great distemper against the Church. He is taken again, and was called before the High Commission, where he stood silent, but in such a jeering, scornful manner as I scarcely ever saw the like. So in prison he remains." This was a short and certain method of stopping their mouths. Mr. Brewer having been confined in prison fourteen years, even till the meeting of the Long Parliament, he was then set at liberty by an order from the House of Commons, November 23, 1640, upon his promise to be forthcoming when called, and this is all we know of him.—*Nelson's Collec.*, vol. 1, p. 570.—C.

† Prynne, p. 388.

* Rushworth, vol. i., part ii., p. 876.

† Prynne's *Introd.*, 177, 178, 196. Rushworth, vol. i., part ii., p. 791.

the towns of Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield, and Springfield, in that colony. Next year [1637] the passengers from England were so numerous that they projected a new settlement on the southwest part of Connecticut River, in a large bay near the confines of New-York; the leaders of this colony were Theophilus Eaton, Esq., and the Reverend Mr. Davenport, who came from England with a large retinue of acquaintance and followers; they spread along the coast, and first built the town of New-Haven, which gives name to the colony; and, after some time, the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, Brentford, &c. Notwithstanding these detachments, the Massachusetts Bay had such frequent recruits from England, that they were continually building new towns or enlarging their settlements in the neighbourhood.

Among the divines who went over this summer was the Reverend Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, M.A., some time chaplain in the family of Sir Francis Barrington, of Hatfield Broad Oak, in Essex, and afterward vicar of Rowley, in Yorkshire, where he continued a successful preacher to a numerous congregation almost twenty years.* The archbishop of that diocese [Dr. Matthews] being a moderate divine, permitted the use of those lectures or prophesyings which Queen Elizabeth had put down; the ministers within certain districts had their monthly exercises, in which one or two preached, and others prayed, before a numerous and attentive audience. One of the hearers that bore an ill-will to the exercises told the archbishop that the ministers prayed against him; but his grace, instead of giving credit to the informer, answered, with a smile, that he could hardly believe him, because "those good men know," says he, "that if I were gone to heaven, their exercises would soon be put down;" which came to pass accordingly, for no sooner was his successor [Mr. Neile] in his chair, but he put a period to them, and urged subscription with so much severity that many of the clergy were suspended and silenced, among whom was Mr. Rogers, who, having no farther prospect of usefulness in his own country, embarked with several of his Yorkshire friends for New-England, where he arrived in the summer of the year 1638, and settled at a place which he called Rowley. Here he spent the remainder of his days, amid a variety of afflictions and sorrows till the year 1660, when he died, in the seventieth year of his age.

Mr. Samuel Newman, author of that concordance of the Bible that bears his name, was born at Banbury, educated at Oxford, and having finished his studies, entered into holy orders, and became minister of a small living in that county; but the severe prosecutions of the spiritual courts obliged him to no less than seven removals, till at length he resolved to get out of their reach, and remove with their friends to New-England, where he arrived this summer, and settled at Rehoboth, in the colony of New-Plymouth, where he spent the remainder of his days to the year 1663, when he died, in the sixty-third year of his age.† He was a hard

student, a lively preacher, and of a heavenly conversation.*

Mr. Charles Chauncey,† B.D., educated in Cambridge, and Greek lecturer of his own college in that university. He was afterward settled at Ware, and was an admired and useful preacher, till he was driven from thence, as has been related. When the Book of Sports was published, and the drums beat about the town to summon the people to their dances and revels on the Lord's Day evening, he preached against it, for which he was suspended, and soon after totally silenced.‡ Few suffered more for nonconformity, says my author, by fines, by imprisonment, and by necessities, than Mr. Chauncey: at length he determined to remove to New-England, where he arrived in the year 1638, and became president of Harvard College, in Cambridge. Here he continued a most learned, laborious, and useful governor, till the year 1671, when he died, in the eighty-second year of his age; he left behind him six sons, the eldest of which was Dr. Isaac Chauncey, well known heretofore among the Nonconformist ministers of London.

I pass over the lives of many other divines and substantial gentlemen who deserted their native country for the peace of their consciences; but it deserves a particular notice that there were eight sail of ships at once this spring in the River Thames bound for New-England, and filled with Puritan families, among whom (if we may believe Dr George Bates and Mr. Dugdale, two famous royalists) were, Oliver Cromwell, afterward protector of the Commonwealth of England, John Hampden, Esq., and Mr. Arthur Haselrigge, who, seeing no end of the oppressions of their native country, determined to spend the remainder of their days in America; but the council, being informed of their design, issued out an order, dated May 1,

* Mr. Newman arrived in 1638, and spent one year and a half at Dorchester, five years at Weymouth, and nineteen at Rehoboth.—C.

† He received his grammar education at Westminster School, and was at school at the time the Gunpowder Plot was to have taken effect, and must have perished if it had succeeded. He was an accurate Hebrean and Grecian, and admirably skilled in all the learned languages. Latin and Greek verses of his appeared in the collections of poetical compliments of condolence or congratulation offered by the university on different occasions to the courts of James I. and Charles I. He was at Boston in order to take passage for England, in consequence of an invitation to settle again with his old people at Ware, when the importunities of the overseers of Harvard College prevailed with him to accept the presidency of that seminary, in which place he continued, highly honoured for his learning and piety. A grandson of his son Isaac, also named Charles, minister of the first church in Boston, died the 10th of February, 1787, in the eighty-third year of his age; having been an ornament to his profession, distinguished by his extensive benevolence and invincible integrity, a warm and virtuous patriot, for nearly six years the able, faithful instructor and friend of his flock, and the author of many works, which remain monuments of his abilities, application, and excellent temper. The most valuable and laboured were, "The Salvation of all Men," a treatise; "Five Dissertations on the Fall and its Consequences;" and a tract on the "Benevolence of the Deity," all published in London.—See Dr. Grey, and Clarke's *Funeral Sermon for Dr. Charles Chauncey*, 1787.—Ed.

‡ Mather's History of New-England, p. 134.

* Mather's History of New-England, b. iii., p. 101.

† Mather's Hist., p. 113.

1638, to make stay of those ships, and to put on shore all the provisions intended for the voyage. And to prevent the like for the future, his majesty prohibited all masters and owners of ships to set forth any ships for New-England with passengers without special license from the privy council; and gives this remarkable reason for it, "Because the people of New-England were factious, and unworthy of any support from hence, in regard of the great disorders and want of government among them, whereby many that have been well affected to the Church of England have been prejudiced in their estates by them."*

When the Puritans might not transport themselves to New-England, they removed with their families into the Low Countries; among the divines who went thither about this time were Dr. Thomas Goodwin, educated in Cambridge, and a great admirer of Dr. Preston. In the year 1628 he was chosen to preach the lecture in Trinity Church, and held it till the year 1634, when he left the university and all his preferences, through dissatisfaction with the terms of conformity; having lived in retirement till this time, he withdrew with some select friends to Holland, and settled at Arnheim, in Gelderland, where he continued till the beginning of the Long Parliament.

Philip Nye, M.A., educated in Magdalen Hall, Oxon, and a popular preacher at St. Bartholomew Exchange, London.

Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, a most candid and moderate divine,† educated in Cambridge, and afterward a famous preacher to two of the largest congregations about London, viz., Stepney and Cripplegate.

Mr. William Bridge, M.A., and fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge; he was first minister in Essex, and afterward settled in the city of Norwich, in the parish of St. George Tombland, where he continued till he was silenced for nonconformity by Bishop Wren, in the year 1637, and excommunicated.

Mr. Sydrach Symson, educated in Cambridge, and afterward a celebrated preacher in London. These were afterward the five pillars of the Independent or Congregational party, and were distinguished by the name of the Dissenting Brethren in the assembly of divines.

Several gentlemen and merchants of figure disposed of their effects, and went after them into exile, as Sir Matthew Poynon, Sir William Constable, Sir Richard Saltington, Mr. Lawrence, afterward lord-president of the council, Mr. Andrews, afterward lord-mayor of London, Mr. Aske, since a judge, Mr. Bouchier, Mr. James, Mr. White, and others. The States received them with great humanity, granting them the use of their churches at different

hours of the day, with the liberty of ringing a bell for public worship, though they did not approve of the Dutch discipline, or join in communion with their churches.

Great was the damage the nation sustained by these removals: Heylin observes,* "The severe pressing of the ceremonies made the people in many trading towns tremble at a visitation; but when they found their striving in vain, and that they had lost the comfort of the lecturers, who were turned out for not reading the second service at the communion-table in their hoods and surplices, and for using other prayers besides that of the fifty-fifth canon, it was no hard matter for those ministers to persuade them to transport themselves into foreign parts: 'The sun,' said they, 'shines as comfortably in other places, and the Sun of righteousness much brighter; it is better to go and dwell in Goshen, find it where we can, than tarry in the midst of such Egyptian bondage as is among us; the sinful corruptions of the Church are now grown so general that there is no place free from the contagion; therefore, "go out of her, my people, and be not partakers of her sins."'" And hereunto they were encouraged by the Dutch, who chose rather to carry their manufactures home than be obliged to resort to their parish churches, as, by the archbishop's injunctions, they were obliged.

The eyes of all England were now towards the North, whither the king went, March 27, to put himself at the head of his army raised against the Scots, the Earls of Arundel, Essex, and Holland being the chief commanding officers under his majesty. The Scots, under the command of General Lesley, received them upon the borders; but when the two armies had faced each other for some time, the king, perceiving that his Protestant nobility and soldiers were not hearty in his cause, gave way to a treaty at the petition of the Scots, which ended in a pacification, June 17, by which all points of difference were referred to a General Assembly, to be held at Edinburgh, August 12, and to a Parliament which was to meet about a fortnight after. In the mean time both armies were to be disbanded,† the tables to be broken up, and no meetings held except such as are warranted by act of Parliament. Accordingly, the king dismissed his army, but with very disobliging circumstances, not giving the nobility and gentry so much as thanks for their affection, loyalty, and personal attendance, which they resented so highly that few or none of them appeared upon the next summons; the Scots delivered back the king's forts and castles into his majesty's hands, and dis-

* Life of Laud, p. 367.

* Rushworth, vol. i., part ii., p. 409.

† He steered a middle course between Presbyterianism and Brownism, and seems to have been much of an Independent, or Congregationalist of the present day.—*Biog. Britan.*, vol. ii., p. 620. Mr. Baxter, who knew his great worth, said, "If all the Episcopalians had been like Archbishop Usher, all the Presbyterians like Stephen Marshall, and all the Independents like Jeremiah Burroughs, the breaches of the Church would have been sooner healed." Mr. Burroughs's Exposition of Hosea, in four quarto volumes, will perpetuate his reputation as one of the ablest divines and soundest expositors of the age.—C.

† Dr. Grey quotes Lord Clarendon as stating "that the king's army, by the very words of the agreement, was not to be disbanded until all should be executed on the part of the Scots." But not to say that the accounts of this treaty in the Memoirs of the Marquis of Hamilton, p. 142, and in Guthry, as quoted by Dr. Harris, p. 288, mention no such limitation, Lord Clarendon himself undermines his own authority on this matter, by telling his reader that "no two who were present at the treaty agreed in the same relation of what was said and done; and, which was worse, not in the same interpretation of the meaning of what was comprehended in the writing."—*Clarendon's History*, vol. i., p. 123.—Ed.

banded the soldiery, wisely keeping their officers in pay till they saw the effect of the pacification.*

The General Assembly met at Edinburgh according to the treaty, but being of the same constitution with the last, the bishops presented another declinator to his majesty's commissioner [the Earl of Traquair], and were excused giving their attendance by express letter from the king, his majesty, in his instructions to his commissioner, having yielded them the point of lay-elders. The Assembly, therefore, without any opposition, confirmed the proceedings of that at Glasgow, which was of very dubious authority. They appointed the covenant to be taken throughout the kingdom, and explained the bond of mutual defence to a consistency with their late conduct. They voted away the new service-book, the book of canons, the five articles of Perth, the High Commission, and with one consent determined that diocesan episcopacy was unlawful, and not to be allowed in their Kirk.† This the Earl of Traquair did not apprehend inconsistent with his private instructions from the king, which were these: "We allow episcopacy to be abolished for the reasons contained in the articles, and that the covenant of 1580. for satisfaction of our people, be subscribed. Again, if they require episcopacy to be abjured, as contrary to the constitution of the Church of Scotland, you are to give way to it, but not as a point of popery, or as contrary to God's law or the Protestant religion. Again, in giving way to the abolishing episcopacy, be careful it be done without the appearing of any warrant from the bishops in prejudice of episcopacy as unlawful, but only in satisfaction to the people for settling the present disorders, and such other reasons of state; but herein you must be careful that our intentions appear not to any." It is evident from hence that his majesty's usage of the Scots was neither frank nor sincere; he had no design to abolish episcopacy, and only consented to suspend it because he was told that the bishops being one of the three estates of Parliament, no law made in their absence could be of force, much less an act for abolishing their whole order, after they had entered their protest in form. When his majesty gave way to the subscribing the covenant, it was with another reserve, "as far as may stand with our future intentions well known to you. For though we have discharged the service-book and canons, we will never consent that they be condemned as popish and superstitious;‡ nor will we acknowledge that the High Commission was without law, nor that the five articles of Perth be condemned as contrary to the confession of faith; it is enough that they be laid aside." His majesty's instructions conclude, "that if anything be yielded in the present Assembly prejudicial to his majesty's service, his commissioner shall protest, that his

majesty may be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place."

The Scots Parliament met August 31 [1639], and having first subscribed the solemn league and covenant with the king's consent, they confirmed all the acts of the General Assembly, concluding with the utter extirpation of episcopacy as unlawful.* But the king having by letter to his commissioner forbidden him to consent to the word unlawful, lest it should be interpreted absolutely, though it seems to have a reference only to the Kirk of Scotland, his lordship prorogued the Parliament, first for fourteen days, and then, by the king's express command,† for nine months, without ratifying any of their acts. The Earl of Dunfermlin and Lord Loudon were despatched to London, to beseech his majesty to consent to their ratification; but they were sent back with a reprimand for their misbehaviour, being hardly admitted into the king's presence. It seems too apparent that his majesty meant little or nothing by his concessions but to gain time; for in his declaration before the next war, about six months forward, he says, "Concerning our promise of a free Parliament, no man can imagine we intended it should be so free as not to be limited by the enjoyment of their religion and liberties, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of that kingdom; but if they pass these bounds, we are disobliged, and they left at liberty to fly at our monarchical government without control, to wrest the sceptre out of our hands, and to rob the crown of the fairest flower belonging to it."‡ The king, therefore, did not really intend the alteration of any of the civil or ecclesiastical laws of that kingdom, and by his majesty's not ratifying any of their acts, it was evident that the English court had resumed their courage, and were determined once more to try the fortune of war.

In the mean time, to balance the declaration of the Scots Assembly, Bishop Hall, at the request of Laud, composed a treatise of the "Divine Right of Episcopacy," which the archbishop revised. The propositions which he advances are these: (1.) That form of government which is of apostolical institution ought to be esteemed of Divine right. (2.) That form which was practised and recommended by the apostles, though not expressly commanded, is of apostolical institution. (3.) The government set up by the apostles was designed for perpetuity. (4.) The universal practice of the primitive Church is the best rule to judge of the apostolical practice. (5.) We ought not to suppose the primitive fathers would change the form of government they had received from the apostles. (6.) The accession of privilege and honourable titles does not affect the substance of the episcopal function. (7.) The Presbyterian government, though challenging the glorious title of Christ's kingdom and ordinance, had no foundation in Scripture, or in the practice of the Church for fifteen hundred years, and is altogether incongruous and unjustifiable.

The bishop's book was altered in many places, contrary to his own inclinations, by the

* Nalson's Collection, p. 256.

† The term of prorogation, as Mr. Grey points it out, is expressed in Nalson thus: "till the next spring."—Ed.

‡ Nalson's Collection, p. 273.

* Mrs. Macaulay, in her detail of this treaty, mentions as a memorable circumstance, unnoticed by historians, and very expressive of the pacific disposition of the Scots, that they told the king, that if he would give them leave to enjoy their religion and their laws, they would, at their own expense, transport their army to assist the recovery of the Palatinate.—*History of England*, vol. ii., p. 283, note, 8vo edit.—En.

† Nalson's Collection, p. 246, 247.

Nalson's Collection, p. 254, 255.

archbishop, and particularly in those wherein he had called the pope antichrist, or spoke too favourably of the morality of the Sabbath, and said that presbytery was of use where episcopacy could not be obtained. His grace disapproved of his lordship's waiving the question whether episcopacy was a distinct order, or only a higher degree of the same order; and of his advancing the Divine right of episcopacy no higher than the apostles, whereas he would have it derived from Christ himself. Upon the whole, his lordship's book was so modelled by his metropolitan, that, in the debate hereafter mentioned, he could hardly go the lengths of his own performance.

The bishops still kept a strict hand over the Puritans: not a sermon was to be heard on the distinguishing points of Calvinism all over England. In some diocesses great complaints were made of Puritan justices of peace for being too strict in putting the laws in execution against profaneness. At Ashford, in Kent, the archbishop said he must have recourse to the statutes of abjuration, and call in the assistance of the temporal courts to reduce the Separatists, the censures of the Church not being sufficient. Upon the whole, there was no abatement of the height of conformity, even to the end of this year, though the flames that were kindled in Scotland began to disturb the tranquillity of the Church.

Mr. Bagshaw, a lawyer of some standing in the Middle Temple, being chosen reader in that house for the Lent vacation, began to attack the power of the bishops. In his lectures on the 25th Edw. III., cap. vii., he maintained that acts of Parliament were valid without the assent of the lords spiritual. 2. That no benefited clerk was capable of temporal jurisdiction at the making that law. And, 3. That no bishop, without calling a synod, had power as a diocesan to convict a heretic. Laud, being informed of these positions, told the king that Bagshaw had justified the Scots covenanters in decrying the temporal jurisdiction of churchmen, and the undoubted right of the bishops to their seats in Parliament; upon which he was immediately interdicted all farther reading on those points; and though Bagshaw humbly petitioned the lord-keeper and the archbishop for liberty to proceed, he could get no other answer, after long attendance, than that it had been better for him not to have meddled with that argument, which should stick closer to him than he was aware of.* Whereupon he retired into the country.

The resolution of the English court to renew the war with Scotland was owing to the Lord-deputy Wentworth, whom Archbishop Laud had sent for from Ireland for this purpose. This nobleman, from being an eminent patriot, was become a petty tyrant, and had governed Ireland in a most arbitrary and sovereign manner for about seven years, discountenancing the Protestants because they were Calvinists, and inclined to Puritanism, and giving all imaginable encouragement to the Roman Catholics as friends to the prerogative, whereby he suffered the balance of power in that kingdom to fall into the hands of the papists. Wentworth, being come to court, was immediately created Earl of Strafford and knight of the Garter, and, in concert

* Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 407.

with Laud, advised the king to set aside the pacification, and to push the Scots war with vigour, offering his majesty eight thousand Irish and a large sum of money for his assistance; but this not being sufficient, the war was thought so reasonable and necessary to the king's honour that it might be ventured with an English Parliament, which being laid before the council, was cheerfully agreed to, and, after twelve years' interval, a Parliament was summoned to meet April 13, 1640.

The Scots, foreseeing the impending storm, consulted where to fly for succour; some were for throwing themselves into the hands of the French, and, accordingly, wrote a very submissive letter to that monarch, signed by the hands of seven Scots peers, but never sent; for, upon application to their friends at London, they were assured, by a letter drawn up by Lord Saville, and signed by himself, with the names of Bedford, Essex, Brook, Warwick, Say and Seal, and Mandeville (who agreed to the letter, though they were so cautious as not to write their own names), "that the hearts of the people of England were with them; that they were convinced the liberties of both nations were at stake, and, therefore, they might depend upon their assistance as soon as a fair opportunity offered." Upon this encouragement the Scots laid aside their design of applying to France, and resolved to raise another army from among themselves, and march into England.

"The Parliament that met at Westminster," says the noble historian,* "was made up of sober and dispassionate men, exceedingly disposed to do the king service;" and yet his majesty would not condescend to speak to them from the throne,† ordering the Lord-keeper Finch to acquaint them with the undutiful behaviour of the Scots, whom he was determined to reduce, and therefore would not admit of the mediation of the two houses, but expected their immediate assistance, after which he would give them time to consider of any just grievance to be redressed. But the Commons, instead of beginning with the supply, appointed committees for religion and grievances, which disobliged the king so much, that, after several fruitless attempts to persuade them to begin with the Subsidy Bill, he dissolved them in anger, without passing a single act, after they had sat about three weeks. The blame of this

* Clarendon's Hist., vol. i., p. 139.

† Lord Clarendon says, "After the king had shortly mentioned his desire to be again acquainted with Parliaments after so long an intermission," &c., he referred the cause to be enlarged on by the speaker. "It is plain from hence," Dr. Grey adds, "that his majesty did condescend to speak to them from the throne." This is observed to impeach Mr. Neal's veracity. But when the reader has laid before him the short speech delivered from the throne, he will judge whether Mr. Neal stands charged with more than an inaccuracy. It is given us by Nalson, vol. i., p. 306.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"There never was a king that had a more great and weighty cause to call his people together than myself; I will not trouble you with the particulars; I have informed my lord-keeper, and command him to speak, and to desire your attention." This was not properly a speech from the throne, but, as Mrs. Macaulay calls it, "a short preface" to the lord-keeper's speech.—Ed.

hasty dissolution was by some cast upon Laud, by others on Sir Harry Vane, while the king laid it on the misbehaviour of the House of Commons, who would not take his royal word for redress of grievances, after they had voted the necessary supplies; he therefore sent the leading members of the House into custody, and committed them prisoners to the Fleet and other prisons.

His majesty having failed of a parliamentary supply at the time he demanded it, was told by Lord Strafford, and others of the council, that he was now absolved from all rules of government, and might take what his necessities required, and his power could obtain. This, indeed, was no more than his majesty had been doing for twelve years before; but some people drew an unhappy conclusion from this maxim, viz., that if the king was absolved from all rules of government, the people were absolved from all rules of obedience.

However, all the engines of arbitrary power were set at work to raise money for the war, as loans, benevolences, ship-money, coat and conduct money, knighthood, monopolies, and other springs of the prerogative, some of which, says Lord Clarendon, were ridiculous, and others scandalous, but all very grievous to the subject. Those who refused payment were fined and imprisoned by the Star Chamber or council-table, among whom were some of the aldermen of London, and sheriffs of several of the counties. The courtiers advanced £300,000 in three weeks, the clergy in convocation gave six subsidies, the papists were very generous; Strafford went over to Ireland, and obtained four subsidies of the Parliament of that kingdom; soldiers were pressed into the service in all counties, few listing themselves voluntarily except papists, many of whom had commissions in the army, which gave rise to a common saying among the people, that the queen's army of papists were going to establish the Protestant religion in Scotland.

The people groaned under these oppressions, the odium whereof fell upon Laud and Strafford, who were libelled, and threatened with the fury of the populace. May 9, 1640, a paper was fixed upon the old Exchange, animating the apprentices to pull the archbishop out of his palace at Lambeth; upon this the trained bands were ordered into St. George's Fields; nevertheless, the mob rose and broke his windows, for which one of them, being apprehended, suffered death as a traitor, though he could not be guilty of more than a breach of the peace. From Lambeth the mob went to the house of the pope's agent, where they were dispersed by the king's guards, and some of them sent to the White Lion prison; but the following week [May 15] they rose again, and rescued their friends. The country was in the same mutinous posture, there being frequent skirmishes between them and the new-raised soldiers, even to bloodshed. The city train-bands were in arms all the summer, but the campaign proving unsuccessful, there was no keeping the people within bounds afterward; for while the High Commission was sitting at St. Paul's, October 22, near two thousand Brownists, as the archbishop calls them, raised a disturbance, and broke up the court, crying out, "No bishops—no High Commission." Such were the distempers of the times.

The convocation that sat with this Parliament was opened April 14, with more splendour and magnificence than the situation of affairs required. The sermon was preached by Dr. Turner, canon residentiary of St. Paul's, from St. Matt., xvi., 16, "Behold, I send you forth as sheep among wolves." After which they adjourned to the Chapter-house, where the king's writ of summons being read, the archbishop, in a Latin speech, recommended to the Lower House the choosing a prolocutor, to be presented to himself or his commissary in the chapel of Henry VII. on Friday following, to which time and place the convocation was adjourned.

On the 17th of April, after Divine service, Dr. Steward, dean of Chichester and clerk of the closet, was presented to the archbishop as prolocutor in the chapel of Henry VII., whom his grace approved, and then produced his majesty's commission under the great seal, authorizing them "to make and ordain certain canons and constitutions for the established true religion, and the profit of the state of the Church of England." The commission was to remain in force during the present session of Parliament, and no longer; and by a remarkable clause, "nothing was to be concluded without the archbishop's being a party in the consultation." It was intended also to draw up an English pontifical, which was to contain the form and manner of royal coronations; a form for consecrating churches, churchyards, and chapels; a form for reconciling penitents and apostates; a book of articles, to be used by all bishops at their visitation; and a short form of prayer for before sermon, comprehending the substance of the fifty-fifth canon. But most of these projects were interrupted by the sudden dissolution of the Parliament.

The convocation, according to ancient custom, should have broken up at the same time; but one of the Lower House having acquainted the archbishop with a precedent in the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth, of the clergy's granting a subsidy or benevolence of two shillings in the pound, to be raised upon all the clergy, after the Parliament was risen, and levying it by their own synodical act only, under the penalty of ecclesiastical censures, it was concluded from thence that the convocation might sit independent of the Parliament, and therefore, instead of dissolving, they only adjourned for a few days to take farther advice.†

The zealous archbishop, relying upon this single precedent, applied to the king for a commission to continue the convocation during his majesty's pleasure, in order to finish the canons and constitutions, and to grant the subsidies already voted. The case being referred to the judges, the majority gave it as their opinion, "that the convocation being called by the king's writ under the great seal, doth continue till it be dissolved by writ or commission under the great seal, notwithstanding the Parliament be dissolved."

Signed, May 14, 1640, by

John Finch, Custos, M. S.

H. Manchester,	John Bramston,
Ralph Whitfield,	Rob. Heath,
Edw. Littleton,	John Banks.

* Collyer's Eccles. Hist., p. 793. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 423.

† Fuller's Appeal, p. 67, 69.

Upon this, a commission under the great seal was granted, and the convocation reassembled; however, notwithstanding the opinion of these gentlemen of the long robe, Dr. Hacket, Brownrigge, Holdisworth, and others, to the number of thirty-six, protested earnestly against it, though, because the session was warranted by so many considerable persons, they did not withdraw, nor enter their protest in form of law, as they ought to have done.* They were farther so influenced by his majesty's message, sent by Sir H. Vane, secretary of state, to acquaint them "that it was his royal pleasure that none of the prelates or clergy should withdraw from the synod or convocation till the affairs they had in command from the king were perfected and finished."

Upon this dubious foundation the convocation was continued, and a committee of twenty-six appointed to prepare matters for the debate of the House; but the mob being so inflamed as to threaten to pull down the Convocation-house, the king appointed them a guard of the militia of Middlesex, commanded by Endymion Porter, groom of the bedchamber, a papist, under whose protection the synod was continued till the canons were perfected, and six subsidies granted by way of supply for the exigence of his majesty's affairs, to be collected in six years, after the rate of four shillings in the pound, amounting to about £120,000, after which it was dissolved [May 29] by a special mandate or writ from his majesty, after it had continued twenty-five sessions. The canons having been approved by the privy-council, were subscribed by as many of both houses of convocation as were present, and then transmitted to the provincial Synod of York, by whom they were subscribed at once, without so much as debating either matter or form. Dr. John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was in the Tower, and had no concern with the canons. Dr. Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, a concealed papist, was the only prelate who declined the subscription, till the archbishop threatened him with deprivation, and the rest of the brethren, pressing him to comply, he was persuaded to put his name to the book; but several of the members of the lower House avoided the test by withdrawing before the day of subscription; for, out of above one hundred and sixty, of which both houses of convocation consisted, there were not many more than one hundred names to the book.

The unreasonableness of continuing the synod after the dissolution of Parliament appears from hence, that the convocation, consisting of bishops, deans, archdeacons, and clerks, the three former act in their personal capacities only, and may give for themselves what subsidies they please; but the clerks being chosen for their respective cathedrals and diocesses, legally to sit as long as the Parliament continues, desist from being public persons as soon as it is dissolved, and lose the character of representatives; they are then no more than private clergymen, who, though they may give the king what sums of money they please for themselves, cannot vote away the estates of their brethren, unless they are re-elected. Besides, it was contrary to all law and custom, both before and since the act of submission of the clergy to King

Henry VIII., except in the single instance of Queen Elizabeth.

The canons of this synod, consisting of seventeen articles, were published June 30, and entitled "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Presidents of the Convocation for their respective Provinces, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of those Provinces, and agreed upon with the King's Majesty's License, in their several Synods begun at London and York, 1640.*"

CANON 1.—*Concerning the Regal Power.*

"We ordain and decree that every parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, upon one Sunday in every quarter of the year, in the place where he serves, shall read the following explanation of the regal power:

"That the most high and sacred order of kings is of Divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature and revelation, by which the supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical is given to them.

"That they have the care of God's Church, and the power of calling and dissolving councils, both national and provincial.

"That for any person to set up in the king's realms any independent coercive power, either papal or popular, is treasonable against God and the king. And for subjects to bear arms against their king, either offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to resist the powers ordained of God; and though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul says, they shall receive damnation.

"And though tribute and custom, aid and subsidy, be due to the king by the law of God, nature, and nations, yet subjects have a right and property in their goods and estates; and these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together for the honourable and comfortable support of both.

"If any clergyman shall voluntarily and carelessly neglect to publish these explications, he shall be suspended; or if, in any sermon or public lecture, he shall maintain any position contrary hereunto, he shall be forthwith excommunicated and suspended for two years; and if he offend a second time, he shall be deprived."

CANON 2.—*For the better observing the Day of his Majesty's Inauguration.*

"The synod decrees and ordains that all persons shall come to Church the morning of the said day, and continue there till prayers and preaching are ended, upon pain of such punishment as the law inflicts on those who wilfully absent themselves from church on holydays."

CANON 3.—*For suppressing the Growth of Popery.*

"All ecclesiastical persons, within their several parishes or jurisdictions, shall confer privately with popish recusants; but if private conference prevail not, the Church must and shall come to her censures; and to make way for them, such persons shall be presented at the next visitation who came not to church, and refuse to receive the holy Eucharist, or who either say or hear mass; and if they remain

* Fuller's Church History, b. ix., p. 168.

* Nalson's Collection, p. 545.

obstinate after citation, they shall be excommunicated.

"But if neither conference nor censure prevail, the Church shall then complain of them to the civil power; and this sacred synod does earnestly entreat the reverend justices of assize to be careful in executing the laws, as they will answer it to God. And every bishop shall once a year send into the Court of Chancery a *significavit* of the names of those who have stood excommunicated beyond the time limited by law, and shall desire that a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* may be at once sent out against them all.

"Care is likewise to be taken that no person be admitted to teach school but who has subscribed to the Church as the law directs; and that no excommunicated person be absolved by any appeal, unless he first take the oath *de pa-rando juri et stando mandatis ecclesie*."

CANON 4.—*Against Socinianism.*

"It is decreed that no persons shall import, print, or disperse any of their books, on pain of excommunication, and of being farther punished in the Star Chamber. No minister shall preach any such doctrines in his sermons, nor student have any such books in his study, except he be a graduate in divinity;* and if any layman embrace their opinions, he shall be excommunicated, and not absolved without repentance and abjuration."

[N.B. None of the doctrines of Socinus, nor any of his peculiar sentiments, are mentioned in this canon.]

CANON 5.—*Against Sectaries.*

"The synod decrees that the canon above mentioned against papists shall be in full force against all Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists, and other sectaries, as far as they are applicable; and farther, the clause against the books of Socinians above mentioned shall be in force against all books written against the discipline and government of the Church of England.

"It is also ordained, that such persons who resort to their parish churches to hear the sermon, but do not join in the public prayers, shall be subject to the same penalties with other sectaries and recusants."

CANON 6!—*An Oath for preventing Innovations in Doctrine and Government.*

"The synod decrees that all archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons shall, before the 2d of November next, take the following oath, which shall be tendered by the bishop in person, or some grave divine deputed by him, and shall be taken in presence of a public notary."

THE OATH.

"I, A. B., do swear that I do approve the doctrine, discipline, and government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any popish† doctrine

contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever; and this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a Christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ."

"If any beneficed person in the Church shall refuse this oath, he shall, after one month,* be suspended *ab officio*; after a second month, he shall be suspended *ab officio et beneficio*; and after a third month,† if he continue to refuse, he shall be deprived.

"It is likewise ordained, that all that are incorporated in either of the universities, or take any degree, whether lawyers, divines, or physicians, shall take the same oath;‡ and all governors of halls and colleges in the universities; all schoolmasters, and, in general, all that enter into holy orders, or have license to preach."

CANON 7.—*A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.*

"The synod declares that the standing of the communion-table sideways, under the east window of the chancel or chapel, is in its own nature indifferent; but forasmuch as Queen Elizabeth's injunctions order it to be placed where the altar was, we therefore judge it proper that all churches and chapels do conform themselves to the cathedral or mother-churches. And we declare that the situation of the holy table does not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper altar, whereon Christ is again sacrificed; but it may be called an altar in the sense of the primitive Church; and because it has been observed that some people in time of Divine service have irreverently leaned, cast their hats, or sat upon or under the communion-table, therefore the synod thinks meet that the table be railed round.

"It is farther recommended to all good people, that they do reverence at their entering in and going out of the church; and that all communicants do approach the holy table to receive the communion at the rails,§ which has heretofore been unfitly carried up and down by the minister, unless the bishop shall dispense with it."

CANON 8.—*Of Preaching for Conformity.*

"All public preachers shall twice a year preach positively and plainly, that the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England are lawful, and that it is the duty of all people to conform to them."

is omitted, as it is in the duplicate sent to the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and several others.

* Allowed "to inform himself."

† "For his better information."

‡ The sons of noblemen are expressly excepted.—DR. GREY.

§ "At the rails" is not in the original, but appears to be implied by the order to rail round the communion-table.—ED.

* Dr. Grey supplies here, from Nalson, "or such as have episcopal or archidiaconal ordination, or any doctor of laws in order as aforesaid."—ED.

† In his majesty's duplicate of this canon, sent by the archbishop to the Bishop of Ely, the word popish

CANON 9.—*A Book of Articles for Parochial Visitation.*

“No other book of articles of inquiry shall be used in parochial visitation but that which is drawn up by the synod.”

CANON 10.—*Of the Conversation of the Clergy.*

“The clergy are enjoined to avoid all excesses and disorders, and by their Christian conversation to adorn their holy profession.”

CANON 11.—*Chancellors' Patents.*

“No bishop shall grant any patent to any chancellor, or official, for any longer term than the life of the grantees, and the bishop shall keep in his own hands the power of instituting to benefices and of licensing to preach.”

CANON 12.—*Chancellors' Censures.*

“No chancellor, commissary, or official, not being in holy orders, shall inflict any censure on the clergy in criminal causes, other than for neglect of appearing; but all such causes shall be heard by the bishop, or some dignified clergyman with the chancellor.”

CANON 13.—*Excommunication and Absolution.*

“No sentence of excommunication or absolution shall be pronounced but by a priest, and in open consistory, or at least in the church or chapel, having first received it under the seal of an ecclesiastical judge, from whom it comes.”

CANON 14.—*Of Commutations.*

“No commutation of penance to be admitted without consent of the bishop, and the money to be disposed of to charitable uses.”

CANON 15.—*Of Jurisdictions.*

“No executor shall be cited into any court or office for the space of ten days after the death of the testator, though the executor may prove the will within such time.”

CANON 16.—*Of Licenses to Marry.*

“No license to marry shall be granted to any party, unless one of the parties have been *com-morant* in the jurisdiction of the ordinary to whom he applies for the space of one month before the said license be desired. The archiepiscopal prerogative is excepted.”

CANON 17.—*Against vexatious Citations.*

“No citation into any ecclesiastical court shall be issued out but under the hand and seal of one of the judges of those courts, and within thirty days after committing the crime; and unless the party be convicted by two witnesses, he shall be allowed to purge himself by oath, without paying any fee; provided that this canon extend not to any grievous crime, as schism, incontinence, misbehaviour in the church in the time of Divine service, obstinate inconformity, or the like.”

When these canons were made public, they were generally disliked; several pamphlets were printed against them, and dispersed among the people; as, “England's Complaint to Jesus Christ against the Bishops' Canons; wherein the Nakedness of them is exposed in a solemn Application to Jesus Christ as the Saviour of his Church;” “Queries relating to the several Articles and Determinations of the late Synod,”

&c. All who loved the old English Constitution were dissatisfied with the first canon, because it declares for the absolute power of kings, and for the unlawfulness of defensive arms on any pretence whatsoever. The Puritans disapproved the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth canons; but the whole body of the clergy were nearly concerned in the sixth, being obliged by the 2d of November to take the oath therein mentioned, on pain of suspension and deprivation. The London clergy, among whom were Dr. Westfield, Downham, Burges, Mr. Calamy, Jackson, John Goodwin, Offspring, and others, drew up a petition against it to the privy council; and, to give it the more weight, procured a great many hands. The ministers, schoolmasters, and physicians in Kent, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Northamptonshire, and in most counties of England, took the same method; some objecting to the oath, as contrary to the oath of supremacy; some complaining of the *et cætera* in the middle. Others objected to the power of the synod to impose an oath, and many confessed that they wished some things in the discipline of the Church might be altered, and, therefore, could not swear never to attempt it in a proper way. Some of the bishops endeavoured to satisfy their clergy by giving the most favourable interpretation to the oath. Bishop Hall told them that it meant no more than this, “That I do so far approve of the discipline and doctrine of the Church, as that I do believe there is nothing in any other pretended discipline or doctrine necessary to salvation besides that which is contained in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. And as I do allow the government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, so I will not, upon the suggestion of any factious persons, go about to altar the same as it now stands, and as by due right (being so established) it ought to stand in the Church of England.”* But most of the bishops pressed the oath absolutely on their clergy, and to my certain knowledge, says Mr. Fuller,† obliged them to take it kneeling, a ceremony never required in taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy: to such extravagance of power did these prelates aspire upon the wing of the prerogative!

The archbishop was advised of these difficulties by Dr. Sanderson, afterward Bishop of Lincoln, who assured his grace, by letter,‡ “that multitudes of churchmen, not only of the preciser sort, but of such as were regular and conformable, would utterly refuse to take the oath, or be brought to it with much difficulty and reluctance, so that, unless by his majesty's special direction, the pressing the oath may be forborne for a time, or that a short explanation of some passages in it most liable to exception be sent to the several persons who are to administer the same, to be publicly read before the tender of the said oath, the peace of this Church is apparently in danger to be more disquieted by this one occasion than by anything that has happened within our memories.” However, this resolute prelate, as if he had been determined to ruin his own and his majesty's affairs, would relax nothing to the times, but would have broken the king's interest among the con-

* Nalson's Collection, p. 496, 498.

† Book xi., p. 171.

‡ Nalson, p. 497.

formable clergy, if the nobility and gentry, with the king at York, had not prevailed with his majesty to lay him under a restraint by the following letter, under the hand of the principal secretary of state :

“ May it please your grace,

“ I am, by his majesty's command, to let you know, that, upon several petitions presented by divers churchmen, as well in the diocess of Canterbury as York, to which many hands are subscribed, as the mode of petitions now are, against the oath in the canons made in the last synod, his majesty's pleasure is, that as he took order, before his coming into these parts, that the execution of neither should be pressed on those that were already beneficed in the Church, which was ordered at the council-board in your grace's presence, but that it should be administered to those who were to receive orders and to be admitted, it is his majesty's pleasure that those should be dispensed with also, and that there be no prosecution thereof till the meeting of the convocation.

“ York, Sept. 30, 1640.

H. VANE.*”

We have mentioned the secret correspondence between the English and Scots nobility to recover the liberties of both kingdoms, which encouraged the Scots to march a second time to their border, where the king met them with his army, commanded by the Earls of Northumberland and Strafford; but it soon appeared that the English nobility were not for conquering the Scots, nor had the Protestant soldiers any zeal in his majesty's cause, so that after a small skirmish the Scots army passed the Tweed, August 21, and on the 30th took possession of the important town of Newcastle, the royal army retreating before them as far as York, and leaving their masters of the three northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, where they subsisted their army and raised what contributions they pleased. As soon as the Scots entered Newcastle, they sent an express to the lord-mayor and aldermen of London to assure them they would not interrupt the trade between that town and the city of London, but would cultivate all manner of friendship and brotherly correspondence. They also sent messengers to the king, with an humble petition that his majesty would please “ to confirm their late acts of Parliament, restore their ships and merchandise, recall his proclamation which styles them rebels, and call an English Parliament to settle the peace between both kingdoms.” This was followed by another, signed by twelve peers, with his majesty, at York, and by a third from the city of London. The king, finding it impossible to carry on the war, appointed commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, who agreed to a cessation of arms for two months from the 26th of October, the Scots to have £850 a day for maintenance of their army, and the treaty to be adjourned to London, where a free Parliament was immediately to be convened. The calling an English Parliament was the grand affair that had been concerted with the Scots before their coming into England, and it was high time, because, to all appearance, this was the last crisis for saving the Constitution. If the Irish and English

armies were raised to reduce Scotland under the arbitrary power of the prerogative (as Lord Clarendon confesses), what could be expected but that afterward they should march back into England and establish the same despotic power here, with a standing army, beyond all recovery!

Sad and melancholy was the condition of the prime ministers when they saw themselves reduced to the necessity of submitting their conduct to the examination of an English Parliament, supported by an army from Scotland, and the general discontents of the people! Several of the courtiers began to shift for themselves; some withdrew from the storm, and others, having been concerned in various illegal projects, deserted their masters, and made their peace by discovering the king's councils to the leading members of Parliament, which disabled the junto from making any considerable efforts for their safety. All men had a veneration for the person of the king, though his majesty had lost ground in their affections by his ill usage of Parliaments, and by taking the faults of his ministers upon himself. But the queen was in no manner of esteem with any who had the Protestant religion and the liberties of their country at heart. The bishops had sunk their character by their behaviour in the spiritual courts, so that they had nothing to expect but that their wings should be clipped. And the judges were despised and hated for betraying the laws of their country, and giving a sanction to the illegal proceedings of the council and Star Chamber. As his majesty had few friends of credit or interest among the people at home, so he had nothing to expect from abroad; France and Spain were pleased with his distress; the foreign Protestants wished well to the oppressed people of England; they published their resentments against the bishops for their hard usage of the Dutch and French congregations, and gave it as their opinion that a Protestant king who countenanced papists, and at the same time drove his Protestant subjects out of the kingdom, was not worthy the assistance of the Reformed churches, especially after he had renounced communion with them, and declared openly that the religion of the Church of England was not the same with that of the foreign Protestants.

Three considerable divines of a very different character died about this time: Mr. John Ball, educated in Brazen-nose College, Oxon, and afterward minister of Whitmore, a small village near Newcastle in Staffordshire, where he lived upon £20 a year, and the profits of a little school. He was a learned and pious man, deserving as high esteem, says Mr. Baxter, as the best bishop in England, though he was content with a poor house, a mean habit, and a small maintenance. Being dissatisfied with the terms of conformity, it was some time before he could meet with an opportunity to be ordained without subscription, but at last he obtained it from the hands of an Irish bishop, then occasionally in London; though he lived and died a Non-conformist, he was an enemy to a separation, and wrote against Mr. Can and Mr. Robinson on that head. His last work, entitled “ A Stay against Straying,” was subscribed by five most noted Presbyterian divines, who all testified that

* Nalson, p. 500.

he died abundantly satisfied in the cause of Non-conformity, which he distinguished from separation. His other works were very numerous, and of great reputation in those times.* He died October 20, 1640, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.†

Dr. Lawrence Chadderton, born in Lancashire, 1546, of popish parents, who, when they heard their son had changed his religion, disinherited him; he was first fellow of Christ's College, and afterward minister of Emanuel College, Cambridge. King James nominated him one of the four representatives of the Puritans in the Hampton Court Conference, and afterward one of the translators of the Bible.‡ He commenced D.D. 1612, and governed his college with great reputation many years, being remarkable for gravity, learning, and piety; he had a plain but effectual way of preaching, says Fuller,§ having a strict regard for the Sabbath, and a great aversion to Arminianism. He was a fine, grayheaded old gentleman, and could read without spectacles to his death, which happened in the hundred and third year of his age. Being advanced in years, and afraid of being succeeded by an Arminian divine, he resigned his mastership to Dr. Preston, whom he survived, and saw Dr. Sancerot, and after him Dr. Holdisworth, succeed him, which last attended his funeral, at St. Andrew's Church, and gave him a large and deserved commendation in a funeral sermon.||

Dr. Richard Neile, archbishop of York, born in King-street, Westminster, of mean parents, his father being a tallow-chandler. He was educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, and passed through all the degrees and orders of preferment in the Church of England, having been a schoolmaster, curate, vicar, parson, chaplain, master of the Savoy, Dean of Westminster, clerk of the closet to two kings, Bishop of Rochester, Litchfield, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester, and, lastly, Archbishop of York. The Oxford historian says he was an affectionate subject to his prince, an indulgent father to his clergy, a bountiful patron to his chaplains, and a true friend to all that relied upon him. Dr. Heylin confesses that he was not very eminent either for parts or learning; Mr. Prynne says he was a popish Arminian prelate, and a persecutor of all orthodox and godly ministers. It is certain he had few or none of the qualifications of a primitive bishop; he hardly preached a sermon in twelve years, and gained his preferments by flattery and servile court compliances. He was a zealous advocate for pompous innovations in the Church, and oppressive projects in the state, for which he would have felt the resentments of the House of Commons had he lived a little longer; but he died very seasonably for himself, in an advanced age, October 31, 1640, three days before the meeting of the Long Parliament.

* His "Grounds of the Christian Religion" passed through fourteen editions, and was translated into the Turkish language. Mr. Ball's treatise on Faith, and on "The Power of Godliness," are works of great merit, and are still eagerly sought after.—C.

† Clarke's Lives, annexed to his General Martyrology, p. 147. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 146. § Book ii., p. 118.

|| Clarke's Lives, annexed to the Martyrology, p. 146, 147. Dr. Chadderton has a monument at the entrance of Emanuel College Chapel.—C.

[To the divines to whose memory Mr. Neal pays the just tribute of respect in this chapter, may be added the great Mr. Joseph Mede. He was descended from a good family, and born in October, 1586, at Berden, in Essex. He received his grammar learning first at Hoddesdon, in Hertfordshire, and finished it at Weathersfield, in Essex. While he was at this last school, he bought Bellarmine's Hebrew Grammar, and, without the assistance of a master, attained considerable skill in the Hebrew tongue. In 1602 he was sent to Christ's College, in Cambridge. In 1612 he took the degree of master of arts, and in 1618 that of bachelor in divinity; but his modesty and humility restrained him from taking the degree of doctor. After taking the first degree, by the influence of Bishop Andrews he was chosen fellow of his college, having been passed over at several elections as one suspected of favouring Puritanical principles. In 1627, at the recommendation of Archbishop Usher, he was elected provost of Trinity College, Dublin, but declined accepting this preferment, as he did also when it was offered him a second time in 1630. On the small income of his fellowship and a college-lecture he was extremely generous and charitable, and constantly appropriated a tenth of it to charitable uses. Temperance, frugality, and a care to avoid unnecessary expenses enabled him to do this. His thoughts were much employed on the generous design of effecting a universal pacification among Protestants. It was a favourite saying with him, "that he never found himself prone to change his hearty affections to any one for mere difference in opinion." He was a friend to free inquiry: "I cannot believe," said he, "that truth can be prejudiced by the discovery of truth; but I fear that the maintenance thereof by fallacy or falsehood may not end with a blessing." He was an eminent and faithful tutor. It was his custom to require the attendance of his pupils in the evening, to examine them on the studies of the day; the first question he then proposed to every one in his order was, "Quid dubitas?" What doubts have you met with in your studies to-day? For he supposed that to doubt nothing, and to understand nothing, was nearly the same thing. Before he dismissed them to their lodgings, after having solved their questions, he commended them and their studies to God's protection and blessing by prayer. He was anxious and laborious in his study of history and antiquities, and diligently applied every branch of knowledge to increase his skill in the sacred writings. He led the way in showing that papal Rome was one principal object of the Apocalyptic visions; and was the first who suggested the sentiments since espoused and defended by the pens of Lardner, Sykes, and Farmer, that the demoniacs in the New Testament were not real possessions, but persons afflicted with a lunacy and epilepsy. His days were spent in studious retirement. He died on the 1st of October, 1638, in the fifty-second year of his age. In 1677, a complete edition of his works was published in folio by Dr. Worthington.—*British Biography*, vol. iv., p. 446–452, and his *Life, prefixed to his Works.*]—Ed.

CHAPTER VII.

KING CHARLES I., 1640.

THE CHARACTER OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.—
THEIR ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE LATE CONVO-
CATION AND CANONS.—THE IMPEACHMENT OF
DR. WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—
VOTES OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AGAINST
THE PROMOTERS OF THE LATE INNOVATIONS.

We are now entering upon the proceedings of the Long Parliament, which continued sitting with some little intermission for above eighteen years, and occasioned such prodigious revolutions in Church and State, as were the surprise and wonder of all Europe. The House of Commons have been severely censured for the ill success of their endeavours to recover and secure the Constitution of the country; but the attempt was glorious, though a train of unforeseen accidents rendered it fatal in the event. The members consisted chiefly of country gentlemen, who had no attachment to the court; for, as Whitelocke observes, "Though the court laboured to bring in their friends, yet those who had most favour with them had least in the country; and it was not a little strange to see what a spirit of opposition to the court proceedings was in the hearts and actions of the most of the people, so that very few of that party had the favour of being chosen members of this Parliament."* Mr. Echard insinuates some unfair methods of election, which might be true on both sides; but both he and Lord Clarendon admit that there were many great and worthy patriots in the House, and as eminent as any age had ever produced; men of gravity, of wisdom, and of great and plentiful fortunes, who would have been satisfied with some few amendments in Church and State.

Before the opening of the session, the principal members consulted measures for securing the frequency of Parliaments; for redressing the grievances in Church and State; and for bringing the king's arbitrary ministers to justice; to accomplish which, it was thought necessary to set some bounds to the prerogative, and to lessen the power of the bishops; but it never entered into their thoughts to overturn the civil or ecclesiastical constitution, as will appear from the concurrent testimony of the most unexceptionable historians.

"As to their religion," says the noble historian,† "they were all members of the Established Church, and almost to a man for episcopal government. Though they were undevoted enough to the court, they had all imaginable duty for the king, and affection for the government established by law or ancient custom; and without doubt the majority of that body were persons of gravity and wisdom, who, being possessed of great and plentiful fortunes, had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alterations in the government of the Church or State." Dr. Lewis du Moulin, who lived through these times, says "that both Lords and Commons were most, if not all, peaceable, orthodox Church of England men, all conforming to the rites and ceremonies of episcopacy, but greatly averse to popery and tyranny, and to the corrupt part of the Church

that inclined towards Rome." This is farther evident from their order of November 20, 1640, *that none should sit in their House but such as would receive the communion according to the usage of the Church of England.* The Commons, in their grand remonstrance of December 1, 1641, declared to the world, "that it was far from their purpose to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the Church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of Divine service they pleased; for we hold it requisite," say they, "that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the law enjoins according to the Word of God." The noble historian adds, farther, "that even after the battle of Edgehill, the design against the Church was not grown popular in the House; that in the years 1642 and 1643 the Lords and Commons were in perfect conformity to the Church of England, and so was their army, the general and officers both by sea and land being neither Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, nor Conventiclers; and that, when they cast their eyes upon Scotland, there were, in truth, very few in the two houses who desired the extirpation of episcopacy. Nay, his lordship is of opinion that the nation in general was less inclined to the Puritans than to the papists; at least, that they were for the Establishment; for when the king went to Scotland [1641], the Common Prayer was much revered throughout the kingdom, and was a general object of veneration to the people. There was a full submission and love to the established government of the Church and State, especially to that part of the Church which concerned the liturgy and Book of Common Prayer;" which, though it be hardly credible, as will appear hereafter by the numbers of petitions from several counties against the hierarchy, yet may serve to silence those of his lordship's admirers who, through ignorance and ill will, have represented the Long Parliament, and the body of the Puritans at their first sitting down, as in a plot against the whole ecclesiastical establishment.

If we may believe his lordship's character of the leading members of both houses, even of those who were most active in the war against the king, we shall find even they were true churchmen according to law, and that they had no designs against episcopacy, nor any inclinations to presbytery or the separation.*

The Earl of Essex was captain-general and commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary army, and so great was his reputation, that his very name commanded thousands into their service. It had been impossible for the Parliament to have raised an army, in Lord Clarendon's opinion, if the Earl of Essex had not consented to be their general; and "yet this nobleman," says he,† "was not ind devoted to the function of bishops, but was as much devoted as any

* It is very important for the reader to bear these facts in recollection. The exactions and overbearing tyranny of the Church led these men to their future course, as the only means of self-preservation. *The laity* saved the kingdom from the doom which threatened it.—C.

† Clarendon, vol. i., p. 182, 185, 189, 211, 213, 233, 507; and vol. ii., p. 211, 212, 214, 462, 597, &c.

* Memorials, p. 35.

† Clarendon, vol. i., p. 184, &c.

man to the Book of Common Prayer, and obliged all his servants to be present with him at it; his household chaplain being always a conformable man and a good scholar."

The Earl of Bedford was general of the horse under the Earl of Essex, but "he had no desire that there should be any alteration in the government of the Church; he had always lived towards my Lord of Canterbury himself with all respect and reverence; he frequently visited and dined with him, subscribed liberally to the repairing of St. Paul's, and seconded all pious undertakings."

Lord Kimbolton, afterward Earl of Manchester, was a man of great generosity and good-breeding, and no man was more in the confidence of the discontented party, or more trusted; he was commander of part of the Parliament forces, and rather complied with the changes of the times than otherwise; he had a considerable share in the restoration of King Charles II., and was in high favour with him till his death.

The Earl of Warwick was admiral of the Parliament fleet; he was the person who seized on the king's ships, and employed them against him during the whole course of the war; he was looked upon as the greatest patron of the Puritans, and "yet this nobleman," says Lord Clarendon, "never discovered any aversion to episcopacy, but much professed the contrary."

In truth, says the noble historian, when the bill was brought into the House to deprive the bishops of their votes in Parliament, there were only at that time taken notice of in the House of Peers the Lords Say and Brook, as positive enemies to the whole fabric of the Church, and to desire a dissolution of the government.

Among the leading members in the House of Commons we may reckon William Lenthall, Esq., their speaker, "who was of no ill reputation for his affection to the government both of Church and State," says his lordship, and declared on his deathbed, after the Restoration, that he had always esteemed the episcopal government to be the best government of the Church, and accordingly died a dutiful son of the Church of England.

Mr. Pym had the leading influence in the House of Commons, and was, in truth, the most popular man, and most able to do hurt of any who lived in his time; and yet, Lord Clarendon says, "though he was an enemy to the Arminians, he professed to be very entirely for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and was never thought to be for violent measures till the king came to the House of Commons and attempted to seize him among the five members."

Denzil Hollis, Esq., after the Restoration promoted to the dignity of a baron, was at the head of all the Parliament's councils till the year 1647. "He had an indignation," says Lord Clarendon, "against the Independents, nor was he affected to the Presbyterians any otherwise than as they constituted a party to oppose the others, but was well pleased with the government of the Church."

Sir H. Vane, the elder, did the king's affairs an unspeakable prejudice, and yet, "in his judgment, he liked the government both of

Church and State; nay, he not only appeared highly conformable himself, but exceeding sharp against those that were not."

Sir John Hotham was the gentleman who shut the gates of Hull against the king, and in a sally that he made upon the king's forces shed the first blood that was spilled in the civil war, and was the first his majesty proclaimed a traitor; and yet his lordship declares "he was very well affected to the government."

His lordship is a little more dubious about the famous Mr. Hampden, but says that most people believed "his dislike was rather to some churchmen than to the ecclesiastical government of the Church."

I might mention Mr. Whitelocke, Selden, Langhorne, and others, who are represented without the least inclination to Presbytery; but it is sufficient to observe, from his lordship, "that all the Earl of Essex's party, in both houses, were men of such principles that they desired no alteration in the court or government, but only of the persons that acted in it; nay, the chief officers of his army were so zealous for the liturgy, that they would not hear a man as a minister that had not episcopal ordination."

Nathaniel Fiennes, Esq., Sir H. Vane, jun., and, shortly after, Mr. Hampden, were believed to be for root and branch; yet, says his lordship, Mr. Pym was not of that mind, nor Mr. Hollis, nor any of the northern men, nor any of those lawyers who drove on most furiously with them, all of whom were well pleased with the government of the Church; for though it was in the hearts of some few to remove foundations, they had not the courage and confidence to communicate it."

This was the present temper and constitution of both houses; from which his lordship justly concludes that, "as they were all of them, almost to a man, conformists to the Church of England, they had all imaginable duty for the king and affection for the government established by law; and as for the Church, the major part even of these persons would have been willing to satisfy the king; the rather, because they had no reason to think the two houses, or, indeed, either of them, could have been induced to pursue the contrary." How injurious, then, are the characters of those Church historians, and others, who have represented the members of this Parliament, even at their first session, as men of the new religion, or of no religion, fanatics, men deeply engaged in a design against the whole Constitution in Church and State!

The Parliament was opened November 3, with a most gracious speech from the throne, wherein his majesty declares he would concur with them in satisfying their just grievances, leaving it with them where to begin. Only some offence was taken at styling the Scots rebels at a time when there was a pacification subsisting; upon which his majesty came to the House, and, instead of softening his language, very imprudently avowed the expression, saying he could call them neither better nor worse. The houses petitioned his majesty to appoint a fast for a Divine blessing upon their councils, which was observed November 17; the Rev. Mr. Marshal and Mr. Burges

preached before the Commons, the former on 2 Chron., xv., 2, "The Lord is with you while you are with him; if you seek him he will be found of you, but if you forsake him he will forsake you;" the latter on Jer., i., 5, "They shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, Come, and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten." The sermons were long, but delivered with a great deal of caution: the House gave them thanks and a piece of plate for their labours. The Bishops of Durham and Carlisle preached before the Lords in the Abbey Church of Westminster; the one a courtier, and the other a favourer of the Puritans. The Lord's Day following, all the members in a body received the sacrament from the hands of Bishop Williams, dean of Westminster, not at the rails about the altar, but at a communion-table, placed, by order of the House, in the middle of the church on that occasion.

At their first entrance upon business they appointed four grand committees; the first to receive petitions about grievances of religion, which was afterward subdivided into twenty or thirty; the second for the affairs of Scotland and Ireland; the third for civil grievances, as ship-money, judges, courts of justice, monopolies, &c.; the fourth concerning popery, and plots relating thereunto. Among the grievances of religion, one of the first things that came before the House was the acts and canons of the late convocation: several warm speeches were made against the compilers of them, November 9; and, among others, Lord Digby, who was as yet with the country party, stood up and said, "Does not every Parliament-man's heart rise to see the prelates usurping to themselves the grand pre-eminence of Parliament? the granting subsidies under the name of a benevolence, under no less a penalty to them that refuse it than the loss of heaven and earth—of heaven by excommunication, and of earth by deprivation, and this without redemption by appeal? What good man can think with patience of such an ensnaring oath as that which the new canons enjoin to be taken by ministers, lawyers, physicians, and graduates in the University, where, besides the swearing such an impertinence as that things necessary to salvation are contained in discipline; besides the swearing those to be of Divine right which among the learned was never pretended to, as the arch things in our hierarchy; besides the swearing not to consent to the change of that which the state may, upon great reasons, think fit to alter; besides the bottomless perjury of an *et cetera*; besides all this, men must swear that they swear freely and voluntarily that they are compelled to; and, lastly, that they swear to the oath in the literal sense, whereof no two of the makers themselves, that I have heard of, could ever agree in the understanding."*

* Dr. Grey contrasts this speech of Lord Digby's, as far as it censures the convocation for taxing the clergy, with some reflections on it from Collyer, who asserts that the clergy had always the privilege of taxing their own body; that from Magna Charta to the 37th of Henry VIII. there is no parliamentary confirmation of subsidies given by the clergy; and that in 1585 there is an instance of the convocation granting and levying a subsidy or benevolence by synodical authority. The credit of Mr. Neal's history,

Sir B. Rudyard, Sir J. Culpeper, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, spoke with the same warmth and satirical wit for discharging the canons, dismantling them, and melting them down; nor did any gentleman stand up in their behalf but Mr. Holbourn, who is said to make a speech of two hours in their vindication; but his arguments made no impression on the House, for at the close of the debate a committee of twelve gentlemen, among whom were Mr. Selden, Maynard, and Coke, was appointed to search for the warrants by which the convocation was held, after the Parliament broke up, and for the letters patent of the benevolence, and for such other materials as might assist the House in their next debate upon this argument, which was appointed for December 14, when some of the members would have aggravated the crime of the convocation to high treason, but Sergeant Maynard and Mr. Bagshaw moderated their resentments, by convincing them that they were only in a præmunire. At the close of the debate the House came to the following resolutions:

Resolved *nem. contradicente*, "That the clergy of England, convened in any convocation or synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any constitutions, canons, or acts whatsoever, in matters of doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy or laity of the land, without consent of Parliament.

Resolved, "That the several constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, presidents of the convocations for their respective provinces, and the rest of the bishops and clergy of those provinces, and agreed upon with the king's majesty's license, in their several synods begun at London and York, 1640, do not bind the clergy or laity of the land, or either of them.

Resolved, "That the several constitutions and canons made and agreed to in the convocations or synods above mentioned, do contain in them many matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the rights of Parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence.

Resolved, "That the several grants of benevolences or contributions, granted to his most excellent majesty by the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, in the several convocations or synods holden at London and York in the year 1640, are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy."

in this point, is no farther concerned than as he faithfully represents Lord Digby's speech. This Dr. Grey does not dispute. Yet it may be proper to observe, that a great lawyer says "that the grants of the clergy were illegal, and not binding, unless they were confirmed in Parliament;" and that Lord Clarendon, speaking of this convocation giving subsidies out of Parliament, censures it as doing that "which it certainly might not do." The last subsidies granted by the clergy were those confirmed by the statute 15 Car. I., cap. x. Since which, this practice of granting ecclesiastical subsidies has given way to another method of taxation, comprehending the clergy as well as the laity; and in recompense for it, the benefited clergy are allowed to vote for knights of the shire.—*Collyer's Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 795. *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. i., p. 311, 8vo, 1778; and *Lord Clarendon's Hist.*, vol. i., p. 148.—Ed.

If the first of these resolutions be agreeable to law, I apprehend there were then no canons subsisting, for those of 1603 were not brought into Parliament, but, being made in a parliamentary convocation, were ratified by the king under the great seal, and so became binding on the clergy, according to the statute of the 25th of King Henry VIII. In the Saxon times, all ecclesiastical laws and constitutions were confirmed by the peers, and by the representatives of the people;* but those great councils, to which our Parliaments succeed, being made up of laics and ecclesiastics, were afterward separated, and then the clergy did their business by themselves, and enacted laws without confirmation of king or Parliament, during the reign of popery, till the act of the submission of the clergy to King Henry VIII., so that the claim of making canons without the sanction of Parliament seemed to stand upon no other foundation than the usurped power of the pope: nor did the Parliaments of those times yield up their right; for in the 51st of Edward III. the Commons passed a bill that no act or ordinance should be made for the future upon the petition of the clergy, without the consent of the Commons; "and that the said Commons should not be bound for the future by any constitutions of the clergy to which they had not given their consent in Parliament." But the bill being dropped, things went on upon the former footing till the reign of King Henry VIII.,† when the pope's usurped power being abolished, both Parliament and clergy agreed, by the Act of Submission, that no canons should be

* Dr. Grey controverts, and says, "I should be glad to know what authority he has for this assertion." It is not for the editor to give the authority, when Mr. Neal has not himself referred to it; but he can supply the want of it by an authority which, if Dr. Grey were living, would command his respect, viz., that of Dr. Burn, who tells us that, "even in the Saxon times, if the subject of any laws was for the outward peace and temporal government of the Church, such laws were properly ordained by the king and his great council of clergy and laity intermixed, as our acts of Parliament are still made. But if there was any doctrine to be tried, or any exercise of pure discipline to be reformed, then the clergy of the great council departed into a separate synod, and there acted as the proper judges. Only when they had thus provided for the state of religion, they brought their canons from the synod to the great council, to be ratified by the king, with the advice of his great men, and so made the constitutions of the Church to be laws of the realm. And the Norman revolution made no change in this respect." This author farther says, "that the convocation-tax did always pass both houses of Parliament, since it could not bind as a law till it had the consent of the Legislature." Judge Foster, in his examination of Bishop Gibson's Codex, appeals to the laws of Ethelbert and Withred, kings of Kent, and of Ina of Wessex; to the laws of Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, and Canute, as proofs that the ecclesiastical and civil concerns of the kingdom were not, in the times of the Saxons, under the care of two separate legislatures, and subject to different administrations, but blended together, and directed by one and the same Legislature, the great councils, or, in modern style, the Parliaments, of the respective kingdoms during the heptarchy, and of the United Kingdom afterward.—*Burn's Ecclesiastical Law*, vol. ii., p. 22, 26, 8vo. *An Examination of the Scheme of Church Power laid down in the Codex*, p. 120, &c.—Ed.

† Fuller's Appeal, p. 42.

binding without the royal assent; and that the clergy in convocation should not so much as consult about any without the king's special license. But Sergeant Maynard delivered it as his opinion in the House, that it did not follow, that because the clergy might not make canons without the king's license, that therefore they might make them and bind them on the clergy by his license alone; for this were to take away the ancient rights of Parliament before the pope's usurpation, which they never yielded up, nor does the act of submission of the clergy take away. Upon this reasoning the Commons voted their first resolution, the strength of which I leave to the reader's consideration.

The arguments upon which the other resolutions are founded will be laid together, after we have related the proceedings of the convocation.

The convocation was opened November 4, 1640. Dr. Bargrave, dean of Canterbury, preached the sermon, and Dr. Steward, dean of Chichester, was chosen prolocutor, and presented to the archbishop's acceptance in King Henry VII.'s chapel, when his grace made a pathetic speech, lamenting the danger of the Church, and exhorting every one present to perform the duty of their places with resolution, and not to be wanting to themselves or the cause of religion; but nothing of moment was transacted, there being no commission from the king; only Mr. Warmistie, one of the clerks for the diocese of Worcester, being convinced of the invalidity of the late canons, moved the House that they might cover the pit which they had opened, and prevent a parliamentary inquisition, by petitioning the king for leave to review them; but his motion was rejected, the House being of opinion that the canons were justifiable; nor would they appear so mean as to condemn themselves before they were accused. Mr. Warmistie suffered in the opinion of his brethren within doors for his cowardly speech, and was reproached from without as an enemy to the Church and a turncoat, because he had subscribed those articles which now he condemned. This obliged him to publish his speech to the world, wherein, after having declared his satisfaction in the doctrine, discipline, and government of the Church of England, as far as it is established by law, he goes on to wish there had been no private innovations introduced; for though he approves of an outward reverence in the worship of God, he is against directing it to altars and images. He apprehends it reasonable that such innocent ceremonies as have a proper tendency to decency and order should be retained, but wishes the removal of crosses and images out of churches, as scandalous and superstitious, having an apparent tendency towards idolatry; and that there might be no lighted candles in the daytime; he then gives his reasons against the oath in the sixth canon, and concludes with these words: "If my subscription be urged against what I have said, I was persuaded it was the practice of synods and councils that the whole body should subscribe to those acts which are passed by the major part as synodical acts, notwithstanding their private dissent; if my subscription implied any more, I do so far recant and condemn it in my-

self, and desire pardon both of God and the Church, resolving, by God's grace, to be more cautious hereafter." Mr. Warmistre's behaviour showed him to be a wise and discreet clergyman; and his being sequestered from his livings some time after, for not submitting to the Parliament, shows him to have been a man of principle, not to be moved from his integrity by the resentments of his friends or the flatteries of his enemies. And though the convocation was so sanguine at their first coming together as to despise Mr. Warmistre's motion, yet when they saw the vigorous resolutions of the House of Commons against the canons, and the articles of impeachment against the metropolitan for high treason, one of which was for compiling the late canons, they were dispirited, and in a few weeks deserted their stations in the Convocation-house; the bishops also discontinued their meetings, and in a few weeks both houses dwindled to nothing, and broke up without either adjournment or prorogation.

To return to the Parliament. It was argued against the late convocation, that they were no legal assembly after the dissolution of the Parliament; that his majesty had no more power to continue them than to recall his Parliament;* nor could he, by his letters patent, convert them into a national or provincial synod, because the right of their election ceasing at the expiration of the convocation, they ought to have been re-chosen before they could act in the name of the clergy whom they represented, or bind them by their decrees. It is contrary to all law and reason in the world, that a number of men, met together in a convocation, upon a summons limited to a certain time, should, after the expiration of that time, by a new commission, be changed into a national or provincial synod, without the voice or election of any one person concerned. The Commons were therefore at a loss by what name to call this extraordinary assembly, being in their opinion neither convocation nor synod, because no representative body of the clergy. The words convocation

and synod are convertible terms, signifying the same thing, and it is essential to both that they be chosen by (if they are to make constitutions and canons to bind) the clergy. Some, indeed, have thought of a small distinction, as that a convocation must begin and end with the Parliament, whereas a synod may be called by the king out of Parliament; but then such an assembly cannot give subsidies for their brethren, nor make laws by which they will be bound.

The objections to the particular canons were these:

1. Against the first canon it was argued, that the compilers of it had invaded the rights and prerogatives of Parliament, by pretending to settle and declare the extent of the king's power, and the subjects' obedience.

By declaring the sacred order of kings to be of Divine right, founded in the prime laws of nature and revelation, by which they condemned all other governments.

By affirming that the king had an absolute power over all his subjects, and a right to the subsidies and aids of his people without consent of Parliament.

By affirming that subjects may not bear arms against their king, either offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, upon pain of receiving to themselves damnation.

By taking upon themselves to define some things to be treason not included in the statute of treasons.

And, lastly, by inflicting a penalty on such of the king's subjects as shall dare to disobey them, in not reading and publishing the above-mentioned particulars; in all which cases it was averred that they had "invaded the rights of Parliament, destroyed the liberty of the subject, and subverted the very fundamental laws and constitutions of England."

2. It was objected against the second canon, that they had assumed the legislative power, in appointing a new holyday contrary to the statute, which says that there shall be such and such holydays, and no more.

4. It was objected against the fourth canon, that whereas the determination of heresy is expressly reserved to Parliament, the convocation had declared that to be heresy which the law takes no notice of, and had condemned Socinianism in general, without declaring what was included under that denomination, so that after all it was left in their own breasts whom they would condemn and censure under that character.

6. It was objected against the sixth canon, that it imposed a new oath upon the subject, which is a power equal, if not superior, to the making a new law.* It was argued likewise against the oath itself, that in some parts it was

* Archbishop Laud, to exculpate himself from blame in this matter, declared that "this sitting of the convocation was not by his advice or desire, but that he humbly desired a writ to dissolve it." It was set up in defence of this measure (and the argument has since been adopted by Dr. Warner), that the Parliament and convocation, being separate bodies, and convened by different writs, the dissolution of the former does not necessarily infer the dissolution of the latter, which could not rise till discharged by another writ. Dr. Burn has advanced this reason into a general principle, but on no other authority than that of Dr. Warner in this case. The lord-keeper, the judges, and king's council assured the king that the clergy might legally continue their sitting. But much allowance is to be made for the influence under which the opinion of court-lawyers is given; as in the case of ship-money. Mr. Neal's reasoning on this point carries great weight with it. Lord Clarendon speaks of the continued sitting of the convocation as rather unprecedented; for he says that this assembling of the clergy customarily began and ended with Parliaments. It was evidently impolitic, in such a conjuncture of time, to deviate from the custom, and to stretch the prerogative. *Dr. Grey's Examination in loc. Nelson's Collection*, vol. i, p. 365. *Warner's Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 535. *Burn's Eccles. Law*, vol. ii., p. 27; and *Lord Clarendon's Hist.*, vol. i., p. 148.—*Ed.*

* The archbishop, in reply to this objection, referred to various canons made in King James's time, and appointing different oaths, merely by the authority of convocation, viz., canons 40, 118, 103, and 127, as precedents, which had never been declared illegal, nor the makers of them censured by Parliaments; and which justified, therefore, the power assumed by this convocation. His lordship in urging, and Dr. Grey in repeating, this defence, did not perceive that it is a bad and insufficient plea for doing wrong, that others had escaped the censure and punishment due to illegal conduct.—*Grey's Examination in loc.*—*Ed.*

very ambiguous and doubtful, and in others directly false and illegal.

We are to swear in the oath that "we approve the doctrine, discipline, or government established in the Church of England," and yet we are not told wherein that doctrine and discipline are contained; whether by the doctrine of the Church we are to understand only the Thirty-nine Articles, or likewise the Homilies and Church catechism; and by the discipline, only the Book of Canons, or likewise all other ecclesiastical orders not repealed by statute; for it is observable that the words of the oath are, "as it is established," and not as it is established by law. And the ambiguity is farther increased by that remarkable *et cetera*, inserted in the body of the oath; for whereas oaths ought to be explicit, and the sense of the words as clear and determined as possible, we are here to swear to we know not what, to something that is not expressed; by which means we are left to the arbitrary interpretation of the judge, and may be involved in the guilt of perjury before we are aware.

But, besides the ambiguity of the oath, it contains some things false and illegal; for it affirms the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, to be of Divine right; for after we have sworn to the hierarchy as established by the law of the land, we are to swear farther, that "by right it ought so to stand:" which words are a mere tautology, or else must infer some farther right than that which is included in the legal establishment, which can be no other than a Divine right. Now, though it should be allowed that the government of the Church by bishops is of Divine right, yet certainly archbishops, deans, and archdeacons can have no pretence to that claim.

Besides, to swear "never to give our consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, &c., as it stands now established," is directly contrary to the oath of supremacy, for in that oath we are sworn to assist his majesty in the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction or government, by his commission under the great seal, directed to such persons as he shall think meet; so that if his majesty should think fit at any time to commission other persons to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction than at present, we are sworn by the oath of supremacy not only to consent, but to aid and assist him in it, whereas in this new oath we swear never to consent to any such alteration.

Nothing is more evident than that the discipline of the Church is alterable; the Church itself laments the want of godly discipline, and many of the clergy and laity wish and desire an amendment; it is therefore very unreasonable that all who take degrees in the universities, many of whom may be members of Parliament, shall be sworn beforehand "never to consent to any alteration." And though it is known to all the world that many of the conforming clergy are dissatisfied with some branches of the present establishment, yet they are to swear that they take this oath "heartily and willingly," though they are compelled to it under the penalties of suspension and deprivation. Some objections were made to the seventh and other canons, but these were the chief.

Archbishop Laud, in his answer to the impeachment of the House of Commons against himself, boldly undertakes to refute all these objections, and to justify the whole, and every branch of the canons; his words are these: "I hope I am able to make it good in any learned assembly in Christendom, that this oath, and all those canons (then made, and here before recited), and every branch in them, are just and orthodox, and moderate, and most necessary for the present condition of the Church of England, how unwelcome soever to the present dissenters."* Lord Clarendon expresses himself modestly on the other side; he doubts whether the convocation was a legal assembly after the dissolution of the Parliament, and is very sure that their proceedings are not to be justified. "The Convocation house," says he, "which is the regular and legal assembling of the clergy, was, after the determination of the Parliament, continued by a new writ under the proper title of a synod; made canons, which it was thought it might do; and gave subsidies out of Parliament, and enjoined oaths, which certainly it might not do; in a word, did many things which in the best of times might have been questioned, and, therefore, were sure to be condemned in the worst." The Parliament that sat after the Restoration was of the same mind with his lordship, forasmuch as these canons were excepted out of the act of 13 Car. II., cap. xii., and declared of no validity. Mr. Echard is of opinion that the synod that framed these canons was not a legal representative of the clergy after the dissolution of the two houses. But Bishop Kennet, in his complete history, says that these public censures of the canons were grounded upon prejudice and faction; that it is hard to find any defect of legality in the making of them; and that, if these canons were not binding, we have no proper canons since the Reformation; he therefore wishes them, or some others like them, revived, because "in very much of doctrine and discipline they are a good example to any future convocation; and that we can hardly hope for unity, or any tolerable regularity, without some constitutions of the like nature." Strange! that a dignified clergyman, who held his bishopric upon revolution principles, should wish the subversion of the Constitution of his country, and declare for principles of persecution. If I might have liberty to wish, it should be that neither we nor our posterity may ever enjoy the blessings of unity and regularity upon the footing of such canons.

Upon the same day that the House passed the above-mentioned resolutions against the canons, several warm speeches were made against

* Dr. Grey asks here, "Where does the archbishop say this? Our historian quotes no authority; and as he is often faulty when he quotes chapter and verse, so without it I am unwilling wholly to depend upon his bare *ipse dixit*." The editor is not able, at present, to supply here Mr. Neal's omission; but he finds the same words of Archbishop Laud quoted by Dr. Warner (who never refers to his authorities), as spoken in the House of Lords. And the doctor expresses on them his belief that, as to many of the articles contained in the canons, the archbishop here undertook to do what he would have found it difficult to make good.—*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 535.—Ed.

the Archbishop of Canterbury as the chief author of them; and a committee was appointed to inquire more particularly how far his grace had been concerned in the proceedings of the convocation, and in the treasonable design of subverting the religion and laws of his country, in order to draw up articles against him. Next day the Earl of Bristol acquainted the House of Lords that the Scots commissioners had presented some papers against the Archbishop of Canterbury,* which were read by the Lord Paget, and then reported to the House of Commons, at a conference between the two houses. Their charge consisted of divers grievances (which had occasioned great disturbances in the kingdom of Scotland), ranged under three heads, of all which they challenged the archbishop to be the chief author upon earth.

The first branch of the charge consisted of "divers alterations in religion, imposed upon them without order and against law, contrary to the form established in their Kirk;" as, his enjoining the bishops to appear in the chapel in their whites (1), contrary to the custom of their Kirk and the archbishop's own promise; his directing the English service to be read in the chapel twice a day (2); his ordering a list of those counsellors and senators of the College of Justice who did not communicate in the chapel, according to a form received in their Kirk, to be sent up to him, in order to their being punished (3); his presumptuous censuring the practice of the Kirk in fasting sometimes on the Lord's Day, as opposite to Christianity itself (4); his ob-

taining warrants for the sitting of a High Commission Court once a week, at Edinburgh (5); and his directing the taking down of galleries and stone walls in the kirks of Edinburgh and St. Andrew's, to make way for altars and adoration towards the east (6).

The second branch of their charge was, "his obtruding upon them a book of canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, devised for the establishing a tyrannical power in .ne persons of their prelates, over the consciences, liberties, and goods of the people (7); and for abolishing that discipline and government of their Kirk, which was settled by law, and had obtained among them ever since the Reformation." For proof of this, they alleged that the Book of Canons was corrected, altered, and enlarged by him at his pleasure, as appears by the interlineations and marginal notes in the book, written with the archbishop's own hand; that he had added some entire new canons, and altered others in favour of superstition and popery; and, in several instances relating to the censures of the Church, had lodged an unbounded power in the prelates over the consciences of men.

The third and great innovation with which they charged the archbishop was, "the Book of Common Prayer, administration of the sacraments, and other parts of Divine worship, brought in without warrant from their Kirk, to be universally received as the only form of Divine service, under the highest pains, both civil and ecclesiastical (1); which book contained

* "Mr. Neal," says Dr. Grey, "has given us all the objections of the Scots against the archbishop; and I am so oldfashioned a person as to think that the archbishop's answers to their objections should likewise have been produced by an impartial historian." He renews the same complaint against our author in his second volume, p. 173. Mr. Neal's reason for passing over the archbishop's answer appears to have been, that his grace evaded the whole charge at his trial by pleading the Act of Oblivion at the pacification of the Scots troubles. But, as Dr. Grey has endeavoured to supply Mr. Neal's deficiency, the substance of the archbishop's defences shall be given in the following notes; and the reader will judge of their importance, and of Mr. Neal's conduct in omitting them.—Ed.

(1.) His grace replies to this charge, "that he understood himself a great deal better than to enjoin where he had no power; and perhaps he might express his majesty's command, as dean of his chapel in England, that the service in Scotland should be kept answerable to it here as much as might be."—Ed.

(2.) Here his grace pleads his majesty's command, and his hope that it was no crime for a bishop in England to signify to one in Scotland the king's pleasure concerning the service of his own chapel.—Ed.

(3.) The defence set up on this head by the archbishop was, the king's command; and that the form prescribed, which was kneeling, was an article of the Synod of Perth, made in a General Assembly, and confirmed by act of Parliament. As to the requisition itself, he pleaded that it amounted to no more than if his majesty should command all his judges and counsellors in England, once in the year, to receive the communion in his chapel at Whitehall.—Ed.

(4.) The archbishop vindicates himself, in this instance, by ample testimonies from the fathers, and by decrees of ancient councils, to prove that, in the ancient Church, it was held unlawful to fast on the Lord's Day. The fact, there is no doubt, was so,

and it gave the archbishop a ground of arguing with the Church of Scotland on their practice: but would it justify the asperity of censure towards weaker Christians, or the exercise of authority where every one ought to be persuaded in his own mind?—Ed.

(5.) His grace answers to this charge, that the warrants were not procured by him, but by a Scotchman of good place, employed about it by the bishops; and that the High Commission Court was settled, and in full execution in the Church of Scotland, in 1610, before ever he appeared in public life.—Ed.

(6.) The archbishop absolutely denies, to the best of his memory, giving command or direction for taking down the galleries of St. Andrew's; and urges, that it was very improbable that he should issue such commands where he had nothing, who in London, and other parts of his province, permitted the galleries of the churches to stand. As to the galleries and stone walls in the kirks of Edinburgh, they were removed by the king's command; not to make way for altars and adoration towards the east, but to convert the two churches into a cathedral.—Ed.

(7.) The term "obtruding" the archbishop thinks bold, especially as pointing at the king's authority, whose command enjoined the Book of Canons on the Church of Scotland, and who, in this, exercised no other power than that which King James challenged as belonging to him in right of his crown. His grace does not allow the imputations cast on the Book of Canons; and if they did not belong to them, he pleads that it was owing to invincible ignorance and the Scotch bishops, who would not tell wherein the canons went against their laws, if they did. As to himself, it was his constant advice, in the whole business, that nothing against law should be attempted.—Ed.

(1.) "That the liturgy was brought in without warrant of the Kirk," if it were true, the archbishop pleads was the fault of the Scotch prelates, whom he had, on all occasions, urged to do nothing, in this particular, without warrant of law; and to whom, though he approved the liturgy and obeyed his majesty's command in helping to order that book, he

many popish errors and ceremonies repugnant to their confession of faith, constitutions of their General Assemblies, and to acts of Parliament." Several of these errors are mentioned in the article, and they declare themselves ready, when desired, to discover a great many more of the same kind; all which were imposed upon the kingdom, contrary to their earnest supplications; and, upon their refusal to receive the service-book, they were, by his grace's instigation, declared rebels and traitors (2); an army was raised to subdue them, and a prayer, composed and printed by his direction, to be read in all the parish churches in England, in time of Divine service, wherein they are called "traitorous subjects, having cast off all obedience to their sovereign;" and supplication is made to the Almighty to cover their faces with shame, as enemies to God and the king. They therefore pray that the archbishop* may be immediately removed from his majesty's presence, and that he may be brought to a trial, and receive such censure as he has deserved, according to the laws of the kingdom.

The archbishop has left behind him a particular answer to these articles in his diary,† which is written with peculiar sharpness of style, and discovers a great opinion of his own abilities, and a contempt of his adversaries; but, either from a distrust of the strength of his reply or for some other reasons, his grace was pleased wisely to evade the whole charge at his trial, by pleading the Act of Oblivion (3) at the pacification of the Scots troubles.‡

When the report of these articles was made to the Commons, the resentments of the House against the archbishop immediately broke out into a flame; many severe speeches were made against his late conduct; and, among others, one was by Sir Harbottle Grimstone, speaker of that Parliament which restored King Charles II., who stood up and said, "that this great man, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was the very sty of all that pestilential filth that had infested the government; that he was the only man that had advanced those who, together with himself, had been the authors of all the miseries the nation now groaned under; that he had managed all the projects that had been set on foot for these ten years past, and had conde-

wholly left the manner of introducing it, because he was ignorant of the laws of Scotland.—Ed.

(2.) His grace contends that they deserved these titles, but he did not procure that they should be declared such; but the proclamation fixing these names on them went out by the common advice of the lords of the council.—Ed.

* In the original, "this great firebrand."—*Dr. Grey.*
† In the History of his Troubles and Trial.—*Dr. Grey.*

(3.) This Dr. Grey denies, and adds, "that he pleaded the king's special pardon." The doctor confounds here two different matters. The Act of Oblivion was pleaded by his grace before the trial came on, to cover himself from the charge of the Scots commissioners; the king's pardon was produced when the trial was over, in bar of the ordinance passed for his execution. Mr. Neal, in which he is supported by the authority of Collyer, speaks of the former. Lord Clarendon, whom Dr. Grey quotes, expressly speaks of the latter. The reader will not deem it generous in the doctor to impeach Mr. Neal's veracity on the ground of his own mistake.—Ed.

‡ Collyer's Eccles. Hist., vol. i, p. 380.

scended so low as to deal in tobacco, by which thousands of poor people had been turned out of their trades, for which they served an apprenticeship; that he had been charged in this house, upon very strong proof, with designs to subvert the government, and alter the Protestant religion in this kingdom as well as in Scotland; and there is scarce any grievance or complaint comes before the House wherein he is not mentioned, like an angry wasp, leaving his sting in the bottom of everything." He therefore moved that the charge of the Scots commissioners might be supported by an impeachment of their own, and that the question might now be put, whether the archbishop had been guilty of high treason? which being voted, Mr. Hollis* was immediately sent up to the bar of the House of Lords to impeach him in the name of all the commons of England, and to desire that his person might be sequestered, and that, in convenient time, they would bring up the particulars of their charge; upon which, his grace, being commanded to withdraw, stood up in his place and said, "that he was heartily sorry for the offence taken against him, but humbly desired their lordships to look upon the whole course of his life, which was such as that, he was persuaded, not one man in the House of Commons did believe in his heart that he was a traitor." To which the Earl of Essex replied, "that it was a high reflection upon the whole House of Commons to suppose that they would charge him with a crime which themselves did not believe." After this his grace withdrew, and being called in again, was delivered to the usher of the black rod, to be kept in safe custody till the House of Commons should deliver in their articles of impeachment.

Upon the 26th of February, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Maynard, by order of the Commons, went up to the Lords, and at the bar of that house presented their lordships with fourteen articles, in maintenance of their former charge of high treason against the archbishop, which were read, his grace being present.

In the first, he is charged with endeavouring to subvert the Constitution, by introducing an arbitrary power of government, without any limitation or rule of law. In the second, he is charged with procuring sermons to be preached, and other pamphlets to be printed, in which the authority of Parliaments is denied, and the absolute power of the king asserted to be agreeable to the law of God. The third article charges him with interrupting the course of justice, by messages, threatenings, and promises to the judges. The fourth, with selling justice in his own person, under colour of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and with advising his majesty to sell places of judicature, contrary to law. In the fifth, he is charged with the canons and oath imposed on the subject by the late convocation. In the sixth, with robbing the king of supremacy, by denying the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be derived from the crown. In the seventh, with bringing in popish doctrines, opinions, and ceremonies, contrary to the Articles of the Church, and cruelly persecuting those who oppose them. In the eighth, he is charged with

* Denzil Hollis was brother-in-law to the Earl of Strafford.—C.

promoting persons to the highest and best preferments in the Church who are corrupt in doctrine and manners. In the ninth, with employing such for his domestic chaplains as he knew to be popishly affected, and committed to them the licensing of books, whereby such writings have been published as have been scandalous to the Protestant religion. The tenth article charges him with sundry attempts to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome. The eleventh, with discountenancing of preaching, and with silencing, depriving, imprisoning, and banishing sundry godly and orthodox ministers. The twelfth, with dividing the Church of England from the foreign Protestant churches. The thirteenth, with being the author of all the late disturbances between England and Scotland. And the last, with endeavouring to bereave the kingdom of the legislative power, by alienating the king's mind from his Parliaments.

At the delivery of these articles, Mr. Pym declared that the Commons reserved to themselves the liberty of presenting some additional articles, by which they intended to make their charge more particular and certain as to the time and other circumstances, and prayed their lordships to put the cause into as quick a forwardness as they could.

When the archbishop had heard the articles read, he made his obeisance to the House, and said "that it was a great and heavy charge, and that he was unworthy to live if it could be made good; however, it was yet but in generals, and generals made a great noise, but were no proof. For human frailties he could not excuse himself, but for corruption in the least degree he feared no accuser that would speak truth. But that which went nearest him was, that he was thought false in his religion, as if he should profess with the Church of England, and have his heart at Rome." He then besought their lordships that he might enlarge himself, and so made a short reply to each article, which consisted in an absolute denial of the whole. The Lords voted him to the Tower, whither he was carried in Mr. Maxwell's coach through the city, on Monday, March 1. It was designed he should have passed incognito; but an apprentice in Newgate-street happening to know him, raised the mob, which surrounded the coach, and followed him with huzzas and insults till he got within the Tower gate. Indeed, such was the universal hatred of all ranks and orders of men against this insolent prelate, for his cruel usage of those who had fallen into his hands in the time of his prosperity, that no man's fall in the whole kingdom was so unlamented as his. His grace being lodged in the Tower, thought it his interest to be quiet, without so much as moving the Lords to be brought to a trial, or putting in his answer to the articles of impeachment, till the Commons, after two or three years, exhibited their additional articles, and moved the peers to appoint a day for his trial.

Before the archbishop was confined, he had the mortification to see most of the Church and State prisoners released. November 16, the Bishop of Lincoln was discharged from his imprisonment in the Tower, and his fine remitted. Next day being a public fast, he appeared in the Abbey Church at Westminster, and officiated as

dean. When he resumed his seat in the House of Lords, he behaved with more temper than either the king or the archbishop could expect; whereupon his majesty sent for him, and endeavoured to gain him over to the court, by promising to make him full satisfaction for his past sufferings; in order to which, his majesty commanded all the judgments that were entered against him to be discharged, and within a twelvemonth translated him to the Archbishopric of York, with leave to hold his deanery of Westminster *in commendam* for three years; the bishop, therefore, never complained to the House of his sufferings, nor petitioned for satisfaction.

Mr. Prynne, Mr. Burton, and Dr. Bastwick, being remanded from the several islands to which they had been confined upon their humble petition to the House of Commons, were met some miles out of town by great numbers of people on horseback, with rosemaries and bays in their hats, and escorted into the city in a sort of triumph, with loud acclamations for their deliverance;* and a few weeks after, the House came to the following resolutions: "That the several judgments against them were illegal, unjust, and against the liberty of the subject; that their several fines be remitted; that they be restored to their several professions; and that, for reparation of their losses, Mr. Burton ought to have £6000, and Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick £5000 each, out of the estates of the

* Prynne gives the following account of his own and Burton's entrance into London: "The next morning, early, multitudes of their friends from London and elsewhere met them at Stanes, and came flocking into them afresh every foot, till they came to Bramford, where they dined. All the way from Stanes to Brainford was very full of people, which came to meet them and welcome them into England, some in coaches, others on horseback, others on foot. After dinner they took horse for London, riding both together; but the way between Brainford and London, though broad, was full of coaches, horses, and people, to congratulate their return, that they were forced to make stops, and could ride scarcely one mile an hour, so that it was almost night ere they came to Charing Cross, when they encountered such a world of people in the streets that they could hardly pass them; the city marshal, when they came into the Old Bailey, being forced to make way for them with his horse troops; the crowd of people was so great that they were near three hours in passing from Charing Cross to their lodgings in the city, having torches to light them when it grew dark. The people were so extraordinarily joyful of their return, that they rang the bells in most places they passed for joy; ran to salute them, and shake them by the hands, crying out with one unanimous shout, 'Welcome home! welcome home!' 'God bless you! God bless you!' 'God be thanked for your return!' and the like; yea, they strewed the ways where they rode with herbs and flowers, and, running to their gardens, brought rosemaries and bays thence, which they gave to them, and the company that rode with them into London, who were estimated to be about one hundred coaches, many of them having six horses apiece, and at least two thousand horse; those on foot being innumerable. The day they came from Egham into London, the sun arose most gloriously upon them as soon as they came out of their inn, without any cloud (which they both observed), and so continued shining all the day, without interposition of any obstacle to eclipse its rays, so as heaven and earth conspired together to smile upon them, and to congratulate their safe return from their bonds and exiles."—*Prelates' Tyranny*, p. 113-115.—C.

Archbishop of Canterbury, the high commissioners, and those lords who had voted against them in the Star Chamber;" but the confusion of the times prevented the payment of the money.

Dr. Leighton was released about the same time, and his fine of £10,000 remitted: the reading his petition drew tears from the House, being to this effect:

"The humble petition of Alexander Leighton, prisoner in the Fleet,

"Humbly sheweth,

"That on February 17, 1630, he was apprehended coming from sermon by a High Commission warrant, and dragged along the streets with bills and staves to London House. That the jailer of Newgate being sent for, clapped him in irons, and carried him with a strong power into a loathsome and ruinous dog-hole, full of rats and mice, that had no light but a small grate, and the roof being uncovered, the snow and rain beat in upon him, having no bedding, nor place to make a fire but the ruins of an old smoky chimney. In this woful place he was shut up for fifteen weeks, nobody being suffered to come near him, till at length his wife only was admitted.

"That the fourth day after his commitment, the pursuivant, with a mighty multitude, came to his house to search for Jesuits' books, and used his wife in such a barbarous and inhuman manner as he is ashamed to express; that they rifled every person and place, holding a pistol to the breast of a child of five years old, threatening to kill him if he did not discover the books; that they broke open chests, presses, boxes, and carried away everything, even household stuff, apparel, arms, and other things; that at the end of fifteen weeks he was served with a subpoena, on an information laid against him by Sir Robert Heath, attorney-general, whose dealing with him was full of cruelty and deceit; but he was then sick, and, in the opinion of four physicians, thought to be poisoned, because all his hair and skin came off; that in the height of this sickness the cruel sentence was passed upon him mentioned in the year 1630, and executed November 26 following, when he received thirty-six stripes upon his naked back with a threefold cord, his hands being tied to a stake, and then stood almost two hours in the pillory, in the frost and snow, before he was branded in the face, his nose slit, and his ears cut off; that after this he was carried by water to the Fleet, and shut up in such a room that he was never well, and, after eight years, was turned into the common jail." The House voted him satisfaction for his sufferings; but it does not appear that he actually received any, except being keeper of Lambeth House as a prison, for which he must be very unfit, being now in the seventy-second year of his age, and worn out with poverty, weakness, and pain.

Besides those afore named, there were likewise set at liberty Dr. Osbaldeston, one of the prebendaries of Westminster; the Reverend Mr Henry Wilkinson, B.D., of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, Mr. Smith, Wilson, Small, Cooper, and Brewer, who had been in prison fourteen years;* Mr. George Walker, who had been committed for preaching a sermon, October 14,

* Nalson's Col., p. 571.

1638, at St. John the Evangelist's, London, and detained four weeks in the hands of a messenger, to whom he paid £20 fees.* This gentleman, after his prosecution in the Star Chamber, had been shut up ten weeks in the Gate-house, and at last compelled to enter into a bond of £1000 to confine himself in his brother's house at Chiswick, where he continued till this time, his parsonage being sequestered; and, in general, all who were confined by the High Commission were released, passing their words to be forthcoming whenever they should be called for.

The imprisonment of the above-mentioned gentlemen being declared illegal, it is natural to imagine the House would make some inquiry after their prosecutors. About the latter end of January, Dr. Cosins, prebendary of Durham, and afterward bishop of the diocese, was sent for into custody on account of the superstitious innovations which he had introduced into that cathedral.† The doctor, in his answer, denied the whole charge, and as to the particulars, he replied, that the marble altar with cherubim was set up before he was prebendary of the church;‡ that he did not approve of the image of God the Father, and that to his knowledge there was no such representation in the church at Durham; that the crucifix with a blue cap and golden beard was mistaken for the top of Bishop Hatfield's tomb, which had been erected many years before; that there were but two candles on the communion-table, and that no more were used on Candlemas night than in the Christmas holydays; that he did not forbid the singing the psalms in metre,§ nor direct the singing of the anthem to the three kings of Colen,|| nor use a consecrated knife at the sacrament. The Lords were so far satisfied with the doctor's answer as not to commit him at present;¶ but the Commons having voted him unfit to hold any ecclesiastical promotion, the doctor, foreseeing the storm was coming upon the Church, wisely withdrew into France,** where he behaved discreetly and pru-

* Nalson's Col., p. 570.

† Ibid., p. 273.

‡ But when Smart was one of the chapter; and that many of the things objected to himself were introduced while his accuser was prebendary.—*Dr. Grey, from Collyer*.—Ed.

§ But used to sing them himself with the people at morning prayer.—Ed.

|| But ordered it, on his first coming to the cathedral, to be cut out of the old song-book belonging to the choristers; and no such anthem had been sung in the choir during his being there, nor, as far as his inquiry could reach, for threescore years before.—*Dr. Grey, from Collyer*.—Ed.

¶ The doctor's answer was entered on the rolls of Parliament, and made good before the Lords by himself, and by the witness that Smart and his son-in-law produced against him. Upon this, Smart's lawyer told him, at the bar of the House of Lords, that he was ashamed of the complaint, and refused to proceed in the support of it. Collyer also says that many of the lords declared that Smart had abused the House of Commons by a groundless complaint against Cosins, who, by an order from the Lords, delivered to him by the Earl of Warwick, had liberty to go where he pleased.—*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 798.—Ed.

** He fixed his residence in Paris, where he was appointed chaplain to the Protestant part of Queen Henrietta's family. Many advantageous offers were made to him to tempt him over to the communion of the Church of Rome, and he was also attacked

dently till the Restoration, being softened in his principles by age and sufferings.

Dr. Matthew Wren, late Bishop of Norwich, and now of Ely, having been remarkably severe against the Puritan clergy in his dioceses, the inhabitants of Ipswich drew up a petition against him, and presented it to the House, December 22, 1640,* upon which the committee of Parliament exhibited a charge against him, consisting of twenty-five articles, relating to the late innovations. It was carried up to the Lords by Sir Thomas Widdrington, and sets forth, that during the time of his being Bishop of Norwich, which was about two years, fifty ministers had been excommunicated, suspended, and deprived "for not reading the second service at the communion-table; for not reading the Book of Sports; for using conceived prayers before the afternoon sermon," &c. ; and that, by his rigorous severities, many of his majesty's subjects, to the number of three thousand, had removed themselves, their families, and their estates to Holland, and set up their manufactories there, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom. I do not find that the bishop put in a particular answer to these articles, nor was he taken into custody, but only gave bond for his appearance. Some time after, the Commons voted him unfit to hold any ecclesiastical preferment in the Church, and both Lords and Commons joined in a petition to the king to remove the said bishop from his person and service; after which he was imprisoned, with the rest of the protesting bishops. Upon his release, he retired to his house at Downham, in the Isle of Ely, from whence he was taken by a party of Parliament soldiers, and conveyed to the Tower, where he continued a patient prisoner till the end of the year 1659, without being brought to his trial or admitted to bail.

Complaints were made against several other bishops and clergymen, as Dr. Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Montague, bishop of Norwich, Dr. Owen, bishop of Landaff, and Dr. Manwaring, bishop of St. David's; but the House had too many affairs upon their hands to attend to their prosecutions. Of the inferior clergy, Dr. Stone, Chaffin, Aston, Jones, and some others, who had been instruments of severity in the late times, were voted unfit for ecclesiastical promotions. Dr. Layfield, archdeacon of Essex, pleaded his privilege as a member of convocation, according to an old popish statute of Henry VI.,† but the committee overruled it, and voted the doctor into custody

by threats of assassination, but continued an unshaken Protestant. The arts of the papists succeeded with his only son, whom they prevailed with to embrace the Catholic faith, and to take upon him religious orders. This was a very heavy affliction to his father, who, on this ground, left his estate from him.—*Grenger's History of England*, vol. iii., p. 234, 8vo; and *Nalson's Collections*, vol. i., p. 519.—Ed.

* *Nalson's Collections*, p. 632.

† There was no particular propriety, rather it was, as Dr. Grey intimates, somewhat invidious in Mr. Neal thus to characterize this statute, relative to the privilege of the clergy coming to convocation, as it must, being of so ancient a date, necessarily be popish, as is one fourth part of the statute law; and there are various instances of its being enforced since the Reformation, and even in the present century, of which Dr. Grey gives ample proof.—Ed.

of the sergeant-at-arms; Dr. Pocklington, canon of Windsor and prebendary of Peterborough, was complained of for two books, one entitled the Christian Altar, the other Sunday no Sabbath, which had been licensed by Dr. Bray, one of the archbishop's chaplains. The doctor acknowledged his offence at the bar of the House, confessed that he had not examined the books with that caution that he ought, and made a public recantation in the Church of Westminster; but Pocklington, refusing to recant about thirty false propositions which the Bishop of Lincoln had collected out of his books, was sentenced by the lord-keeper "to be deprived of his ecclesiastical preferments, to be forever disabled to hold any place or dignity in the Church or commonwealth, never to come within the verge of his majesty's court, and his books to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in the city of London and the two universities." Both the doctors died soon after. The number of petitions that were sent up to the committee of religion from all parts of the country against their clergy is incredible; * some complaining of their superstitious impositions, and others of the immorality of their lives and neglect of their cures, which shows the little esteem they had among the people, who were weary of their yoke, regarding them no longer than they were under the terror of their excommunications.

Such was the spirit of the populace that it was difficult to prevent their outrunning authority, and tearing down in a tumultuous manner what they were told had been illegally set up. At St. Saviour's, Southwark, the mob pulled down the rails about the communion-table. At Halstead, in Essex, they tore the surplice, and abused the service-book; nay, when the House of Commons was assembled at St. Margaret's, Westminster, as the priest was beginning his second service at the communion-table, some at the lower end of the church began a psalm, which was followed by the congregation, so that the minister was forced to desist. But, to prevent these seditious practices for the future, the Lords and Commons passed a very severe sentence on the rioters, and published the following order, bearing date January 16, 1640-1, appointing it to be read in all the parish churches in London, Westminster, and the borough of Southwark, viz.: "That Divine service shall be performed as it is appointed by the acts of Parliament of this realm, and that all such as disturb that wholesome order shall be severely punished by law." But then it was added, "that the parsons, vicars, and curates of the several parishes shall forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those which

* Dr. Grey judges it not at all incredible: because, on the authority of Lord Clarendon, he adds, unfair methods of obtaining petitions were used in those times of iniquity and confusion. The disingenuous art of which his lordship complains was procuring signatures to a petition drawn up in modest and dutiful terms, and then cutting it off and substituting another of a different strain and spirit, and annexing it to the list of subscribers. This practice, if his lordship asserted it on good evidence, deserves to be censured in the strongest terms. A virtuous mind has too often occasion to be surprised and shocked at the arts which party prejudice and views can adopt.—*History of the Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 203.—Ed.

are established by the laws of the land." The design of this proviso was to guard against the late innovations, and particularly against the clergy's refusing the sacrament to such as would not receive it kneeling at the rails.

There was such a violent clamour against the high clergy, that they could hardly officiate according to the late injunctions without being affronted, nor walk the streets in their habits, says Nalson, without being reproached as popish priests, Caesar's friends, &c. The reputation of the liturgy began to sink; reading prayers was called a lifeless form of worship, and a quenching the Holy Spirit, whose assistances are promised in the matter as well as the manner of our prayers; besides, the nation being in a crisis, it was thought impossible that the old forms should be suitable to the exigency of the times, or to the circumstances of particular persons, who might desire a share in the devotions of the Church. Those ministers, therefore, who prayed with fervency and devotion,* in words of their own conception, suitable either to the sermon that was preached or to the present urgency of affairs, had crowded and attentive auditories, while the ordinary service of the Church was deserted as cold, formal, and without spirit.

The discipline of the Church being relaxed, the Brownists or Independents, who had assembled in private, and shifted from house to house for twenty or thirty years, resumed their courage, and showed themselves in public. We have given an account of their origin, from Mr. Robinson and Mr. Jacob, in the year 1616, the last of whom was succeeded by Mr. John Lathorp, formerly a clergyman in Kent, but having renounced his orders, he became pastor of this little society. In his time the congregation was discovered by Tomlinson, the bishop's pursuivant, April 29, 1632, at the house of Mr. Humphry Barnet, a brewer's clerk, in Blackfriars, where forty-two of whom were apprehended and only eighteen escaped: of those that were taken, some were confined in the Clink, others in New Prison and the Gatehouse, where they continued about two years, and were then released upon bail, except Mr. Lathorp, for whom no favour could be obtained; he therefore petitioned the king for liberty to depart the kingdom, which being granted, he went, in the year 1634, to New-England, with about thirty of his followers. Mr. Lathorp was a man of learning, and of a meek and quiet spirit, but met with some uneasiness upon occasion of one of his people carrying his child to

be rebaptized by the parish minister, some of the congregation insisting that it should be baptized, because the other administration was not valid; but when the question was put, it was carried in the negative, and resolved by the majority not to make any declaration at present whether or no parish churches were true churches. Upon this, some of the more rigid, and others who were dissatisfied about the lawfulness of infant baptism, desired their dismissal, which was granted them; these set up by themselves, and chose Mr. Jesse their minister, who laid the foundation of the first Baptist congregation* that I have met with in England. But the rest renewed their covenant "to walk together in the ways of God, so far as he had made them known or should make them known to them, and to forsake all false ways." And so steady were they to their vows, that hardly an instance can be produced of one that deserted to the Church by the severest prosecutions.

Upon Mr. Lathorp's retiring into New-England, the congregation† chose for their pastor the famous Mr. Canne,‡ author of the marginal references in the Bible, who, after he had preached to them in private houses for a year or two, was driven by the severity of the times into Holland, and became pastor of the Brownist congregation at Amsterdam.

After Mr. Canne, Mr. Samuel Howe undertook the pastoral care of this little flock; he was a man of learning, and printed a small treatise,

* According to Crosby, this is a mistake, for there were three Baptist churches in England before that of Mr. Jesse. One formed by the separation of many persons from Mr. Lathorp's in 1633, before he left England. Another by a second separation from the same church in 1638, the members of which joined themselves to Mr. Spilsbury. And a third, which originated in 1639 with Mr. Green and Captain Spencer, whom Mr. Paul Hobson joined.—*Crosby's History of the English Baptists*, vol. iii., p. 41, 42.—Ed.

† This was the Church meeting in Deadman's Place; it all along acted on the principle of mixed communion, and chose their pastors indifferently from among the Baptists or Pædobaptists. If this Church weathered through the period of the commonwealth, it must have been scattered by persecution soon after the Restoration.—*Wilson's Dissenting Churches*, vol. iv., p. 124.—C.

‡ Crosby says that the church of which Mr. Canne, Mr. Samuel Howe, and Mr. Stephen More were successively pastors, was constituted and planted by Mr. Hubbard. And it is not certain whether Mr. Canne was a Baptist or not. He was the author of three sets of notes on the Bible, which accompanied three different editions of it. One printed by him at Amsterdam, 1647, which refers to a former one, and professes to add "many Hebraisms, diversitie of readings, with consonance of parallel Scriptures, taken out of the last annotation, and all set in due order and place." Another is commonly known, and has been often reprinted. There was also an impression of it at Amsterdam, 1664. A new edition of the Bible of 1664 is a desideratum.—*Two Treatises of Henry Ainsworth*, pref., p. 35, note; and *Crosby*, vol. iii., p. 40.—Ed. Mr. Canne was, beyond all doubt, a Baptist, for the records of the church at Broadmead, Bristol, which separated from the Establishment in 1640, mention Mr. Canne as having first settled them in the order of a Christian Church. The minutes run thus: "The Providence of God brought to this city one Mr. Canne, a baptized man. It was that Mr. Canne that made notes and references upon the Bible," &c.—*Wilson's Hist. of Dissenting Churches*, vol. iv., p. 128-9.—C.

* Dr. Grey gives some specimens of this, which are very much in the style of those in the piece entitled "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence." The improved taste of this age, and rational devotion, revolt at them. But Dr. Grey did not reflect that the offensive improprieties which he exposes were not peculiar to extemporary prayer, nor to the Puritans; they were agreeable to the fashion of the age, and incorporated themselves with the precomposed prayers published by royal command. The thanksgiving for victory in the north, 1643, affords an instance of this. "Lord! look to the righteousness of our cause. See the seamless coat of thy Son torn, the throne of thine Anointed trampled on, thy Church invaded by sacrilege, and thy people miserably deceived with lies."—*Robinson's Translation of Claude's Essay on the Composition of a Sermon*, vol. ii., p. 84.—Ed.

called "The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching."* But not being enough upon his guard in conversation, he laid himself open to the informers, by whose means he was cited into the spiritual courts and excommunicated; hereupon he absconded, till, being at last taken, he was shut up in close prison, where he died. His friends would have buried him in Shore-ditch churchyard, but, being excommunicated, the officers of the parish would not admit it, so they buried him in a piece of ground at Anni-seed Clear, where many of his congregation were buried after him.†

Upon Mr. Howe's death, the little church was forced to take up with a layman, Mr. Stephen More, a citizen of London, of good natural parts, and of considerable substance in the world: he had been their deacon for some years, and, in the present exigency, accepted of the pastoral office, to the apparent hazard of his estate and liberty. However, the face of affairs beginning now to change, this poor congregation, which had subsisted almost by a miracle for above twenty-four years, shifting from place to place to avoid the notice of the public, ventured to open their doors in Deadman's Place, in Southwark, January 18, 1640-1. Mr. Fuller calls them a congregation of Anabaptists, who were met together to the number of eighty; but by their journal or church-book, an abstract of which is now before me, it appears to be Mr. More's congregation of Independents, who, being assembled in Deadman's Place on the Lord's Day, were disturbed by the marshal of the King's Bench, and most of them committed to the Clink Prison. Next morning, six or seven of the men were carried before the House of Lords, and charged with denying the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and with

preaching in separate congregations, contrary to the statute of the 35th Eliz. The latter they confessed, and as to the former, they declared to the House that "they could acknowledge no other head of the Church but Christ; that they apprehended no prince on earth had power to make laws to bind the conscience; and that such laws as were contrary to the laws of God ought not to be obeyed; but that they disowned all foreign power and jurisdiction." Such a declaration a twelvemonth ago might have cost them their ears; but the House, instead of remitting them to the ecclesiastical courts, dismissed them with a gentle reprimand, and three or four of the members came, out of curiosity, to their assembly next Lord's Day, to hear their minister preach, and to see him administer the sacrament, and were so well satisfied that they contributed to their collection for the poor.

To return to the Parliament. It has been observed that one of their first resolutions was to reduce the powers of the spiritual courts. The old popish canons, which were the laws by which they proceeded (as far as they had not been controlled by the common law or particular statutes), were such a labyrinth, that when the subject was got into the Commons, he knew not how to defend himself, nor which way to get out. The kings of England had always declined a reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, though a plan had been laid before them ever since the reign of King Edward VI. But the grievance was now become insufferable, by the numbers of illegal imprisonments, deprivations, and fines levied upon the subject in the late times, for crimes not actionable in the courts of Westminster Hall; it was necessary, therefore, to bring the jurisdiction of these courts to a parliamentary standard; but, till this could be accomplished by a new law, all that could be done was to vote down the late innovations, which had very little effect; and, therefore, on the 23d of January, the House of Commons ordered commissioners to be sent into all the counties to demolish, and remove out of churches and chapels all "images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, or other monuments and relics of idolatry," agreeably to the injunctions of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. How far the House of Commons, who are but one branch of the Legislature, may appoint commissioners to put the laws in execution, without the concurrence of the other two, is so very questionable, that I will not take upon me to determine.

The University of Cambridge having complained of the oaths and subscriptions imposed upon young students at their matriculation, as subscribing to the Book of Common Prayer and to the Thirty-nine Articles, the House of Commons voted "that the statute made twenty-seven years ago in the University of Cambridge, imposing upon young scholars a subscription, according to the thirty-sixth canon of 1603, is against law and the liberty of the subject, and ought not to be imposed upon any students or graduates whatsoever." About five months forward they passed the same resolution for Oxford, which was not unreasonable, because the universities had not an unlimited power, by the thirty-sixth canon, to call upon all their students to subscribe, but only upon

* The treatise here mentioned, we are informed, displayed strength of genius, but was written by a cobbler, as appears by the following recommendatory lines prefixed to it:

"What How? how now? hath How such learning found,
To throw art's curious image to the ground?
Cambridge and Oxford may their glory now
Veil to a cobbler, if they knew but How."

This treatise was founded on 2 Peter, iii., 16, and designed to show, not the insufficiency only of human learning to the purposes of religion, but that it was dangerous and hurtful. So that Mr. Neal was mistaken in speaking of its author as a man of learning.—*Crosby*, vol. iii., p. 39, note.—Ep.

† *Crosby's History of the English Baptists*, vol. i., p. 165. The following honourable testimony was borne to Mr. Howe's memory by Roger Williams: "Among so many instances, dead and living, to the everlasting praise of Christ Jesus, and of his Holy Spirit, breathing a blessing where he listeth, I cannot but with honourable testimony remember that eminent Christian witness and prophet of Christ, even that despised and yet beloved Samuel Howe, who being by calling a cobbler, and without human learning, which yet in its sphere and place he honoured—who yet, I say, by searching the Holy Scriptures, grew so excellent a textuary or Scripture-learned man, that few of those high rabbies that scorn to mend or make a shoe could aptly or readily, from the Holy Scriptures, outgo him. * * * however he was forced to seek a grave or bed in the highway, yet was his life, and death, and burial, being attended with many hundreds of God's people, honourable, and how much more on his rising again, glorious."—*The Hiring Ministry none of Christ's*, London, 1652, p. 11, 12.—C.

such lecturers or readers of divinity whom they had a privilege of licensing; and to this I conceive the last words of the canon refer: "If either of the universities offend therein, we leave them to the danger of the law and his majesty's censure."

And it ought to be remembered, that all the proceedings of the House of Commons this year in punishing delinquents, and all their votes and resolutions about the circumstances of public worship, had no other view than the cutting off those illegal additions and innovations which the superstition of the late times had introduced, and reducing the discipline of the Church to the standard of the statute law. No man was punished for acting according to law; but the displeasure of the House ran high against those who, in their public ministrations, or in their ecclesiastical courts, had bound those things upon the subject which were either contrary to the laws of the land, or about which the laws were altogether silent.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ANTIQUITY OF LITURGIES, AND OF THE EPISCOPAL ORDER, DEBATED BETWEEN BISHOP HALL AND SMECTYMNUS. — PETITIONS FOR AND AGAINST THE HIERARCHY. — ROOT AND BRANCH PETITION. — THE MINISTERS' PETITION FOR REFORMATION. — SPEECHES UPON THE PETITIONS. — PROCEEDINGS AGAINST PAPISTS.

THE debates in Parliament concerning the English liturgy and hierarchy engaged the attention of the whole nation, and revived the controversy without doors. The press being open, great numbers of anonymous pamphlets appeared against the Establishment, not without indecent and provoking language, under these and the like titles: Prelatical Episcopacy not from the Apostles; Lord-bishops not the Lord's Bishops; Short View of the Prelatical Church of England; A Comparison between the Liturgy and the Mass Book; Service Book no better than a Mess of Pottage, &c. Lord Brook attacked the order of bishops in a treatise of the "Nature of Episcopacy," wherein he reflects in an ungenerous manner upon the low pedigree of the present bench, as if nothing except a noble descent could qualify men to sit among the peers. Several of the bishops vindicated their pedigree and families, as Bishop Williams, Moreton, Curle, Cooke, Owen, &c., and Archbishop Usher defended the order, in a treatise entitled "The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy;"* but then by a bishop his lord-

ship understood no more than a *stated president* over an *assembly of presbyters*, which the Puritans of these times were willing to admit. The most celebrated writer on the side of the Establishment was the learned and pious Bishop Hall, who, at the request of Archbishop Laud, had published a treatise entitled "Episcopacy of Divine Right," as has been related.* This reverend prelate, upon the gathering of the present storm, appeared a second time in its defence, in "An humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament;" and some time after, in "A Defence of that Remonstrance," in vindication of the antiquity of liturgies and of diocesan episcopacy.

The bishop's remonstrance was answered by a celebrated treatise under the title of "Smectymnus," a fictitious word made up of the initial letters of the names of the authors, viz., Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. When the bishop had replied to their book, these divines published a vindication of their answer to the "Humble Remonstrance;" which, being an appeal to the Legislature on both sides, may be supposed to contain the merits of the controversy, and will therefore deserve the reader's attention.

The debate was upon these two heads:

1. Of the antiquity of liturgies, or forms of prayer.
2. Of the apostolical institution of diocesan episcopacy.

1. The bishop begins with liturgies, by which he understands "certain prescribed and limited forms of prayer, composed for the public service of the Church, and appointed to be read at all times of public worship." The antiquity of these his lordship derives down from Moses, by an uninterrupted succession, to the present time. "God's people," says he, "ever since Moses's day, constantly practised a set form, and put it ever to the times of the Gospel. Our blessed Saviour, and his gracious forerunner, taught a direct form of prayer. When Peter and John went up to the temple at the ninth hour of prayer, we know the prayer wherein they joined was not of an extempore and sudden conception, but of a regular prescription; and the evangelical Church ever since thought it could never better improve her peace and happiness than in composing those religious models of invocation and thanksgiving, which they have traduced unto us, as the liturgies of St. James, Basil, and Chrysostom, and which, though in some places corrupted, serve to prove the thing itself."

Smectymnus replies, that if there had been any liturgies in the times of the first and most venerable antiquity, the great inquiries after them would have produced them to the world before this time; but that there were none in the Christian Church is evident from Tertullian in his Apology, cap. xxx., where he says the Christians of those times, in their public assemblies, prayed "sine monitore quia de pectore," without any prompter except their own hearts.

* Laud objected to some of his positions, and some involving important principles, and Hall was compliant enough to adopt his suggestions.—*Heylin's Life of Bishop Hall*, 153-166.—C.

* Nalson, in his Collections, vol. ii., p. 279, 280, and after him, Collyer, Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii., p. 808, have abridged the arguments of this piece; but these abstracts do not show, as Dr. Grey would intimate, the extent of jurisdiction, or the nature of the power, according to Bishop Usher's idea, exercised by the primitive bishops. They go to prove only a superiority to elders; and by a quotation from Beza, it should seem that this prelate, as Mr. Neal says, meant by a bishop only a president of the presbytery of a place or district. The Presbyterians are charged with misrepresenting the bishop's opinion, and with printing a faulty and surreptitious copy of his book. If this were done knowingly and designedly, it must rank with such pious arts as deserve censure.—*Dr. Grey*.—Ed.

And in his treatise of prayer, he adds, there are some things to be asked "according to the occasions of every man." St. Austin says the same thing, ep. 121: "It is free to ask the same things that are desired in the Lord's Prayer, *aliis atque aliis verbis*, sometimes in one manner of expression, and sometimes in another." And before this, Justin Martyr, in his Apology, says, ὁ προεστῶς, the president, or he that instructed the people, prayed according to his ability, or as well as he could. Nor was this liberty of prayer taken away till the times when the Arian and Pelagian heresies invaded the Church; it was then first ordained that none should pray "pro arbitrio, sed semper easdem preces;" that they should not use the liberty which they had hitherto practised, but should always keep to one form of prayer.—*Concil. Load.*, can. 18. Still, this was a form of their own composing, as appears by a canon of the Council of Carthage, anno 397, which gives this reason for it: "Ut nemo in precibus vel patrem pro filio, vel filium pro patre nomen, et cum altari adistitur semper ad patrem dirigatur oratio; et quicumque sibi preces aliunde describit, non iis utatur nisi prius eas cum fratribus instructoribus contulerit;" *i. e.*, "that none in their prayers might mistake the Father for the Son, or the Son for the Father; and that, when they assist at the altar, prayer might be always directed to the Father; and whosoever composes any different forms, let him not make use of them till he has first consulted with his more learned brethren." It appears from hence that there was no uniform prescribed liturgy at this time in the Church, but that the more ignorant priests might make use of forms of their own composing, provided they consulted their more learned brethren; till at length it was ordained at the Council of Milan, anno 416, that none should use set forms of prayer except such as were approved in a synod. They go on to transcribe, from Justin Martyr and Tertullian, the manner of public worship in their times, which was this: first the Scriptures were read; after reading followed an exhortation to the practice and imitation of what was read; then all rose up and joined in prayer; after this they went to the sacrament, in the beginning whereof the president of the assembly poured out prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people said Amen; then followed the distribution of the elements, and a collection of alms. This was Justin Martyr's liturgy or service, and Tertullian's is the same, only he mentions their beginning with prayer before reading the Scriptures, and their love-feasts, which only opened and concluded with prayer, and were celebrated with singing of psalms. Although the Smeectymnuans admit that our blessed Saviour taught his disciples a form of prayer, yet they deny that he designed to confine them to the use of those words only, nor did the primitive Church so understand it, as has been proved from St. Austin. The prescribed liturgies of St. James, Basil, and St. Chrysostom are of little weight in this argument, as being allowed by the bishop, and the most learned critics, both Protestants and papists, to be full of forgeries and spurious insertions. Upon the whole, therefore, they challenge his lordship to produce any one genuine

liturgy used in the Christian Church for three hundred years after Christ.*

From the antiquity of liturgies in general, the bishop descends to a more particular commendation of that which is established in the Church of England, as that it was drawn up by wise and good men with great deliberation; that it had been sealed with the blood of martyrs, and was selected out of ancient models, not Roman, but Christian.

In answer to which, these divines appeal to the proclamation of Edward VI., wherein the original of it is published to the world. The statute mentions four different forms then in use, out of which a uniform office was to be collected, *viz.*, the use of Sarum, of Bangor, of York, and of Lincoln, all which were Roman rather than Christian; they admit his lordship's other encomiums of the English liturgy, but affirm that it was still imperfect, and in many places offensive to tender consciences.

The good bishop, after all, seems willing to compromise the difference about prayer. "Far be it from me," says his lordship, "to dishearten any good Christian from the use of conceived prayer in his private devotions, and upon occasion also in the public. I would hate to be guilty of pouring so much water upon the spirit, to which I should gladly add oil rather. No; let the full soul freely pour out itself in gracious expressions of its holy thoughts into the bosom of the Almighty; let both the sudden flashes of our quick ejaculations, and the constant flames of our more fixed conceptions, mount up from the altar of a zealous heart unto the throne of grace; and if there be some stops or solecisms in the fervent utterance of our private wants, these are so far from being offensive, that they are the most pleasing music to the ears of that God unto whom our prayers come; let them be broken off with sobs and sighs, and incongruities of our delivery; our good God is no otherways affected to this imperfect elocution than an indulgent parent is to the clipped and broken language of his dear child, which is more delightful to him than any other's smooth oratory. This is not to be opposed in another

* Bishop Burnet says [Hist. Ref., part ii., p. 72] that it was in the fourth century that the liturgies of St. James, St. Basil, &c., were first mentioned; that the Council of Laodicea appointed the same prayers to be used mornings and evenings, but that these forms were left to the discretion of every bishop; nor was it made the subject of any public consultation till St. Austin's time, when, in their dealing with heretics, they found they took advantage from some of the prayers that were in some churches; upon which it was ordered that there should be no public prayers used but by common advice. Formerly, says the bishop, the worship of God was a pure and simple thing, and so it continued till superstition had so infected the Church that those forms were thought too naked, unless they were put under more artificial rules, and dressed up with much ceremony. In every age there were notable additions made, and all the writers almost in the eighth and ninth centuries employed their fancies to find out mystical significations for every rite that was then used, till at length there were so many missals, breviaries, rituals, pontificals, pontoises, pies, graduals, antiphonals, psalteries, hours, and a great many more, that the understanding how to officiate was become so hard a piece of trade, that it was not to be learned without long practice.

by any man that hath found the true operations of this grace in himself—" What I have professed concerning conceived prayers is what I have ever allowed, ever practised, both in private and public. God is a free spirit, and so should ours be, in pouring out our voluntary devotions upon all occasions; nothing hinders but that this liberty and a public liturgy should be good friends, and go hand in hand together; and whosoever would forcibly separate them, let them bear their own blame: the over-rigorous pressing of the liturgy, to the justling out of preaching or conceived prayers, was never intended by the lawmakers or moderate governors of the Church." If the bishops, while in power, had practised according to these pious and generous principles, their affairs could not have been brought to such a dangerous crisis at this time.

2. The other point in debate between the bishop and his adversaries related to the superior order of bishops. And here the controversy was not about the name, which signifies in the Greek no more than an overseer, but about the office and character; the Smectymnian divines contended that a primitive bishop was no other than a parochial pastor or preaching presbyter, without pre-eminence or any proper rule over his brethren. His lordship, on the other hand, affirms that bishops were originally a "distinct order from presbyters, instituted by the apostles themselves, and invested with the sole power of ordination and ecclesiastical jurisdiction;" that in this sense they are of Divine institution, and have continued in the Church by an uninterrupted succession to the present time. The bishop enters upon this argument with unusual assurance, bearing down his adversaries with a torrent of bold and unguarded expressions. His words are these: "This holy calling (meaning the order of bishops as distinct from presbyters) fetches its pedigree from no less than apostolical, and, therefore, Divine institution. Except all histories, all authors fail us, nothing can be more plain than this; out of them we can and do show on whom the apostles of Christ laid their hands, with an acknowledgment and conveyance of parity and jurisdiction. We show what bishops, so ordained, lived in the time of the apostles, and succeeded each other in their several charges under the eyes and hands of the then living apostles. We show who immediately succeeded those immediate successors in their several sees, throughout all the regions of the Christian Church, and deduce their uninterrupted line through all the following ages to this present day; and if there can be better evidence under heaven for any matter of fact (and in this cause matter of fact so derived evinceth matter of right), let episcopacy be forever abandoned out of God's Church. Again, if we do not show, out of the genuine and undeniable writings of those holy men who lived both in the times of the apostles and some years after them, and conversed with them as their blessed fellow-labourers, a clear and received distinction both of the names and offices of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as three distinct subordinate callings in God's Church, with an evident specification of the duty and charge belonging to each of them, let this

claimed hierarchy be forever rooted out of the Church.*"

The bishop admits† that, in the language of Scripture, bishops and presbyters are the same; that there is a plain identity in their denomination, and that we never find these three orders mentioned together, bishops, presbyters, and deacons; but though there be no distinction of names, his lordship apprehends there is a real distinction and specification of powers, which are,

1. The sole right of ordination.

2. The sole right of spiritual jurisdiction.

1. The sole right of ordination his lordship proves from the words of Paul, 2 Tim., i., 6: "Stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the laying on of my hands;" and that this power was never communicated to presbyters from the words of St. Jerome, by whom ordination is excepted from the office of a presbyter: "quid facit episcopus, quod non facit presbyter ordinatione." And yet (says his lordship) our English bishops do not appropriate this power to themselves: "Say, brethren, I beseech you, after all this noise, what bishop ever undertook to ordain a presbyter alone, or without the concurrent imposition of many hands! This is perpetually and infallibly done by us."

The Smectymnian divines contend, on the other hand, that bishops and presbyters were originally the same; that ordination to the office of a bishop does not differ from the ordination of a presbyter; that there are no powers conveyed to a bishop from which presbyters are excluded, nor any qualification required in one more than in the other; that, admitting Timothy was a proper bishop, which they deny, yet that he was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery as well as that of St. Paul's, 1 Tim., iv., 14; that the original of the order of bishops was from the presbyters choosing one from among themselves to be stated president in their assemblies, in the second or third century; that St. Jerome declares, once and again, that in the days of the apostles bishops and presbyters were the same; that as low as his time they had gained nothing but ordination; and that St. Chrysostom and Theophylact affirm, that while the apostles lived, and for some ages after, the name of bishops and presbyters were not distinguished. This, say they, is the voice of the most primitive antiquity.‡ But the Smectymnians are amazed at his lordship's assertion that the bishops of the Church of England never ordained without presbyters, and that this was so constant a practice that no instance can be produced of its being done without them. "Strange!" say

* Remonstrance, p. 21.

† Defence, p. 47.

‡ In the debate of the House on this head, the authority of that very ancient parchment copy of the Bible in St. James's library, sent by Cyrillus, patriarch of Alexandria, to King Charles I., being all written in great capital Greek letters, was vouched and asserted by Sir Simon d'Ewes, a great antiquary, wherein the postscripts to the Epistles to Timothy and Titus are only this: "This first to Timothy, written from Laodicea; to Titus, written from Nicopolis;" whence he inferred that the styling of Timothy and Titus first bishops of Ephesus and Crete were the spurious additions of some Eastern bishop or monk, at least five hundred years after Christ.—*Rushworth*, vol. iv., p. 284.

they, "when some of us have been eyewitnesses of many scores who have been ordained by a bishop in his private chapel, without the presence of any presbyter except his domestic chaplain, who only read prayers. Besides, the bishop's letters of orders make no mention of the assistance of presbyters, but challenge the whole power to themselves, as his lordship had done in his book entitled *Episcopacy of Divine Right*, the fifteenth section of which has this title, 'The Power of Ordination is only in Bishops.'"

But the main point upon which the bishop lays the whole stress of the cause is, Whether presbyters may ordain without a bishop? For the proof of this, the Smectymnuans produced the author of the comment on the Ephesians, which goes under the name of St. Ambrose, who says that in Egypt the presbyters ordain if the bishop be not present; so also St. Augustine, in the same words; and the chorepiscopus, who was only a presbyter, had power to impose hands, and to ordain within his precincts with the bishop's license; nay, farther, the presbyter of the city of Alexandria, with the bishop's leave, might ordain, as appears from Con. Ancy. Carit., 3, where it is said, "It is not lawful for chorepiscopi to ordain presbyters or deacons; nor for the presbyters of the city, without the bishop's letter, in another parish;" which implies they might do it with the bishop's letter, or perhaps without it, in their own; and Firmilianus says of them who rule in the Church, whom he calls "seniores et præpositi," that is, presbyters as well as bishops, that they had the power of baptizing and of laying on of hands in ordaining.*

* It may be some satisfaction to the reader to see the judgment of other learned men upon this argument, which has broken the bands of brotherly love and charity between the Church of England and all the foreign Protestants that have no bishops.

The learned prelate of Ireland, Archbishop Usher, in his letter to Dr. Bernard, says, "I have ever declared my opinion to be, that 'episcopatus et presbyter gradu tantum differunt, non ordine,' and, consequently, that in places where bishops cannot be had, the ordination by presbyters stands valid; but the ordination made by such presbyters as have severed themselves from those bishops to whom they have sworn canonical obedience, I cannot excuse from being schismatical. I think that churches that have no bishops are defective in their government; yet, for the justifying my communion with them (which I do love and honour as true members of the Church universal), I do profess, if I were in Holland, I should receive the blessed sacrament at the hands of the Dutch, with the like affection as I should from the hands of the French ministers were I at Charenton." The same most reverend prelate, in his answer to Mr. Baxter, says, "that the king having asked him at the Isle of Wight whether he found in antiquity that presbyters alone ordained any, he replied yes, and that he could show his majesty more, even where presbyters alone successively ordained bishops, and instanced in Jerome's words (Epist. ad Evagrium), of the presbyters of Alexandria choosing and making their own bishops from the days of Mark till Heraclius and Dionysius.—*Baxter's Life*, p. 206.

This was the constant sense of our first Reformers, Cranmer, Pilkington, Jewel, Grindal, Whitgift, &c., and even of Bancroft himself; for when Dr. Andrews, bishop of Ely, moved that the Scots bishops elect might first be ordained presbyters in the year 1610, Bancroft replied there was no need of it, since ordination by presbyters was valid; upon which

2. The other branch of power annexed to the episcopal office is the sole right of spiritual jurisdiction; this the bishop seems in some sort to disclaim: "Whoever," says he, "challenged a sole jurisdiction! We willingly grant that presbyters have, and ought to have, jurisdiction within their own charge, and that in all great affairs of the Church they ought to be consulted. We admit that bishops of old had their ecclesiastical council of presbyters, and we still have the same in our deans and chapters; but we say that the superiority of jurisdiction is so in the bishop, that presbyters may not exercise it without him, and that the exercise of external jurisdiction is derived from, by, and under him, to those who exercise it within his diocess." This his lordship proves from several testimonies out of the fathers.

The Smectymnuans agree with his lordship, that in the ancient Church bishops could do nothing without the consent of the clergy; nor in cases of excommunication and absolution without the allowance of the whole body of the Church to which the delinquent belonged, as appears from the testimonies of Tertullian and St. Cyprian; but they aver, upon their certain knowledge, that our English bishops have exercised several parts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction without their presbyters. And farther (say they), where, in all antiquity, do we meet with such delegates as lay-chancellors, commissaries, and others as never received imposition of hands? These offices were not known in those times, nor can any instance be produced of laity or clergy who had them for above four hundred years after Christ.

Upon the whole, allowing that, in the third or fourth century, bishops were a distinct order from presbyters, yet, say these divines, our modern bishops of the Church of England differ very widely from them; the primitive bishops were elected by a free suffrage of the presbyters, but ours by a *congé d'élire* from the king. They did not proceed against criminals but with the consent of their presbyters, and upon the testimony of several witnesses; whereas ours proceed by an oath *ex officio*, by which men are obliged to accuse themselves; the primitive bishops had no lordly titles and dignities, no lay-chancellors, commissaries, and other officials, nor did they engage in secular affairs, &c. After several comparisons of this kind, they recapitulate the late severities of the bishops in their ecclesiastical courts, and conclude with an humble petition to the high court of Parliament, "that if episcopacy be retained in the said bishop concurred in their consecration. And yet lower, when the Archbishop of Spalato was in England, he desired Bishop Moreton to reordain a person that had been ordained beyond sea, that he might be more capable of preferment; to which the bishop replied, that it could not be done but to the scandal of the Reformed churches, wherein he would have no hand. The same reverend prelate adds, in his Apol. Cathol., that to ordain was the *jus antiquum* of presbyters. To these may be added the testimony of Bishop Burnet, whose words are these: "As for the notion of distinct offices of bishop and presbyter, I confess it is not so clear to me, and therefore, since I look upon the sacramental actions as the highest of sacred performances, I cannot but acknowledge those who are empowered for them must be of the highest office in the Church."—*Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, p. 336.

Church, it may be reduced to its primitive simplicity; and if they must have a liturgy, that there may be a consultation of divines to alter and reform the present; and that even then it may not be imposed upon the clergy, but left to the discretion of the minister how much of it to read when there is a sermon.*

By this representation it appears that the controversy between these divines might have been compromised if the rest of the clergy had been of the same spirit and temper with Bishop Hall; but the court-bishops would abate nothing as long as the crown could support them; and as the Parliament increased in power, the Puritan divines stiffened in their demands, till methods of accommodation were impracticable.

While this controversy was debating at home, letters were sent from both sides to obtain the judgment of foreign divines, but most of them were so wise as to be silent. Dr. Plume, in the *Life of Bishop Hacket*, writes that Blondel, Vossius, Hornbeck, and Salmasius were sent to by the king's friends in vain; Blondel published a very learned treatise on the Puritan side; but Deodate, from Geneva, and Amyraldus, from France, wished an accommodation, and, as Plume says, were for episcopal government. The papists triumphed, and had raised expectations from these differences, as appears by a letter of T. White, a Roman Catholic, to the Lord-viscount Gage, at Dublin, dated February 12, 1639, in which are these words: "We are in a fair way to assuage heresy and her episcopacy, for Exeter's book has done more for the Catholics than they could have done themselves, he having written that episcopacy in office and jurisdiction is absolutely *jure divino* (which was the old quarrel between our bishops and King Henry VIII., during his heresy), which book does not a little trouble our adversaries, who declare this tenet of Exeter's to be contrary to the laws of this land. All is like to prosper here, so I hope with you there."† However, it is certain the body of foreign Protestants were against the bishops, for this reason, among others, because they had disowned their ordinations; and could it be supposed they should compliment away the validity of their administrations to a set of men that had disowned their communion, and turned the French and Dutch congregations out of the land? No: they wished they might be humbled by the Parliament. Lord Clarendon adds, "They were glad of an occasion to publish their resentments against the Church, and to enter into the same conspiracy against the crown, without which they could have done little hurt."

But the cause of the hierarchy being to be decided at another tribunal, no applications were wanting on either side to make friends in the Parliament-house, and to get hands to petitions. The industry of the several parties on this occasion is almost incredible; and it being the fashion of the time to judge of the sense of the nation this way, messengers were sent all over England to promote the work. Lord Clarendon, and after him Dr. Nalson and others of that party, complain of great disingenuity on the side of the Puritans: his lordship says,† "that the paper which contained the ministers' peti-

tion was filled with very few hands, but that many other sheets were annexed, for the reception of numbers that gave credit to the undertaking; but that, when their names were subscribed, the petition itself was cut off, and a new one of a very different nature annexed to the long list of names; and when some of the ministers complained to the Rev. Mr. Marshall, with whom the petition was lodged, that they never saw the petition to which their hands were annexed, but had signed another against the canons, Mr. Marshall is said to reply that it was thought fit by those that understood business better than they, that the latter petition should be rather preferred than the former." This is a charge of a very high nature,* and ought to be well supported: if it had been true, why did they not complain to the committee which the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the irregular methods of procuring hands to petitions? His lordship answers, that they were prevailed with to sit still and pass it by; for which we have only his lordship's word, nothing of this kind being to be found in Rushworth, Whitelocke, or any disinterested writer of those times.

However, it cannot be denied that there was a great deal of art and persuasion used to get hands to petitions on both sides, and many subscribed their names who were not capable to judge of the merits of the cause. The petitions against the hierarchy were of two sorts: some desiring that the whole fabric might be destroyed; of these the chief was the root and branch petition, signed by the hands of about fifteen thousand citizens and inhabitants of London: others aiming only at a reformation of the hierarchy; of these the chief was the ministers' petition, signed with the names of seven hundred beneficed clergymen, and followed by others, with an incredible number of hands, from Kent, Gloucestershire, Lancashire, Nottingham, and other counties. The petitions in favour of the present Establishment were not less numerous, for within the compass of this and the next year there were presented to the king and House of Lords no less than nineteen from the two universities, from Wales, Lancashire, Staffordshire, and other counties, subscribed with about one hundred thousand hands, whereof, according to Dr. Walker, six thousand were nobility, gentry, and dignified clergy. One would think by this account that the whole nation had been with them; but can it be supposed that the honest freeholders of Lancashire and Wales could be proper judges of such allegations in their petitions as these: That there can be no Church without bishops; that no ordination was ever performed without bishops; that without bishops there can be no presbyters, and, by consequence, no consecration of the Lord's Supper; that it has never been customary for presbyters to lay hands upon bishops, from

* This charge we have seen brought forward by Dr. Grey to discredit what Mr. Neal had reported concerning the number of petitions sent up from all parts of the country against the clergy. When, as he proceeded in his review of Mr. Neal's history, he saw that our author had himself laid before his readers this charge of Lord Clarendon's, it would have been candid in him to have cancelled his own strictures on this point, or to have exposed the futility of Mr. Neal's reply to his lordship.—Ed.

* Foxes and Firebrands, part ii., p. 81.

† Clarendon, vol. i., p. 204.

whence the disparity of their function is evident; that a bishop has a character that cannot be communicated but by one of the same distinction; and that the Church has been governed by bishops, without interruption, for fifteen hundred years? These are topics fit to be debated in a synod of learned divines; but the tacking a hundred thousand names of freeholders on either side could prove no more than that the honest countrymen acted too much by an implicit faith in their clergy. Loud complaints being made to the Parliament of unfair methods of procuring names to petitions, the House appointed a committee to examine into the matter; but there being great faults, as I apprehend, on both sides, the affair was dropped.

The root and branch petition was presented to the House December 11, 1640, by Alderman Pennington and others, in the name of his majesty's subjects in and about the city of London and adjacent counties. It was thought to be the contrivance of the Scots commissioners, who were become very popular at this time. The petition sheweth, "that whereas the government of archbishops and lord-bishops, deans and archdeacons, &c., with their courts and ministrations in them, have proved prejudicial, and very dangerous to the Church and Commonwealth; they themselves having formerly held that they have their jurisdiction or power of human authority, till of late they have claimed their calling immediately from Christ, which is against the laws of this kingdom, and derogatory to his majesty's state royal. And whereas the said government is found, by woful experience, to be a main cause and occasion of many foul evils, pressures, and grievances of a very high nature to his majesty's subjects, in their consciences, liberties, and estates, as in a schedule of particulars hereunto annexed may in part appear:

"We therefore most humbly pray and beseech this honourable assembly, the premises considered, that the said government, with all its dependances, roots, and branches, may be abolished, and all the laws in their behalf made void, and that the government, according to God's Word, may be rightly placed among us; and we, your humble supplicants, as in duty bound, shall ever pray," &c.

The schedule annexed to the petition contained twenty-eight grievances and pressures, the chief of which were, the bishops suspending and depriving ministers for nonconformity to certain rites and ceremonies; their discountenancing preaching; their claim of *ius divinum*; their administering the oath *ex officio*; the exorbitant power of the High Commission; with the other innovations already mentioned.

The friends of the Establishment opposed this petition, with one of their own in favour of the hierarchy, in the following words:

"To the honourable the knights, citizens, &c., the petition of, &c., humbly sheweth,

"That whereas, of late, a petition, subscribed by many who pretend to be inhabitants of this city, hath been delivered, received, and read in this honourable House, against the ancient, present, and by law established government of the Church, and that not so much for the reformation of bishops as for the utter subversion and extirpation of episcopacy itself—we, whose

names are underwritten, to show there be many, and those of the better sort of the inhabitants of this city, otherwise and better minded, do humbly represent unto this honourable House these considerations following:

1. "That episcopacy is as ancient as Christianity itself in this kingdom.

2. "That bishops were the chief instruments in the reformation of the Church against popery, and afterward the most eminent martyrs for the Protestant religion, and since, the best and ablest champions for the defence of it.

3. "That, since the Reformation, the times have been very peaceable, happy, and glorious, notwithstanding the episcopal government in the Church, and, therefore, that this government can be no cause of our unhappiness.

4. "We conceive that not only many learned, but divers other godly persons, would be much scandalized and troubled in conscience if the government of episcopacy, conceived by them to be an apostolical institution, were altered; and since there is so much care taken that no man should be offended in the least ceremony, we hope there will be some that such men's consciences may not be pressed upon in a matter of a higher nature and consequence, especially considering that this government by episcopacy is not only lawful and convenient for edification, but likewise suitable to, and agreeable with, the civil policy and government of this state.

5. "That this government is lawful, it appears by the immediate, universal, and constant practice of all the Christian world, grounded upon Scripture, from the apostles' time to this last age, for above fifteen hundred years together, it being utterly incredible, if not impossible, that the whole Church, for so long a time, should not discover, by God's Word, this government to be unlawful, if it had been so; to which may be added, that the most learned Protestants, even in those very churches which now are not governed by bishops, do not only hold the government by episcopacy to be lawful, but wish that they themselves might enjoy it.

"Again, That the government by episcopacy is not only lawful, but convenient for edification, and as much or more conducing to piety and devotion than any other, it appears, because no modest man denies that the primitive times were most famous for piety, constancy, and perseverance in the faith, notwithstanding more frequent and more cruel persecutions than ever have been since; and yet it is confessed that the Church in those times was governed by bishops.

"Lastly, That the government of the Church by episcopacy is most suitable to the form and frame of the civil government here in this kingdom, it appears by the happy and flourishing union of them both for so long a time together; whereas no man can give us an assurance how any church government besides this (whereof we have had so long experience) will suit and agree with the civil policy of this state. And we conceive it may be of dangerous consequence for men of settled fortunes to hazard their estates by making so great an alteration, and venturing upon a new form of government, whereof neither we nor our ancestors have had any trial or experience, especially considering

that those who would have episcopacy to be abolished have not yet agreed, nor (as we are verily persuaded) ever will or can agree upon any other common form of government to succeed in the room of it, as appears by the many different and contrary draughts and platforms they have made and published, according to the several humours and sects of those that made them; whereas, seeing every great alteration in a church or state must needs be dangerous, it is just and reasonable that whosoever would introduce a new form instead of an old one, should be obliged to demonstrate and make it evidently appear beforehand that the government he would introduce is proportionably so much better than that he would abolish, as may recompense the loss we may sustain, and may be worthy of the hazard we must run in abolishing the one, and introducing and settling of the other; but this we are confident can never be done in regard of this particular.

“And therefore our humble and earnest request to this honourable House is, that as well in this consideration as all the other aforesaid, we may still enjoy that government which most probably holds its institution from the apostles, and most certainly its plantation with our Christian faith itself in this kingdom, where it hath ever since flourished, and continued for many ages without any interruption or alteration; whereby it plainly appears, that as it is the most excellent government in itself, so it is the most suitable, most agreeable, and every way most proportionable to the civil constitution and temper of this state; and therefore we pray and hope will always be continued and preserved in it and by it, notwithstanding the abuses and corruptions which in so long a tract of time, through the errors or negligence of men, have crept into it; which abuses and corruptions being all of them (what and how many soever there may be) but merely accidental to episcopacy, we conceive and hope there may be a reformation of the one without a destruction of the other.

“Which is the humble suit of, &c., &c.”

A third petition was presented to the House, January 23, by ten or twelve clergymen, in the name of seven hundred of their brethren who had signed it, called the ministers' petition, praying for a reformation of certain grievances in the hierarchy, but not an entire subversion of it; a schedule of these grievances was annexed, which being referred to the committee, Mr. Crew reported the three following as proper for the debate of the House: “1. The secular employments of the clergy. 2. The sole power of the bishops in ecclesiastical affairs, and particularly in ordinations and church censures. 3. The large revenues of deans and chapters, with the inconveniences that attend the application of them.”

Two days after the delivery of this petition [January 25] his majesty came to the House, and very unadvisedly interrupted their debates by the following speech: “There are some men that more maliciously than ignorantly will put no difference between reformation and alteration of government; hence it comes to pass that Divine service is irreverently interrupted, and petitions in an ill way given in, neither disputed nor denied, against the present

established government, in the names of divers counties, with threatenings against the bishops that they will make them but ciphers. Now I must tell you that I make a great difference between reformation and alteration of government; though I am for the first, I cannot give way to the latter. If some of them have overstretched their power, and encroached too much on their temporality, I shall not be unwilling that these things should be redressed and reformed; nay, farther, if you can show me that the bishops have some temporal authority inconvenient for the state, and not necessary for the government of Church and upholding episcopal jurisdiction, I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down; but this must not be understood that I shall any ways consent that their voices in Parliament should be taken away, for in all the times of my predecessors, since the Conquest and before, they have enjoyed it as one of the fundamental constitutions of the kingdom.” This unhappy method of the king's coming to the House and declaring his resolutions beforehand was certainly unparliamentary, and did the Church no service; nor was there any occasion for it at this time, the House being in no disposition as yet to order a bill to be brought in for subverting the hierarchy.

In the months of February and March, several days were appointed for the consideration of these petitions; and when the bill for the utter extirpating the episcopal order was brought into the House in the months of May and June, several warm speeches were made on both sides: I will set the chief of them before the reader at one view, though they were spoken at different times.

Among those who were for root and branch, or the total extirpating of episcopacy, was Sir Henry Vane, who stood up and argued that, “since the House had voted episcopal government a great impediment to the reformation and growth of religion, it ought to be taken away; for it is so corrupt in the foundation,” says he, “that if we pull it not down, it will fall about the ears of those that endeavour it within a few years. This government was brought in, by antichrist, and has let in all kinds of superstition in the Church: it has been the instrument of displacing the most godly and conscientious ministers, of vexing, punishing, and banishing out of the kingdom the most religious of all sorts and conditions, that would not comply with their superstitious inventions and ceremonies. In a word, it has turned the edge of the government against the very life and power of godliness, and the favour and protection of it towards all profane, scandalous, and superstitious persons that would uphold their party: it has divided us from the foreign Protestant churches, and has done what it could to bind the nation in perpetual slavery to themselves and their superstitious inventions by the late canons. Farther, this government has been no less prejudicial to the civil liberties of our country, as appears by the bishops preaching up the doctrine of arbitrary power, by their encouraging the late illegal projects to raise money without Parliament, by their kindling a war between England and Scotland, and falling in with the plots and combinations

that have been entered into against this present Parliament." Sir Harry concludes from these premises, "that the Protestant religion must always be in danger as long as it is in the hands of such governors; nor can there be any hopes of reformation in the state while the bishops have votes in Parliament; that the fruit being so bad, the tree must be bad. Let us not, then, halt between two opinions," says he, "but with one heart and voice give glory to God by complying with his providence, and with the safety and peace of the Church and State, which is by passing the Root and Branch Bill."*

Mr. Sergeant Thomas gave the House a long historical narration of the viciousness and misbehaviour of the bishops in the times of popery; of their treasonable and rebellious conduct towards their sovereigns; of their antipathy to the laws and liberties of their country; of their ignorance, pride, and addictedness to the pomp of this world, to the apparent neglect of their spiritual functions; and of their enmity to all methods of reformation to this day.†

Mr. Bagshaw stood up to reply to the objections made against abolishing the order of bishops.

"It is asserted," says he, "that it is of Divine right, which is contrary to the statute 37 of Henry VIII., cap. xvii., which says they have their episcopal authority, and all other ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever, solely and only by, from, and under the king.

"It is argued that episcopacy is inseparable from the crown, and therefore it is commonly said, No bishop, no king; which is very ridiculous, because the kings of England were long before bishops, and may still depose them.

"It is said that episcopacy is a third state in Parliament; but this I deny, for the three states are the king, the lords temporal, and the commons. Kings of England have held several Parliaments without bishops; King Edward I., in the 24th of his reign, held a Parliament *excluso clero*; and in the Parliament of the 7th Richard II. there is mention made of the consent of the lords temporal and the commons, but not a word of the clergy; since, therefore, the present hierarchy was of mere human institution, and had been found a very great grievance to the subject, he inclined to the root and branch petition."

Mr. White entered more fully into the merits of the cause, and considered the present bishops of the Church with regard to their baronies, their temporalities, and their spiritualities.

"The former," says he, "are merely of the king's favour, and began in this kingdom the 4th of William the Conqueror, by virtue whereof they have had place in the House of Peers in Parliament; but in the 7th Henry VIII. (1648, Kel.) it was resolved by all the judges of England that the king may hold his Parliament by himself, his temporal lords, and commons, without any bishop; for a bishop has not any place in Parliament by reason of his spiritualities, but merely by reason of his barony, and according to acts of Parliament have been made without them, as 2 Richard II., cap. iii., and at other times; nor were they ever called spiritual lords in our statutes till 16 Richard II., cap. i.

"By the bishop's spiritualities I mean those spiritual powers which raise him above the order of a presbyter; and here I consider, first, his authority over presbyters by the oath of canonical obedience, by which he may command them to collect tenths granted in convocation, according to 20 Henry VI., cap. xiii. Secondly, his office, which is partly judicial and partly ministerial; by the former he judges in his courts of all matters ecclesiastical and spiritual within his diocese, and of the fitness of such as are presented to him to be instituted into benefices; by the latter he is to consecrate places dedicated to Divine service. 9 Henry VI., cap. xvii., he is to provide for the officiating of cures in the avoidance of churches, on neglect of the patron's presenting thereunto. He is to certify loyal [or lawful] matrimony, general bastardy, and excommunication. He is to execute judgments given in *quare impedit*, upon the writ *ad admittendum clericum*. He is to attend upon trials for life, to report the sufficiency or insufficiency of such as demand clergy; and, lastly, he is to ordain deacons and presbyters.

"Now all these things being given to these bishops *jure humano*," says Mr. White, "I conceive may, for just reasons, be taken away. He affirms that, according to Scripture, a bishop and presbyter is one and the same person: (1.) Their duties are mentioned as the same, the bishop being to teach and rule his church, 1 Tim., iii., 2, 5; and the presbyter being to do the very same, 1 Pet., v., 2, 3. (2.) Presbyters in Scripture are said to be bishops of the Holy Ghost, Acts, xx., 28. And St. Paul charges the presbyters of Ephesus to take heed to the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them bishops or overseers; and other bishops the Holy Ghost never made. (3.) Among the enumeration of church officers, Eph., iv., 11, whereof the three former are extraordinary, and are ceased, there remains only the pastor and teacher, which is the very same with the presbyter. The bishop, as he is more than this, is no officer given by God; and it is an encroachment on the kingly office of Christ to admit other officers into the Church than he himself has appointed.

"Seeing, then, episcopacy may be taken away in all wherein it exceeds the presbyter's office, which is certainly *jure divino*, we ought to restore the presbyters to their rights which the bishops have taken from them, as particularly to the right of ordination, excommunication, and liberty to preach the whole counsel of God without restraint from a bishop: they should have their share in the discipline and government of the Church; and, in a word, all superiority of order between bishops and presbyters should be taken away." Mr. White is farther of opinion that the bishops should be deprived of their baronies, and all intermeddling with civil affairs; that institution and induction, the jurisdiction of tithes, causes matrimonial and testamentary, and other usurpations of the ecclesiastical courts, should be restored to the civil judicature, and be determined by the laws of the land.

In order to take off the force of these arguments in favour of the root and branch petition, the friends of the hierarchy said that the very best things might be corrupted; that to

* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 276.

† Ibid., vol. ii., p. 211.

take away the order of bishops was to change the whole Constitution for they knew not what; they therefore urged the ministers' petition for reformation, and declaimed with vehemence against the corruptions of the late times.

Lord Falkland, who, in the judgment of the noble historian, was the most extraordinary person of his age, stood up and said,

"Mr. Speaker,

"He is a great stranger in our Israel who knows not that this kingdom has long laboured under many and great oppressions, both in religion and liberty, and that a principal cause of both has been some bishops and their adherents, who, under pretence of uniformity, have brought in superstition and scandal under the title of decency; who have defiled our churches by adorning them, and slackened the strictness of that union that was between us and those of our religion beyond sea: an action both impolitic and ungodly.*

"They have been less eager on those who damn our Church than on those who, on weak conscience, and perhaps as weak reason, only abstain from it. Nay, it has been more dangerous for men to go to a neighbouring parish when they had no sermon in their own, than to be obstinate and perpetual recusants. While mass has been said in security, a conventicle has been a crime; and, which is yet more, the conforming to ceremonies has been more exacted than the conforming to Christianity; and while men for scruples have been undone, for attempts of sodomy they have only been admonished.

"Mr. Speaker, they have resembled the dog in the fable: they have neither practised themselves, nor employed those that should, nor suffered those that would. They have brought in catechising only to thrust out preaching; cried down lectures by the name of faction, either because other men's industry in that duty appeared a reproof to their neglect, or with intent to have brought in darkness, that they might the easier sow their tares while it was night.

"In this they have abused his majesty as well as his people; for when he had with great wisdom silenced on both parts those opinions that will always trouble the schools, they made use of this declaration to tie up one side and let the other loose. The truth is, Mr. Speaker, as some ministers in our state first took away our money, and afterward endeavoured to make our money not worth taking, by depraving it, so these men first depressed the power of preaching, and then laboured to make it such, as the harm had not been much if it had been depressed; the chief subjects of the sermons being the *ius divinum* of bishops and tithes; the sacredness of the clergy; the sacrilege of impropriations; the demolishing of Puritanism; the building up of the prerogative, &c. In short, their work has been to try how much of the papist might be brought in without popery, and to destroy as much as they could of the Gospel, without bringing themselves in danger of being destroyed by the law.

"Mr. Speaker, these men have been betrayers of our rights and liberties, by encouraging such

men as Dr. Beal and Manwaring; by appearing for monopolies and ship-money; some of them have laboured to exclude all persons and causes of the clergy from the temporal magistrature, and, by hindering prohibitions, to have taken away the only legal bounds to their arbitrary power; they have encouraged all the clergy to suits, and have brought all suits to the council-table, that, having all power in ecclesiastical matters, they might have an equal power in temporals; they have both kindled and blown the common fire of both nations, and have been the first and principal cause of the breach since the pacification at Berwick.

"Mr. Speaker, I have represented no small quantity, and no mean degree of guilt; but this charge does not lie against episcopacy, but against the persons who have abused that sacred function; for if we consider that the first spreaders of Christianity, the first defenders of it, both with their ink and blood, as well as our late Reformers, were all bishops; and even now, in this great defection of the order, there are some that have been neither proud nor ambitious; some that have been learned opposers of popery and zealous suppressors of Armianism, between whom and their inferior clergy there has been no distinction in frequent preaching; whose lives are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice; I say, if we consider this, we shall conclude that bishops may be good men; and let us but give good men good rules, and we shall have good government and good times.

"I am content to take away from them all those things which may, in any degree of possibility, occasion the like mischiefs with those I have mentioned: I am sure neither their lordships, judging of tithes, wills, and marriages, no, nor their voices in Parliament, are *jure divino*. If their revenues are too great, let us leave them only such proportion as may serve, in some degree, for the support of the dignity of learning and encouragement of students. If it be found they will employ their laws against their weaker brethren, let us take away those laws, and let no ceremonies, which any number count unlawful and no man counts necessary, be imposed upon them; but let us not abolish, upon a few days' debate, an order that has lasted in most churches these sixteen hundred years. I do not believe the order of bishops to be *jure divino*, nor do I think them unlawful; but, since all great changes in government are dangerous, I am for trying if we cannot take away the inconveniences of bishops and the inconveniences of no bishops. Let us, therefore, go upon the debate of grievances, and if the grievances may be taken away and the order stand, we shall not need to commit the London petition at all; but if it shall appear that the abolition of the one cannot be but by the destruction of the other, then let us not commit the London petition, but grant it."

Lord George Digby, an eminent Royalist, spoke with great warmth against the root and branch petition, and with no less zeal for a reformation of grievances.

"If the London petition," says his lordship, "may be considered only as an index of grievances, I should wink at the faults of it, for no man within these walls is more sensible of the heavy grievances of church government than

* Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 184, or part iii., vol. i.

myself, nor whose affections are keener for the clipping those wings of the prelates, whereby they have mounted to such insolence; but, having reason to believe that some aim at the total extirpation of bishops, I cannot restrain myself from labouring to divert it.

"I look upon the petition with terror, as on a comet or a blazing star, raised and kindled out of the poisonous exhalations of a corrupted hierarchy: methought the comet had a terrible tail, and pointed to the north; and I fear all the prudence of this House will have a hard work to hinder this meteor from causing such distempers and combustions as it portends by its appearance: whatever the event be, I shall discharge my conscience freely, unbiassed both from popularity and court respect."*

His lordship then goes on to argue the unreasonableness of abolishing a thing because of some abuses that attend it; he complains of the presumption of the petitioners in desiring the repeal of so many laws at once, and not applying in a more modest manner for a redress of grievances, as the ministers have done. On the other hand, he allows the behaviour of the prelates had given too just an occasion for it; that no people had been so insulted as the people of England had lately been, by the insolences of the prelates: "Their vengeance has been so laid, as if it were meant no generation, no degree, no complexion of mankind should escape it. Was there a man of tender conscience," says his lordship, "him they loaded with unnecessary impositions; was there a man of legal conscience, him they nettled with innovations and fresh introductions to popery; was there a man of a humble spirit, him they trampled to dirt in their pride; was there a man of proud spirit, him they have bereft of reason, with indignation at their superlative insolence; was there a man faithfully attached to the rights of the crown, how has he been galled by their new oath! was there a man that durst mutter against their insolences, he may inquire for his lugs. They have been within the bishops' visitation as if they would not only derive their brandishment of the spiritual sword from St. Peter, but of the material one too, and the right to cut off ears; for my part, I am so inflamed with these things, that I am ready to cry, with the loudest of the fifteen thousand, Down with them to the ground.

"But, Mr. Speaker, we must divest ourselves of passion: we all agree a reformation of Church government is necessary; but, before I can strike at the root and agree to a total extirpation of episcopacy, it must be made manifest to me, (1.) That the mischiefs we have felt arise from the nature of episcopacy, and not from its abuse. (2.) Such a form of government must be set before us as is not liable to proportionable inconveniences. (3.) It must appear that the Utopia is practicable. Let us, therefore, lay aside the thoughts of extirpating bishops, and reduce them to their primitive standard; let us retrench their diocesses; let them govern by assemblies of their clergy; let us exclude them from intermeddling in secular affairs, and appoint a standing committee to collect all the grievances of the Church, and no man's votes

shall be given with more zeal for redressing them than mine."

Surely the bishops must have behaved very ill in the late times, that their very best friends could load them with such reproaches! Sir Benjamin Rudyard, surveyor of the Court of Wards, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, with a great many others of unquestionable duty and loyalty to the king, spoke the same language; and it deserves to be remembered, says Lord Clarendon,* that, in the midst of these complaints, the king was never mentioned but with great honour; all the grievances being laid at the door of his ministers, and all hopes of redress being placed in his majesty alone. At the close of the debate, it was ordered that the root and branch petition should remain in the hands of the clerk of the House of Commons, with direction that no copy should be delivered out; but, after the throwing out of the bill to deprive the bishops of their votes in Parliament, it was revived, and a bill brought in by Sir Edward Deering [May 20, 1641] for the utter extirpating of the whole order, as will be seen here after.

It was in this debate that some smart reparates passed between the members: Mr. Grimstone argued thus: that bishops are *jure divino* is a question; that archbishops are not *jure divino* is out of question; now that bishops which are questioned whether *jure divino*, or archbishops which out of question are not *jure divino*, should suspend ministers which are *jure divino*, I leave to you to be considered. To which Mr. Selden answered, that the convocation is *jure divino* is a question; that Parliaments are not *jure divino* is out of the question; that religion is *jure divino* is no question; now that the convocation which is questionable whether *jure divino*, and Parliaments which out of the question are not *jure divino*, should meddle with religion which questionless is *jure divino*, I leave to your consideration. In both which I apprehend there is more of a jingle of words than strength of argument.†

But the House was unanimous for a reformation of the hierarchy, which was all that the body of the Puritans as yet wished for or desired. The ministers' petition was therefore committed to a committee of the whole House, and on March 9 they came to this resolution: "That the legislative and judicial power of bishops in the House of Peers is a great hinderance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by bill; and that a bill be drawn up to this purpose." March 11, it was resolved farther, "that for bishops or any other clergyman to be in the commission of peace, or to have any judicial power in the Star Chamber or in any civil court, is a great hinderance to their spiritual function, and fit to be taken away by bill." And not many days after it was resolved that they should not be privy councillors or in any temporal offices.

While the House of Commons were thus preparing to clip the wings of the bishops, they were not unmindful of the Roman Catholics;

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 203.

† Selden's argument is considered by Bishop Warburton as a thorough confutation of Grimstone's.—Ed.

these were criminals of a higher nature, and had a deep share in the present calamities; their numbers were growing, and their pride and insolence insufferable: they flocked in great numbers about the court, and insulted the very courts of judicature; the queen protected them, and the king and archbishop countenanced them as friends of the prerogative. Andreas ab Harbensfield, the Queen of Bohemia's chaplain, advised his grace of a popish confederacy against the king and the Church of England; but when the names of Montague, Sir Kenelm Digby, Winter, Windebank, and Porter, all papists, and officers about the court, were mentioned as parties, the whole was discredited and stifled. When the House of Commons petitioned the king to issue out a proclamation for putting the laws in execution against papists, it was done in so defective a manner that the committee reported it would avail nothing; for in the clause which enjoins all popish recusants to depart the city in fifteen days, it is added, "without special license had thereunto;" so that if they could obtain a license from his majesty, or from the lords of the council, the bishop, the lieutenant, or deputy-lieutenant of the county, then they were not within the penalty. Besides, the disarming of all popish recusants was limited to recusants convicted; so that if they were not convicted, a justice of peace could not disarm them. They observed, farther, that many recusants had letters of grace to protect their persons and estates; that, instead of departing from London, there was a greater resort of papists at present than heretofore; and that their insolence and threatening language were insufferable and dangerous. A gentleman having given information in open court to one of the judges of the King's Bench, that in one parish in the city of Westminster there were above six thousand recusants, the committee appointed Mr. Heywood, an active justice of peace, to collect and bring in a list of the names of all recusants within that city and liberties; for which purpose all the inhabitants were summoned to appear and take the oaths in Westminster Hall: but while the justice was in the execution of his office, and pressing one James, a papist, to take them, the wretch drew out his knife and stabbed the justice in the open court, telling him, "he gave him that for persecuting poor Catholics." The old gentleman sunk down with the wound, but by the care of the surgeons was recovered, and the criminal taken into custody.* This Mr. Heywood was the very person who, being commanded by King James I. to search the cellars under the Parliament house at the time of the

* Dr. Grey is displeased with Mr. Neal for not informing his reader how the king acted on this occasion; especially as he says, according to the first edition, "the king favours them," i. e., the papists. This is the marginal contents of the following paragraph, and the fact is there fully established. With respect to the attempt made on the life of Mr. Heywood, his majesty, it should be acknowledged, expressed a proper abhorrence of it, and "recommended it to Parliament to take course for a speedy and exemplary punishment" of it. For which the House returned their humble thanks. But this instance of royal justice is not sufficient to wipe off the charge of general and great partiality towards the Catholics. — *Rushworth's Collections*, part iii., vol. i., p. 57.—Ed.

Gunpowder Plot, took Guy Faux with his dark lantern in his hand, which lantern is preserved among the archives of Oxford, with Mr. Heywood's name upon it in letters of gold.

The Parliament, alarmed at this daring attempt, sent orders to all the justices of peace of Westminster, London, and Middlesex, requiring them to command the church-wardens to make a return of the names of all recusants within their parishes, in order to their being proceeded against according to law; a few days after, the like orders were sent to the justices in the remote counties. The houses petitioned his majesty to discharge all popish officers in garrisons or in the army who refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to fill up their places with Protestants. March 16, they petitioned his majesty to remove all papists from court, and particularly Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Toby Matthews, Sir John Winter, and Mr. Montague, and that the whole body of Roman Catholics might be disarmed. The answer returned was, that his majesty would take care that the papists about the court should give no just cause of scandal; and as for disarming them, he was content it should be done according to law. So that their addresses had no other effect than to exasperate the papists, the king and queen being determined to project them as long as they were able.

There was at this time one Goodman, a seminary priest, under condemnation in Newgate, whom the king, instead of leaving to the sentence of the law, reprieved in the face of his Parliament; whereupon both houses [January 29, 1640] agreed upon the following remonstrance:

"That, considering the present juncture, they conceived the strict execution of the laws against recusants more necessary than formerly,

1. "Because, by divers petitions from several parts of the kingdom, complaints are made of the great increase of popery and superstition; priests and Jesuits swarm in great abundance in this kingdom, and appear as boldly as if there were no laws against them.

2. "It appears to the House that of late years many priests and Jesuits condemned for high treason have been discharged out of prison.

3. "That at this time the pope has a nuncio or agent in this city, and papists go as publicly to mass at Denmark House, and at St. James's and the ambassadors' chapels, as others do to their parish churches.

4. "That the putting the laws in execution against papists is for the preservation and advancement of the true religion established in this kingdom, for the safety of their majesties' persons, and the security of government.

5. "It is found that Goodman the priest has been twice formerly committed and discharged; that his residence now in London was in absolute contempt of his majesty's proclamation; that he was formerly a minister of the Church of England; and, therefore, they humbly desire he may be left to the justice of the law."

To this remonstrance the king replied,

"That the increase of popery and superstition, if any such thing had happened, was contrary to his inclination; but to take off all occasions of complaint, he would order the laws to be put in execution.

"That he would set forth a proclamation to command Jesuits and priests to depart the kingdom within a month; and in case they either failed or returned, they should be proceeded against according to law.

"As touching the pope's nuncio, Rosetti, his commission reached only to keep up a correspondence between the queen and pope, in things relative to the exercise of religion; that this correspondence came within the compass of the full liberty of conscience secured her by the articles of marriage; however, since Rosetti's character happened to be misunderstood and gave offence, he had persuaded the queen to consent to his being recalled.

"Farther, his majesty promised to take care to restrain his subjects from going to mass at Denmark House, St. James's, and the chapels of the ambassadors.

"Lastly, touching Goodman, he was content to remit him to the pleasure of the House; but he puts them in mind that neither Queen Elizabeth nor King James ever put any to death merely for religion; and desired them to consider the inconveniences that such a conduct might draw upon his subjects and other Protestants in foreign countries."

How strange this assertion! Let the reader recollect the many executions of papists for denying the supremacy; the burning the Dutch Anabaptists, for whom Mr. Fox, the martyrologist, interceded in vain; and the hanging of Barrow, Greenwood, Penry, &c., in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; let him also remember the burning of Bartholomew Legate and Edward Wightman for the Arian heresy by King James I. (of all which, and some others, the Commons, in their reply, put his majesty in mind), and then judge of the truth of this part of his declaration. Nor did the Jesuits regard the other parts of it, for they knew that they had a friend in the king's bosom that would protect them, and therefore, instead of removing out of the land, they lay concealed within the verge of the court. Even Goodman himself was not executed,* though the king promised to leave him to the law, and though he himself petitioned, like

* Whitelocke informs us that the king left him to the Parliament, "and they," says Bishop Warburton, "would not order his execution. The truth of the matter was this: each party was desirous of throwing the odium of Goodman's execution on the other, so between both the man escaped." On this ground, his lordship exclaims, "How prejudiced is the representation of our historian!" In reply to this reflection, it may be asked, Did it not show the king's partiality and reluctance to have the law executed against Goodman, that he remitted the matter to the House? Did not the inflicting the sentence of the law lie solely with himself, as invested with the executive power? and yet he did not inflict it. Doth not this conduct justify Mr. Neal's representation? nay, that representation is just and candid if it pointed to the reprieve only, which produced the remonstrance of the Parliament. There would not have been any occasion for that remonstrance had it not been for his majesty's attachment to men of that description.

The advocates of the king have considered his conduct towards Goodman as an amiable act of humanity; nay, as proceeding from a mind most sensibly touched with the "gallantry," as it is called, of this man in petitioning to be made a sacrifice to the justice of the law, to serve his majesty's interests and affairs.—*Dr. Grey, and Nalson's Collections*, vol. i., p. 746.—Ed.

Jonah the prophet, to be thrown overboard to allay the tempest between the king and his subjects. Such was his majesty's attachment to this people! to the apparent hazard of the Protestant religion and the peace of his kingdoms, and to the sacrificing all good correspondence between himself and his Parliament.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD TO THE RECESS OF THE PARLIAMENT UPON THE KING'S PROGRESS IN SCOTLAND.

It is impossible to account for the prodigious changes of this and the years immediately succeeding, without taking a short view of some civil occurrences that paved the way for them. In pursuance of the design of bringing corrupt ministers* to justice, the Parliament began with Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, an able statesman, but a most dangerous enemy of the laws and liberties of his country, whom they impeached of high treason November 11, 1640, and brought to his trial the 22d of March following. The grand article of his impeachment† was, "for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government." This was subdivided into several branches, supported by a multiplicity of facts, none of which were directly treason by law, but being put together, were construed to be such by accumulation. The earl's reply to the facts consisted partly in excuses and evasions, with an humble acknowledgment that in some things he had been mistaken; but his principal defence rested upon a point of law, "Whether an endeavour to subvert the fundamental form of government, and the laws of the land, was high treason at common law, or by any statute in force?" Mr. Lane, the counsel for the prisoner, maintained, (1.) That all treasons were to be reduced to the particulars specified in the 25th Edw. III., cap. ii. (2.) That nothing else was or could be treason, and that it was so enacted by the 1st Henry IV., cap. x. (3.) That there had been no precedent to the contrary since that time.

* They were a remarkable party who assembled round the council-table of Charles I. Beside the unfortunate monarch there sat the magnificent Buckingham, the loyal Hamilton, the severe Strafford, the high-churchman Laud, the melancholy Falkland, and the gay and graceful Holland. In the midst of these high and haughty councils, and high resolves, how little did they foresee the wretched fate which awaited them! There was not one of that assembly whose death was not violent. Charles, Hamilton, Strafford, Laud, and Holland diel on the scaffold. Buckingham fell by the hand of an assassin, and Falkland, under circumstances of peculiar bitterness, on the battle-field.—*Jesse's Court of the Stuarts*, vol. ii., p. 318, 319.—C.

† When the Earl of Strafford was impeached, the king came into the House of Lords and desired that the articles against him might be read, which the lord-keeper ordered to be done, while many lords cried out, Privilege! privilege! When the king was departed, the House ordered that no entry should be made of the king's demand of hearing the articles read, or of the keeper's compliance with it.—*A MS. Memorandum of Dr. Birch in the British Museum, and quoted in the Curiosities of Literature*, vol. ii., p. 186.—Ed.

And (4.) That by 1 Mary, cap. xii., an endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the land is declared to be no more than felony.

The Commons felt the weight of these arguments, and, not being willing to enter into debate with a private barrister, changed their impeachment to a bill of attainder, which they had a right to do by virtue of a clause in the 25th Edw. III., cap. ii.,* which refers the decision of what is treason, in all doubtful cases, to the king and Parliament.† The attainder passed the Commons April 19, yeas two hundred and four, noes fifty-nine; but it is thought would have been lost in the House of Lords had it not been for the following accident, which put it out of the power of the earl's friends to save him.

The king being weary of his Parliament, and desirous to protect his servant, consented to a project of some persons in the greatest trust about the court to bring the army that was raised against the Scots up to London, in order to awe the two houses, to rescue the earl, and to take possession of the city of London. Lord Clarendon says‡ the last motion was rejected with abhorrence, and that the gentleman who made it was the person who discovered the whole plot. The conspirators met in the queen's lodgings at Whitehall, where a petition was drawn up for the officers of the army to sign, and to present to his majesty, with a tender of their readiness to wait upon him in defence of his prerogative against the turbulent spirits of the House of Commons; the draught was shown to the king, and signed, "In testimony of his majesty's approbation, C. R.," but the plot being discovered to the Earl of Bedford, to the Lords Say and Kimbolton, and to Mr. Pym, with the names of the conspirators, all of them absconded, and some fled immediately into France.

Mr. Pym opened the conspiracy to the House

* The words of the statute are,

"And because that many other like cases of treason may happen in time to come, which a man cannot think or declare at this present time, it is accorded that if any other case, supposed treason, which is not above specified, doth happen before any justice, the justices shall tarry without any going to judgment of the treason till the cause be showed and declared before the king and his Parliament whether it ought to be judged treason or felony."

† The bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford being formed on this principle and authority, there was a great propriety in the following clause of it, viz.: "That no judge or judges, justice or justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any act or thing to be treason, nor hear or determine treason, in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the passing of this act." This clause has been considered as a reflection on the bill itself, and as an acknowledgment that the case was too hard, and the proceedings too irregular, to be drawn into a precedent. But this is a misconstruction of the clause, which did not intimate any consciousness of wrong in those who passed it; but was meant to preserve to Parliament the right, in future, which is exercised in this instance, of determining what is treason in all doubtful cases, and was intended to restrain the operation of the bill to this single case. It showed, observes Mrs. Macaulay, a very laudable attention to the preservation of public liberty.—*Macaulay's History*, vol. ii., 8vo, p. 444, note (†); and *Dr. Harris's Life of Charles I.*, p. 324, 325.—Ed.

‡ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 248.

of Commons May 2, 1641,* and acquainted them that, among other branches of the plot, one was to seize the Tower, to put the Earl of Strafford at the head of the Irish army of papists, who were to be transported into England, and to secure the important town of Portsmouth, in order to receive succours from France; Sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, confessed that the king had sent him express orders to receive a hundred men into that garrison under the command of Captain Billingsly, to favour the earl's escape; and that the earl himself offered him £20,000 in money, and to advance his son in marriage to one of the best fortunes in the kingdom. Lord Clarendon has used all his rhetoric to cover over this conspiracy, and to make posterity believe it was little more than the idle chat of some officers at a tavern; but they who will compare the depositions in Rushworth with his lordship's account of that matter, says Bishop Burnet, will find that there is a great deal more in the one than the other is willing to believe.† Mr. Echard confesses that the plot was not wholly without foundation. The court would have disowned it, but their keeping the conspirators in their places made the Parliament believe that there was a great deal more in it than was yet discovered; they therefore sent orders immediately to secure the town and haven of Portsmouth, and to disband the Irish army; they voted that all papists should be removed from about the court, and directed letters to Sir Jacob Ashley to induce the army to a dutiful behaviour, and to assure them of their full pay.

The consequences of this plot were infinitely prejudicial to the king's affairs; the court lost its reputation; the reverence due to the king and queen was lessened; and the House of Commons began to be esteemed the only barrier of the people's liberties; for which purpose they entered into a solemn protestation to stand by each other with their lives and fortunes; the Scots army was continued for their security; a bill for the continuance of the present Parliament was brought in and urged with great advantage; and, last of all, by the discovery of this plot the fate of the Earl of Strafford was determined; great numbers of people crowded in a tumultuous manner to Westminster, cry-

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 369, folio. Strafford, as is well known, had been long distinguished among the popular leaders of the House of Commons for his violent opposition to the court. Whether his defection was owing to ambition, the love of power, or to an awakened dread for the Constitution of his country; whether it was the splendid promises of Charles, eager to gain over so powerful a mind, or a fear that his associates were proceeding to too great lengths, it is now impossible to determine. However, his sudden leap from a patriot to a courtier was as severe a blow to his own party as it was a triumph to the court. To the astonishment of all men, he was created suddenly, July 22, 1628, Baron Wentworth, Newmarsh and Oversley. Shortly after his elevation he met his old friend Pym. "You see," said Strafford, "that I have left you." "So I perceive," was Pym's reply; "but we shall never leave you as long as you have a head on your shoulders." *If this be true*, it is certain that Pym kept his word, and never lost sight of Strafford till he had brought him to the block.—*Jesse's Court of the Stuarts*, vol. ii., p. 353.—C.

† May's Hist., p. 97-99. Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 291.

ing, Justice! justice! and threatening violence to those members of the House of Commons who had voted against his attainder. In this situation of affairs, and in the absence of the bench of bishops (as being a case of blood), the bill passed with the dissent only of eleven peers. The king had some scruples about giving it the royal assent, because, though he was convinced the earl had been guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors," he did not apprehend that an "endeavour to subvert the fundamental form of government, and to introduce an arbitrary power, was high treason;" his majesty consulted his bishops and judges, but was not satisfied till he received a letter from the earl himself, beseeching his majesty to sign the bill, in order to make way for a happy agreement between him and his subjects. Mr. Whitelocke insinuates* that this letter was but a feint of the earl's, for when Secretary Carlton acquainted him with what the king had done, and with the motive, which was his own consent, he rose up in a great surprise, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."† Two days after this [May 12], he was executed on Tower Hill, and submitted to the axe with a Roman bravery and courage; but at the restoration of King Charles II. his attainder was reversed, and the articles of accumulative treason declared null, because what is not treason in the several parts cannot amount to treason in the whole.‡

This was the unhappy fate of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, once an eminent patriot and asserter of the liberties of his country, but after he was called to court, one of the most arbitrary ministers that this nation ever produced. He was certainly a gentleman of distinguished abilities, as appears by the incomparable defence he made on his trial, which gained him more reputation and esteem with the people than all the latter actions of his life put together; but still he was a public enemy of his country, and had as great a share in those fatal counsels that brought on the civil war as any man then living. "The earl," says Mr. Echard, "was of a severe countenance, in-

sufferably proud and haughty, having a sovereign contempt of the people, whom he never studied to gratify in anything; the ancient nobility looked upon his sudden rise and universal influence in public affairs with envy, so that he had but few friends, and a great many enemies."

Lord Digby, in his famous speech* against the Bill of Attainder, wherein he washes his hands of the blood of the Earl of Strafford, has, nevertheless, these expressions: "I confidently believe him the most dangerous minister, and the most insupportable to free subjects, that can be charactered. I believe his practices in themselves have been as high and tyrannical as any subject ever ventured upon; and the malignity of them is greatly aggravated by those abilities of his, whereof God has given him the use, but the devil the application. In a word, I believe him still that grand apostate to the commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other."

Lord Falkland says, "That he committed so many mighty and so manifest enormities and oppressions in the kingdom of Ireland, that the like have not been committed by any governor in any government since Verres left Sicily; and after his lordship was called over from being deputy of Ireland, to be in a manner deputy of England, he and the junctillo gave such counsels and pursued such courses as it is hard to say whether they were more unwise, more unjust, or more unfortunate."

Lord Clarendon says,† "That he had been compelled, for reasons of state, to exercise many acts of power, and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the case of the Lord-chancellor of Ireland and the Lord Mount Norris, the former of which was *satis pro imperio*, but the latter the most extravagant piece of sovereignty that, in a time of peace, had been executed by any subject." From whence the reader may conclude, that whatever encomiums the earl might deserve as a gentleman and a soldier, yet, as a statesman, he deserved the fate he underwent.

The execution of this great personage struck terror into all the king's late ministers; some of them resigned their places, and others retired into France; among the latter was the Lord-keeper Finch and Secretary Windebank. Six of the judges were impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, for "interpreting away the laws of their country;" but the Parliament had too much business upon their hands to attend to their prosecution at present. Thus this unhappy prince was deprived of those counsellors who were in his own arbitrary sentiments, and left as in a manner to himself, and the powerful influence of his bigoted queen and her cabal of papists: for the new ministers who succeeded were such in whom the king would place no confidence. So that most men expected that these vigorous proceedings would induce him to put a speedy end to the session.

But that which prevented it was the want of money to pay off the armies in the north; his

* This is one of the most splendid orations of the English Parliament. It is worthy of close study, and may be found at length in Baker's Chronicles.—C.

† Vol. i. p. 250.

* Memorials, p. 44.

† While the trial was in progress, the earl received the following remarkable letter from Charles:

"Strafford—The misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange mistaking and conjunction of these times being such that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs, yet I cannot satisfy in honour or conscience without assuring you now, in the midst of all our troubles, that, upon the word of a king, you shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune. This is but justice, and, therefore, a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant as you have shown yourself to be; yet it is as much as I conceive the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being

"Your constant, faithful friend,

"CHARLES R."

—*Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 416.

"The world," remarks a modern writer, "will more readily forgive the faults of Strafford than they will acquit Charles for having consented to his death." Charles, in his last moments on the scaffold, observed, "I will only observe this—that an unjust sentence, that I suffered to take effect, is punished by an unjust sentence on me."—*King Charles's Works*, p. 208.—C. † Nalson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 203.

majesty pressed the houses to despatch this affair, and relieve the country from the burden of contribution; on the other hand, the Commons looked upon the Scots as their security, and that, if they were sent home, they should again be at the mercy of the prerogative, supported by a standing army. However, they had begun to borrow money of the city of London towards the expense; but when the plot to dissolve the Parliament broke out, the citizens declared they would lend nothing upon parliamentary security, because their sitting was so very precarious. This gave rise to a motion for the continuance of the present Parliament till they should dissolve themselves, which was presently turned into a short bill, and passed both houses with very little opposition, as the only expedient that could be thought of to support the public credit: it enacts, "that this present Parliament shall not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent," and was signed by commission with the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford.

All men stood amazed at the king's weakness on this occasion; for, by this hasty and unadvised measure, he concurred in a change of the whole Constitution, giving the two houses a co-ordinate power in the Legislature with himself, for as long time as they pleased: if his majesty had fixed their continuance to a limited time, it might have satisfied the people and saved the prerogative; but, by making them perpetual, he parted with the sceptre out of his own hands, and put it into the hands of his Parliament. "This," says Mr. Echard, "has made some writers doubt whether those who afterward took up arms against the king could be legally termed rebels. For by passing this act his majesty made the two houses so far independent upon himself, that they immediately acquired an uncommon authority, and a sort of natural right to inspect and censure his actions, and to provide for the safety of the kingdom."

While the Commons were alarmed with the discovery of the plot and the flight of the conspirators, Mr. Pym moved that both houses might join in some band of defence for the security of their liberties and of the Protestant religion; accordingly, the following protestation was drawn up, and subscribed the very next day by the whole House [May 3]:

"I, A. B., do, in the presence of Almighty God, vow and protest to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true Reformed Protestant religion, expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, against all popery and popish innovations in this realm, contrary to the said doctrine; and according to the duty of my allegiance, I will maintain and defend his majesty's royal person, honour, and estate; also the power and privilege of Parliament, the lawful rights and liberties of the subject, and of every person who shall make this protestation in whatsoever he shall do, in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by all good ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment, all such who shall by force, practice, counsel, plot, conspiracy, or otherwise, do anything to the contrary in this protestation contained. And farther, that I shall, in all just

and honourable ways, endeavour to preserve the union and peace between the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and neither for hope, fear, nor any other respect, shall relinquish this promise, vow, and protestation."*

May 4, this protestation was made by all the peers present in Parliament, except the Earl of Southampton and Lord Roberts; † even by the bishops themselves, though (as Lord Clarendon ‡ observes) it comes little short of the Scots covenant. Their lordships, indeed, would have interpreted those words, "the true Reformed Protestant religion, expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England," to have included the government or hierarchy of the Church; but it was resolved and declared by the House, § that by those words was and is meant only the public doctrine professed in the said Church, so far as it is opposite to popery and popish innovations; and that the said words are not to extend to the maintenance of any form of worship, discipline, or government, nor of rites and ceremonies. || Within two days the protestation was taken by eighty temporal lords, seventeen bishops, nine judges, and four hundred and thirty-eight of the House of Commons. Next day it was printed, and sent to the sheriffs and justices of peace in the several counties of England, to be taken by the whole nation, with the following directions: ¶

"— That it be taken in the afternoon of some Lord's Day after sermon, before the congregation be dismissed, by all masters of families, their sons that are of a proper age, and men-servants, in the manner following. First, That notice be given to the minister by the church-wardens of the intention. Secondly, That the minister acquaint the people in his sermon of the nature of the protestation. Thirdly, That the minister first take it himself, reading it distinctly with an audible voice, that all present may hear it; then the assembly shall take the writing in their hands, saying with a distinct and audible voice, 'I, A. B., do, in the presence of Almighty God, vow and protest the same, which the leading person that reads it did,' naming the person. Fourthly, The names of all that take it shall be subscribed in a register; and the names of those that refuse shall be entered."

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 251, &c.

† "Alleging that there was no law that enjoined it, and that the consequence of such voluntary engagements might produce effects that were not intended."—*Lord Clarendon, as quoted by Dr. Grey.—Ed.*

‡ Vol. i., p. 253.

§ Mr. Neal, according to Lord Clarendon, has misrepresented this matter. For he says, that this explanation was procured in the House of Commons, without ever advising with the House of Peers. The peers had previously taken the protestation.—*Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. ii., p. 252. Mr. Neal is properly corrected here by Dr. Grey.—*Ed.*

|| Rushworth, part iii., vol. i.

¶ The English House of Commons was nominally made up of *Episcopalians*, and it is not quite fair to hold up the enforcement of this protestation, and other measures of the Long Parliament, as Presbyterian intolerance. It was two years after before the Solemn League and Covenant was established.—*See the History of the Westminster Assembly, by Rev. W. M. Hetherington.—C.*

The cities of London and Westminster observed these directions, but the remoter counties were complained of for neglect; upon which the House of Commons passed a bill to oblige all persons to take it throughout the kingdom; which was lost in the House of Lords, the whole bench of bishops opposing it; whereupon the Commons came to this resolution, that "whosoever would not take the protestation was unfit to bear offices in the Church or commonwealth."

This was carrying matters to a very extraordinary length. There had been a parliamentary association in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which her majesty confirmed, and a solemn league and covenant in Scotland, which the king had complied with; but the enforcing a protestation or vow upon his majesty's subjects without his consent was assuming a power which even this dangerous crisis of affairs, and the uncommon authority with which this Parliament was invested by the late Act of Continuance, can by no means support or justify. The odium of putting a stop to the protestation fell upon the bench of bishops, who were already sinking under their own weight; and his majesty's not interposing in this affair at all was afterward made use of as a precedent for imposing the solemn league and covenant upon the whole kingdom without his concurrence.*

The Puritans had also objected to the lordly titles and dignities of the bishops; but their votes in the House of Peers were now esteemed a very great grievance, and an effectual bar to the proceedings of Parliament. It was remembered that they had been always averse to reformation; that they had voted unanimously against the supremacy in King Henry VIII.'s reign, and against the Act of Uniformity in Queen Elizabeth's. It was now observed that they were the creatures of the court, and a dead weight against all reformation in Church or State; twenty-six votes being sufficient at any time to turn the scale in that House, whose full number was not above a hundred; it was therefore moved that a bill might be brought in to take away their seats in Parliament, which was readily agreed to. The bill, says Lord Clarendon,† was drawn up with great deliberation, and was entitled, "An Act for restraining Bishops, and others of the Clergy in Holy Orders, from intermeddling in Secular Affairs." It consisted of several branches; as, "that no bishop should have a vote in Parliament, nor any judicial power in the Star Chamber, nor be a privy councillor, nor a judge in any temporal courts; nor should any clergyman be in the commission of peace." To make way for the passing of this bill, it was alleged that if this were granted the Commons would be satisfied, and little or nothing farther attempted to the prejudice of the Church. It therefore passed the House of Commons without opposition, and was sent up to the House of Peers May 1, 1641. Mr. Fuller says‡ that Lord Kimbolton would have persuaded the bishops to resign their votes in Parliament, adding, that then the temporal lords would be obliged in honour to preserve their jurisdiction and revenues. The Earl of Essex also employed somebody to treat private-

ly with the bishops on the same head; but they rejected all overtures of accommodation, resolving to make their utmost efforts, and to keep possession of their seats till a superior strength should dispossess them; accordingly, the bill met with a vigorous opposition in the Upper House, and after a second reading was thrown out, without so much as being committed (a countenance frequently given to bills they never intend to pass); but the whole bench of bishops voting for themselves, it is no wonder it was lost by a considerable majority. Mr. Fuller says it would have been thrown out if the bishops had not voted at all; for though the temporal lords were content to exclude them from all secular offices and employments in the state, they were in no disposition to take away their suffrages in the House of Peers.

Many learned speeches were made in both houses upon this occasion; the reasons of the Commons for passing the bill were these: (1.) Because their attendance on secular affairs, not relating to the Church, is a great hinderance to their spiritual function.* "No man that warreth," saith St. Paul to Timothy, "entangleth himself with the affairs of this life." (2.) Because it is contrary to their ordination-vow, for when they enter into holy orders they promise to give themselves wholly to that vocation. (3.) Because councils and canons in several ages have forbid their meddling in secular affairs. (4.) Because the twenty-four bishops depend on the two archbishops, and take an oath of canonical obedience to them. (5.) Because their peirage is not of the same nature with the temporal lords, being but for life. (6.) Because they depend on the crown for translation to greater bishoprics. (7.) Because it is not fit that twenty-six of them should sit as judges upon complaints brought against themselves and their order.†

Bishop Williams published an answer to these reasons, entitled the Abstract, to which there presently came out a reply. The chief speakers on behalf of the bishops, in the House of Peers, were the Lord-vicecount Newark, afterward Earl of Kingston, Dr. Williams, lord-bishop of Lincoln, afterward Archbishop of York, the Marquis of Hereford, the Earls of Southampton, Bath, and Bristol. But instead of transcribing their speeches, I will give the reader a summary of their arguments, and of their adversaries' reply.

First, It was argued that "bishops had voted in Parliament almost ever since the Conquest, according to Matthew Paris, Sir Henry Spel-

* Rushworth, p. 281. Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 260.

† On these reasons, Dr. Harris observes, "That, whatever might have been thought of them at that time, we are to suppose that they have long been of no force. The zeal for the Constitution in Church and State, the abhorrence of all ministerial measures inconsistent therewith, the opposition to everything contrary to liberty and the public good; and, above all, the self-denial and contempt of the world, humility, and constant discharge of episcopal duties, required in the New Testament: I say all these things show how much the bishops since the Reformation are altered, and how much those are mistaken who represent them as a dead weight in the House of Lords, and a useless expense to the public."—*Life of Charles I.*, p. 330, 331.

* Nalson's Col., vol. ii., p. 414.

† Vol. i., p. 234.

‡ Book ix., p. 185.

man, and others." To which it was replied,* that time and usage ought to be of no weight with lawmakers, on the behalf of things which are allowed to be inconvenient: abbots had voted as anciently in Parliament as bishops, and yet their votes were taken away.

Secondly, it was said that "the bishops voting was no considerable hinderance in their spiritual function; for Parliaments were to sit but once in three years, and then but for a month or two together; but though no clergyman should entangle himself with the affairs of this life, the apostle does not exclude him from intermeddling." To which it was answered, that the episcopal function, if well discharged, was enough for all their time and thoughts; and that their diocesses were large enough to employ all their labours, in visitation, confirmation, preaching, &c. The design of the Apostle Paul was certainly to exhort Timothy to withdraw himself as much as possible from the affairs of this life, that his thoughts might be more entire for his evangelical work; and, therefore, in another place, he exhorts him to give himself wholly to these things.

Thirdly, it was said that "clergymen had always been in the commission of the peace, from the first planting of Christianity, and that they were best qualified for it." To which it was answered, that they were most unfit for this employment, because it had a direct tendency to hinder their usefulness in their pulpits; and to the fact it was replied, that the first clergymen that were made justices of the peace, or had power in temporal jurisdiction, were the Bishops of Durham and York, 34 Edw. III. That before the Act of Conformity, 1 Edw. VI., the clergy were not put in commission for the peace; and that the reason of their being then admitted was, that they might persuade the people to conformity; but if in conscience they held it not consistent with their spiritual calling, they might refuse.

It was farther said, that the taking away one whole bench out of the House of Peers was an ill precedent, and might encourage the Commons one time or other to cut off the barons, or some other degree of the nobility. To which it was replied, that the peerage of the bishops did not stand upon the same footing with the rest of the nobility, because their honour does not descend to their posterity, and because they have no right to vote in cases of blood; if they had the same right of peerage with the temporal lords, no canon of the Church could deprive them of it; for it was never known that the canons of the Church pretended to deprive the barons of England of any part of their inherent jurisdiction.

It was argued farther, that if the bench of bishops were deprived of their votes, they would be left under very great disadvantages; for whereas the meanest commoner is represented in the Lower House, the bishops will be thrown out of this common benefit; and if they have no share in consenting to the laws, neither in their persons nor representatives, what justice can oblige them to keep those laws?

To which it was replied, that they have the same share in the Legislature with the rest of the freeholders of England; nor is there any

more reason that the bishops, as bishops, should be a part of the Legislature, than the judges or the lawyers, as such, or any other incorporated profession of learned men.

But the principal argument that was urged in favour of bishops was, that "they were one of the three estates in Parliament; that as such they were the representatives of the whole body of the clergy, and, therefore, to turn them out would be to alter the Constitution, and to take away one whole branch of the Legislature: the Parliament would not then be the complete representative body of the nation, nor would the laws which were enacted in their absence be valid. To support this assertion it was said, (1.) That the clergy in all other Christian kingdoms of these northern parts make up a third estate, as in Germany, France, Spain, Poland, Denmark, Scotland; and, therefore, why not in England? (2.) When King Henry V. was buried, it is said the three estates assembled, and declared his son Henry VI. his successor. The petition to Richard, duke of Gloucester, to accept the crown, runs in the name of the three estates; and in his Parliament it is said expressly, that at the request of the three estates (i. e., the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in Parliament assembled), he was declared undoubted king of these realms; to which may be added, the statute of 1 Eliz., cap. iii., where the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, are said to represent the three estates of this realm.

It was replied to this, that the bishops did not sit in the House as a third estate, nor as bishops, but only in the right of their baronies annexed to their bishoprics, 5 Will. I. All the bishops have baronies except the Bishop of Man, who is as much a bishop, to all intents and purposes of jurisdiction and ordination, as the others, but has no place in Parliament, because he does not hold *per integrum baronium*. It must be admitted, that in ancient times the lords spiritual are sometimes mentioned as a third estate of the realm, but it could not be intended by this that the clergy, much less the bishops, were an essential part of the Legislature; for if so, it would then follow that no act of Parliament could be valid without their consent; whereas divers acts are now in force, from which the whole bench of bishops have dissented, as the Act of Conformity, 1 Edw. VI., and the Act of Supremacy, 1 Eliz.* If the major part of the barons agree, and the House of Commons concur, any bill may pass into an act with the consent of the king, though all the bishops dissent, because their votes are overruled by the major part of the peers. In the Parliament of Northampton, under Henry II., when the bishops challenged their peerage,† they said, "Non sedemus hic episcopi sed barones." We sit not here as bishops, but as barons; we are barons, and you are barons—here, therefore, we are peers. Nor did King Charles himself apprehend the bishops to be one of the three estates, for in his declaration of June 16, 1642, he calls himself one, and the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, the other two. In ancient times the prelates were sometimes excluded the Parliament, as in 25 King Edw. I.,

* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 251, &c.

* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 502, &c.

† Fuller's Appeal.

when they would not agree to grant an aid to his majesty in the Parliament at Carlisle; and before that time several acts had passed against the oppressions of the clergy, in which the entry in the records stands thus: "The king having consulted with the earls, barons, and the other nobles; or by the assent of the earls, barons, and other lay people;" which shows the bishops did not consent, for if they had they would have been first named, the order of the nobility in all ancient records being prelates, earls, and barons.* When the convocation had cited Dr. Standish before them, for speaking words against their power and privilege, in the 7th Henry VIII., it was determined by all the judges of the land, in presence of the king, that his majesty might hold his Parliament without calling the bishops at all. It appears, therefore, from hence, that the bishops never were accounted a third estate of the realm, in such a sense as to make them an essential branch of the Legislature; nor are they the representatives of the clergy, because then the clergy would be twice represented, for as many of them as are freeholders are represented with their fellow-subjects in the House of Commons; and as clergymen they are represented in convocation, the writ of election to convocation being to send two clerks *ad consentiendum*, &c. Besides, none can properly be called representatives of others but such as are chosen by them; the bishops, therefore, not being chosen for this purpose, cannot properly be the representatives of the clergy in Parliament; they sit there not in their spiritual character, but by virtue of the baronies annexed to their bishoprics; and if the king, with consent of Parliament, should annex baronies to the courts of justice in Westminster Hall, or to the supreme magistracy of the city of London, the judges and the lord-mayor, for the time being, would have the same right of peerage. But none of these arguments were deemed of sufficient weight with the lords to deprive them of their seats in Parliament.

The loss of this bill, with the resolute behaviour of the bishops, who were determined to part with nothing they were in possession of, inflamed the Commons, and made them conclude that there was no hope of reformation while they were a branch of the Legislature. It was observed that the bishops were unusually diligent in giving their attendance upon the House at this time, and always voted with the court. Some of the leading members, therefore, in the warmth of their resentments, brought in a bill in pursuance of the root and branch petition, which had been laid aside for some time, for the utter extirpation of all bishops, deans, and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, with all chancellors, officials, and officers belonging to them; and for the disposing of their lands, manors, &c., as the Parliament shall appoint.† A rash and inconsiderate attempt! For could they expect that the bishops should abolish themselves? Or that the temporal lords should consent to the utter extirpating an order of churchmen, when they would not so much as give up one branch of their privilege! The bill being drawn up by Mr. St. John, was delivered to the speaker by Sir Edward Deering,

with a short speech, in which he took notice of the moderation of the House in the late bill, hoping that, by pruning and taking off a few unnecessary branches from the bishops, the tree might prosper the better! but that this soft method having proved ineffectual, by reason of their incorrigible obstinacy, it was now necessary to put the "axe to the root of the tree."* "I never was for ruin," says he, "as long as there was any hope of reforming; and now I profess, that if those hopes revive and prosper, I will divide my sense upon this bill, and yield my shoulders to underprop the primitive, lawful, and just episcopacy." He concluded with a sentence in Ovid:

"Cuncta prius tentanda, sed immedicabile vulnus
Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur."†

The reading of this bill was very much opposed, because it was brought in contrary to the usage of Parliament, without first asking leave; however, it was once read, and then adjourned for almost two months: a little before the king went to Scotland, it was carried by a majority of thirty-one voices to read it a second time, and commit it to a committee of the whole House, of which Mr. Hyde [Lord Clarendon] was chairman, who made use of so much art and industry to embarrass the affair, that after twenty days the bill was dropped.

Sir Edward Deering's speech in the committee will give light into the sentiments of the Puritans of these times:‡ "The ambition of some prelates," says he, "will not let them see how inconsistent two contrary functions are in one and the same person, and, therefore, there is left neither root nor branch of that so good and necessary a bill which we lately sent up, and, consequently, no hope of such a reformation as we all aim at; what hopes, then, can we have that this bill, which strikes at root and branch, both of their seats of justice, and of their episcopal chairs in the Church, will pass as it is, and without a tender of some other government in lieu of this, since the voices are still the same which threw out your former bill!"§ Sir Edward, therefore, proposed another form of government, if the House should think fit to abolish the present, which was, in a manner, the same with Archbishop Usher's, hereafter mentioned; as, "First, That every shire should be a distinct diocese or church. Secondly, That in every shire or church twelve or more able divines should be appointed, in the nature of an old primitive constant presbytery. Thirdly, That over every presbytery there should be a president, let him be called bishop, or overseer, or moderate, or superintendent, or by what other name you please, provided there be one in every shire, for the government and direction of the presbytery, in the nature of the Speaker of the House of Commons, or chair-

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 237. Nalson, ut ante, p. 248.

† Lord Clarendon represents Sir Edward Deering as a man of levity and vanity, easily flattered by being commended; and says, "that the application of the above lines was his greatest motive to deliver the speech which they close." Dr. Harris (Life of Charles I., p. 327) says "he could not be actuated by so mean a motive; and that he was a man of sense, virtue, and learning, perhaps not inferior to his lordship, and of a family vastly superior."—Ed.

‡ Nalson's Coll., vol. ii., p. 295, &c. § Ibid.

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 396.

† Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 248, 295, 300.

man of a committee." Accordingly, it was resolved, July 10, "That ecclesiastical power for the government of the Church be exercised by commissioners." July 31, resolved, "That the members for every county bring in the names of nine persons to be ecclesiastical commissioners, on whom the power of church government shall be devolved; but that no clergyman be of the commission." This was designed as a temporary provision, and shows that the Puritans of these times did not intend the Presbyterian government, but only a reduction of Episcopacy to what they apprehended a more primitive standard; and if the bishops would have relinquished some part of their jurisdiction, the mischiefs that befell them afterward might have been prevented; however, for the present, the prosecution of it was laid aside.

But the House went more readily into the debate for abolishing deans and chapters, and applying their revenues to better purposes.* This alarmed the cathedral-men, and put them upon consulting how to ward off the danger that threatened them; for this purpose, one divine was deputed from every cathedral in England to solicit their friends in the houses on behalf of their several foundations; and it must be owned they did all that men could do, leaving no stone unturned that might be for their advantage. Addresses were presented from both universities in their favour: † the address from Oxford prays "for the continuance of the present form of church government as the most ancient and apostolical; and for the continuance of cathedral-churches, with their lands and revenues, as dedicated to the service of God soon after the first plantation of Christianity here; as foundations thought fit to be preserved, when the nurseries of superstition were demolished at the Reformation; as confirmed by the laws of the land; as nurseries of students and learned men in divinity; as the upholders of divers schools, hospitals, highways, bridges, and other pious works; as beneficial to those cities where they are situate, by hospitality, by relief of the poor, and by occasioning the resort of many strangers, to the benefit of the tradesmen and inhabitants of the places where they are built; as the chief support of many thousand families of the laity, who enjoy estates from them in a free way; and as yielding an ample revenue to the crown, and a maintenance to many learned professors in the university." The address from the University of Cambridge was to the same purpose, and, therefore, prays, "that the religious bounty of their ancestors, for the advancement of learning, and of learned men, may be preserved from ruin and alienation; but, withal, to take order that they may be reduced to the due observation of their statutes, and that all innovations and abuses may be reformed." The deputies from the several cathedrals drew up a petition to the Lords and Commons to be heard by their counsel; but being informed that the House would not allow them that benefit, and that if they had anything to offer they must appear and plead their own cause, they made choice of Dr. John Hacket, benefactor of St. Paul's and archdeacon of Bedford, as their ad-

vocate, who, being admitted to the bar of the House, May 12, after the petitions from the two universities had been read, made a laboured speech in their behalf, insisting chiefly on the topics of the Oxford address.

He recommended cathedrals, "as fit to supply the defects of private prayer," the public performance whereof should be in some place of distinction.* And whereas the exquisiteness of the music gave offence to some ears, as hindering their devotion, he requested, in the name of his brethren, that it might be moderated to edification, and reduced to the form that Athanasius recommends, "ut legentibus sint quam cantantibus similiores."

He alleged that "at the Reformation preaching began in cathedrals;" and whereas some have said that lecture-preachers were an upstart corporation, the doctor observed that the local statutes of all the cathedrals required lectures on the week-days; and he requested, in the name of his brethren, that the godly and profitable performance of preaching might be more exacted.

He urged that "cathedrals were serviceable for the advancement of learning, and training up persons for the defence of the Church;" and that the taking them away would deserve the cause of religion, and be a pleasure to their adversaries.

He added, that "the ancient and genuine use of deans and chapters was a *senatus episcopi*," to assist the bishop in his jurisdiction; and whereas some of his reverend brethren had complained that bishops had for many years usurped the sole government to themselves and their consistories, the continuing of chapters rightly used would bring it to a plurality of assistants.

He then put them in mind of "the antiquity of the structures, and the number of persons maintained by them," amounting to many thousands; he instanced their tenants, who by their leases enjoyed six parts in seven pure gain, and had therefore petitioned for their landlords; and showed that the cities in which cathedrals were built were enriched by the hospitality of the clergy and the resort of strangers.

He enlarged farther "upon their endowments, as encouragements to industry and virtue:" that several famous Protestants of foreign parts had been maintained by being installed prebendaries, as Casaubon, Saravia, Dr. Peter du Moulin, Vossius, and others; that the crown had great benefit from these foundations, paying greater sums into the exchequer for first-fruits and tenths, according to proportion, than other corporations.

And, lastly, he puts them in mind that "these structures and estates were consecrated to Divine service, and barred all alienation with the most dreadful imprecations."

In the afternoon Dr. Cornelius Burges appeared on the other side of the question, and made a long speech concerning the unprofitableness of those corporations; he complained of the "debauchery of singing-men," and of their vicious conversation; he spoke against "music in churches" as useless and hurtful. He made a distinct answer to the particulars of Dr. Hack-

* Fuller's Church History, b. xi., p. 176.

† Nalson's Coll., vol. ii., p. 305, 306.

* Fuller, b. xi., p. 177.

et's speech; and in conclusion said, "Though he apprehended it necessary to apply these foundations to better purposes, it was by no means lawful to alienate them from public and pious uses, or to convert them to any private persons' profit."

The farther debate of this bill was adjourned for a week, and then committed to a committee of the whole House, when the two following remarkable speeches were made against these foundations.*

The first by Mr. Sergeant Thomas, who admits "that there were deans in St. Austin's time, but that they were not officers of the Church until some centuries after. St. Austin gives this account of their original: that the monks, for their more convenient retirement and contemplation, appointed officers, whom they called deans, 'eo quod denis sunt præpositi'; because every man had the care of ten monks, and was to provide them all necessaries of life, that their devotions might not be interrupted with worldly cares. In the following ages of darkness and superstition, princes and others bestowed large revenues upon these monks from the opinion they had of the austerity and sanctity of their lives; and as the monks grew rich, the office of the dean, who was the 'præpositus' or steward, grew more considerable, till in St. Bernard's time it was ordained that none but a presbyter should be a dean: 'Ne sit decanus nisi presbyter.' At the reformation of religion, when many other religious foundations were broke up, these were preserved, and in the constitutions of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. it is ordained that all deans should be presbyters, men of gravity, learning, and prudence; that they should govern the cathedral churches according to their statutes; that they should preserve discipline, and see that the holy rites be performed in a grave and decent manner; that they be assistants to the bishops within their several cathedrals, as the archdeacons are abroad, for which reason they should not be absent from their cathedrals without the most urgent necessity, to be allowed by the bishop, but one or other of them is to preach in their cathedrals every Lord's Day." The sergeant then observed how unlike our present deans were to their predecessors, how little they observed the statutes of their institution, and gave it as his opinion that it was not reasonable that such vast revenues should be allowed to persons who were of so little use to the Church or commonwealth.

Mr. Pury, alderman of Gloucester, pursued the same argument; he produced a copy of the statutes of the dean and chapter of Gloucester, with their original grant about the time of the Reformation. "We have erected," says the king, "cathedrals and colleges in the place of monasteries, that where ignorance and superstition reigned the sincere worship of God might flourish, and the Gospel of Christ Jesus be purely preached; and, farther, that the increase of the Christian faith and piety, the instruction of youth in good learning, and the sustentation of the poor, may be forever kept, maintained and continued."† He then produced the statutes,

which ordained "that the said deans, prebends, and canons, shall always reside and dwell in the houses of the said cathedrals, and there keep a family, with good hospitality to feed the poor, and to distribute alms. That they should 'preach the Word in season and out of season,' especially in the cathedral church, and have youth profitably taught there. To this end they are to have a common table in the common hall of the cathedral, where the canons, scholars, choristers, and officers are to eat together. The said dean and chapter are to give yearly £20 to the poor, besides what is given to their own poor alms-men; and £20 more to the repairing bridges and highways thereabout. For the performance of the said statutes and premises, the deans, prebendaries, canons, and other ministers of the cathedral, are obliged to take oath, and every one of them doth swear that, to the utmost of his power, he will observe them inviolably."

The alderman observes from hence, "that not one of the above-mentioned statutes are, or have been kept, or the matters in any of them contained, performed by any of the deans or prebendaries of the said cathedral in his memory. That they come once a year to receive the rents and profits of the lands, but do not distribute to the poor their proportion; nor do they mend the highways and bridges; nor do they keep any common table; and instead of preaching 'in season and out of season,' they neither practise it themselves, nor encourage it in others. Infinite are the pressures that many cities near unto deans and chapters have endured by them and their procurement; so far have they been from a common benefit. Since, then, the said deans and chapters are but trustees, and the profits of the said lands have been so ill employed, contrary to the trust in them reposed, the alderman was of opinion that, by a legislative power in Parliament, it was fit to take them away and put them into the hands of feoffees, to be disposed of to such pious and charitable uses as they were first intended for; by which means the preaching of the Gospel might be effectually encouraged, smaller livings augmented, and the necessities of the poor better supplied."

These speeches made such an impression upon the House, that, after a long debate, they came to these resolutions: "That all deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and petty canons, and their officers, shall be utterly abolished and taken away out of the Church; and that all the lands taken by this bill from deans and chapters shall be put into the hands of feoffees, to be employed for the support of a fit number of preaching ministers for the service of every church, and for the reparation of the said churches, provision being made that his majesty be no loser in his rents, first-fruits, and other duties; and that a competent maintenance shall be made to the several persons concerned, if they appear not delinquents to this house." But none of these votes passed into a law, nor was there the least prospect of their being confirmed by the Lords as long as the bishops were in that house, who stood together like a wall against every attempt of the Commons for alterations in the Church, till, by an unexpected providence, they were

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 285 Nalson's Coll., vol. ii., p. 282.

† Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 289.

broken in pieces, and made way for their own ruin.

The firmness of the bishops against all abatements or relaxations in favour of the Puritans exasperated the people, and put an end to all prospect of agreement. A committee of accommodation had been appointed by the House of Lords, March 12, to consider of such innovations in religion as were proper to be taken away, which, by the plot of the court to bring up the army, and the loss of the late bills for reformation of the hierarchy, was now broken up.* It consisted of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons. "This committee," says Archbishop Laud in his Diary, "will meddle with doctrine as well as ceremony, and will call some divines to them to consider of the business, as appears by a letter hereunto annexed, sent by the Lord-bishop of Lincoln to some divines to attend this service. Upon the whole, I believe this committee will prove the national synod of England, to the great dishonour of the Church, and what else may follow upon it God knows." At their first meeting they appointed a sub-committee of bishops, and divines of different persuasions, to prepare matters for their debate; the Bishop of Lincoln was chairman of both, and was ordered to call together the sub-committee with all convenient speed, which he did by a letter directed to each of them in the following words:

"I am commanded by the lords of the committee for the innovations in matters of religion, to let you know that their said lordships have assigned and appointed you to attend them as assistants in that committee, and to let you know, in general, that their lordships intend to examine all innovations in doctrine and discipline introduced into the Church without law since the Reformation; and (if their lordships shall find it behooveful for the good of the Church and State) to examine after that the degrees and perfection of the Reformation itself, which I am directed to intimate to you, that you may prepare your thoughts, studies, and meditations accordingly, expecting their lordships' pleasure for the particular points as they shall arise. Dated March 12, 1640-1."

Their names were these:

Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln,	
Dr. Usher, archbishop of Armagh,	
Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham,	
Dr. Hall, bishop of Exeter,	
Dr. Samuel Ward,	Dr. Twisse,
Dr. Jonh Prideaux,	Dr. Burges,
Dr. Sanderson,	Mr. White,
Dr. Featly,	Mr. Marshall,
Dr. Brownrigge,	Mr. Calamy,
Dr. Holdsworth,	Mr. Hill.
Dr. Hacket,	

Some others were named, but these were all who appeared: they consulted together six several days in the Jerusalem Chamber, at Westminster, the dean entertaining them all the while at his table. The result of their conferences was drawn up for the debate of the committee in certain propositions and queries, under the following heads:

1. *Innovations in Doctrine.*

1. "Quære, whether in the twentieth article these words are not inserted, 'the Church has authority in controversies of faith?'"

2. "Several false doctrines have been preached, even all the doctrines of the Council of Trent, abating only such points of state popery against the king's supremacy as were made treason by the statute; for example, some have preached justification by works; others, that works of penance are satisfactory before God; that private confession is necessary to salvation, *necessitate medii*; that absolution of a priest is more than declaratory; that the Lord's Supper is a true and proper sacrifice. Some have defended prayer for the dead, and the lawfulness of monastic vows; some have denied the morality of the Sabbath: some have preached that subjects are bound to pay taxes contrary to the laws of the realm; some have defended the whole substance of Arminianism; and others have given just occasion of being suspected of Socinianism.

3. "Several dangerous and reprobable books have been printed," which are mentioned in the copy of their proceedings now before me.

2. *Innovations in Discipline.*

As, 1. "Turning the holy table into an altar.

2. "Bowing towards it or to the east many times, with three congees, at access or recess in the church.

3. "Placing candlesticks on altars in parochial churches in the daytime, and making canopies over them with curtains, in imitation of the veil of the temple; advancing crucifixes and images upon the parafront or altar-cloth, and compelling all communicants to come up before the rails.

4. "Reading the litany in the body of the church, and some part of the morning-prayer at the altar when there is no communion; and the minister's turning his face to the east when he pronounces the creed or reads prayers.

5. "Offering bread and wine by the hands of the church-wardens, or others, before the consecration of the elements. Having a *cradentia*, or side-table for the Lord's Supper. Introducing an offertory before the communion, besides the giving alms to the poor afterward.

6. "Prohibiting ministers to expound the catechism; suppressing lectures on the week-day, and sermons on Sunday afternoon. Prohibiting a direct prayer before sermon, and bidding of prayer.

7. "Singing *Te Deum* in prose in parish churches. Standing up at the hymns of the church; and always at *Gloria Patri*. Carrying children from baptism to the altar, to offer them to God; and prohibiting the building galleries in churches, where the parishes are very populous.

8. "Introducing Latin service in the communion at Oxford; and into morning and evening prayer in Cambridge.

9. "Pretending for their innovations the injunctions and advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, which are not in force, but appertain to the liturgy printed in the second and third of Edward VI., which the Parliament had reformed and laid aside."

* Laud's Diary, p. 61. History of his Troubles, p. 174.

Memorandum for Reformation.

1. "That in all cathedral and collegiate churches two sermons be preached every Sunday, and likewise every holyday; and one lecture at least on working days every week in the year.

2. "That the music used in cathedral and collegiate churches be framed with less curiosity; and that no hymns or anthems be used where ditties are framed by private men, but such as are contained in the Holy Scriptures, or in our liturgy or prayers, or have public allowance.

3. "That the reading-desk be placed in the church, where Divine service may be best heard of the people."

3. *Considerations upon the Book of Common Prayer.*

1. "Whether the names of some departed saints should not be struck out of the calendar?"

2. "Whether the rubric should not be mended, where all those vestments are commanded which were used in the second year of Edward VI.?"

3. "Whether lessons of canonical Scripture should not be inserted into the calendar instead of Apocrypha?"

4. "In the rubric for the Lord's Supper, whether it should not be inserted, that such as intend to communicate shall signify their names to the curate over night, or in the morning before prayers?"

5. "The next rubric to be explained, how far a minister may repulse a scandalous and notorious sinner from the communion?"

6. "Whether it be not fit to insert a rubric, touching kneeling at the communion, that it is to comply, in all humility, with the prayer which the minister makes, when he delivers the elements?"

7. "Whether there should not be a rubric to take away all offence from the cross in baptism? Or, whether it be more expedient that it be wholly disused? And, whether this reason shall be published, that in ancient liturgies no cross was signed upon the party but where oil also was used, and therefore, oil being now omitted, so may that which was concomitant with it, the sign of the cross?"

8. "Whether the catechism may not receive a little more enlargement?"

9. "Whether the times prohibited for marriages are quite to be taken away? Whether those words in the office, 'With my body I thee worship,' should not be thus altered: I give thee power over my body? And, whether that part of the rubric which obliges the new-married persons to receive the communion the same day of their marriage, might not be changed for the next Sunday when the communion is celebrated?"

10. "Whether, in the absolution for the sick, it were not better to say, I pronounce thee absolved? And in the office for the dead, instead of those words, 'In sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life,' whether it were not better to say, Knowing, assuredly, that the dead shall rise again?"

Some other amendments of smaller moment were proposed, but these were the chief. No mention was made of a reformation of episco-

pacy, because their chairman, the Bishop of Lincoln, had undertaken that province, and accordingly presented the House of Lords with a reconciling scheme, which was dropped after the first reading. It consisted of ten articles.

1. "That every bishop, being within his diocese, and not disabled by ill health, shall preach once every Lord's Day, or pay £5 to the poor, to be levied by the next justice of the peace.

2. "That no bishop shall be justice of the peace except the Dean of Westminster, in Westminster and St. Martin's. [This seems to be a proviso for himself.]

3. "That every bishop shall have twelve assistants besides the dean and chapter; four to be chosen by the king, four by the Lords, and four by the Commons, for jurisdiction and ordination.

4. "That in all vacancies, these assistants, with the dean and chapter, shall present to the king three of the ablest divines in the diocese, who shall choose one to be bishop.

5. "That deans and prebendaries shall not be nonresidents at their cathedrals above sixty days.

6. "That sermons shall be preached in the cathedrals twice every Lord's Day, once every holyday, and a lecture on Wednesdays, with a salary of one hundred marks per annum.

7. "That all archbishops, bishops, and collegiate churches, &c., shall be obliged to give a fourth part of their fines and improved rents to buy in impropriations.

8. "That all double-beneficed men shall pay the value of half their living to the curate.

9. "No appeal shall be made to the Court of Arches or Court of Audience.

10. "It is proposed that canons and ecclesiastical constitutions shall be drawn up, and suited to the laws of the realm by sixteen learned persons, six to be nominated by the king, five by the Lords, and five by the Commons."

Archbishop Usher offered another scheme for the reduction of episcopacy into the form of synodical government, received in the ancient Church; in which his grace supposes, that of the many elders that ruled the Church of Ephesus, there was one stated president, whom our Saviour calls the angel; and whom Ignatius, in one of his epistles, calls the bishop, to whom, in conjunction with the elders or presbyters, the whole government of the Church, both as to doctrine and discipline, was committed. He therefore proposes that these be continued; and for a regulation of their jurisdiction, that suffragans should be appointed to hold monthly synods of presbyters, from whom there should be an appeal to diocesan, provincial, and national ones; and more particularly,

1. "That the rector of every parish, with the church-wardens, should admonish and reprove such as live scandalously, according to the quality of their offence; and if by this means they are not reclaimed, to present them to the next monthly synod, and in the mean time debar them the Lord's Table.

2. "Whereas, by a statute of 26 Henry VIII., suffragans are appointed to be erected in twenty-six several places of this kingdom, the number of them may be conformed to the number of the several rural deaneries into which every diocese is subdivided; which being done,

the suffragan may every month assemble a synod of the several rectors or incumbent pastors within the precinct, and according to the major part of their votes conclude all matters that should be brought into debate before them.

3. "A diocesan synod might be held once or twice a year, wherein all the suffragans, and the rest of the rectors or incumbent pastors, or a certain select number out of every deanery within that diocese, might meet, with whose consent all things might be concluded by the bishop or superintendent; or in his absence, by one of his suffragans, whom he should appoint as moderator in his room; and here the transactions of the monthly synods may be revised and reformed.

4. "The provincial synod may consist of all the bishops and suffragans, and such of the clergy as should be elected out of every diocese within the province; the primate of either province might be moderator, or, in his room, one of the bishops appointed by him. This synod might be held every third year, and if the Parliament be sitting, both the primates and provincial synods might join together, and make up one national synod, wherein all appeals from inferior synods might be received, all their acts examined, and all ecclesiastical affairs relating to the state of the Church in general established."

Several other proposals were made to the House of Commons by those Puritans who were for revising and altering some things in the Church, but not for root and branch;* as, that his majesty should be moved to call a national synod, or a select number of divines of the three nations under his majesty's government, with an intimation to all Reformed churches to send their deputies, to settle a uniform model of government for the Church of England, to be confirmed by Parliament, leaving to other nations a Christian liberty in those forms of discipline which are most agreeable to their civil government.

Others proposed "that the present liturgy might be continued, but that the Apocryphal lessons be entirely omitted; that all sentences of Holy Scripture be according to the last translation; that the word minister be used instead of priest; with some other amendments. That, with regard to Episcopal government, bishops be obliged to constant preaching in their metropolitan or parochial churches; that they never ordain without consent of three or four presbyters at least; that they do not suspend by their sole authority, but with consent of presbyters, and that for weighty causes; that none may be excommunicated but by the bishop himself, with consent of the pastor in whose parish the delinquent dwells, and that for heinous and very scandalous crimes only. That the fees of ecclesiastical courts be regulated, and that bishops, chancellors, and their officials, may be subject to the censure of provincial synods and convocations."

But all these attempts for accommodation were blasted by the stiffness of the bishops, and by the discovery of the plot to bring the army to London to dissolve the Parliament; this put the nation into a ferment, and widened the distance between the king and the two hous-

es, upon which the committee broke up about the middle of May, without bringing anything to perfection. Mr. Fuller has observed very justly, "that the *moderation and mutual compli-ance of these divines* might have saved the body of episcopacy, and prevented the civil war; but the court bishops expected no good from them, suspecting the Doctrinal Puritans (as they nicknamed those bishops and Episcopal divines), joined with the Disciplinary Puritans, would betray the Church between them. Some hot spirits would abate nothing of Episcopal power or profit, but maintained that the yielding anything was granting the day to the opposite party." It is the observation of another learned writer, upon the committee's agreeing to have the Psalms in the liturgy printed according to the new translation; to expunge all Apocryphal lessons; to alter certain passages in the Book of Common Prayer; and some other things, with which divers of the Presbyterians said they were satisfied, "that if the Episcopal men had made these concessions when they were in full power, they had prevented the mischiefs that were coming upon them; but as things were at present, neither side appeared very well satisfied."

There were deep resentments in the breasts of both parties; the bishops were incensed at the bold attacks of the House of Commons upon their peerage and spiritual jurisdiction; and the Puritans had a quick sense of their former sufferings, which made them restless till they had abridged their power. It is very remarkable, and looks like an appearance of Divine displeasure against the spirit of these times, that Archbishop Usher's scheme for the reduction of Episcopacy, which at this time would have satisfied the chief body of the Puritans, could not be obtained from the king and bishops; that afterward, when the king offered this very scheme at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, the Parliament and Puritan divines would not accept it, for fear of breaking with their Scots brethren. Again, when the Presbyterian ministers, at the restoration of King Charles II., presented it to his majesty as a model with which they were satisfied, and which would comprehend, in a manner, their whole body, both the king and bishops rejected it with contempt, and would not suffer it to be debated.

It may not be improper in this place to make a few remarks upon this part of Mr. Rapin's accurate and judicious History of England, who, in his account of these times, seems to represent the body of the Puritans to be Presbyterians, and as having formed a conspiracy against the whole fabric of the Church, from the very beginning of this Parliament, whereas the state of the controversy between the Church and the Puritans was now changed. In the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I., the Puritans were for the most part Presbyterians, though even then there were many Episcopalians among them; but, from the time that Arminianism prevailed in the Church, and the whole body of the Calvinists came to be distinguished by the name of Doctrinal Puritans, both parties seemed to unite in a moderate episcopacy, there being little or no mention of the old book of discipline for twenty years before the commencement of the civil war, and all the

* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 203.

controversy turning upon points of Calvinism ; upon a reduction of the exorbitant power of the bishops ; or upon innovations, as they were called, and ceremonies. There were few either among the clergy or laity who had a zeal for presbytery, or desired any more than to be rid of their oppressions. Mr. Rapin, however, is of opinion* that "among the members of Parliament there were real Presbyterians, who thought, no doubt, of altering the whole government of the Church. These are represented as deep politicians, as working under ground, and making use of all kinds of artifices to accomplish their designs, which they took care not to discover." He owns, indeed, that "the Presbyterians were not very numerous in the House, but that they were supported by a pretty great party in the kingdom, and particularly by the Scots ;" which assertion seems to me to require stronger evidence than he has thought fit to produce. I have shown, from Lord Clarendon, that both houses of Parliament, at their first sitting down, were almost to a man for the constitution of the Church ; that they aimed at no more than a redress of grievances ; and that there were not above two or three in both houses that were for root and branch. That all the members received the communion according to the usage of the Church of England, at their first sitting down, and brought a certificate of their having so done. That the petition of the Puritan ministers was *not* for setting up presbytery, but only for reforming the grievances of the hierarchy ; † the controversy between Bishop Hall and the Smeectymnuan divines proceeded on the same footing, as did the Committee of Accommodation. In short, when the Parliament was obliged to fly to the Scots for assistance in the war, and to receive their covenant ; and when, afterward, they found it necessary to pay the utmost deference to their advices, lest they should withdraw their army, and leave them to the mercy of an enraged king, they could never, in the worst of times, be induced to establish their discipline in the Church of England, without reserve of the ecclesiastical power to themselves. And as to the ministers who composed the assembly of divines at Westminster, though in a course of time they carried things very high, yet I am of opinion, with Mr. Fuller, ‡ that at first "they rather favoured the Presbyterian discipline, or were brought over to embrace it by the Scots," than that they came thither possessed with sentiments of its Divine authority. However, it is certain that at the Restoration these very divines offered to give it up for Archbishop Usher's model of primitive episcopacy.

It must be confessed, that soon after the beginning of the Parliament there were many among the common people who were enemies to the whole ecclesiastical constitution, being supported by the Scots commissioners, who had conceived an implacable antipathy against the order of bishops, which they had voted contrary to the Word of God. But this was not the case

of the Puritan clergy, who wanted only to get rid of the tyranny of the bishops, and were willing to leave the Parliament to model the government of the Church as they pleased. And although, as the influence of the Scots over the two houses increased, presbytery prevailed, and when the Parliament were at their mercy, and forced to submit to what conditions they would impose upon them for their assistance, the Kirk discipline gained the ascendant, and at length advanced into a Divine right in the assembly of divines, yet the Parliament would never come into it, and when the Scots were gone home it dwindled by degrees, till it was almost totally eclipsed by the rising greatness of the Independents.

It appears, therefore, to me, that there was no formal design as yet, either in the House of Commons or among the Puritan clergy, to subvert the hierarchy, and erect the Presbyterian government upon its ruins ; there were no considerable number of Presbyterian ministers in the nation ; and the leading members in both houses were known to be of another stamp. "We are confident," says the king, in his letter to the Council of Scotland, August 26, "that the most considerable persons in both houses of Parliament, and those who make the fairest pretensions to you of uniformity in church government, will no sooner embrace a presbyterial than you an episcopal."* And Bishop Burnet speaks the same language. So that what was done in the House of Commons afterward was the result of the situation of their affairs, and not of any formed design : as that changed, so did their councils and measures. The contrary to this ought not to be supposed, but proved by incontestable matters of fact, which neither Mr. Rapin, nor any other historian whom I have read, has yet done. And I will venture to say, that if there were such invisible Presbyterians behind the curtain, who planned the subversion of the hierarchy, and blew it up, as it were, without hands, they must have been abler statesmen, and masters of much more worldly politics, than their posterity have ever been remarkable for.

To return to the Parliament. There were two bills which affected the prerogative now ready for the royal assent : one to abolish the Court of High Commission, and regulate the privy council ; the other, to take away the Star Chamber. To induce the king to pass them more readily, the Commons sent up a money-bill with them ; but when the king came to the House [July 3, 1641] he passed the money-bill, and told the houses he must take some time to consider of the others, which disgusted the Commons so much that they returned to their house and immediately adjourned. At their next meeting they fell into new heats, which his majesty being informed of, came to the House of Peers, and, having sent for the Commons, reprimanded them for their jealousies, and then passed the bills ; he also put them in mind what he had done this session ; "that he had yielded that the judges should hold their places *quamdiu se bene gesserint* ; that he had given away his right to ship-money ; granted a law for triennial Parliaments, and for securing the money borrowed for disbanding the armies ;

* Hamilton's Memoirs, book iv., p. 197.

* Vol. ii., p. 359, 447, folio edition.

† The history of the Church of England shows the stern resistance which it has ever made to reform. If ever it be reformed from its papistical appendages, it must be *from without*.—C.

‡ Book xi., p. 193.

in a word, that he had hitherto given way to everything, and, therefore, they should not wonder if in some things he began now to refuse.* Lord Clarendon insinuates that the king passed these bills with reluctance; from whence another ingenious writer concludes, that if ever the ministry had regained their power, it was likely they would advise his majesty to declare them void, as being extorted from him by force and violence.

The act for abolishing the High Commission Court repeals that branch of the statute 1 Eliz., cap. i., upon which this court was founded, and then enacts, "that no archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, chancellor, or official, nor commissary of any archbishop, bishop, or vicar-general, or any other spiritual or ecclesiastical officer, shall, by any grant, license, or commission from the king, his heirs or successors, after the 1st of August, 1641, award, impose, or inflict any pain, penalty, fine, amercement, imprisonment, or other corporeal punishment, upon any of the king's subjects, for any contempt, misdemeanor, crime, matter, or thing whatsoever belonging to spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or shall *ex officio* tender or administer to any person any corporeal oath, to make any presentment of any crime, or to confess or accuse himself of any crime, offence, delinquency, or misdemeanor, whereby he or she may be liable to any punishment whatsoever, under penalty of treble charges, and £100 to him or them who shall first demand or sue for the same. And it is farther enacted, that after the said 1st of August, 1641, no new court shall be erected, or deemed, or appointed, that shall have the like power, jurisdiction, or authority as the High Commission Court had, or pretended to have, but all such commissions, letters patent, &c., from the king, or his successors, and all acts, sentences, and decrees made by virtue thereof, shall be utterly void."

By passing this act. all coercive power of church consistories was taken away, and the spiritual sword, that had done such terrible execution in the hands of some bishops, was put into the scabbard. It was very extraordinary that the bishops, who were then in the House of Lords, should so supinely suffer themselves to be surprised out of their power. Some were ready to observe a hand of justice, says Mr. Fuller, † that seeing many simple souls, by captious interrogatories, had been circumvented by the High Commission Court into a self-accusation, an unsuspected clause in this statute should abolish all their lawful authority: for there is no proviso in the act to confine it only to the High Commission, but it extends to all archbishops, bishops, and all spiritual or ecclesiastical officers in any of their courts. Lord Clarendon says ‡ that the king was apprehensive that the body of the bill exceeded the title, and, therefore, made a pause in consenting to pass it, but that some bishops prevailed with his majesty to sign it, to take off the odium from that bench, of their being enemies to all reformation; for it was insinuated, says the noble historian, that since they opposed a due regulation of their power, there would be no way but to cut them off root and branch.

The act for taking away the Star Chamber, and regulating the privy council, dissolves the said court from the 1st of August, 1641, "and repeals all those acts, or clauses of acts of Parliament, by which any jurisdiction, power, or authority is given to the said court, or to any of the officers or ministers thereof. And it ordains farther, that neither his majesty, nor his privy council, have, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, or authority, by English bill, petition, articles, libel, or other arbitrary way, to examine or draw in question, determine or dispose of, the lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, or chattels of any of the subjects of this kingdom."

Thus fell the two chief engines of the late arbitrary proceedings in Church and State, which had the liberties and estates of many worthy and pious families to answer for. By the proviso in the act for abolishing the High Commission, that "no new court shall be erected with like powers for the future," it appears how odious their proceedings were in the eyes of the nation. Lord Clarendon admits* that the taking away the Star Chamber at this time was very popular; but is of opinion that it would be no less politic in the crown to revive it when the present distempers are expired; however, I rely on the wisdom of a British Parliament, that they will never consent to it.

When the king had signed the two bills, he desired the advice of his Parliament concerning a manifesto which he intended to send to the Diet of Ratisbon in favour of the Palatine family, wherein he declares that he will not abandon the interests of his sister and nephew, but will employ all his force and power in their behalf until they are restored. This was highly acceptable to the Puritans, who had always the interest of that house at heart. The manifesto was read July 7, † when the Commons declared their approbation of it, and resolved to give his majesty such assistance therein as shall stand with the honour of his majesty, and the interest and affections of his kingdom, if the present treaty does not succeed. The peers concurred in the same vote, and both houses desired the king to recommend it to the Parliament of Scotland, which his majesty promised. Many warm speeches were made on this occasion in favour of the Queen of Bohemia, by Sir Simon d'Ewes, Mr. Denzil Hollis, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard. ‡ "The restoring the prince to his electorate," says Sir Benjamin, "will restore the Protestant religion there; it will strengthen and increase it in Germany, which is of great and vast consequence. It will likewise refresh and comfort the heart of that most noble, virtuous, and magnanimously-suffering Queen of Bohemia his majesty's sister, and his highness's mother, who is ever to be highly and tenderly regarded by this house, and by this kingdom." Mr. Denzil Hollis said, "The House of Commons looks upon those distressed princes, of so glorious an extraction, with an eye of tenderness, wishing every drop of that princely blood may ever be illustrated with honour and happiness. To hear that these princes should have their patrimony taken from

* Nalson's Collections, vol. i., p. 327.

† Book xi., p. 181. ‡ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 284.

* Vol. i., p. 285.

† Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 310.

‡ Nalson's Collections, p. 326-328, 378.

them, and suffer things so unworthy their birth and relation, is a thing that makes our ears to tingle, and our hearts to rise within us. But there is another motive which has an irresistible operation with us, which is the advancement of Protestant religion. The Protestant religion and this kingdom must live and die together; and it is madness to suppose the Protestant religion can continue here, if we suffer it to be destroyed and eradicated out of the neighbouring countries. Religion is the heart of England, and England is the heart of the Protestant religion in all the other parts of Christendom; let us, therefore, like wise men, that foresee the evil afar off, rather meet it at a distance, than stay till the Austrian ambition and popish power come to our door.* These were the sentiments of the Puritans in this Parliament with respect to the ancestors of his present majesty and the Protestant religion. The Queen of Bohemia was so sensible of their particular regards for her family, that she returned them her thanks; but the manifesto ended in nothing.†

The Commons not being able to come at their intended alterations in the Church while the bench of bishops remained united in the House of Peers, formed several schemes to divide them: it was first proposed to set large fines upon both houses of convocation for compiling the late canons, and a bill was brought in for that purpose; but, upon better consideration, it was thought more effectual for the present to make examples of those bishops only who had been the principal movers in that affair; agreeably to this resolution, a committee was appointed, July 31, to draw up an impeachment against one half of the bench, viz., Dr. Laud, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Curle, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Wright, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield; Dr. Goodman, bishop of Gloucester; Dr. Hall, bishop of Exeter; Dr. Owen, bishop of St. Asaph; Dr. Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells; Dr. Wren, bishop of Ely; Dr. Roberts, bishop of Bangor; Dr. Skinner, bishop of Bristol; Dr. Warner, bishop of Rochester; Dr. Towers, bishop of Peterborough; Dr. Owen, bishop of Landaff.‡ The impeachment was of high crimes and misdemeanors: "for making and publishing the late canons, contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the realm, to the rights of Parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject; and containing matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence; and for granting a benevolence or contribution to his majesty, to be paid by the clergy of that province, contrary to law." It was carried up to the Lords, August 4, by Sergeant Wild, who demanded, in the name of all the Commons of England, that the bishops might be forthwith put to answer the crimes and misdemeanors above mentioned, in the presence of the House of Commons; and that such farther proceedings might be had against them as to law and justice appertained. The Commons were in hopes that the bishops would have quitted their votes in Parliament to be discharged of the premunire; but they resolved to abide by their right, and therefore only desired time to prepare their answer, and counsel for their assistance;

accordingly, they were allowed three months' time to put in their answer, and counsel of their own nomination, viz., Sergeant Jermin, Mr. Chute, Mr. Herne, and Mr. Hales.*

From this time the bishops fell under a general disregard; the cry of the populace was against them, as the chief impediments of all reformation in Church and State; and even the temporal peers treated them with neglect, expressing their dislike at the Bishop of London being styled Right Honourable. Besides, the lords spiritual were not distinctly mentioned in the bills that passed this session, according to ancient usage; the clerk of the Parliament, in reading the bills to the House, turned his back upon the bench of bishops; and when the houses went in a body to church on a fast-day, the temporal barons gave themselves precedence of the bishops. These were the preludes to their downfall, which happened about six months forward, though from this time they were little better than ciphers in the House.

These resolute proceedings against the bishops put the court upon forming new projects to break up the Parliament. It was observed that the strength and courage of the House of Commons rose from their confederacy with the Scots, whose army in the north was entirely in their interest; it was therefore resolved in council to detach that nation, if possible, from the Parliament, and to bring them over to the king, by yielding everything they should desire; for this purpose his majesty declared his resolution to the two houses to visit his native country in person within fourteen days, and desired them to finish the bills which were before them by that time. The Commons being aware of the design, and apprehensive of danger, if the king should put himself at the head of the English army in the north, sent away the Earl of Holland immediately with money to pay off, which was done without mutiny or disturbance; but the business of the houses being very urgent, and the time short, they voted, that in this case of great necessity, concerning the peace of the kingdom, they would sit the next day, being Sunday, by six o'clock in the morning; which they did, and having heard a sermon, returned to the House about nine, and sat all day long on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday [August 8, 1641]. But, lest this might be misconstrued as a profanation, or be drawn into example, they published the following declaration:†

"Whereas, both houses of Parliament found it fit to sit in Parliament upon the 8th of August, being Lord's Day, for many urgent occasions, being straitened in time by his majesty's resolution to go within a day or two to Scotland, they think fit to declare, that they would not have done this but upon inevitable necessity; the peace and safety of both Church and State being so deeply concerned, which they do hereby declare, to this end, that neither any other inferior court or council, or any other person, may draw this into example, or make use of it for their encouragement, in neglecting the due observation of the Lord's Day."

* Rushworth, p. 316.

† Ibid., p. 357.

‡ Ibid., part iii., vol. 1., p. 359.

* Fuller's Church History, book xi., p. 183.

† Rushworth, p. 362. Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 436.

The same vote passed the House of Lords *nemine contradicente*, and was ordered to be printed.

August 10, his majesty came to the House and gave his assent to a bill concerning Knighthood; against the oppressions of the stannary courts; for regulating the clerks of markets; and for confirming or ratifying the peace [or pacification] with the Scots. This last being an affair of great consequence, I shall give the reader an abstract of the treaty, which had been depending ever since November 23, 1640, between the commissioners of both nations, who agreed to the following conclusions [August 7], which the king ratified and confirmed the very day he set out for Scotland.

"That the acts of Parliament held at Edinburgh, June 2, be published by his majesty's authority, and have in all time to come the full strength of laws.

"That the Castle of Edinburgh, and other forts of Scotland, should be furnished and used for the defence of the kingdom, with the advice of the states of Parliament.

"That all those who in England or Ireland have been imprisoned, or otherwise censured for subscribing the covenant, and for refusing to take the oath contrary to the same, shall be released and freed from such censures; and for the time to come the subjects of Scotland, living in Scotland, shall not be obliged to any oaths contrary to the laws or religion of that kingdom; but if they come to reside in England or Ireland, they shall be subject to the laws as others are.

"That all his majesty's courts of justice shall be free and open against all evil counselors and delinquents; that the Parliament of Scotland shall have liberty to proceed against such; and that his majesty will not employ any person, in any office or place, who shall be judged incapable by sentence of Parliament; nor make use of their service, nor grant them access to his royal person, without consent of Parliament.

"That all ships and goods on both sides be restored, and that £300,000 be given to the Scots by the English, for their friendly assistance and relief.

"That all declarations, proclamations, &c., that have been published against the loyalty and dutifulness of his majesty's subjects of Scotland, be recalled and suppressed; and that at the close of the treaty of peace the loyalty of his majesty's said subjects shall be made known at the time of public thanksgiving in all places, and particularly in all parish churches of his majesty's dominions.

"That the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle be removed, and all things be reduced to the state they were in before the late troubles.

"Whereas, unity in religion and uniformity in church government have been desired by the Scots as a special means for preserving the peace between both kingdoms, his majesty, with the advice of both houses of Parliament, doth approve of the affection of his subjects in Scotland, in their desire of having a conformity of church government between the two nations. And as the Parliament hath already taken into consideration the reformation of church government, so they will proceed therein in due

time, as shall best conduce to the glory of God; the peace of the Church, and both kingdoms.

"That the Prince of Wales shall be permitted to repair into Scotland, and reside there, as there shall be occasion.

"That his majesty will give ear to the informations of Parliament, and when that is not sitting, to the council and college of justice, so far as to make choice of some one of such as they, by common consent, shall recommend to places of trust in the council, the session, and other judicatures. Or, if his majesty shall think any other person fit, he shall acquaint his Parliament, to the intent, that if by their information any just exception shall be made to the said person, his majesty may nominate another.

"That some noblemen, &c., of the Scots nation shall be placed about the king, and that his majesty will endeavour to give just satisfaction to his people with regard to his placing none but persons of the Reformed religion about his own and the prince's person."

Then follows an act of oblivion, with exception to the Scots prelates and four others; and in the close the ratification of the whole in these words:

"Be it enacted by his majesty, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that the said treaty, and all the articles thereof, be and stand forever ratified and established, and have the force, vigour, strength, and authority of a law, statute, and act of Parliament. And his majesty, for himself and his successors, promises, in *verbo principis*, never to come in the contrair of this statute and sanction, nor anything therein contained, but to hold the same in all points firm and stable, and cause it to be truly observed, according to the tenour and intent thereof, now and forever. And the Parliaments of both kingdoms respectively give full assurance, and make public faith, for the true and faithful observation of this treaty, &c., *hinc inde*, in all times to come."

Bishop Burnet very justly observes a collusion in the king's approving the desire of his Scots subjects for uniformity of church government. His majesty wished it as much as they, but with a very different view; the king was for bringing them to the English standard, whereas the Scots intended to bring the English to theirs. However, his majesty was resolved to contradict them in nothing, that he might break the confederacy between the two nations; for Lord Saville had now informed him of the correspondence of some of the English nobility with the Scots, which encouraged them to raise an army and march to the borders. He had shown him a copy of the letter with the forged names of Essex, Bedford, Mandeville, and others, exciting them to assert the liberties of their Church and nation, and promising all the assistance they could give with safety to themselves. His majesty, therefore, resolved to gain over the Scots, that he might be at liberty to prosecute the inviters and recover his prerogative in England, which he knew he could accomplish by the assistance of the Irish, if the English Puritans were left to themselves. The Parliament was aware of the design, and therefore appointed one lord and two commoners to follow his majesty to Scot-

land, in order to keep up a good correspondence with the Parliament of that nation, and to exhort them, since they had gained their own liberties by the assistance of the English Parliament, not to desert them till the English also had recovered theirs.

The king set out post, August 11, 1641, and arrived at Edinburgh in three or four days. The Parliament met August 19, when his majesty acquainted them, in a most gracious speech, that the end of his coming into his native country was to quiet the distractions of the kingdom; "and this I mind," says his majesty, "fully and cheerfully to perform, for I assure you I can do nothing with more cheerfulness than to give my people general satisfaction; wherefore, not offering to endear himself to you in words, which is not my way, I desire, in the first place, to settle that which concerns religion, and the just liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act."* Accordingly, his majesty allowed of their late proceedings in opposing the English liturgy, and erecting tables in defence of their liberties; he confirmed the acts of their Assembly at Glasgow, which declared that "the government of the Church by archbishops and bishops was contrary to the Word of God, and was, therefore, abolished." The Rev. Mr. Henderson waited on the king as his chaplain, and was appointed to provide preachers for him while he was in that country, his majesty having declared that he would conform to their manner of worship while he was among them. Mr. Henderson had the rent of the royal chapel; Mr. Gillespie had a pension, and the professors of the several universities had their provisions augmented by the revenues formerly belonging to the bishops. His majesty conferred titles of honour upon many of their gentry; and all parties were so well pleased, that it was said, when his majesty left the kingdom, that he departed a contented king from a contented people.

No sooner was the king returned but the English bishops reproached his majesty with his concessions, especially for admitting "the English hierarchy to be contrary to the Word of God." They told him he had unravelled the web which his father and himself had been weaving in that country for above forty years, and, instead of making the Scots his friends, he had only created a new thirst in the English Parliament to follow their example. These remonstrances had such an influence upon the unhappy king, that he repented heartily of what he had done, and told Dr. Saunderson, afterward Bishop of Lincoln, when he was in the Isle of Wight, that two errors did much afflict him, his consenting to the Earl of Strafford's death, and his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland; and that if God should ever restore him to the peaceable possession of his crown, he would demonstrate his repentance by a public confession and a voluntary penance (I think, says the doctor), by going barefoot from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's, and desiring the people to intercede with God for him. This shows how much superstition still remained in his majesty's make and constitution, when he could imagine the going barefoot through the streets could atone for his mis-

takes; and how little dependance was to be had upon his promises and declarations; that even in the year 1648, when the necessity of his affairs obliged him to consent to a uniformity of Presbyterian government in both nations, he could declare *in private to his chaplain* that "if he was ever restored to his throne, he would do public penance for abolishing episcopacy in Scotland." Upon the whole, the king's journey into his native country did him no service; for, though the Scots were pleased with his majesty's concessions, they durst not depend upon them so long as he was under the direction of the queen and the English bishops, and they continued to think themselves obliged, from gratitude, affection, and interest, to cultivate a good understanding with the English Parliament, and to assist them in recovering their religion and liberties.

Upon the day of thanksgiving for the pacification between the two nations [September 7], Bishop Williams, dean of Westminster, without any direction from his superiors, composed a form of prayer for the service of the day, with which the House of Commons was offended, and came to this resolution: "That the Bishop of Lincoln had no power to set forth any prayer to be read on the public thanksgiving; and that no minister is obliged to read the said prayer; and the House is of opinion, and doth order, that the said prayer be not read in the liberties of Westminster, or elsewhere."* Dr. Burges and Mr. Marshall preached before the Commons, and read the following order, appointed by both houses to be published in all the churches throughout England, with his majesty's consent.

"Whereas, according to the act of this present Parliament for confirmation of the treaty of pacification, it was desired by the commissioners of Scotland that the loyalty and faithfulness of his majesty's subjects [of Scotland] might be made known at the time of thanksgiving, in all places, and particularly in all parish churches of his majesty's dominions; which request was graciously condescended to by his majesty, and confirmed by the said act: it is now ordered and commanded by both houses of Parliament, that the same be effectually done in all parish churches throughout this kingdom, on Tuesday, September 7, at the time of the public thanksgiving, by the respective ministers of each parish, or their curates, who are hereby required to read this present order in the church."

The order being read, the ministers declared that, notwithstanding all which had passed in the late commotions, the Scots nation were still his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects. Thus, as the calling and continuance of an English Parliament, after twelve years' interval, was owing to the marching of the Scots army into the north of England, it was by the powerful support and assistance of that Parliament, and the expense of a million of money, that the Scots obtained the present pacification, with the full recovery of their kirk discipline and civil liberties.

In the midst of this ferment of the spirit of men, the workings of opposite counsels, and the taking the sword out of the hands of the spirit-

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 382.

* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 476, 477.

ual courts, it is not to be wondered that the state of religion was unsettled, and that men began to practise with some latitude in points of ceremony and forms of worship. It has been observed that in the beginning of the year the House of Commons had ordered commissioners to be sent into all the counties of England, for removing the late innovations. June 28, it was farther ordered, "that neither university should do reverence to the communion-table." And, August 31, "that the church-wardens of the several parishes shall forthwith remove the communion-table from the east end of the churches where they stand altarwise, and take away the rails and level the chancels, as before the late innovations." Upon complaint of the want of sermons, and that the incumbents in many places would not admit preachers into their pulpits, though the parish maintained them, it was ordered, June 14, "That the deans and chapters of all cathedrals be required, and enjoined, to suffer the inhabitants to have free liberty to have a sermon preached in their cathedrals every Sunday in the afternoon" July 12, ordered, "That in all parochial churches where there is no preaching in the afternoon, if the parishioners will not maintain a conformable lecturer at their own charge, the parson or vicar shall give way to it, unless he will preach himself." September 6, ordered, "That it be lawful for the parishioners of any parish to set up a lecture, and to maintain an orthodox minister at their own charge, to preach every Lord's Day where there is no preaching, and to preach one day every week where there is no weekly lecture."* But, notwithstanding these votes, some bishops inhibited preaching on Sundays in the afternoon; and in particular Dr. Montague, bishop of Norwich, upon which the Commons voted, "That his lordship's inhibition of the Reverend Mr. Carter to preach in his own parish church was void; and that every minister may preach in his own parish church as often as he pleases."

Many petitions being sent from divers counties for preaching ministers, a committee of forty members of the House, called the Committee for Preaching Ministers, was appointed to send ministers where there were vacancies, and to provide for their maintenance.† These gentlemen recommended many of the late silenced ministers, as the Reverend Mr. Case, Mr. Marshall, Sedgwick, Burroughs, whom some of the vicars refused to admit into their pulpits, or at least dissuaded their parishioners from hearing them, upon which some of them were required to attend the committee; and because great complaints were made to the House of the idleness and viciousness of the country clergy, another committee was appointed to examine into such complaints, and was called the Committee for Scandalous Ministers.‡

* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 288, 383, 457.

† Clarendon, vol. i., p. 295.

‡ "By 'scandalous ministers,'" says Dr. Grey, "no more was meant than the being truly orthodox, truly conformable to the rules and orders of the Church, and faithful and obedient subjects to his majesty." It is sufficient to oppose to this round assertion of Dr. Grey an authority not to be controverted, that of Fuller, Church History, b. xi., p. 207. He informs us that some of the clergy were outed for

The day before the recess of the Parliament [September 8, 1641], it was resolved by the Commons, "That the Lord's Day should be duly observed and sanctified; that all dancing, or other sports either before or after Divine service, be forborne and restrained; and that the preaching God's Word be promoted in the afternoon, in the several churches and chapels of this kingdom; and that ministers and preachers be encouraged thereunto. The chancellors of the two universities, the heads of colleges, all patrons, vicars, and church-wardens, are to make certificate of the performance of these orders; and all defaulters to be returned to Parliament before the 30th of October next. Ordered farther, that all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary, shall be taken away and abolished; and that all tapers, candlesticks, and basins be removed from the communion-table. That all corporeal reverences at the name of Jesus, or towards the east end of the church, chapel, or chancel, or towards the communion-table, be forborne."* These orders to be observed in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, in the two universities, by the respective officers and ministers of these places, and by the readers and benchers of the inns of court.†

The House of Lords consented to some of these resolutions, but not to all. They agreed in their committee, "that no rails should be placed about the communion-table where there were none already, but not to the pulling down all that were set up; and that all chancels raised within fifteen years past shall be levelled; that images of the Trinity should be abolished, without limitation of time, and all images of the Virgin Mary erected within twenty years past."‡ But as for bowing at the name of Jesus, they insisted that it should be left indifferent. So that when the question was put to agree or not to agree with the resolutions of the

their affection to the king's cause merely, and many were charged with delivering false doctrines, whose positions were found at the least disputable; and urges that many of the complainners were factious people, and the witnesses against the clergy seldom deposed on oath; yet, after these deductions, he allows that many were outed for their misdemeanors; and adds, "some of their offences were so foul, it is a shame to report them, crying to justice for punishment." He appears, indeed, to have his doubts whether their crimes were sufficiently proved; for if the proof were perfect, the persons ought to have lost their lives, and not their livings only. This is, however, a proof against Dr. Grey's unlimited assertion, that in many instances the imputation of scandalous crimes, supported by considerable evidence at least, was the ground of proceeding. Mr. Baxter tells us that it was no sooner understood that the committee was formed, than multitudes in all counties came up with petitions against their ministers. Two hundred of the names of scandalous ministers, their places, and articles proved against them, were published by Mr. White, the chairman of the committee; and moderate men were grieved to see so much ignorance and such gross immoralities exposed to the derision of the world. And yet Dr. Grey could say, that scandalous ministers meant no more than the loyal and orthodox.—*Baxter's Life*, part i., p. 19, folio.—Ed.

* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 482.

† Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 386.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 482, 483.

Commons, it passed in the negative, eleven against nine. The Commons, therefore, published their resolutions apart, and desired the people to wait patiently for the intended reformation, without any disturbance of the worship of God and of the peace of the kingdom. Upon which the Lords, in a heat, appointed their order of January 19, 1640-1, already mentioned, to be reprinted,* "that Divine service should be performed, as it is appointed by act of Parliament, and that all who disturb that wholesome order shall be severely punished according to law. That all parsons, vicars, and curates, in their several parishes, do forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those that are established by the laws of the land." This was voted by twelve of the lords present, the other six entering their protest; † after which both houses adjourned for six weeks. Mr. Rapin observes, ‡ that there seems no necessity for the Lords to renew this order; and that it was done out of spleen and revenge because the Commons had made a declaration against innovations, and it was not doubted but the bishops were the chief authors of it.

Lord Clarendon represents the putting these orders of the House of Commons in execution as a transcendent presumption, and a breach of the privilege of the House of Lords; and though in one place his lordship acknowledges that little or nothing of moment was done in pursuance of the order of the two houses, yet upon this occasion he says, § "that seditious and factious persons caused the windows to be broken down in churches, tore away the rails, removed the communion-tables, and committed many insolent and scandalous disorders, and that if any opposed them they were sent for before the committee." But the fairest account of this matter may be gathered from Mr. Pym's report to the House at their first meeting after the recess.

"The committee of religion," says he, "have sent down divers of your declarations into the country, and have found that in some places, where there were good ministers, they were retained, and in other places neglected. We cannot say there have been any great tumults, though the execution of the orders of the House has occasioned something tending that way. In some parishes they came to blows, and in others they would have done the like if care had not been taken to prevent it. At St. Giles's, Cripple-gate, the parishioners were almost at daggers drawing about the rails of the communion-table, which they would not suffer to be removed. The like opposition was made to the orders of the House at St. George's, Southwark, St. Mary's, Woolnoth, St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, and a few other places, but in most places they were quiet."

If the innovations complained of were according to law, neither Lords nor Commons had authority to remove them, for in a time of public peace and tranquillity a vote of Parliament cannot suspend or set aside the laws; but

if they were apparently contrary to law, I do not see why either house of Parliament, or even the parishioners themselves, by a vote of their vestry, might not order them to be taken away. Remarkable are the words of Sir Edward Deering to this purpose: "The orders of the House," says he, "are, doubtless, powerful, if grounded upon the laws of the land; upon this warrant we may, by an order, enforce anything that is undoubtedly so grounded; and, by the same rule, we may abrogate whatsoever is introduced contrary to the undoubted foundation of your laws; but we may not rule and govern by arbitrary and disputable orders, especially in matters of religion."*

The Lords disapproved of the tumultuous attempts of private persons, and punished them severely. Complaint being made by the inhabitants of St. Saviour's, Southwark, of certain persons who had pulled down the rails of the communion-table in an insolent and riotous manner, they were sent into custody, and having been heard by their counsel at the bar of the House, the church-wardens of the parish were ordered to set up new rails at the costs and charges of the offenders, in the manner they had stood for fifty years before, but not according to the model of the four or five last years. † The rioters also were enjoined to make a public confession of their fault in the body of the church, on a Sabbath day when the congregation should be present, and to stand committed to the Fleet during the pleasure of the House. ‡ Upon another complaint of the parishioners of St. Olave's, Southwark, against others that had made a tumult in their church, and used irreverent speeches during the administration of the sacrament, the delinquents were sent into custody, and, after hearing, they were committed to the King's Bench for six months, without bail or mainprize, and ordered to stand upon a high stool in Cheapside and in Southwark, for two hours on a market day, and to acknowledge their fault publicly; they were also fined £20, and to find sureties for their good behaviour; but when they had been imprisoned about a month, upon their humble petition, and acknowledgment of their misdemeanors, they were released. §

If we may give credit to the petition from Canterbury, things were everywhere in great confusion; for it says, "that the religion and government by law established has been of late most miserably distracted by ill-affected persons, by whose means the houses of God are profaned, and in part defaced; the ministers of Christ are contemned and despised; the ornaments and many utensils of the church are abused; the liturgy and Book of Common Prayer depraved and neglected; that absolute model of prayer, the Lord's Prayer, vilified; the sacraments of the Gospel, in some places, rudely administered, in other places omitted; solemn days of fasting observed, and appointed by private persons; marriages illegally solemnized; burials uncharitably performed; and the very fundamentals of religion subverted by the publication of a new creed, and teaching the abro-

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 367. Clarendon, vol. i., p. 293.

† Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 485.

‡ Vol. ii., p. 382, folio.

§ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 29.

* Rushworth, vol. i., part iii., p. 391.

† Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 271, 322.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 291, 292.

§ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 395.

gation of the moral law; many offensive sermons are preached, and many impious pamphlets printed." Lord Clarendon says,* "that the pulpits were supplied with seditious and schismatical preachers. That in order to poison the hearts of the king's subjects, care was taken to place such ministers and lecturers in the most populous towns and parishes as abhorred the present government and temperature of the Church and State;" and then adds, "I am confident there was not, from the beginning of this Parliament, one orthodox or learned man recommended by them to any church in England." Strange! when scarce one was recommended who had not been educated in our universities, and subscribed all the doctrinal articles of the Church of England! But his majesty's language is more severe in his declaration of August 12, 1642. "Under pretence of encouraging preaching," says he, "they have erected lectures in several parishes, and commended such lecturers as were men of no learning nor conscience, but furious promoters of the most dangerous innovations; many have taken no orders, yet were recommended by members of either house to parishes; and when mechanic persons have been brought before them for preaching in churches, and have confessed the same, they have been dismissed without punishment, and hardly with rebrehsion. All persons of learning and eminency in preaching, and of sober and virtuous conversation, of great examples in their lives, and even such as among these men had been of greatest estimation, and suffered somewhat for them, were discountenanced, and such men cherished who boldly preached against the government of the Church, against the Book of Common Prayer, against our kingly lawful power, and against our person. Farther, a license even to treason is admitted in pulpits, and persons ignorant in learning and understanding, turbulent and seditious in disposition, scandalous in life, and uncomformable in opinion to the laws of the land, are imposed upon parishes to infect and poison the minds of our people."

What character the Parliament divines had for learning, for orthodoxy of doctrine, and sobriety of manners, will appear hereafter. The Commons, in their reply to his majesty's declaration, denied the whole of this charge, and averred, "that they were careful in their inquiries into the learning and morality of those whom they recommended; that they were not for encouraging faction and schism, but for preferring those who were for a parliamentary reformation in the Church and State; that they had shown their resentments against mobs and tumults, and against the preaching of laymen;"† for when they were informed that Mr. Robinson, Spencer, Banks, Durant, and Green, being mere laymen, had presumed to preach publicly, they sent for them [June 7], and reprimanded them by their speaker in these words: "The House has a great distaste of your proceedings, and if you offend at any time in the like kind again, this House will take care you shall be severely punished."

Far be it from me to apologize for the furious preachers of these times, though it will appear

* Vol. i., p. 295.

† Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 265, 270.

hereafter that the complaints of the royalists are very much exaggerated. It was certainly a great disadvantage to the Parliament's cause that they could not get a good supply of learned and able preachers, the keys of admission into holy orders being at this time in the hands of the bishops, who were very strict in their examination into the political principles of those they ordained; this reduced the committee to the necessity of admitting some few who came well recommended from New-England or Scotland, and had been only ordained by presbyters, and such young students who, by producing their testimonials from the universities, were allowed to preach for some time as candidates. They were under the like disadvantages as to presentations or inductions, most of them being in the hands of the king and the bishops.

The Archbishop of Canterbury continued to ordain clergymen of his own principles in the Tower, whereupon the House of Lords ordered [October 28] that his jurisdiction should be sequestered, and administered by his inferior officers, till he should be acquitted of the charge of high treason that was against him. His grace often admitted such clergymen to livings as were obnoxious to the two houses, insomuch that the Lords found it necessary to enjoin him to acquaint their house with the names of such persons as he nominated to any ecclesiastical benefice, promotion, or dignity within his disposal, to be approved of first by the House, before they were collated or instituted. On the other hand, when a minister was chosen by the parishioners, and recommended to his grace for admission, if he did not like his principles and character, he would either except against him, or suffer the living to lapse to the crown. This created him new enemies, and kept alive the resentments of the Commons. At length the archbishop acquainted the king with his case, who sent him a peremptory letter, requiring him "that as often as any benefice, or other spiritual promotion, should become void in his gift, to dispose of it only to such persons as his majesty should nominate; and that if either or both houses should command him otherwise, he should then let it fall in lapse to the crown." As soon as the houses were acquainted with this, they published an order of their own, requiring the archbishop to dispose of no benefice or spiritual promotion that should become void at any time before his trial, without the leave and order of the two houses at Westminster. Such was the struggle between the king and Parliament for the pulpits! It being thought of great consequence on both sides to fill them with men of their own principles, who would be zealous in the cause in which they were severally engaged.

All the bishops were under a cloud, and in no degree of favour either with the Parliament or people, except the Bishop of Lincoln, who, having some years been in prison, had no share in the late innovations. This prelate, in the recess of Parliament, visited his diocese, and exhorted the people in his sermons to keep to their lawful minister, and not go after sub-preachers in conventicles. He acquainted them with the laws, and told them that no power could protect them from the penalty of statutes unrepealed. "Look back," says his lordship,

"from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. Can the Gospel stand better against the Church of Rome, than it has done under the bishops, liturgy, and canons? Therefore, don't abandon the good old way, for another which you do not know how much evil may be in it." But his rhetoric had very little effect; nor did the Parliament approve of his conduct, at a time when his majesty was out of the kingdom, and when it was resolved to attempt some considerable alterations in the hierarchy.

The distractions in the State were no less threatening than those of the Church. The plague was in the city of London, which dispersed the members, so that they could hardly make a house. The disbanding the army infested the roads with highwaymen, insomuch that it was hardly safe to travel from one town to another. The officers (many of whom were papists) crowded to London, and took lodgings about Covent Garden and Whitehall, under pretence of receiving the remainder of their pay; these behaved with unusual insolence, and struck terror into the minds of the people. The mob was frequently up in one part of the town or another; one while they threatened the pope's nuncio, and another while the queen-mother, upon which they retired out of the kingdom; but the queen herself stood by her friends; she had a convent of Capuchins in her court, and protected great numbers of the king's subjects and others from the sentence of the laws. The lord-mayor was commanded to bring in a list of popish recusants about London, and all the papists in the several counties were ordered to be disarmed; "which, though it had little or no effect," says Lord Clarendon,* "served to keep up fears and apprehensions in the people of dangers and designs;" which will appear presently not to have been groundless. This was the melancholy state of the nation, when on a sudden it was thunderstruck with the surprising news of one of the most barbarous massacres of the Protestants in Ireland that the records of any age or nation can produce.

Lord Clarendon is of opinion that the Parliament, instead of adjourning, should now have broken up and returned home, since the principal grievance of Church and State had been redressed, and the Constitution secured by the act for triennial parliaments. But not to trouble the reader with affairs of state, what religious grievances were actually redressed? except the shortening the power of the spiritual courts, by the acts for abolishing the Court of High Commission and Star Chamber, not one of the late innovations was abolished by law; nor was there any alteration in the liturgy or form of church government. The sole power of the bishops in ordination and jurisdiction remained to be regulated; nor was there any reformation of deans and chapters; all which the Puritans hoped for and expected. In short, the whole government of the Church remained entire, notwithstanding the fierce attacks of the Commons against it. The act for triennial parliaments will appear not to have been a sufficient security to the Constitution, if we consider how many acts of Parliament the king and his arbitrary ministers had broke through the last fifteen years; that his majesty had still the same prin-

ciples, and was likely to be in the same hands upon the dissolution of this Parliament. Besides, it was said that these laws had been extorted from him by force, and, therefore, were not binding; and if a Parliament should be called after three years, that it was dissolvable at pleasure; so that in all probability things would have returned to the old channel if the Parliament had now dissolved themselves. Supposing, therefore, but not admitting, that the principal grievances of Church and State had been redressed, I leave it with the reader whether, in the present situation of affairs, a mere redress of past grievances was sufficient without some security against the return of the like in time to come.

Among the remarkable divines who died about this time, was Dr. John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, born in London, and educated a fellow-commoner in Queen's College, Cambridge, of which he was afterward master, and Lady Margaret professor in the same university. He was a celebrated Calvinist, and one of those divines appointed by King James to represent the Church of England at the Synod of Dort, where he behaved with great prudence and moderation; and upon his return to England was preferred to the bishopric of Salisbury; but in the beginning of the reign of King Charles, he became obnoxious to the court for venturing to preach on the doctrine of predestination, contrary to his majesty's declaration, and was forced to make his submission before the privy council. He was a quiet and peaceable prelate, humble and charitable, a strict observer of the Sabbath, an enemy to the pomp and luxury of the clergy, and one who lamented the high proceedings of the court. He had a great reputation in foreign parts for profound learning and an unblemished life; and after he had enjoyed his bishopric about twenty years, ended his days in peace and honour, April 20, 1641, a little before the beginning of the troubles that afterward came upon the Church and kingdom.* He died of a consumption, and a few hours before his death prayed pathetically for a quarter of an hour, "blessing God for his fatherly correction, forasmuch as his whole life having been full of mercy, he had been ready to doubt whether he was a true child of God till this last sickness."†

Dr. Richard Montague, bishop of Norwich, was a divine of a different character; he was born in Westminster, educated in Eaton College, and afterward fellow of King's College. Mr. Fuller says he was a celebrated Grecian and church antiquary, well read in the fathers, but a superstitious admirer of church ceremonies.‡ He was a thorough Arminian, a crea-

* Fuller's Worthies, b. ii., p. 207; and Church Hist., b. xi., 176.

† This eminent and worthy prelate was a benefactor to Queen's College, in Cambridge, giving to it the perpetual advowsons of the rectories of Cheverel-Magna and Newton-Tony, in Wiltshire, and a rent charge of £31 10s. per annum for the founding of two Bible clerks, and buying books for the library in the same college.—*Biogr. Britan.*, vol. iv., second edition, p. 631.—Ed.

‡ Fuller's words, as Dr. Grey observes, are, "But all his diocess being not so well skilled in antiquity as himself, some charged him with superstitious urging of ceremonies." He is allowed to have urged

ture of Archbishop Laud's, and an ill instrument between the king and Parliament in the late times, and, therefore, voted unfit for any church preferment; but when the king resolved to govern without Parliaments, his majesty preferred him first to the bishopric of Chichester, and then to Norwich, where he showed his zeal for the Church by a vigorous and illegal prosecution of the Puritans. He was accused by the present Parliament for superstitious innovations; and would, no doubt, have felt their resentments, if he had not gone, as Mr. Fuller expresses it,* a more compendious way, to answer for all his proceedings in the high court of heaven. He died April 12, 1641.

The Rev. Mr. John Eaton, M.A., and vicar of Wickham Market, was born in Kent, 1575, and of a peculiar mould, says Mr. Echard,† very paradoxical in his opinions, and reckoned a great Antinomian, and one of the founders of that sect, for which he more than once suffered imprisonment. His chief performance was a book entitled "The Honeycomb of free Justification by Christ alone," for which he was imprisoned in the Gate-house at Westminster. Mr. Echard admits that by means of his zeal, his exemplary patience, and piety, he was exceedingly admired in the neighbourhood where he lived, and strangely valued for many years after his death. In truth, though he committed some mistakes in his assertions about the doctrine of grace, he was, nevertheless, says Mr. Archdeacon, a pattern of faith, holiness, and cheerfulness, in his sufferings, to succeeding generations. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE REASSEMBLING OF THE PARLIAMENT TO THE KING'S LEAVING HIS PALACE OF WHITE-HALL, JANUARY 10, 1641-2.

BEFORE his majesty left Scotland, advice came to London [November 1] of a general insurrection of the papists in Ireland, and a most cruel and bloody massacre of the Protestants of that kingdom.‡ The project of an insurrection

ceremonies; but, according to Fuller and Dr. Grey, that is not superstition, though they may be unauthorized by Scripture, if they be sanctioned by antiquity.—ED. How strange that men who are so anxious for the sanction of antiquity, do not fall back upon the simple usages of the apostolic age! Error stalked into the Church at the very heels of the apostles, and we owe some of the Epistles themselves to the early appearance of error.—C.

* Book i., p. 194. † Ath. Ox., vol. ii., p. 1-6.

‡ A fair judgment of this horrid affair, it may be observed, cannot be formed without considering it in connexion with the causes that led to it. It should be viewed as the result of various circumstances, which, for a course of years, had irritated the minds of the Irish, and at last raised them to a pitch of phrensy and cruelty, of which we cannot read without being shocked at the recital. The Irish had been pursued with a constant, rigorous, and unremitting persecution. They had suffered extortions, imprisonments, and excommunications. Their estates had been seized under the pretext of a judicial inquiry into defective titles, in which inquiry verdicts against them were extorted from jurors. They had been heavily taxed for their superstitions, and totally precluded the

was formed in the months of March and April, 1641, not without the privy of the English court, and executed October 23 following; no information of it having been given to the Protestants till the very night before it was to take place, when it was too late to prevent the effects of it in the country, and almost to save the city of Dublin itself. When the express that brought the news was read in the House, it produced a general silence for a time, all men being struck with horror. When it was told without doors, it flew like flashes of lightning, and spread universal terror over the whole kingdom. Every day, and almost every hour, produced new messengers of misery, who brought farther intelligence of the merciless cruelty of the papists towards the poor Protestants, whose very name they threatened to extirpate out of the kingdom.

On the appointed day between twenty and thirty thousand of the native Irish appeared in arms in the northern counties, and having secured the principal gentlemen, and seized their effects, they murdered the common people in cold blood, forcing many thousands to fly from their houses and settlements naked, into the bogs and woods, where they perished with hunger and cold. No ties of friendship, neighbourhood, or consanguinity were capable of softening their obdurate hearts, in a cause which they called "the cause of loyalty and religion." Some they whipped to death, others they stripped naked and exposed to shame, and then drove them, like herds of swine, to perish in the mountains: many hundreds were drowned in rivers; some had their throats cut; others were dismembered. With some the execrable villains made themselves sport, trying who could hack deepest into an Englishman's flesh. Husbands were cut in pieces in the presence of their wives; wives and young virgins abused in the sight of their nearest relations; nay, they taught their children to strip and kill the children of the English, and dash out their brains against the stones. Forty or fifty thousand were massacred after this manner in a few days, without distinction of age, sex, or quality, before they suspected their danger, or had time to provide for their defence. In a few weeks the insurrection was so general that they took possession of whole counties, murdering the inhabitants, plundering their houses, and killing or driving away their cattle. Multitudes of poor distressed creatures and families fled, naked and half starved, first to Dublin, and from thence to England, with death and despair in their countenances. At length the Irish army, having ravaged all the northern counties, blocked up the city of Dublin itself, with all the poor distressed Protestants who had taken sanctuary in it; but not being masters of the sea, the city was relieved, and part of the country secured, till the Parliament was at leisure to

exercise of their religion. Their application to Charles I. for a toleration had been scornfully rejected, in consequence of a protestation against it, drawn up by the Primate Usher and twelve bishops. The detail of their sufferings may be seen in "Jones's Letter to the United Societies of Belfast." By which it will appear that from the Reformation they had been the victims of religious persecution and civil devastation; as, to use the author's words, almost to justify, but certainly to extenuate, the dreadful ensuing period of 1641.—ED.

pour out all their vengeance upon the heads of the murderers, by the hands of the victorious and terrible Oliver Cromwell.

The frequent expresses which pressed one after another to England, with the multitudes of distressed creatures that got passage into several parts of the kingdom, filled the hearts of all true Protestants with infinite conjectures and prodigious imaginations of treasonable designs against this as well as the neighbouring kingdom. They were afraid, and not without reason, that a second part of this tragedy might be acted on themselves; the Parliament, therefore, ordered themselves a guard of train-bands, and entered immediately into measures to secure the nation from the impending storm.

But before we dismiss the Irish insurrection and massacre, it will not be improper to trace it from the original, and inquire into the authors, and the several parties concerned in it. The Earl of Antrim, and Sir Phelim O'Neal, who were at the head of the Irish Catholics, having acquainted the pope's nuncio and some of the priests about the queen how easily they could assume the government of Ireland, and assist the king against the English Puritans, letters were written in the queen's name, and perhaps in the king's,* authorizing them to take up arms and seize the government.† The Irish received the orders with pleasure; and concluded farther among themselves, that it was necessary at the same time to extirpate the Protestants out of that kingdom before they could with safety transport their army into England. That this was their design appears from their remonstrance, published upon the very day of the insurrection, in which they say, "that having some liberty of religion granted them by the king, they perceived the Parliament was wresting his majesty's prerogative from him, in order to extinguish their religion; therefore, to support his majesty's prerogative, and to confirm his royal and ever happy love to them, they had taken up arms; and accordingly bound themselves to one another by the following oath:

"That they would maintain the Roman Catholic religion; that they would bear true faith and allegiance to the king and his heirs, and defend him and them with their lives and estates against all persons that should endeavour to suppress the prerogative, or do any acts contrary to regal government, to the power and privilege of Parliaments, and to the rights and privileges of the subject."

* Dr. Grey is severe in his animadversions on Mr. Neal's insinuation, that the English court, and even the king, were privy to the Irish insurrection. Bishop Warburton, on the same ground, has impeached our author's candour and impartiality: our reply to whom, in the two following notes, will serve as an answer to Dr. Grey. I will add here, that Mr. Baxter says "that the soberer part could not believe that the Irish rebels had the king's commission."—His *Life*, p. 29, folio. A deed was passed on the credulous with that name, by affixing to it the great seal taken off from some grant or patent. The distinction which Mr. Neal afterward makes between the insurrection and the massacre is justified by what Bishop Burnet asserts in a passage quoted in the beginning of the paragraph, where the distinction occurs.—*Rushworth's Collections*, part iii., vol. i., p. 402.—Ed.

† Prynne's Introduction, p. 220–252. Burnet's History, Life, and Times, vol. i., p. 55, Edinburgh edit. Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 398, &c.

They called themselves the queen's army, and published a proclamation from their camp at Newry, declaring that they acted by the king's commission, under the great seal of Scotland, dated at Edinburgh, October 1, 1641, and by letters under his sign-manual, of the same date with the commission; which I believe, with Lord Clarendon, was a forgery; though it is a little unaccountable that his majesty should never, by any public act or declaration of his own, clear himself of so vile a calumny.* However, though the king gave out no commission, there is too much reason to believe* that the queen and her popish council, and even the king himself, were not unacquainted with the design of an insurrection before it took place, and that her majesty gave it all the countenance she could with safety; but when these bloody butchers overacted their parts to such a degree as to massacre near two hundred thousand Protestants in cold blood, to make way for their tyranny, it was time for all parties to disown them.

Bishop Burnet observes, "That in the first design of an insurrection there was no thought of a massacre; this came into their heads as they were contriving methods of executing it; and as the people were governed by the priests, these were the men that set on the Irish to all the blood and cruelty that followed." There was a consultation at the Abbey of Multifernan, in the county of West-Meath, where it was debated what course should be taken with the Protestants; some were for expelling them as the King of Spain did the Moors; others pressed to have them universally cut off; but not coming to a conclusion, they left the army to act at discretion.† How far the pope's nuncio and the queen's council might be consulted about the massacre is a secret: if we distinguish between the insurrection, in order to assume the government into the hands of the Irish papists, and the massacre which attended it, we may conclude, without any breach of charity, that the English court admitted of the former, though they might wash their hands of the latter.‡

The Parliament, in their declaration of March 9, 1641, say that the rebellion in Ireland was framed and contrived in England, and that they had taken several depositions, proving that the English papists were to rise about the same

* Bishop Warburton taxes the following insinuations against the king as being "certainly very unjust and groundless." The reader will observe that Mr. Neal's insinuations go no farther than that the king was acquainted with, if he did not encourage, the design of the Irish to appear in arms. He by no means charges him with consenting or being privy to the massacre. As to the hand he had in the rebellion, two modern historians have, with great candour, fully stated the evidence *pro* and *con*. *Dr. Harris*, in his *Life of Charles I.*, p. 336, 351; and *Mrs. Macaulay*, vol. iii., p. 84–93, the note. From the arguments stated by these writers, it will appear that there were certain grounds for Mr. Neal's insinuations, and if so, they cannot be very unjust.—Ed.

† Nalson's Collection, vol. ii., p. 633.

‡ If by the court here be meant the king, Bishop Warburton condemns Mr. Neal as "scandalously uncharitable." It is more reasonable to explain Mr. Neal by himself; and the parties whom he particularized in this very sentence are the queen and the pope's nuncio.—Ed.

time;* that the rebels said they acted by the king's authority; that they called themselves the queen's army, and declared that "their purpose was to come to England after they had done in Ireland, to recover the royal prerogative, wrested from him by the Puritan faction in the House of Commons." Mr. Pym declared in Parliament that several disbanded officers and soldiers of the king's army went over to Ireland, and listed among the rebels by the king's express warrant, which his majesty denied; but when the matter was examined, it appeared that his authority had been abused by some who were very near his person.

The concern of the court in this dark affair is evident from the relation of the Earl of Essex, who told Bishop Burnet "that he had taken all the pains he could to inquire into the original of the Irish massacre, but could not see reason to believe the king was accessory to it; but he did believe that the queen did hearken to the propositions made by the Irish, who undertook to take the government of Ireland into their own hands, which they thought they could easily perform, and then they promised to assist the king against the hot spirits of Westminster." With this the insurrection began, and all the Irish believed the queen encouraged it.

There was farther discovery of this fact at the restoration of King Charles II., when the Marquis of Antrim, who had been at the head of the rebellion, and whose estate had been confiscated, finding himself likely to be excluded by the Act of Indemnity, came to London to petition his majesty to examine the warrants he had acted upon. Accordingly, a committee of council was appointed, and the marquis produced some letters from the king, which did not amount to a full proof; but in one of them the king says that he was not then at leisure, but referred himself to the queen's letter, and said that was all one as if he writ himself.† Upon this foundation the marquis produced a series of his own letters to the queen, in which he gave her an account of every one of those particulars that were laid to his charge, and showed the grounds he went upon, and desired her majesty's direction to every one of these; and he had answers ordering him to do as he did. This affair, says the bishop,‡ the queen herself, who was then at court, espoused with great zeal, and said she was bound to save him. So a report was drawn up by the committee, declaring that he had fully justified himself in everything; but the Earl of Northumberland, who was chairman, refused to set his hand to it, saying, "He was sorry the marquis had produced such warrants; but he did not

think that they ought to serve his turn, for he did not believe that any warrant from the king or queen could justify so much bloodshed, in so many black instances as were laid against him." Upon the earl's refusing to sign the report, the rest of the committee declined it, and there it dropped; whereupon the king himself wrote over to the Duke of Ormond that he had so vindicated himself that he must get him included in the Act of Indemnity; but the Lord Mazarine and others not being satisfied to give their vote in favour of such a criminal, notwithstanding the instructions they had received from England, the marquis was obliged, in his own defence, to produce in the House of Commons a letter from King Charles I., wrote with his own hand, giving him express orders to take up arms;* upon which he was pardoned, and his estate restored.

In the letter of King Charles II. to the Duke of Ormond above mentioned, under his majesty's own hand, and entered in the signet office July 13, 1663,† there is this remarkable passage: "That the referees who had examined the marquis [of Antrim's] case, had declared to him, they had seen 'several letters, all of them of the handwriting of our royal father to the said marquis,' and several instructions concerning his treating with the Irish in order to the king's service, by reducing them to their obedience, and by drawing some forces from them for the

* Here Dr. Grey asks, "And what is all this to the Irish massacre? The letter, it is plain, related to his joining Montrose in Scotland." To prove this, the doctor appeals to the letter of King Charles II., quoted in the next paragraph, in which his majesty expressly allows that the marquis was instructed to draw some forces from Ireland for the service of Scotland. And, on the authority of Mr. Cart, he refers to an act of Parliament, anno 1617, 1618, Car. ii., in which the king, speaking of his letter to the Duke of Ormond, says, "It was only to declare that the Marquis of Antrim was employed in Ireland to procure what forces he could from thence, to be transported into Scotland for his late majesty's service, under the late Marquis of Montrose." Whoever reads King Charles II.'s letter, which is given at full length in Ludlow's "Truth brought to Light," a pamphlet printed in 1693, in answer to Dr. Hollingworth, will not think the limitation of his majesty's meaning, here offered, consistent with the strain and tenour of that letter, which refers to the Irish rebellion in the most general terms, as well as speaks of "drawing some forces from the Irish for the service of Scotland," and alludes to various other actings of the marquis with the Irish confederates. It was proved, on the trial of the marquis's claim to be included in the Act of Indemnity, that he was to have had a hand in surprising the castle of Dublin, in 1641; and seven other charges were substantiated against him. After a trial of seven hours, the king's letter being opened and read in court, Rainford, one of the commissioners, said "that the king's letter on his behalf was evidence without exception;" and thereupon he was declared an innocent papist.—*Truth brought to Light*, p. 15. The plea of this letter was the instructions given to the marquis by Charles I., and, as Mr. Neal's quotation states, it applied to every transaction with the Irish Catholics. Ludlow avers it as a well-known fact, that the marquis had his head and hands deeply and early engaged in the bloody work of the rebellion, and was among the first in it.—*Memoirs*, 4to, p. 423, edition of 1771. As to the act of Parliament, to which Mr. Cart refers, it is not to be found in the statutes at large, 4to, nor in Pickering's statutes.—Ed.

† Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 353.

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 419, 420, folio edition.

† To invalidate the argument drawn from the defence which the Marquis of Antrim set up, Dr. Grey urges that the marquis had not the least concern in the massacre or first insurrection, and refers to the evidence of this produced by the Rev. Thomas Cart, in a piece entitled "The Irish Massacre set in a true Light," 1715. Dr. Harris notices the same argument as advanced by Mr. Hume: but he denies the matter, and says, that "nothing is more certain than that Antrim had a hand in the first rebellion in Ireland." Of this he brings various proofs.—*Life of Charles I.*, p. 350.—Ed.

‡ Burnet's *Hist., Life and Times*, vol. i., p. 54, 55, Edin. ed.

service of Scotland. That, besides letters and orders under his majesty's own hand, there was sufficient evidence and testimony of several messages and directions sent from our royal father and our royal mother, with the privy and direction of the king our father, by which it appears, that whatever correspondence or acting the said marquis had with the confederate Irish Catholics, was directed and allowed by the said letters and instructions; and that the king himself was well pleased with what the marquis did after he had done it, and approved of the same."

I have been more particular in accounting for this insurrection, because whoever were the authors of it, they are, in the judgment of Lord Clarendon, answerable for all the calamities of the civil war. "It was Ireland," says his lordship,* "that drew the first blood. If they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries which afterward befell the king and his dominions had been prevented." At whose door, then, the guilt of all this blood must be laid, I freely leave with the reader.

Upon the first news of the Irish massacre, the Commons turned themselves into a committee of the whole House, and came to the following resolutions: "That all Roman Catholics of quality in the several counties of England be secured, and that all papists depart from London to their respective places of abode in the country; that the House of Lords be desired to join with the Commons in a petition for dissolving the convent of Capuchins, and sending them out of the kingdom; that the foreign ambassadors be desired to deliver up such priests of the king's subjects as are in their houses; that a list be brought in of the queen's servants; and that a proclamation be issued out for all strangers that are not Protestants to give an account of their names and places of abode, or depart the kingdom." They also despatched a messenger to the king, beseeching him to concur with them in securing the nation against any farther attempts of the papists; and not to employ any in his councils who were favourers of popery, superstition, or innovation in religion. They voted £200,000 to be borrowed immediately for the service of Ireland, and appointed the train-bands of Westminster to guard them from the insolence and affronts of vagrant soldiers about the court, and to secure them from other designs which they had reason to suspect. The Lords ordered all Romish recusants to remove out of the inns of court and chancery. The Commons ordered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered to all Irish gentlemen within those courts; "for it now appears," says Mr. Pym, "that the religion of the papists is incompatible with any other religion; it is destructive to all others, and will endure nothing that opposes it. There are other religions that are not right, but not so destructive as popery, for the principles of popery are subversive of all states and persons that oppose it."†

When the king returned from Scotland the latter end of November, and had been received

with the acclamations of the citizens of London,* he was prevailed with by the queen and her faction to check the proceedings of the two houses, since the Scots were easy, and the hearts of the English nation seemed to be with him; his majesty had recommended the suppressing the Irish rebellion to the Scots representatives, and by letter had committed the care of it also to the English Parliament; whereupon the House of Commons, in the king's absence, authorized the Earl of Leicester, by an ordinance of their own, to raise forces, and the lord-high admiral to provide shipping for their transportation from Chester, and other ports; but when the king came to Whitehall he seemed so unwilling to act against the papists, that the Parliament were afraid of sending Protestant soldiers out of the kingdom, lest his majesty should take advantage of their absence, and break up the Constitution;‡ for he had already commanded away the Parliament's guard, telling them they had nothing to fear from the papists, and that their jealousies of plots and massacres were imaginary.‡ He pardoned seven popish priests who were under sentence of condemnation, contrary to the petition of the House of Commons. He turned out the Earl of Leicester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Sir William Parsons, one of the most active Protestant justices in that kingdom. He intercepted the parliamentary supplies in their way to Chester, and received a deputation from the Irish Catholics with greater ceremony and respect than from his Protestant subjects. Nor could his majesty be prevailed with to issue out a proclamation declaring the Irish rebels, till the beginning of January, and even then only forty copies were printed, and not one to be dispersed till farther orders.§ Indeed, the king proclaimed a monthly fast, and offered to raise an army of English for the relief of Ireland, which the Commons declined; and instead thereof, appointed a committee to treat for ten thousand Scots, which the House of Lords, by direction from the king, put a stop to;|| so that between both, the relief of Ireland was neglected. The king would have persuaded the Parliament to send over ten thousand English, that they might find it more difficult to raise forces in case of a breach with him; but the Commons prevailed with the Scots to offer ten thousand of their nation, that they might not be obliged to leave themselves naked and defenceless in so critical a juncture.

Upon the whole, it seems to me that this barbarous insurrection and massacre was formed either here or in Ireland, to distress the Parliament, after the failure of the design of doing it by the English army. The king seems to have

* Nalson's Collection, p. 675, &c.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 386, 387, folio.

‡ Rapin, p. 388, folio. Nalson, vol. ii., p. 400, 684.

§ Rapin, vol. ii., p. 401, folio edition.

|| "The king," says Dr. Grey, "was not concerned in it, as appears from Rapin, the author he (*i. e.*, Mr. Neal) refers to." The doctor then relates, in Rapin's words, the three questions on this point debated by the Lords. In which statement there is, it is true, an entire silence about the king's interference. But the doctor had overlooked the preceding paragraph, which establishes Mr. Neal's assertions; in which Rapin says, "the king had found means to gain the Peers."—Ed.

* Vol. i., p. 299.

† Nalson's Collection, vol. ii., p. 620.

been willingly ignorant* of the progress of the affair, having intrusted the correspondence with the queen and her council; but when he heard how the Irish had overacted their part he was surprised, and thought it necessary to declare against them; yet, when he came to his queen, he appeared too favourable to their persons and conduct, and instead of going briskly into the measures that were proposed to subdue them, his majesty played the politician, and would have made use of the Irish rebellion to put himself at the head of an army to break up his English Parliament.

While the king was in Scotland, it was given out by some ill-designing people that, since his majesty had yielded so much to the Scots, he might be persuaded to introduce presbytery into England at his return; upon which his majesty sent the following letter to Mr. Nichols, clerk of the council:

"I hear it is reported that, at my return, I intend to alter the government of the Church of England, and to bring it to that form it is in here; therefore, I command you to assure all my servants, that I will be constant to the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England, established by Queen Elizabeth and my father; and that I resolve, by the grace of God, to die in the maintenance of it. Edinburgh, October 18, 1641."*

Accordingly, his majesty resolved to fill up the vacant sees, and ordered five *congé d'élèves* to be drawn, for five clergymen therein named; but the two houses joining in a petition to his majesty to suspend his commands till he came home, the matter was delayed; however, soon after his return, he made the following removes and promotions.

Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was translated to the province of York, in the room of Dr. Neile, deceased, and Dr. Winniffe, dean of St. Paul's, a grave and moderate divine, was made Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Duppa, bishop of Chichester, was translated to Salisbury, vacant by the death of Dr. Davenant; and Dr. King, dean of Rochester, was promoted to Chichester. Dr. Hall was translated from Exeter to Norwich, in the room of Bishop Montague; and Dr. Brownrigge, master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, an eminent and learned divine, was advanced to Exeter. Dr. Skinner was translated from Bristol to Oxford, vacant by the death of Dr. Bancroft; and Dr. Westfield, archdeacon of St. Alban's, a very popular preacher, was promoted to Bristol; Dr. Prideaux, king's professor of divinity in Oxford, was made Bishop of Worcester, in the room of Bishop Thornborough, deceased. The bishopric of Carlisle being vacant by the death of Dr. Barnabas Potter, a Puritan bishop, commonly called the penitential preacher, was given in *commendam* to the most reverend Dr. Usher, archbishop and primate of Ireland, during the commotion in that kingdom.

* "This," says Bishop Warburton, "is a villanous accusation, destitute of all proof and likelihood." His lordship might have spared some of his warmth and bitterness. For if it be an accusation, it comes forward as a conclusion arising from the facts and authorities stated in the preceding pages. It is properly the opinion of the author, and the reader will judge how far it justly flows from the evidence laid before him.—Ed.

† Nalson's Collection, vol. ii., p. 683.

Most of these divines stood well in the opinion of the people, but their accepting bishoprics in this crisis did neither the king nor themselves any service. After this his majesty nominated but two bishops throughout the course of his reign; one was Dr. Frewen, dean of Gloucester and president of Magdalen College, Oxon, to the bishopric of Coventry and Litchfield, 1644, and Dr. Howel, prebendary of Windsor, to Bristol, about ten months after.

A committee had been appointed above a twelvemonth ago, at the motion of Lord Digby, "to draw out of all the grievances of the nation such a remonstrance as might be a faithful and lively representation to his majesty of the deplorable state of the kingdom;"* but was laid aside till this time, when the prospect of an agreement between him and his Parliament being almost at an end, after the breaking out of the Irish insurrection and massacre, it was perfected and read in the House of Commons November 22, when it met with so strong an opposition that it was carried only by nine voices,† after a long debate from three in the afternoon till three in the morning, which made one say "it looked like the verdict of a starved jury." Many were of opinion that those grievances which had been redressed by the late acts of Parliament ought to have been covered, lest the reviving them should make the breach wider between the king and Parliament, while others thought the mentioning them could do no harm if it was done with respect, and that it was in a manner necessary in order to introduce the intended limitation of the royal power. However, this was the crisis that discovered the strength of the two parties, and was managed with such warmth, that Oliver Cromwell is said to tell Lord Falkland that, "if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had next morning, and never have seen England more."

It is difficult to say which side of the question was right. § Mr. Rapin¶ will not take upon him

* Bishop Warburton asks here, "Why are we told this but to mislead us? A year ago, before the king had made full satisfaction for his misgovernment, such a remonstrance was seasonable; now he had made full satisfaction, it was factious and seditious." To this question of his lordship's it may be retorted, Why should a design to mislead be insinuated against Mr. Neal? Has he not, in the same paragraph, informed his readers that "many were of opinion that those grievances which had been redressed ought to have been covered?" Doth he not fairly state the whole business? And doth he not, with candour and impartiality, avoid biasing his reader, while he waives giving a decided opinion on the conduct of the Parliament in this affair? All this appears, in the hurry of his remarks at breakfast-time, to have escaped his lordship's notice. Had he read on, before he wrote in the margin of his book, it would have precluded his censure.—Ed.

† This is a mistake copied from Clarendon. The numbers for passing the remonstrance was one hundred and fifty-nine against one hundred and forty-eight; so it was carried by eleven voices.—*Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 74.—Ed.

‡ Dr. Harris supposes this was Sir Benjamin Rudyard, who, according to Willis, was in three Parliaments the representative of Portsmouth, and was afterward returned for Old Sarum once, for Downton once, and for Wilton twice.—Ed.

§ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 312.

¶ Rapin, vol. ii., p. 398, fol. edit.

to determine whether it was necessary for the welfare of the kingdom to put it out of the king's power to govern for the future in the same arbitrary manner as he had done for fifteen years; but he thinks the reason for it very plausible, and does not well see what security they could have who were for leaving the king in possession of the same power he had before enjoyed; especially if it be considered that his majesty had still the same arbitrary principles, and the same inviolable attachment to his queen and the popish faction, besides the current report that the court had fomented the Irish insurrection, which had filled the minds of the people with distracting terrors. It is certain the king had conceived an implacable aversion to the leading members of the Puritanaical party in both houses, and having quieted the Scots, was determined to make them examples, of which they were ignorant. After all, whether these and the like reasons were sufficient to justify the whole of the Parliament's conduct in this affair, I will not presume to determine.

The remonstrance was presented to the king at Hampton Court [December 1, 1641], about a week after his majesty's return from Scotland, with a petition for redress of grievances therein contained. It is easy to suppose it was not very acceptable, but the king gave the committee his hand to kiss, and took time to return an answer.* The remonstrance enumerates the several grievances, oppressions, and unbounded acts of the prerogative, since his majesty's accession, to the number of almost two hundred, and charges their rise and progress, (1.) On the Jesuited papists. (2.) On the court, bishops, and corrupt part of the clergy. (3.) On such corrupt counsellors and courtiers as for private ends had engaged themselves in the interest of some foreign princes, to the prejudice of the king and state. These ministers are said to carry on their designs, (1.) By suppressing the power and purity of religion, and of such persons as were best affected to it. (2.) By cherishing the Arminian party in those points wherein they agree with the papists, in order to widen the difference between the common Protestants and those called Puritans; and by introducing such opinions and ceremonies as tend to an accommodation with popery. (3.) By fomenting differences and discontent between the king and his Parliament, and by putting him upon arbitrary and illegal methods of raising supplies.

I omit the grievances of the State; those which related to the Church were such as follow:

1. The suspensions, excommunications, deprivations, and degradations of divers painful, learned, and pious ministers of the Gospel by the bishops, and the grievous oppression of great numbers of his majesty's faithful subjects.

2. The sharpness and severity of the High Commission, assisted by the council-table, not much less grievous than the Romish Inquisition.

3. The rigour of the bishops' courts in the country, whereby great numbers of the meaner tradesmen have been impoverished and driven out of the kingdom to Holland and New-Eng-

land. The advancing those to ecclesiastical preferments who were most officious in promoting superstition, and most virulent in railing against godliness and honesty.

4. The design of reconciling the Church of England with Rome, and imposing upon the Church of Scotland such popish superstitions and innovations as might dispose them to join with England in the intended reconciliation.

5. The late canons and oath imposed upon the clergy under the severest penalties, and the continuance of the convocation by a new commission, after the dissolution of the Parliament, wherein they raised taxes upon the subject for the maintenance of what was called "bellum episcopale." The rooting out of the kingdom by force, or driving away by fear, the Puritans; under which name they include all that desire to preserve the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and to maintain religion in the power of it.

6. The exempting papists from penal laws, so far as amounted to a toleration, besides conferring upon them many other privileges and court favours; these, say they, have had a secretary of state of their own religion, and a nuncio from the pope, by whose authority the popish nobility, clergy, and gentry have been convocated after the manner of a Parliament; new jurisdictions have been erected of popish archbishops; taxes have been levied; another state moulded within this state, independent in government, and secretly corrupting the ignorant professors of our religion, &c. The papists have been furnished with arms and ammunition, listed in the king's service, and encouraged by the weekly prayers of their priests for the prosperity of their designs, to promote the Catholic cause. They complain, farther, of a party of bishops and popish lords in the House of Peers, who have caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of delinquents, and hindered the passing some good bills for the reforming abuses and corruptions in Church and State; and of a malignant party that has countenanced the rebellion in Ireland.

After the recital of these grievances, they acknowledge with thankfulness the many acts that his majesty has passed this session for the public good, and put his majesty in mind of the large sums of money they had raised for his service, amounting to no less than a million and a half. They declare, "that it is far from their purpose or desire to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the Church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of Divine service they please; for we hold it requisite," say they, "that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin, according to the Word of God; and we desire to unburden the consciences of men from needless and superstitious ceremonies, to suppress innovations, and to take away the monuments of idolatry. To effect this intended reformation, we desire 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 represent the re-

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 438. Nalson's Collection, p. 694.

sult of their consultations to the Parliament, to be allowed and confirmed, and to receive the stamp of authority. It is our chief care to advance and promote learning, and to provide a competent maintenance for conscionable and preaching ministers throughout the kingdom. We intend, likewise, to reform and purge the fountains of learning — the two universities, that the streams flowing thence may be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole land. And seeing that the religion of papists has such principles as certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants, when they have opportunity to effect it, it is necessary to keep them in such a condition that they may not be able to do us any hurt.*

In the petition that attended this remonstrance, after having assured his majesty that they had not the least intention to lay any blemish upon his royal person by the foregoing declaration, but only to represent how his royal authority and trust had been abused, they humbly beseech his majesty to concur with his people in a parliamentary way, (1.) "For the depriving the bishops of their votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate power, usurped over the clergy and other your good subjects, to the hazard of religion and prejudice of the just liberties of your people. (2.) For the taking away such oppressions in religion, church government, and discipline, as have been brought in and fomented by them. (3.) For uniting all such your loyal subjects as agree in fundamentals against papists, by removing some oppressions and unnecessary ceremonies, by which divers weak consciences have been offended, and seem to be divided from the rest." (4.) They conclude "with beseeching his majesty to remove from his counsels all favourers of popery and arbitrary power, and promoters of the above-mentioned pressures and corruptions, and to employ such as his Parliament might confide in; and that, in his princely goodness, he would reject all solicitations to the contrary, how powerful and near soever."*

His majesty, in his answer to this petition, about a week after, complains very justly of the disrespect of the Commons in printing their remonstrance before he had time to return an answer. To the preamble and conclusion of the petition, he says, that "he knows of no wicked, arbitrary, and malignant party prevalent in the government, or near himself and his children;" and assures them that the mediation of the nearest to him has always concurred in such persons, against whom there can be no just cause of exception. To the several articles his majesty replies: first, concerning religion, "that he is willing to concur with all the just desires of his people, in a parliamentary way, for preserving the peace of the kingdom from the designs of the popish party.

"That for depriving the bishops of their votes in Parliament, he thought their right was grounded on the fundamental laws of the kingdom and constitution of Parliament, but since you desire our concurrence in a parliamentary way," says the king, "we will give no farther answer at present.

"As for abridging the extraordinary power

of the clergy, if there remain any excesses or usurpations in their jurisdictions, we neither have nor will protect them.

"Concerning church corruptions, as you style them, and removing unnecessary ceremonies, we are willing to concur in the removal of any illegal innovations which may have crept in; and if our Parliament advise us to call a national synod for that purpose, we shall take it into consideration.

"But we are very sorry to hear, in such general terms, corruption in religion objected, since we are persuaded, in our own conscience that no church can be found upon earth that professeth the true religion with more purity of doctrine than the Church of England doth; nor where the government and discipline are jointly more beautified, and free from superstition, than as they are here established by law, which, by the grace of God, we will with constancy maintain while we live, in their purity and glory, not only against all invasions of popery, but also from the irreverence of those many schismatics and separatists wherewith of late this kingdom and this city abound, to the great dishonour and hazard both of Church and State; for the suppression of whom we require your timely aid and active assistance."

Some time after [December 15, 1641] his majesty published his answer to the remonstrance,* with a declaration to all his loving subjects, in which he professes himself fully satisfied "that the religion of the Church of England is most agreeable to the Word of God, and that he should be ready to seal it with his blood if God should call him to it. That as for ceremonies in religion, which are in their own nature indifferent, he is willing, in tenderness to any number of his subjects, that a law should be made for the exemption of tender consciences from punishment, or prosecution for such ceremonies as by the judgment of most men are held to be indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful, provided the peace of the kingdom be not disturbed, nor the present decency and comeliness of God's service established in the Church discountenanced; nor the pious, sober, and devout actions of those reverend persons who were the first labourers in the blessed Reformation be scandalized and defamed. His majesty then adds, that he cannot, without grief of heart and some tax upon himself and his ministers for not executing the laws, look upon the bold license of some men, in printing pamphlets and sermons so full of bitterness and malice against the present government and the law established, so full of sedition against himself and the peace of the kingdom, that he is many times amazed to consider by what eyes these things are seen, and by what ears they are heard; he therefore commands again all his officers and ministers of justice to proceed against them with all speed, and put the laws in execution."† Agreeably to this declaration, his majesty issued out his royal proclamation December 10, requiring obedience to the laws and statutes ordained for the establishing true religion in this kingdom, and commanding that Divine service be performed as heretofore; and that all officers and ministers,

* Nalson's Collection, vol. ii., p. 692.

* Nalson's Collection, vol. ii., p. 647, &c.

† Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 456.

ecclesiastical and temporal, do put the said laws in due execution against all wilful contemners and disturbers of Divine worship, contrary to the said laws and statutes.

Thus matters stood between the king and Parliament when all men expected the court interest in the House of Peers would be broken, by the issue of the impeachment of thirteen bishops, for compiling the late canons, which was now approaching. The Lords had resolved that such bishops as were impeached should not sit in the House when the merits of their cause was in debate, but that when the manner of proceeding was to be settled, they might be present, but not vote. To enable them the better to make their defence, it was resolved, farther, that the Bishop of Rochester, with one other bishop, might have access twice to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Tower to consult with him about their answer to the impeachment; and that all the lords-bishops may have access to and have copies of any acts and records in any of his majesty's courts of justice that may serve for their defence. On the 10th of November the bishops put in their answer, consisting of a plea and demurrer, in which they neither confess nor deny the fact, but endeavour to show that the offence of making canons could not amount to a premunire; which was certainly true, provided they had been made in a legal convocation, and that the canons themselves had not been contrary to the king's prerogative and the fundamental laws of the land. The answer was signed with all their hands except the Bishop of Gloucester's, who pleaded not guilty *modo et forma*.* The Commons were dissatisfied with the bishops for not pleading directly to their charge; and with the Lords for receiving a demurrer when they were not present, contrary to the request which they sent up with the impeachment, especially when the nature of the case, being a mere matter of fact, could not require it; they therefore prayed the Lords by Sergeant Glyn to set aside the demurrer, and to admit them to make proof of their charge without any farther delay; or if they were satisfied with the charge, and the bishops would not plead to it, to proceed immediately to judgment; but the Lords, instead of complying with the Commons, gave the bishops their option, and ordered them to declare by Saturday whether they would plead to the impeachment or abide by their demurrer, when they declared they would abide by their demurrer; upon which the Lords appointed Monday following [December 11] to hear them by their counsel in presence of the Commons; but the House, resenting this dilatory method of proceeding in a case which they allege was so apparent and manifest to the whole world, would not appear; the most active members declaring among their friends, with a sort of despair, that they would be concerned no farther against the bishops, for they now saw it was in vain to attack a number of men whom the court and the House of Lords were resolved to protect.

When this was rumoured in the city, it alarmed the people, whose fears were already sufficiently assuaged with the apprehensions of a popish massacre and insurrection within

their own walls. The aldermen and common council immediately assembled, and drew up a petition to support the courage of the Commons, and went with it to Westminster in sixty coaches, attended by a great number of the lower people.* The petition prays, "that the House of Commons would still be a means to the king and the House of Peers, to concur with them [the Commons] in redressing the grievances of Church and State, and for the better effecting hereof, that the popish lords and bishops may be removed out of the House of Peers." The speaker returned them thanks in the name of the House, and promised to take their address into consideration in due time. A few days after, great numbers of people assembled at Blackheath to sign a petition to the same purpose; and within a fortnight the apprentices of London went up with a petition signed with a multitude of names, complaining of the decay of trade, occasioned by papists and prelates, and by a malignant party that adhered to them; and praying that the popish lords, and other eminent persons of that religion, might be secured, and that prelacy might be rooted out, according to their former petition, commonly called the root and branch. The Commons received their petition favourably, but the king, instead of calming the citizens, increased their jealousies and suspicions by removing, at this very time, Sir William Belfour from the lieutenancy of the Tower, and putting Colonel Lunsford into his place, a suspected papist, of no fortune, who had been once outlawed, and was fit for any desperate attempt; this unseasonable promotion occasioned petitions to his majesty for his removal, which with much difficulty, after some time, was obtained, but the jealousies of the people still remained.

The petitions above mentioned against the bishops were confronted with others out of the country in their favour. November 18, the humble petition of the knights, esquires, gentlemen, parsons,† vicars, curates, &c., of Rutlandshire, was presented to the House, signed by about eight hundred and forty hands, praying for the continuance of episcopacy, as the only government of apostolical institution sealed with the blood of martyrs, admirably suited to the civil government of this kingdom, and affirming that no presbyter ever laid on hands without a bishop. December 8, a petition of the like nature was presented from Huntingdonshire, and two days after another from Somersetshire, signed with above fourteen thousand names.‡

* Nalson's Collection, vol. ii., p. 733.

† "And householders in the county of Rutland, in behalf of themselves and families:" omitted.—*Dr. Grey*.

‡ There were also petitions from the counties of Cheshire, Nottingham, Devonshire, Stafford, Kent, the six shires of North Wales, the counties of Lancaster, Cornwall, and Hereford. Of these petitions, that from Devon had eight thousand signatures, that from Stafford three thousand, and those from the six shires of North Wales thirty thousand. Among the petitioners were computed, where the different ranks of the petitioners were classed, to be five peers, two hundred and twenty-five knights, three hundred and ninety-nine divines, one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight gentlemen, and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and thirty-six freeholders.—*Dr. Grey's Examination*, vol. i., p. 312, 314.

§ Nalson's Collection, vol. ii., p. 726, 727.

On the other hand, the ministers appointed to solicit their remonstrance formerly mentioned, addressed the House, December 20, 1641, acknowledging "their piety and zeal for the true religion, against popery and superstition; in countenancing the sacred ordinance of preaching; in encouraging painful and godly ministers, formerly set aside, but now profitably employed in many congregations; in discouraging of bold intruders, who, without a sufficient call, have thrust themselves into the sacred office; as also, of all unworthy and scandalous ministers; in freeing divers godly ministers from prison and exile, and others from heavy censures; in preventing the utter ruin of the petitioners, by setting aside the late oath and canons, the High Commission, and other illegal pressures of ecclesiastical courts; in making an order to take away all superstitious rites and ceremonies, images, pictures, and other innovations out of churches; in conducting the late peace with Scotland to a happy conclusion, and in their vigorous endeavours for the relief of Ireland, &c. But whereas there still remain a great many grievances to be removed, they are necessitated to renew their former suit for redress of the aforesaid evils, and for taking away whatever shall appear to be the root and cause of them. And whereas the petitioners, and many others, are desirous in all things to submit to the laws, so far as possible they may, yet, merely out of tenderness and scruple of conscience, they dare not continue, as formerly they did, the exercise of some things enjoined; not only because they have more seriously weighed the nature and scandal of them, and because sundry bishops, and other grave divines, called to their assistance by order of the House of Peers, have, as they are informed, discovered divers particulars which need alteration in the liturgy; and because there is not, as they humbly conceive, at this day, commonly extant, any Book of Common Prayer without so many alterations and additions as render it in many parts another thing from that which is by law established; but chiefly, because the House, from a sense of its defects, has taken the reformation thereof under consideration, which they hoped would be some shelter against the strict pressing the use of it, till their pleasure was declared in a parliamentary way. But, though the petitioners have been comfortably assured of some ease herein, yet now, to their great sorrow, they apprehend that the same things are anew enforced, which may occasion much trouble and vexation to sundry peaceable and worthy ministers, some of whom have been indicted upon the statute of 1 Eliz., cap. ii., since the beginning of this present Parliament, and others threatened for omissions of some things complained of to this high court, and still depending before you. The petitioners, therefore, pray the House to resume the consideration of their former petition, and to commit the same to the debate of a free synod, and, in the mean time, to be mediators to his majesty for some relaxation in matters of ceremony, and of reading the whole liturgy. They farther pray, that a monthly fast may be appointed and religiously observed during the present sessions of Parliament, and they will be ready at any time to offer reasons why there should be a

synod of a different constitution from the convocation now in being, when they shall be required."*

The carrying up these petitions to Westminster, and especially that of the London apprentices, occasioned great tumults about the Parliament-house. The king was at his palace at Whitehall, attended by a great number of disbanded officers, whom his majesty received with great ceremony, and employed as a guard to his royal person. These officers insulted the common people, and gave them ill language as they passed by the court to the Parliament-house, crying out, No bishops—no popish lords! If the people ventured to reply, the officers followed their reproaches with cuts and lashes, which, says Lord Clarendon, † produced some wounds, and drew blood. Mr. Baxter says they came out of Whitehall, and caught some of them, and cut off their ears. From these skirmishes, and from the shortness of the apprentices' hair, which was cut close about their ears, the two parties began first to be distinguished by the names of Roundhead and Cavalier. David Hyde, one of the reformades, first drew his sword in the palace-yard, and swore he would cut the throats of those roundheaded dogs that bawled against the bishops. Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, lately promoted to the see of York, going by land to the House of Peers, in company with the Earl of Dover, and hearing a youth cry out louder than the rest, No bishops—no popish lords! stepped from the earl and laid hands on him, but his companions rescued him, and about a hundred of them surrounded the bishop, hemmed him in, and with a universal shout cried out, No bishops! after which they opened a passage and let his grace go forward to the House. ‡ The same day, Colonel Lunsford, coming through Westminster Hall in company with thirty or forty officers, drew his sword and wounded about twenty apprentices and citizens: others, walking in the abbey while their friends were waiting for an answer to their petition, were ordered by the vergers to clear the church, lest the ornaments of the cathedral should suffer damage; upon which most of them went out, and the doors were shut, but some few remaining behind, were apprehended and carried before the bishop, which occasioned another skirmish, in which Sir Richard Wiseman was killed by a stone from the battlements; after which the officers and soldiers sallied out upon the mob with sword in hand, and obliged them to retire. The news of this being reported in the city, the whole populace was in arms, and resolved to go next morning to Westminster with swords and staves. The lord-mayor and sheriffs raised the train-bands, and having ordered the city gates to be kept shut, they rode about all night to keep the peace; but it was impossible to hinder the people's going out in the day. On the other hand, the king commanded the militia of Westminster and Middlesex to be raised by turns, as a guard to his royal person and family; upon which several gentlemen of the inns of court offered their service, in case his majesty apprehended any dan-

* Nalson's Collection, vol. ii., p. 764.

† Vol. i., p. 339.

‡ Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 463.

ger.* The House of Commons, being no less afraid of themselves, petitioned for a guard out of the city of London, under the command of the Earl of Essex, which his majesty refused, but told them he would take as much care of them as of his own children; and if this would not suffice, he would command such a guard to wait upon them as he would be answerable to God for; but the House, not being willing to trust to the king's guard, declined his majesty's offer, and not prevailing for one of their own choosing, they ordered halberds to be brought into the House, and resolved, in case of an assault, to defend themselves.

The Lords exerted themselves to disperse the tumults, by sending their gentleman-usher of the black rod to command the people to depart to their homes, and by appointing a committee to inquire into the causes of them. His majesty also published a proclamation [December 28, 1641] forbidding all tumultuous assemblies of the people. But the Commons, being unwilling to affront the citizens, were not so vigorous in suppressing them as it is thought the circumstances of things required; for as the king relied upon his guard of officers, the Commons had their dependance upon the good-will of the citizens. Not that the House can be charged with encouraging tumults,† for the very next day after the king's proclamation they sent a message to the Lords, declaring their readiness to concur in all lawful methods to appease them; but being sensible their strength was among the inhabitants of London, without whose countenance and support everything must have been given back into the hands of the court, they were tender of entering upon vigorous measures.

While these tumults continued, the bishops were advised to forbear their attendance upon the House, at least till after the recess of Christ-

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 456, 471.

† Bishop Warburton is very warm on this assertion, and calls it "a notorious falsehood." The House, he says, "has been charged by all mankind with encouraging the tumults, though not with publicly avowing that they did encourage them." The truth or falsehood of Mr. Neal's assertion will depend on the explanation of the word "encourage;" if it means connivance at, and giving countenance to, the tumults, its veracity may be impeached. For when the Lords desired, on December 27, the House to join in publishing a declaration against the tumults, and in petitioning the king for a guard, they waived taking the request into consideration, on the plea that the hour was too late for it. When the next day came, they adjourned the matter to the succeeding. The mob being again assembled on the 29th, they sent their message to the Lords. Mr. Neal does not immediately state these circumstances, but he represents the Commons as not acting with vigour in suppressing the riots, and as placing some dependance on the spirit which the people showed. Mr. Neal, therefore, by encouraging the tumults, must be understood to mean, as Rapin expresses it, "taking any resolution to encourage these tumults," or avowing an approbation of them: then his assertion is, in the judgment of even Bishop Warburton, just and true. The reader cannot but observe, that Mr. Neal thought that the tumults were not, at first at least, disagreeable to the Commons. Yet it should be observed, that Whitelocke, speaking of them, says, "it was a dismal thing to all sober men, especially members of Parliament, to see and hear them."—*Memorials*, p. 51.—Ed.

mas; but this looking too much like cowardice, their lordships determined to do their duty; and because the streets were crowded with unruly people, they agreed to go by water in their barges; but as soon as they came near to the shore, the mob saluted them with a volley of stones, so that, being afraid to land, they rowed back and returned to their own houses. Upon this repulse, twelve of them met privately at the Archbishop of York's lodgings in Westminster, to consult what measures were to be taken. The archbishop advised them to go no more to the House, and immediately, in a heat, drew up the following protestation against whatsoever the two houses should do in their absence, which all present signed with their hands, except the Bishop of Winchester.

"To the king's most excellent majesty, and the lords and peers now assembled in Parliament.

"The humble petition and protestation of all the bishops and prelates now called by his majesty's writs to attend the Parliament, and present about London and Westminster for that service.

"Whereas the petitioners are called up by several and respective writs, and under great penalties, to attend the Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable right to vote in bills, and other matters whatsoever debatable in Parliament, by the ancient customs, laws, and statutes of this realm, and ought to be protected by your majesty quietly to attend and prosecute that great service: they humbly remonstrate and protest, before God, your majesty, and the noble lords and peers now assembled in Parliament, that as they have an indubitable right to sit and vote in the House of Lords, so are they, if they may be protected from force and violence, most ready and willing to perform their duties accordingly. And that they do abominate all actions or opinions tending to popery and the maintenance thereof; as also, all pro-pension and inclination to any malignant party, or any other side or party whatsoever, to the which their own reasons and conscience shall not move them to adhere. But whereas they have been at several times violently menaced, affronted, and assaulted by multitudes of people in their coming to perform their services in that honourable house, and lately chased away and put in danger of their lives, and can find no redress or protection, upon sundry complaints made to both houses in these particulars: they humbly protest before your majesty, and the noble House of Peers, that saving unto themselves all their rights and interest of sitting and voting in that house at other times, they dare not sit or vote in the House of Peers, until your majesty shall farther secure them from all affronts, indignities, and dangers in the premises. Lastly, whereas their fears are not built upon fantasies and conceits, but upon such grounds and objections as may well terrify men of resolution and much constancy, they do, in all humility and duty, protest before your majesty, and the peers of that most honourable House of Parliament, against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations, as in themselves null, and of none effect, which in their absence, since the 27th of this month of Decem-

ber, 1641, have already passed; as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass in that most honourable house, during the time of this their forced and violent absence from the said most honourable house; not denying, but if their absenting of themselves were wilful and voluntary, that most honourable house might proceed in all the premises, their absence, or this protestation, notwithstanding. And humbly beseeching your most excellent majesty to command the clerk of that House of Peers to enter this their petition and protestation among their records,

“And they will ever pray God to bless, &c.

John Eborac,	George Hereford,
Tho. Duresme,	Rob. Oxon,
Ro. Cov. Liehf.	Mat. Ely,
Jos. Norwich,	Godfrey Gloucester,
Jo. Asaph,	Jo. Peterborough,
Gul. Bath and Wells,	Morice Landaff.”

This protestation was presented to the king by Archbishop Williams,* who undertook to justify the lawfulness of it; but his majesty declining to appear in so nice an affair, delivered it into the hands of the Lord-keeper Littleton, who by his majesty's command read it in the House of Lords the next morning. After some debate the Lords desired a conference with the Commons, when the keeper, in the name of the House of Peers, declared, that “the protestation of the bishops contained matters of high and dangerous consequence, extending to the intrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of Parliaments, and, therefore, the Lords thought fit to communicate it to the Commons.”† The protestation being communicated to the House of Commons, they resolved, within half an hour, to accuse the twelve bishops of high treason, “for endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws and being of Parliaments,” and sent up their impeachment by Mr. Glyn, who, having delivered it at the bar of the House of Lords, the usher of the black rod was ordered to go immediately in search of the bishops, and bring them to the House; the bishops appearing the same evening [December 30], were sequestered from Parliament, ten of them being sent to the Tower, the Bishops of Durham and Norwich,‡ by reason of their great age and the service they had done the Church of God by their writing and preaching, being committed to the custody of the black rod, with an allowance of £5 a day for their expenses.§

The adversaries of the bishops in both houses were extremely pleased with their unadvised conduct; one said it was the finger of God, to bring that to pass which otherwise could not have been compassed. There was but one gentleman in the whole debate that spoke in their behalf, and he said “he did not believe they were guilty of high treason, but that they were stark mad, and, therefore, desired they may be sent to Bedlam.” Lord Clarendon|| censures this protestation, as proceeding from the pride and passion of Archbishop Williams; he admits that the eleven bishops were ill advised in going into his measures, and suffering themselves to be precipitated into so hasty a resolution, though

he is certain there could be nothing of high treason in it. However, their behaviour gave such scandal and offence, even to those who passionately desired to preserve their function, that they had no compassion or regard for their persons.

The objections that I have met with against the protestation are these: First, That it tended to destroy the very being of parliaments, because it put a stop to all laws, orders, votes, and resolutions made in the absence of the bishops. Secondly, The presence of the bishops is hereby made so essential that no act can pass without them, which is claiming a negative voice, like the king's. Thirdly, The bishops desiring the king to command the clerk of the House of Peers to enter their protestation on record was derogatory to the rights of Parliament, as though the king by his command could make a record of Parliament. Fourthly, The annulling all laws that might be made at this time, when Ireland was in so much danger from the breaking out of the Irish massacre, was a sort of conspiring with the rebels to destroy that kingdom. Fifthly, It was said that, besides the unwarrantable expressions in the protestation, the form of presenting and transmitting it was unjustifiable.

On the other hand, it was said, on behalf of the bishops, that there was a manifest force put upon them; and a violence offered to the freedom of one member of Parliament is a violence offered to the whole; that, therefore, they had a right to protest, and guard their privileges, without being accountable for the ill consequences that might follow. Yet surely this manner of asserting their privilege was irregular; should they not have petitioned the Lords to secure their passage to Parliament, rather than have put a negative upon all their proceedings? I have met with only one learned writer who commends the bishops upon this occasion, and he advances them, in romantic language, to the rank of heroes: his words are these: “Had the bishops done less, they had fallen short of that fortitude which might justly be expected from them. They had reason to conclude the root and branch work would certainly go forward, and, therefore, to be silent under such an outrage would look like cowardice. When the prospect is thus menacing, and a man is almost certain to be undone, the most creditable expedient is to spend himself in a blaze, and flash to the last grain of powder. To go out in a smoke and smother is but a mean way of coming to nothing. To creep and crawl to a misfortune is to suffer like an insect. A man ought to fall with dignity and honour, and to keep his mind erect, though his fortune happens to be crushed. This was the bishops' meaning, and for making so handsome a retreat they ought to stand commended upon record.”* But, with due regard to this reverend divine, was there no medium between being silent, and taking upon them, in such a crisis, to stop all the business of Parliament? For, if the proceedings of the House of Peers are null without the bishops, it is no less certain that those of the House of Commons are null without the Peers: from whence it must follow that the whole Parlia-

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 351.

† Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 467.

‡ Morton and Hall.

§ Fuller, b. xi., p. 188.

|| Vol. i., p. 355.

* Collyer's Eccles. Hist., vol. ii., p. 819.

ment was incapable of acting. Mr. Rapin* is of opinion that the king hoped "that this affair might occasion the dissolution of the Parliament." But if he did, his majesty was much mistaken, for the bishops and popish lords being now absent, the majority of the whole House of Peers was against the court; which vexed the queen and her faction, and put them upon such an extravagant piece of revenge as effectually broke the peace of the kingdom, and rendered the king's affairs irretrievable.

His majesty having been assured that the Lord Kimbolton, and five of the most active members in the House of Commons, viz., Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, John Pym, John Hampden, and William Stroud, Esqrs., had invited the Scots into England, and were now the chief encouragers of those tumults that had kept the bishops and popish lords from the House; that they had aspersed his government, and were endeavouring to deprive him of his royal power; in a word, that they were conspiring to levy war against him, resolved to impeach them of high treason; accordingly, his majesty sent his attorney-general to the House with the articles [January 3, 1642], and at the same time despatched officers to their houses to seal up their trunks, papers, and doors; but the members not being ordered into custody, as his majesty expected, the king went himself to the House next day in the afternoon [January 4] to seize them, attended with about two hundred officers and soldiers, armed with swords and pistols; the gentlemen of the inns of court, who had offered their service to defend the king's person, having had notice to be ready at an hour's warning.† The king having entered the House, went directly to the speaker's chair, and looking about him, said, with a frown, "I perceive the birds have fled, but I will have them wheresoever I can find them, for as long as these persons are here this House will never be in the right way that I heartily wish it; I expect, therefore, that as soon as they come to the House, that you send them to me." Having then assured the members that he designed no force upon them, nor breach of privilege, after a little while he withdrew; but as his majesty was going out, many members cried aloud, so as he might hear them, Privilege! privilege!‡ The House was in a terrible panic while the king was in the chair, the door of the House, with all the avenues, being crowded with officers and soldiers: as soon, therefore, as his majesty was gone they adjourned till the next day, and then for a week. It was happy that the five members had notice of the king's coming, just time enough to withdraw into the city, otherwise it might have occasioned the effusion of blood, for, without doubt, the armed soldiers at the door waited only for the word to carry them away by force. Next day his majesty went into the city [January 5] and demanded them of the lord-mayor and court of aldermen then assembled by his order at Guildhall, professing, at the same time, his resolution to prosecute all who opposed the laws, whether papists or Separatists, and to defend the true Protestant religion which his father professed, and in which

he would continue to the end of his life.* But though his majesty was nobly entertained by the sheriffs, he now perceived that this rash and unadvised action had lost him the hearts of the citizens, there being no acclamations or huzzas, as usual, only here and there a voice, as he went along in his coach, crying out, Privilege of Parliament! privilege of Parliament! However, he persisted in his resolution, and January 8 published a proclamation, commanding all magistrates and officers of justice to apprehend the accused members and carry them to the Tower.

It is hard to say with any certainty who put the king upon this unparalleled act of violence, a species of tyranny which the most arbitrary of his predecessors had never attempted. If his majesty deliberated at all upon what he was going about, we must conclude that he intended to dissolve the Parliament, and to return to his former methods of arbitrary government; because by the same rule that the king might take five members out of the House, he might take five hundred; besides, several of the articles laid against them were equally chargeable on the majority of the House. It now appeared, says Rapin,† that the king was resolved to be revenged on those that had offended him; and that there was no farther room to confide in his royal word. Some say that this was Lord Digby's mad project, who, when he found his majesty, after his return out of the city, vexed at his disappointment, offered to go with a select company and bring them dead or alive; but the king was afraid of the consequences of such an enterprise; and Digby, being ordered to attend in his place in the House, thought fit to withdraw out of the kingdom. Mr. Echard,‡ with greater probability, lays it upon the queen and her cabal of papists; and adds, that when the king expressed his distrust of the affair, her majesty broke out into a violent passion, and said, "Allez, poltron," &c., "Go, coward, and pull those rogues out by the ears, or never see my face any more;" which it seems, says the archdeacon, determined the whole matter.

The citizens of London were so far from delivering up the five members, that they petition-

* Rushworth, part ii., vol. i., p. 479.

† Vol. ii., p. 408, 409, folio edition.

‡ Bishop Warburton is much displeas'd with Mr. Neal for quoting the authority, and giving in to the opinion of Echard. For he says, "It was a known and uncontroverted fact that the advice was Digby's." To invalidate the supposition that the measure proceeded from the queen's counsels, his lordship urges that the queen was not capable of any vigorous steps, being intimidated with the fear of an impeachment, and actually projecting her escape: as if danger and alarm were incompatible with concerting and adopting the means of avoiding the threatening evil; as if Digby might not be the ostensible adviser of measures which others suggested and instigated. That he was the sole author of this measure, is not so uncontroverted a fact as the bishop conceived it to be; and it may be alleged in favour of Mr. Neal and Echard, that among the divers excuses made for this action, some imputed it to the irritation and counsel of the women; telling the king, "that if he were King of England, he would not suffer himself to be baffled about such persons." The notice of this intended step was given to these five gentlemen by a great court lady, their friend, who overheard some discourse about it.—*Whitelocke's Memorial*, p. 50, 51.—ED.

* Vol. i., p. 405, folio.

† Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 50. ‡ Ibid., p. 51.

ed the king that they might be at liberty and proceeded against according to the methods of Parliament. At the same time, they acquainted his majesty with their apprehensions of the ruin of trade, and of the danger of the Protestant religion, by reason of the progress of the rebellion in Ireland, and the number of papists and other disbanded officers about the court. His majesty, finding he had lost the city, fortified Whitehall with men and ammunition, and sent cannoniers into the Tower to defend it if there should be occasion.* When the citizens complained of this, his majesty replied, "that it was done with an eye to their safety and advantage; that his fortifying Whitehall was not before it was necessary; and that if any citizens had been wounded, it was undoubtedly for their evil and corrupt demeanour." But they had no confidence in the king's protection. A thousand mariners and sailors offered to guard the five members to Westminster by water upon the day of their adjournment [January 11], and the train-bands offered the committee at Guildhall to do the same by land, which was accepted, and the offer of the apprentices refused. Things being come to this extremity, his majesty, to avoid the hazard of an affront from the populace, took a fatal resolution to leave Whitehall, and accordingly, January 10, the day before the Parliament was to meet, he removed with his queen and the whole royal family to Hampton Court, and two days after to Windsor, from whence he travelled by easy stages to York; never returning to London till he was brought thither as a criminal to execution.

By the king's deserting his capital in this manner, and not returning when the ferment was over, he left the strength and riches of the kingdom in the hands of his Parliament; for the next day, the five members were conducted by water in triumph to Westminster, the train-bands of the city marching at the same time by land, who, after they had received the thanks of the House, were dismissed; and Sergeant Skippon, with a company of the city militia, was appointed to guard the Parliament-house; "from this day," says Lord Clarendon,† "we may reasonably date the levying war in England, whatsoever has been since done being but the superstructures upon these foundations." It must be considered that two days after [January 12] the king sent a message to the House waiving his proceedings with respect to the five members, and promising to be as careful of their privileges as of his life or crown; and a little after offered a general pardon; but the Commons had too much reason at this time not to depend upon his royal promise; they insisted that the accused members should be brought to their trial in a legal and parliamentary way; in order to which, they desired his majesty to inform them what proof there was against them; it being the undoubted right and privilege of Parliament that no member can be proceeded against without the consent of the House; which his majesty refusing to comply with, removed farther off to Windsor, and entered upon measures very inconsistent with the peace of the kingdom.‡

To return to the bishops: about a fortnight after their commitment [January 17, 1642] they pleaded to the impeachment of the House of Commons, "Not guilty in manner and form," and petitioned the Lords for a speedy trial, which was appointed for the 25th instant, but was put off from time to time, till the whole bench of bishops was voted out of the House, and then entirely dropped; for the very next day after their commitment, the Commons desired the Lords to resume the consideration of the bill that had been sent up some months ago, for taking away all temporal jurisdiction from those in holy orders, which the Lords promised: it had passed the Commons without any difficulty about the time of the Irish insurrection, and was laid aside in the House of Lords, as being thought impossible to pass while the bishops' votes were entire: when it was revived at this juncture, the Earl of Bedford and the Bishop of Rochester made a vigorous stand against it.* His lordship urged that it was contrary to the usage of Parliament when a bill had been once rejected to bring it in a second time the same session. To which it was replied that it was not the same bill [having a new title], though it was to accomplish the same end. Besides, the distress of the times required some extraordinary measures for their redress; and, farther, since the king had been graciously pleased to pass an act for the continuance of this Parliament as long as they thought fit to sit, and thereby parted with his right of proroguing or dissolving them, the nature of things was altered, and, therefore, they were not to be tied down to the ordinary forms in other cases. The question being put whether the bill should be read, it passed in the affirmative; upon which the consideration of it was resumed, and after some few debates the bill was passed by a very great majority, February 6, 1641-2, the citizens of London expressing their satisfaction by ringing of bells and bonfires. But it was still apprehended that the king would refuse his assent, because, when he had been pressed to it, his majesty had said it was matter of great concernment, and therefore he would take time to consider; however, the Commons, not content with this delay, sent again to Windsor to press his compliance upon the following reasons: "Because the subjects suffered by the bishops exercising temporal jurisdiction, and making a party in the House of Lords; because it was apprehended that there would be a happy conjunction of both houses upon the exclusion of the bishops; and the signing of this bill would be a comfortable pledge of his majesty's gracious assent to the future remedies of those evils which were to be presented to him."†

This message from the House of Commons was seconded by those of greatest trust about the king, who argued, "that the combination against the bishops was irresistible; that the passing this bill was the only way to preserve the Church; and that if the Parliament was gratified in this, so many persons in both houses would be fully satisfied that they would join in no farther alterations; but if they were crossed in this, they would endeavour an extirpation of the bishops and a demolishing of the

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 408, folio edition.

† Vol. i., p. 383.

‡ Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 492.

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 302, 416. † Ibid., p. 427.

whole fabric of the Church." They argued farther, "that force or indirect means having been made use of to obtain the bill, the king might by his power bring the bishops in again when the present distempers were composed;" an argument by which his majesty might have set aside all his concessions, or acts of grace (as he pleased to call them); to his Parliament at once. But none of these reasons would have prevailed, had not the queen made use of her sovereign influence over the king. Her majesty was made to believe, by Sir J. Culpeper, that her own preservation depended upon the king's consent to the bill; that if his majesty refused it, her journey into Holland would be stopped, and her person possibly endangered by some mutiny or insurrection; whereas the using her interest with the king would lay a popular obligation upon the kingdom, and make her acceptable to the Parliament. These arguments carrying a face of probability, her majesty wrested the king's resolution from him, so that the bill was signed by commission, February 14, together with another against pressing soldiers, his majesty being then at Canterbury, accompanying the queen in her passage to Holland. But his majesty's signing them with so much reluctance did him a disservice.* All men took notice of his discontent; and Lord Clarendon says† he has cause to believe that the king was prevailed with to sign them, "because he was told that there being violence and force used to obtain them, they were therefore in themselves null, and in quieter times might easily be revoked and disannulled." A dangerous doctrine, as it may tend to overthrow the most established laws of a country! To give the reader the act itself:

"Whereas bishops and other persons in holy orders ought not to be entangled with secular jurisdiction, the office of the ministry being of such great importance that it will take up the whole man. And for that it is found, by long experience, that their intermeddling with secular jurisdictions hath occasioned great mischiefs and scandals both to Church and State, his majesty, out of his religious care of the Church and souls of his people, is graciously pleased that it be enacted, and by authority of this present Parliament be it enacted, that no archbishop or bishop, or other person that now is, or hereafter shall be, in holy orders, shall at any time after the 15th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1642, have any seat or place, suffrage or vote, or use or execute any power or authority in the Parliaments of this realm, nor shall be of the privy council of his majesty, his heirs or successors, or justices of the peace, of oyer and terminer or jail delivery, or execute any temporal authority, by virtue of any commission; but shall be wholly disabled, and be incapable to have, receive, use, or execute, any of the said offices, places, powers, authorities, and things aforesaid.

"And be it farther enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all acts from and after the said 15th of February, which shall be done or executed by any archbishop or bishop, or other person whatsoever in holy orders; and all and every statute or voice given or delivered by

them or any of them, or other thing done by them or any of them, contrary to the purport and true meaning of this act, shall be utterly void to all intents, constructions, and purposes."

Thus the peirage of the bishops and the whole secular power of the clergy ceased for about twenty years; how far they contributed to it by their pride and ambition, their sovereign contempt of the laity, and indiscreet behaviour towards their Protestant brethren, has been already observed. Their enemies said the hand of God was against them, because they had given too much countenance to the ridiculing of true devotion and piety, under the name of godly Puritanism;* because they had silenced great numbers of ministers, eminent for learning and religion, for not complying with certain indifferent rites and ceremonies, while others, who were vicious and insufficient for their office, were encouraged; because they made a stricter inquiry after those who fasted and prayed, and joined together in religious exercises, than after those who were guilty of swearing, drunkenness, and other kinds of debauchery; because they discouraged afternoon sermons and lectures, and encouraged sports and pastimes on the Lord's Day; because they had driven many hundred families out of the land; and were, upon the whole, enemies to the civil interests of their country. Others observed, that most of them verged too much towards the See of Rome, and gave ground to suspect that they were, designing a union between the two churches,† which, at a time when the Roman Catholics in Ireland had imbrued their hands in the blood of almost two hundred thousand Protestants, and were so numerous at home as to make large and public collections of money to support the king in his war against the Scots, was sufficient to make every sincere Protestant jealous of their power. Besides, the bishops themselves had been guilty of many oppressions; they had, in a manner, laid aside the practice of preaching, that they might be the more at leisure for the governing part of their function; though even here they devolved the whole of their jurisdiction upon their chancellors and under-officers.‡ They did not sit in their consistories to hear complaints, or do justice either to clergy or laity, but turned over the people to registrars, proctors, and apparitors, who drew their money from them against equity and law, and used them at discretion. Few or none of them made their visitations in person, or lived in their Episcopal cities; by which means there was no kind of hospitality or liberality to the poor. Divine service in the cathedrals was neglected or ill performed, for want of their presence and inspection. Instead of conferring orders at the mother-church, they made use of the chapels of their private houses, without requiring the assistance of their deans and chapters upon such solemn occasions; they pronounced the censures of deprivation and degradation in a monarchal and absolute man-

* Baxter's History, Life, and Times, p. 33.

† There is a remarkable resemblance between many of these church dignitaries and some of our modern prelates. A thoughtful man cannot avoid alarm when he marks the sympathy of the present day for these persecutors of the saints.—C.

‡ Collyer's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, p. 820.

* Rushworth, part iii, vol. i, p. 552.

† Vol. i; p. 429, 430.

ner, not calling in the deans and chapters to any share of the administration. And, upon the whole, they did little else but receive their rents, indulge their ease, consult their grandeur, and lord it over their brethren. These were the popular complaints against them, which made the citizens rejoice at their downfall, and attend the passing the bill with bonfires and illuminations. However, if all these things had not concurred in a nice and critical juncture of affairs, the attempts of the House of Commons would have been in vain, neither the king nor peers being heartily willing to deprive them of their seats in Parliament. This was one of the last bills the king passed, and the only law which he enacted in prejudice of the Established Church.* Here his majesty made a stand, and, by a message sent to both houses, desired not to be pressed to any one single act farther, till the whole affair of church government and the liturgy was so digested and settled that he might see clearly what was fit to remain, as well as what was fit to be taken away.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE KING'S LEAVING WHITEHALL TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR.

ALL things now tended to a rupture between the king and Parliament, the Legislature being divided, and the Constitution broken. While the royal family was at Hampton Court, the officers and soldiers who were quartered about Kingston, to the number of two hundred, made such disturbances that the militia of the country was raised to disperse them. After a few days the king removed to Windsor, where a cabinet council was held in presence of the queen, in which, besides the resolution of passing no more bills, already mentioned, it was farther agreed that her majesty, being to accompany the princess her daughter to Holland, in order to her marriage with the Prince of Orange, should take with her the crown jewels and pledge them for ready money, with which she should purchase arms and ammunition, &c., for the king's service. She was also to treat with the Kings of France and Spain for four thousand soldiers, by the mediation of the pope's nuncio. It was farther resolved, that his majesty should come to an agreement with the Parliament till he understood the success of her negotiations, but should endeavour to get possession of the important fortresses of Portsmouth and Hull, where the arms and artillery of the late army in the north were deposited. Mr. Echard says it was resolved that the queen should remove to Portsmouth, and the king to Hull; that being possessed of those places of strength, where his friends might resort to him with safety, he should sit still till the hot spirits at Westminster could be brought to reason; † but this important secret being discovered, the Parliament entered upon more effectual measures for their safety: they sent to Colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, not to receive any forces into the town but by authority of the king, signed by both houses of Parliament. Sir John Hotham was

sent to secure the magazine at Hull, and a guard was placed about the Tower of London, to prevent the carrying out any ordnance or ammunition without consent of Parliament. Lord Clarendon, and after him Mr. Echard, censure the two houses for exercising these first acts of sovereignty; how far they were necessary for their own and the public safety, after what had passed, and the resolutions of the councils at Windsor, I leave with the reader.

The command of the militia had been usually in the crown, though the law had not positively determined in whom that great power was lodged, as Mr. Whitelocke undertook to prove before the commissioners at Uxbridge; * the king claimed the sole disposal of it, whereas the Parliament insisted that it was not in the king alone, but in the king and Parliament jointly; and that when the kingdom is in imminent danger, if the royal power be not exerted in its defence, the military force may be raised without it. But waiving the question of right, the Parliament desired the command of the militia might be put into such hands as they could confide in only for two years, till the present disorders were quieted. This the king refused, unless the House would first give up the question of right, and vest the sole command of the militia in the crown by form of law; which the Parliament declined, and voted the advisers of that answer enemies of the kingdom.

Multitudes of petitions were presented to the houses from the city of London, and from the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, Essex, &c., †

* "In the treaty at Uxbridge, printed in King Charles's works, and in Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles of England, and separate by itself, in quarto, by Litchfield, 1645, I can find," says Dr. Grey, "no such offer of proof made by Mr. Whitelocke." This is true, and the reason may be assigned; the piece referred to exhibits only the requisitions on one side and the answers on the other, without going into the detail of the matters that were the subjects of conversation merely; but because the assertion of Mr. Neal be not found in the Relation of the Treaty of Uxbridge, and he subjoins no authority for it, Dr. Grey adds, "he will not, I hope, take it amiss if we do not implicitly take his word." The reader will judge of the candour and liberality of this insinuation when he is informed that Mr. Neal spoke on the best authority, that of Mr. Whitelocke himself, Memorials, p. 124; who farther tells us that a motion was made to appoint a day to hear him and Sir Edward Hyde (who advanced the doctrine of the king's absolute power over the militia) debate the point; but by the interference of the Earl of Southampton, and some other gentlemen, the debate was declined. But the commissioners of both kingdoms, on their return to their quarters, gave Whitelocke thanks, and said "the honour of Parliament was concerned therein, and vindicated by him."—Ed.

† Dr. Grey observes, with a sneer, that among these petitions were some remarkable ones; namely, one from the porters, fifteen thousand in number; another in the name of many thousands of the poor people; and a third from the tradesmen's wives in and about the city of London, delivered by Mrs. Anne Stadge, a brewer's wife. "These petitions," says the doctor, "would have been worthy a place in Mr. Neal's curious collection." The contempt which Dr. Grey casts on these petitions, will not appear generous or just to one who reflects on the object of these petitions, which were highly interesting; who estimates things not by the fluctuation and factitious claims of rank and wealth, but by the standard of

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 554.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 433, folio edition.

beseeking them to provide for the safety of the nation, by disarming papists, by taking care of the Protestants in Ireland, by bringing evil counsellors to punishment, by putting the kingdom into a posture of defence, and by committing the forts and castles of the kingdom to such persons as both houses could confide in; but their hands were tied, because the king, who has the sole execution of the laws, would act no longer in concert with his Parliament. The Commons, encouraged by the spirit of the people, petitioned a second time for the militia, and framed an ordinance with a list of the names of such persons in whom they could confide. His majesty, in order to amuse the House and gain time, told them "that he could not divest himself of that just power that God and the laws of the kingdom had placed in him for the defence of his people, for any indefinite time." After this they presented a third petition to the king, at Theobald's [March 1], in which they protest, "that if his majesty persists in that denial, the dangers and distempers of the kingdom were such as would endure no longer delay; and, therefore, if his majesty will not satisfy their desires, they shall be enforced, for the safety of the kingdom, to dispose of the militia by authority of both houses of Parliament, and they resolve to do it accordingly;"* beseeching his majesty, at the same time, to reside near his Parliament. The king was so inflamed with this protestation, that he told them "he was amazed at their message, but should not alter his resolution in any point."† And instead of residing near his Parliament, he removed to Newmarket, and, by degrees, to York. Upon this the Commons voted, March 4, "that the kingdom be forthwith put into a posture of defence by authority of both houses, in such a way as is already agreed upon by both houses of Parliament;"‡ and next day they published an ordinance for that purpose. March 9, both houses presented a declaration to the king at Newmarket, "expressing the causes of their fears and jealousies, and their earnest desires that his majesty would put from him those wicked and mischievous counsellors that have caused these differences between him and his Parliament; that he would come to Whitehall, and continue his own and the prince's residence near his Parliament, which he may do with more honour and safety than in any other place. We beseech your majesty," say they, "to consider in what state you are, and how

reason and rectitude; and who respects the rights of property, how small soever that property be, of security, and of conscience, which attach themselves to every class and order of men. With respect to the petition of the virtuous matrons, and the respect with which it was treated by Parliament, who commissioned Mr. Pym to return an answer in person, both are sanctioned by the Roman History: the Legislature of that great empire, when towering to its utmost splendour, received and encouraged the petitions of women.—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. iii., p. 187, 183, the note. The female petitioners, in the instance before us, by their public spirit, and the share they took in the common calamities produced by oppression, did honour to themselves and their sex; and the conduct of the House towards them was not less politic than complaisant.—Ed.

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 523.

† *Ibid.*, p. 524.

‡ *Rapin*, vol. ii., p. 419, folio edit.

easy the way is to happiness, greatness, and honour, if you will join with your Parliament; this is all we expect, and for this we will return to you our lives and fortunes, and do everything we can to support your just sovereignty and power. But it is not words alone that will secure us; that which we desire is some real effect in granting those things that the present necessities of the kingdom require." They add, farther, "that his majesty's removal to so great a distance not only obstructed the proceedings of Parliament, but looked like an alienation of the kingdom from himself and family."* His majesty's best friends advised him to take this opportunity of returning to London, "and it must be solely imputed to his majesty's own resolution," says Lord Clarendon, "that he took not that course;" but instead of this he broke out into a passion, and told them he had his fears for the true Protestant profession and the laws as well as they: "What would you have?" says his majesty. "Have I violated your laws, or denied to pass any bill for the ease of my subjects? I do not ask what you have done for me. God so deal with me and mine, as my intentions are upright for maintaining the true Protestant profession and the laws of the land." Being asked by the Earl of Pembroke whether he would not grant the militia for a little time, his majesty swore by God, "No, not for an hour." When he was put in mind of his frequent violations of the laws, his majesty replied, "that he had made ample reparation, and did not expect to be reproached with the actions of his ministers."†

As his majesty insisted upon the militia, he claimed also an inalienable right to all the forts and garrisons of the kingdom, with an uncontrollable power to dispose of the arms and ammunition laid up in them, as his proper goods. This the Parliament disputed, and maintained that they were his majesty's only in trust for the public, and that in discharge of this trust the Parliament sitting are his counsellors; for if the king had such property in the forts and magazines as he claimed, he might then sell or transfer them into the enemy's hand as absolutely as a private person may his lands and goods; which is a strange maxim, and contrary to the act of 40 Edw. III.

Many declarations passed between the king and his Parliament on this argument, while each party were getting possession of all that they could. The king was contriving to make sure of the magazine of Hull, but the Parliament were beforehand with his majesty, and not only secured that important fortress, but got the command of the fleet [March 31], which submitted to the Earl of Warwick, whom the Parliament appointed to be their admiral.

The ordinance of March 5, for disposing of the militia by both houses of Parliament without the king, in case of extreme danger to the nation, of which danger the two houses were the proper judges, with the subsequent resolution of March 16, were the grand crises which divided the House into two parties. Mr. Hyde, afterward Lord Clarendon, Mr. Bridgeman, Mr. Palmer, and other eminent lawyers and gentle-

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 528.

† *Ibid.*, p. 533.

men, having given their opinion against the ordinance, quitted their seats, and retired to the king. On the other hand, Sergeant Maynard, Whitelocke, Glyn, Selden, the Lord-keeper Littleton, Mr. Lee, St. John, Grimston, and divers others of no less judgment in law, and of a superior interest in their country, accepted of commissions in the militia, and continued in the service of the Parliament. Many retired to their country-seats, and were for standing neuter in this nice conjuncture; but those that remained in the House were about three hundred, besides fifty that were employed in the country, and about fifty more absent with leave; the rest went over to the king, and were some time after expelled the House. But from this time the sitting members were more resolute, and met with less opposition.

March 15, his majesty acquainted the houses from Huntingdon, with his design to reside for some time at York; and adds, that he expected "they should pay a due regard to his prerogative, and to the laws established; and that none of his subjects should presume, under colour of any order or ordinance of Parliament to which his majesty is not a party, to do or execute what is not warrantable by the laws." His majesty's intention, by this message, was to put a stop to all farther proceedings of the Parliament, for their own and the nation's security, till they had digested all their grievances into a body. Upon receiving this declaration both Houses came to these resolutions, among others:

March 16, Resolved, "That those who advise his majesty to absent himself from the Parliament are enemies to the peace of the kingdom, and justly suspected to be favourers of the rebellion in Ireland.*"

Resolved, "That the ordinance of Parliament for the militia is not inconsistent with the oath of allegiance; but that the several commissions granted by his majesty under the great seal to the lieutenants of the several counties, are illegal and void.†"

Resolved, "That in cases of extreme danger, and of his majesty's refusal to act in concert with his Parliament, the people ought, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, to obey the ordinances of both houses concerning the militia; and that such persons as shall be appointed deputy-lieutenants, and are approved by both houses, ought to take upon them to execute their offices."

It was resolved farther, "That the two houses of Parliament, being the representative body of the whole nation, and two parts in three of the Legislature, were the proper judges of the state and condition of it."

Resolved, "That when both houses agreed that the nation was in extreme danger, as they now did, the king was obliged, by the laws of the land, to agree to those remedies which they who are his great council should advise him to. This seems evident from the statute of 25 Edw. III., entitled, the Statute of Provisors of Benefices, which says, 'that the right of the crown of England, and the laws of the realm, are such that, upon the mischiefs and damages that happen to this realm, our sovereign lord the king ought, and is bound by his oath, with the accord

of his people in Parliament, to ordain remedy for removing thereof.'"

Resolved, "That if in such a time of danger his majesty deserts his Parliament, or refuses to concur with them in ordaining such remedies as are absolutely necessary for the common safety, then the two houses ought to look upon themselves as the guardians of the people, and provide for their defence.

Resolved "That when the Lords and Commons, which is the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom, shall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only questioned, but contradicted, and a command that it should not be obeyed, is a high breach of privilege of Parliament."

His majesty, on the other hand, averred, "that the kingdom was in no danger, but from the arbitrary proceedings of the Parliament, who were invading the royal prerogative, and subverting the Constitution in Church and State.

"That if the kingdom was really in danger, he was the guardian and protector of his people, and was answerable to God only for his conduct; but that Parliaments were temporary, and dissolvable at his pleasure; that he should, therefore, consider them as his counsellors and advisers, but not his commanders or dictators."

His majesty admitted "that in some doubtful cases the Parliament were judges of the law, but he did not think himself bound to renounce his own judgment and understanding, by passing laws that might separate from his crown that which was in a manner essential to it, viz., a power to protect his subjects."

To which the Commons replied, "that the king alone could not be judge in this case, for the king judges not matters of law but by his courts; nor can the courts of law be judges of the state of the kingdom against the Parliament, because they are inferior; but as the law is determined by the judges, who are the king's council, so the state of the nation is to be determined by the two houses of Parliament, who are the proper judges of the Constitution. If, therefore, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled declare this or the other matter to be according to law, or according to the Constitution of the kingdom, it is not lawful for any single person, or inferior court, to contradict it.†"

But instead of tiring the reader with a long paper war in support of these propositions, I will make one general remark, which may serve as a key to the whole controversy. If we suppose the kingdom to be in its natural state, after the king had withdrawn from his Parliament, and would act no longer in concert with them; if the Constitution was then entire, and the most considerable grievances redressed; if the laws in being were a sufficient security against the return of popery and arbitrary power, and there was good reason to believe those laws would have free course, then the king's arguments are strong and conclusive; for in all ordinary cases, the administration of justice, and the due execution of the laws, is vested in the crown; nor may the Lords and Commons in Parliament make new laws, or suspend and alter old ones, without his majesty's consent. But, on the other hand, if, in

* Rushworth, p. 534.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 422, folio edit.

* Rushworth, p. 669.

† Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 698. Rapin, p. 477.

the opinion* of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, who are the representatives of the whole nation, the Constitution is broken, by the king's deserting his two houses, and resolving to act no longer in concert with them, or by any other overt acts of his majesty's council inconsistent with the Constitution; or if both houses shall declare the religion and liberties of the nation to be in imminent danger, either from foreign or domestic enemies, and the king will not concur with his Parliament to apply such remedies as the wisdom of his two houses shall think necessary; then, certainly, after proper petitions and remonstrances, they may, from the necessity of the case, provide for the public safety, as much as in the case of nonage or captivity of the prince. In order, therefore, to decide in the present controversy, we must make an estimate of the true condition of the nation; whether it was in its natural state; or whether the Constitution, being divided and broken by the king's deserting his Parliament, the legal form of government was not dissolved? In the former case, I apprehend the king was in the right; in the latter, the Parliament.

This unhappy controversy was managed with great warmth and mutual reproaches, though with this decency, that the king did not charge his Parliament with criminal designs, but only a malignant party in both houses; nor did the Parliament reproach the person of the king, but laid all their grievances upon his evil counsellors; however, it is easy to observe that it was impossible the parties should agree, because they reasoned upon a different principle; the king supposing the nation was in a sound state, and that, therefore, the laws ought to take their natural course; the Parliament apprehending the Constitution broken, and that, therefore, it was their duty to provide for the public safety, even without the king's concurrence. But we shall have more light into this controversy hereafter.

To return to the history. Though the Scots were made easy at home, being in full possession of their civil and religious rights, yet they could not remain unconcerned spectators of the ruin of the English Parliament, partly out of gratitude for the favours they had received, and partly from an apprehension that the security of their own settlement, as well as the introducing their kirk discipline into England, depended upon it. While the king was at Windsor, the Scots commissioners at London offered their mediation between his majesty and his two houses: in their petition, they tell his majesty "that the liberties of England and Scotland must stand and fall together;" and after some expressions of grief for the distractions of England, which they conceive to arise from

the plots of the papists and prelates, whose aim has been not only to prevent any farther reformation, but to subvert the purity and truth of religion; they offer their service to compose the differences, and beseech his majesty "to have recourse to the faithful advice of both houses of Parliament, which will not only quiet the minds of his English subjects, but remove the jealousies and fears that may possess the hearts of his subjects in his other kingdoms." In their paper of the same date, to both houses of Parliament, January 15, "they return thanks to the Parliament of England for the assistance given to the kingdom of Scotland in settling their late troubles; and, next to the providence of God and his majesty's goodness, they acknowledge their obligations to the mediation and brotherly kindness of the English Parliament; and now, by way of return, and to discharge the trust reposed in them, they offer their mediation between them and the king, beseeching the houses to consider of the fairest and most likely methods to compose the differences in Church and State." Bishop Burnet says their design was to get episcopacy brought down and presbytery set up, to the first of which most of the members were willing to consent, but few were cordial for the latter.

The king was highly displeased with the Scots mediation, and sent them word that the case of England and Scotland was different; in Scotland, says his majesty, episcopacy was never settled by law, and is found to be contrary to the genius of the people; but in England, it is rooted in the very Constitution, and has flourished without interruption for eighty years; he therefore commands them not to transact between him and his Parliament, without first communicating their propositions to him in private. At the same time, his majesty sent letters into Scotland, and ordered the chancellor to use his utmost efforts to keep that kingdom to a neutrality. On the other hand, the Parliament threw themselves into the arms of the Scots; they thanked the commissioners for their kind and seasonable interposition, and prayed them to continue their endeavours to remove the present distractions, and to preserve the union between the two kingdoms. They wrote likewise into Scotland to the same purpose, the effects of which will appear at the next meeting of Parliament.

In the mean time, the Lords and Commons, in order to encourage the expectations of their friends in both kingdoms, published the following declaration of their intentions:

"*Die Sabbati, April 9, 1642.*

"The Lords and Commons declare, that they intend a due and necessary reformation of the government and discipline of the Church, and to take away nothing in the one but what will be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burdensome; and for the better effecting thereof, speedily to have consultation with godly and learned divines; and because this will never of itself attain the ends sought therein, they will use their utmost endeavours to establish learned and preaching ministers, with a good and sufficient maintenance, throughout the whole kingdom, wherein many dark corners are miserably destitute of the means of salva-

* It should rather be—if, according to the opinion—of the Lords and Commons, &c.—Ed.

† Rather—if, as both houses shall declare, the religion and liberties of the nation be in imminent danger, &c. The controversy turns not on the opinion and declaration of the two houses, but on the truth of the facts stated. And these amendments preserve the contrast between the opposite parts of Mr. Neal's proposition, which he is very politely represented by Bishop Warburton as not knowing how to state.—Ed.

tion, and many poor ministers want necessary provision."

This declaration was ordered to be published by the sheriffs of the several counties, for the satisfaction of the people.

The distance between London and York increased the misunderstanding between the king and his Parliament; numbers of persons travelling between the two places with secret intelligence, the Parliament appointed the following oath to be taken by all who came from the king's quarters:

"I, A. B., do swear from my heart, that I will not, directly or indirectly, adhere unto or willingly assist the king in this war, or in this cause against the Parliament, nor any forces raised without consent of the two houses of Parliament, in this cause or war. And I do likewise swear, that my coming, and submitting myself under the power and protection of Parliament, is without any manner or design whatsoever to the prejudice of the proceedings of this present Parliament, and without direction, privy, or advice of the king, or any of his council or officers, other than I have made known. So help me God and the contents of this book."

This was called the negative oath, and was voted April 5, 1642.

As soon as the correspondence was thus interrupted, numbers of libellous newspapers, mercuries, and weekly intelligencers, began to appear full of scandal and reproach, whereby the conduct of great and wise men was aspersed, innumerable false reports spread through the nation, and the spirits of the people sharpened for war. On the side of the king was *Mercurius Aulicus*, and on the side of the Parliament *Mercurius Britannicus*. When the king fixed his court at Oxford, the learned garrison drew their pens for the king, as the politicians of London did for the Parliament; and while the armies were in the field, these gentlemen employed themselves in celebrating their wonderful exploits to the people; so that, beside the above-mentioned weekly papers, there appeared *Mercurius Rusticus*, *Pragmaticus*, *Publicus*, diurnals and intelligencers without number. The pulpits, also, were employed in the same work; the preachers dealt too much in politics, and made free with the characters and actions of their superiors: there were incendiaries on both sides: the king's preachers enhanced his majesty's character, and treated the Parliament as rebels and traitors;* and the Parliament ministers were no less culpable, for though they avoided speaking disrespectfully of the person of the king, they declaimed against the hierarchy, against evil and popish counselors, and glanced at the queen herself, as preventing the harmony between his majesty and the Parliament, and pushing him upon measures that were destructive to the Protestant religion and the Constitution of their country; which, how true soever in itself, was a subject very unfit for the pulpit.

The great resort of the nobility and gentry to the court at York gave his majesty new life, and encouraged him to treat his Parliament with very sovereign language; he sent them word, that "he would have nothing extorted from

him; nor would he grant them anything farther than the law had put into his hands."* At the same time, his majesty attempted to seize upon the magazine at Hull, pursuant to the scheme formed at Windsor in January last; and accordingly appeared before the town with three hundred horse, April 23d, but was denied entrance with more than twelve attendants; whereupon, after an hour's time allowed for deliberation, his majesty caused Sir John Hotham the governor to be proclaimed a traitor, by two heralds at arms, and then retired to York, full of resentment for the affront he had received, which he did not fail to communicate to the Parliament, demanding justice against Sir John Hotham according to law; however, the Parliament stood by their governor, and ordered the arms and ammunition in Hull to be removed to the Tower of London, except what was necessary for the defence of the place.

Upon his majesty's return to York, he commanded the committee of Parliament, which were spies upon his actions, to retire to London, but they excused themselves, as being ordered to continue by those who employed them. His majesty also summoned the nobility and gentry of the northern counties to meet him at York [May 12], when he acquainted them with his reasons for refusing the Militia Bill, and with the treasonable behaviour of Sir John Hotham in keeping him out of Hull, and depriving him of his magazine, being his own proper goods. † "Since treason is countenanced so near me," says his majesty, "it is time to look to my safety; none can blame me to apprehend danger. I am therefore resolved to have a guard—" The gentry were divided in their sentiments about the king's conduct, and gave answers as they were differently affected, though all were willing to serve his majesty according to law. After several other assemblies of the nobility, gentry, freeholders, and ministers of York had been held by his majesty's command, in all which he declared that "he was resolved to defend the true Protestant religion established in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to govern by law for the future, and that he had no intention to make war with his Parliament, except it were in way of defence," ‡ a regiment of horse was raised for the security of his majesty's person, and the command given to the Prince of Wales. This was the first levy of troops in the civil war, his majesty having as yet only a regiment of the militia of six hundred men, besides the reformadoes that attended the court.

About the same time [May 17] the king ordered the courts of justice to remove from Westminster to York, and sent for Sergeant-major Skippon, an old experienced officer, to attend him in person, which the Parliament prevented; but were not so successful in relation to the great seal, which the keeper sent privately to the king by the messenger that came for it [May 22], and next day followed himself. This was a sensible disappointment to the Parliament, especially as it was attended with the loss of nine other peers, who deserted their stations in the House about the same

* Rapin, p. 354.

† Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 615, 624. Rapin, vol. ii., p. 434, 435, fol. ed.

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 760.

time, and went over to the king, as did considerable numbers of the Commons, his majesty having now given orders to all his friends to leave the House and repair to him, which, instead of breaking up the Parliament, as intended, strengthened the hands of the country party, and gave them an opportunity, after some time, of expelling the deserters.

Things being come to this crisis, the Parliament voted, May 20, "that it was now apparent that the king, seduced by wicked counsel, intended to make war upon the Parliament. That whosoever the king maketh such war it is a breach of trust, contrary to his coronation oath, and tending to the dissolution of the government. That whosoever shall serve or assist his majesty in such war are traitors, and have been so adjudged by two acts of Parliament, 11 Rich. II., and 1 Henry IV. May 28 they ordered all sheriffs and justices of peace, &c., to make stay of all arms and ammunition carrying to York, and to disperse all forces coming together by the king's commission."

To justify their respective proceedings, both parties published their reasons to the world; a summary of which being contained in the Parliament's memorial of May 19, and the king's answer, I shall give the reader an abstract of them.

The Parliament, in their memorial, avow, in the presence of the all-seeing Deity, "that the sincerity of their endeavours has been directed only by the king's honour and the public peace, free from all private aims, personal respects, and passions whatsoever. They complain of his majesty's being drawn into the north, far from his Parliament, which has given occasion to many false rumours and scandalous reports, to the interrupting the good understanding between the king and his Parliament. They take notice of those evil counsellors which have prevailed with his majesty to make infractions upon his royal word, as that, 'On the word of a king, and as I am a gentleman, I will redress the grievances of my people. I am resolved to put myself on the love and affection of my English subjects. We do engage solemnly, on the word of a king, that the security of all and every one of you from violence is and shall be as much my care as the preservation of us and our children.' Since which time the studies and chambers of some of the members had been broken open, and six of them attempted to be seized in the Parliament House, the blame of which they are willing to impute to his evil counsellors. And though the king disavows such counsellors, we hold it our duty," say they, "humbly to avow there are such, else we must say, that all the ill things done in his majesty's name have been done by himself, wherein we should neither follow the direction of the law, which says the king can do no wrong; nor the affections of our own hearts, which is to clear his majesty as much as may be of all misgovernment, and to lay the fault upon his ministers.* If any ill be done in matters of state, the council are to answer for it; and if any matters of the law, judges. They acknowledge the many excellent acts that his majesty had lately passed for the advantage of his subjects,"† but then add, "that in none of them have they be-

reaved his majesty of any just, necessary, or profitable prerogative of the crown. They declare their disallowance of all seditious libels, but complain of many mutinous petitions that have been presented to the king to divide him from his Parliament; and whereas the king had insinuated that the Church was to be destroyed to make way for presbytery, they aver that they desire no more than to encourage piety and learning, and to place learned and pious preachers in all parishes, with a sufficient maintenance. Upon the whole, they aver the kingdom to be in imminent danger from enemies abroad, and a popish and discontented party at home, and that in such a case the kingdom must not be without means to preserve itself. They aver that the ordinary means of providing for the public safety is in the king and Parliament;* but because the king, being only a single person, may be liable to many accidents, the wisdom of the state in such cases has intrusted the two houses of Parliament to supply what shall be wanting on the part of the prince, as in cases of captivity, nonage, or where the royal trust is not discharged; which the Lords and Commons having declared to be the present case, there needs no farther authority to confirm it, nor is it in the power of any person at court to revoke that judgment. They then mention some proofs of the nation's danger, and conclude by praying for the protection of Almighty God upon the king, and beseech his majesty to cast from him his evil counsellors, assuring him and the whole kingdom that they desire nothing more than to preserve the purity and power of religion, to honour the king in all his just prerogatives, and to endeavour, to the utmost of their power, that all parishes may have learned and pious preachers, and those preachers competent livings. And they doubt not to overcome all difficulties, if the people do not desert them to their own undoing; and even in this cause they declare they will not betray their trust, but look beyond their own lives and estates, as thinking nothing worth enjoying without the liberty, peace, and safety of the kingdom, nor anything too much to be hazarded for the obtaining of it.†

His majesty, in his answer, is not willing to charge his Parliament with misbehaviour, but only a malignant party in both houses. He denies the several plots and conspiracies mentioned in their declaration, and takes notice of their misapplying the word "Parliament" to the vote of both houses, whereas the king is an essential part of the Parliament. His majesty confesses that his going to the House of Commons to seize the five members was an error in form, but maintains the matter of the accusation to be just, and therefore thinks he ought not to be reproached with it. He neither affirms nor denies the design of bringing the army to London, but quibbles with the words "design" and "resolution," as Rapin observes, King Charles I. being very skilful in such sort of ambiguities. His majesty made no reply to the Parliament's reasoning upon the head of the king's neglecting to discharge his trust, but seems to insinuate that the Parliament should, in no case meddle with the government without

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 693.

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 699.

† Ibid., vol. i., p. 704. Rapin, vol. ii., p. 442, folio.

an express law. He denies his knowledge of any evil counsellors about him, and declares that he did not willingly leave his Parliament, but was driven away by the tumults at Whitehall; and adds, that, by the help of God and the laws of the land, he would have justice for those tumults; nor does his majesty own the promoting or retaining in his service any who are disaffected to the laws of the kingdom; but he will not take a vote of Parliament for his guide, till it is evident they are without passion or affection. The king charges them home with the greatest violation of the laws and liberties of the subject. "What is become of the law that man was born to?" says he. "And where is Magna Charta, if the vote of Parliament may make a law?" His majesty concludes with a severe remark on the Parliament's calling the petitions presented to him "mutinous." "Hath a multitude of mean, inconsiderable people about the city of London had liberty to petition against the government of the Church, against the Book of Common Prayer, &c., and been thanked for it? And shall it be called mutiny in the gravest and best citizens in London, and gentry of Kent, to frame petitions to be governed by the known laws of the land, and not by votes of Parliament? Is not this evidently the work of a faction? Let heaven and earth, God and man, judge between us and these men!"

The reader will judge of the weight of these declarations according to a former remark. The Parliament supposes the "nation in imminent danger, and the royal power not exerted in its defence;" in which case, they, as guardians of the people, apprehend themselves empowered to act in its defence. The king supposes the nation to be in its natural state, and in no manner of danger, but from a malignant party within the two houses, and that, therefore, the laws should have their free and ordinary course. Upon these contrary suppositions the arguments on both sides are invincible: but (as has been already observed) it was impossible they should produce any good effect, till it was first agreed whether the nation was in danger, or whether the royal promise might be relied upon with safety.

On the 2d of June the Parliament presented the king with the sum of all their desires for the reformation and security of Church and State, in nineteen propositions, according to his majesty's command in January last. Those which relate to the state are built upon the supposition above mentioned, that the nation was in imminent danger; and that, after so many infractions of the royal word, it was not to be relied upon for the execution of the laws but in conjunction with the Parliament. They therefore pray "that his majesty's privy counsellors, commanders of forts and garrisons, and all the great officers of state, may be approved by the two houses; that the judges may hold their places *quam diu se bene gesserint*; that the militia may be in the hands of the Parliament for the present; that all public business may be determined by a majority of the council; and that they may take an oath to maintain the petition of right, and such other laws as shall be enacted this present session. They pray that the justice of Parliament may pass upon delinquents; that the Lord Kimbolton and the five members may be

effectually cleared by act of Parliament, and that his majesty would enter into alliances with foreign princes for the support of the Protestant religion," &c. It is hard to express his majesty's resentment against all these propositions (except the last two), which he says were fit only to be offered to a vanquished prisoner; that he were unworthy of his noble descent if he should part with such flowers of the crown as are worth all the rest of the garland: "If these things are granted," says he, "we may have the title of a king, and be waited upon bareheaded; we may have our hand kissed, and have swords and maces carried before us, but as to real power, we should remain but the outside, the picture, the sign of a king." His majesty, therefore, rejected them in the gross, with this sovereign reply: "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari."

The propositions relating to religion are these:

Prop. 4. "That he or they to whom the government and education of the king's children shall be committed be approved by both houses of Parliament, and in the intervals of Parliament by the majority of the privy council; and that such servants against whom the houses have any just exception be removed.*

Prop. 5. "That the marriages of the king's children be with consent of Parliament, under penalty of a præmunire on such as shall conclude them otherwise, and not to be pardoned but by Parliament.

Prop. 6. "That the laws in force against Jesuits, priests, and popish recusants be strictly put in execution, without any toleration or dispensation to the contrary; and that some more effectual course may be enacted by authority of Parliament to disable them from making any disturbance in the state, or eluding the laws by trusts or otherwise.

Prop. 7. "That the votes of popish lords in the House of Peers be taken away, so long as they continue papists; and that your majesty will consent to such a bill as shall be drawn for the education of the children of papists by Protestants in the Protestant religion.

Prop. 8. "That your majesty will be pleased to consent that such a reformation be made of the church government and liturgy as both houses of Parliament shall advise, wherein they intend to have consultation with divines, as is expressed in their declaration for that purpose; and that your majesty will contribute your best assistance for the raising of a sufficient maintenance for preaching ministers through the kingdom; and that your majesty will be pleased to give your consent to the laws for the taking away of innovations and superstitions, and of pluralities, and against scandalous ministers."

To these propositions his majesty replied as follows:

To the fourth and fifth, concerning the education and disposal of his children, "that he had committed them to the care of persons of quality, integrity, and piety, with special regard to their education in the principles of the true Protestant religion, but that he would never part with that trust, which God, nature, and

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 793.

the laws of the land had placed in him; nor would he suffer any to share with him in his power of treaties; but he assured them that he would not entertain any treaty of marriage for his children without due regard to the Protestant religion and the honour of his family; and that he would take such care of the Prince of Wales, and his other children, as should justify him to God as a father, and to his dominions as a king."

To the sixth proposition, concerning popish recusants, his majesty admitted, "that if they could find any more effectual course to disable them from disturbing the state, or eluding the laws, by trust or otherwise, he ought to give his consent to it."

To the seventh, concerning the votes of popish lords, his majesty replied, "that he was informed those lords had prudently withdrawn from the House of Peers, but he did not conceive that a law against the votes of any, where blood gave them their right, was so proper in regard of the privilege of Parliament; however, his majesty was content that, as long as they did not conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, they should not sit in the House of Peers, but only vote by proxy. As for a bill for the educating the children of papists in the Protestant religion, he should be very glad of it, and would encourage it."

To the eighth proposition, touching reformation of church government and liturgy, his majesty refers them to his declaration of December 1, in which he had declared "that he was willing to remove illegal innovations; that if his Parliament advised him to call a synod to examine into such ceremonies as gave offence, he would take it into consideration, and apply himself to give due satisfaction therein; but he was persuaded in his conscience that no church could be found upon earth that professed the true religion with more purity of doctrine than the Church of England; nor where the government and discipline are more beautified, and free from superstition, than as they are here established by law; which his majesty is determined with constancy to maintain as long as he lives, in their purity and glory, not only against all innovations of popery, but from the irreverence of those many schismatics and separatists wherewith of late this kingdom and the city of London abound, for the suppression of whom his majesty requires the assistance of his Parliament. As for such matters in religion which were in their own nature indifferent, his majesty refers them to his first declaration, printed by advice of his privy council, in which he had declared that he was willing, in tenderness to any number of his loving subjects, to admit that some law might be made for the exemption of tender consciences from punishment or prosecution for such ceremonies; provided it be attempted and pursued with that modesty, temper, and submission, that the peace and quiet of the kingdom be not disturbed, the decency and comeliness of God's service discounted, nor the pious, sober, devout actions of the first Reformers scandalized and defamed. His majesty adds, that he had formerly referred the composing the present distractions about church government and liturgy to the wisdom

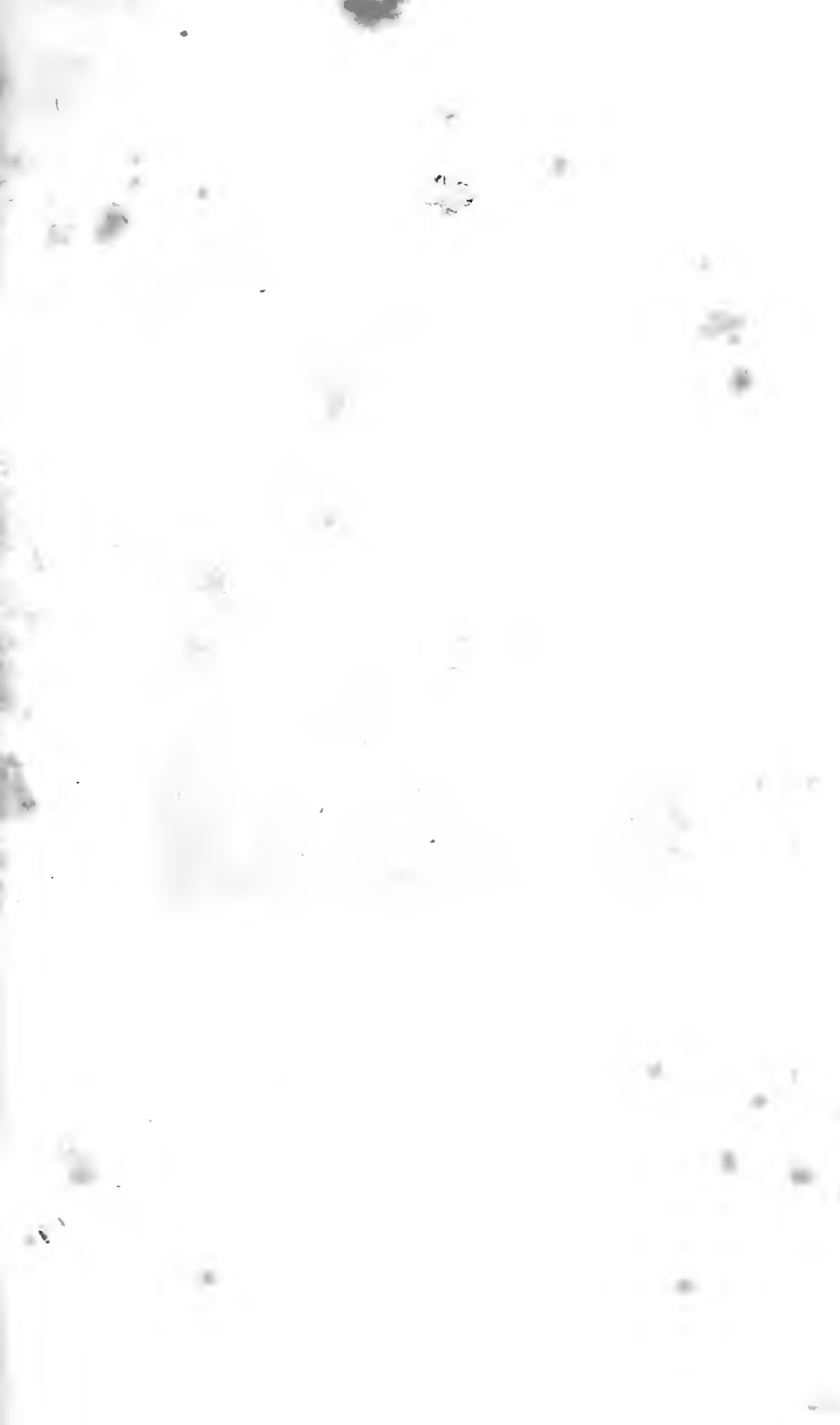
of the Parliament, but desired he might not be pressed to any single act on his part, till the whole be so digested and settled by both houses, that his majesty may clearly see what is fit to be left as well as what is fit to be taken away. His majesty observes with satisfaction that they desire only a reformation, and not, as is daily preached in conventicles, a destruction of the present discipline and liturgy, and promises to concur with his Parliament in raising a sufficient maintenance for preaching ministers, in such manner as shall be most for the advancement of piety and learning; but as for the other bills, against superstitious innovations and pluralities, his majesty can say nothing to them till he sees them."

It was now apparent to all men that this controversy, which had hitherto been debated by the pen, must be decided by the sword; for this purpose the queen was all this while in Holland negotiating foreign supplies. Her majesty pledged the crown jewels; and, with the money arising from thence, purchased a small frigate of thirty-two guns, called the Providence, and freighted it with two hundred barrels of powder, two or three thousand arms, seven or eight fieldpieces, and some ready money for the king's service; all which were safely conveyed to his majesty at York, about the beginning of June. The Parliament had been advertised of the queen's proceedings, and acquainted the king with their advices, which at first he was pleased to disown, for in his declaration of March 9, he tells the Parliament, "Whatsoever you are advertised from Paris, &c., of foreign aids, we are confident no sober, honest man in our kingdom can believe that we are so desperate, or so senseless, as to entertain such designs, as would not only bury this our kingdom in certain destruction and ruin, but our name and posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy."* One would think by this that the king did not know what was doing with the crown jewels, though they were carried over with his leave, and, as Mr. Whitelocke† says, that with them and the assistance of the Prince of Orange, a sufficient party might be raised for the king. But in this answer, as in most others, his majesty had his ambiguities and reservations.‡

* Clarendon, vol. i., part ii., p. 445, 462.

† Memorials, p. 52.

‡ Bishop Warburton contends that by "foreign aids" the king understood, what the Parliament certainly meant, foreign troops. His lordship, therefore, asserts, "there is no ambiguity here; but there is neither end nor measure," he adds, "to this historian's prejudices and false representations." The exact state of the matter is, that the Parliament, in their declaration, do use the words "foreign force," and explicitly mention the loan of four thousand men apiece by the Kings of France and Spain. The king in his answer says, only in general, "that whatever their advertisements from Rome, &c., were, he was confident no sober, honest man," &c., without using, as Mr. Neal inaccurately represents him doing, the terms "foreign aids." But will it follow from hence that the king's answer was free from ambiguity and reservation, or Mr. Neal's charge false? If what Mr. Whitelocke says were true, there was a duplicity and ambiguity in the king's reply; and it consisted in this, not in the use of an equivocal term, but in censuring the measures of which he was suspected, as senseless, desperate, and pernicious; at the same





Engraved by Smecher from an Original

WILLIAM KIFFIN, A.M.

It was the king's great misfortune never to get possession of a convenient place of strength upon the coast. The governor of Portsmouth declaring for him, the Parliament immediately ordered the militia of the county to block up the place by land, while the Earl of Warwick did the same by sea, so that it was forced to surrender for want of provisions, before the king could relieve it. The like disappointment befell his majesty at Hull, which he besieged a second time, July 4,* with three thousand foot and about one thousand horse, while Sir J. Pennington, the king's admiral, blocked it up by sea; but the governor, drawing up the sluices, laid the country under water, and obliged the army to retire. This was a severe disappointment; because his majesty had sent word to the Parliament, June 14, that, "by the help of God and the law, he would have justice upon those that kept him out of Hull, or lose his life in requiring it."†

On the other hand, the Commons, upon the desertion of the king's friends, ordered a general call of the House, June 16, and that every member should answer to his name on forfeiture of £100. The Lords ordered the nine peers that went after the great seal to appear at their bar, June 8, and for their non-appearance [June 27], deprived them of their privilege of voting in the House during the present Parliament. As the Commons had taken all imaginable precautions to hinder the king from getting the forts and magazines of the kingdom into his possession, they ordered all suspected places to be searched for arms and ammunition. In the archbishop's palace at Lambeth they seized arms for about five hundred men, and lodged them in the Tower of London; in Cobham Hall they seized five cart-loads of arms; and below Gravesend about one hundred pieces of cannon. As soon as they heard the king had received supplies from beyond sea and was preparing to besiege Hull, they ordered their ordinance for raising the militia to be put in execution in Essex [June 7], when all the regiments appeared full, besides a great number of volunteers, who declared they would stand by the Parliament in this cause with their lives and fortunes. The king forbade the militia's appearing in arms without his consent, according to the statute 7 Eliz., cap. i., and issued out commissions of array, according to an old statute of 5 Henry IV., appointing several persons of quality to array, muster, and train the people in the several counties; but the Parliament, by a declaration, endeavoured to prove these commissions to be illegal, contrary to the petition of right, and to a statute of this present Parliament; and went on with mustering the militia in several other counties, where the spirit of the people appeared to be with them. The execution of these counter-commissions occasioned some skirmishes wherever the two parties happened to meet.

On the 10th of June, 1642, the Parliament published proposals for borrowing money upon

time he was actually taking such or similar steps.—Ed.

* According to Dr. Grey, there is an error in this date; for the king issued a proclamation of his intention to besiege Hull upon the 11th of July, so could not lay siege to it upon the 4th.—Ed.

† Rushworth, p. 601.

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the public faith at eight per cent. interest, allowing the full value of the plate, besides one shilling per ounce consideration for the fashion. Upon information of this, the king immediately wrote to the Lord-mayor of London to forbid the citizens lending their money or plate, upon pain of high treason; notwithstanding which, such vast quantities were brought into Guildhall within ten days, that there were hardly officers enough to receive it. Mr. Echard computes the plate at £11,000,000, which is monstrous, for in reality it was but £1,267,326; the gentry of London and Middlesex brought in the best of their plate, and the meaner sort their gold rings, thimbles, and bodkins. Lord Clarendon says, this zeal of the people arose from the influence and industry of their preachers; which might be true in part, though it was rather owing to a quick and feeling apprehension of the danger of their liberties and religion, by an inundation of popery and arbitrary power.

The king also tried his credit with the people, by publishing a declaration inviting his subjects to bring in their money, plate, horses, and arms to York, upon the security of his forests and parks for the principal, and eight per cent. interest, with very little success, except among the courtiers and the two universities.

July 7, his majesty sent letters to the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges in Oxford, desiring them to lend him their public stock, engaging, upon the word of a king, to allow them eight per cent. for that and all other sums of money that any private gentleman or scholar should advance. Hereupon it was unanimously agreed in convocation to intrust his majesty with their public stock, amounting to £860, which was immediately delivered to Mr. Chaworth, his majesty's messenger. The several colleges also sent his majesty their plate; and private gentlemen contributed considerable sums of money to the value of above £10,000.* The two houses of Westminster being informed of these proceedings, published an ordinance, declaring this act of the university "a breach of trust, and an alienation of the public money, contrary to the intent of the pious donors, and, therefore, not to be justified by the laws of God or man;" that it was also contrary to their engagements, for the university being yet in the hands of the Parliament, the Lord Say and his deputy-lieutenants had been with the several masters and heads of houses, and obtained a solemn promise from each of them that their plate should be forthcoming, and should not be made use of by the king against the Parliament; and yet, contrary to their engagement, they sent it away privately to York, where it arrived July 18, as appeared by his majesty's most gracious letter of thanks.† As soon as the two houses were informed of this, they sent for the four principal managers of this affair into custody, viz., Dr. Prideaux, bishop of Worcester, Dr. Samuel Fell, dean of Christ Church, Dr. Frewen, and Dr. Potter, who absconded; and the scholars, encouraged by their principals, bought arms, formed themselves into companies, and, laying aside their academical studies, were instructed in the art of war, and performed the military

* Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 88.

† Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 759.

exercises under their respective captains and leaders. Such was the zeal of the vice-chancellor, Dr. Pink, that, not content with marshalling the university, he promoted the king's commission of array among the townsmen, and received one of his majesty's troops of horse into garrison, for which he was afterward apprehended and committed to the Gate-house at Westminster. The Parliament, provoked with this behaviour of the university, threatened to quarter some of their own regiments upon them, which frightened away half the scholars, and put the rest into such a terrible panic that the vice-chancellor thought proper to write the following submissive letter to the Earl of Pembroke, their chancellor :

"Right Honourable,

"May it please your lordship to know, that this university is now in extreme danger of suffering all the calamities that warlike forces may bring upon it.* Such forces, we hear for certain, are some of them already on their march, and others are raising to assault us, and, if they may have their wills, to destroy us! My lord, you have been solicitous whom to appoint your chancellor for next year, but if these forces come forward, and do that execution upon us that we fear they intend, there will be no use at all for a vice-chancellor, for what will be here for him to do, where there will be no scholars for him to govern? Or what should scholars do here, having no libraries left them to study in, no schools to dispute in, chapels to serve God in, colleges or halls to live or lodge in, but have all these ransacked, defaced, demolished, so as posterity may have to say, See! here was for a long time, and till such a year, a university of great renown and eminence in all manner of learning and virtue, but now laid utterly waste, and buried in her own ruins. And then the question will be, What! had we no lord chancellor? or was he not able to protect us? We are all confident that if your lordship would interpose for us to the honourable houses of Parliament for our safety and security, all would be well with us. The delinquents that were sent for are not one of them here at this time. Sir John Byron, with his regiment of troopers, we shall soon prevail with to withdraw from us, if he may with safety march back to the king, who, of his own gracious care of us, sent him hither. And if your lordship shall be secured, that no other forces shall be here imposed upon us, that will take the liberty to exercise that barbarous insolence with which the illiterately rude and ruffianly rabble of the vulgar threaten us; against such only our young men have lately taken in hand the arms we have (a very few, God knows, and in weak hands enough) to save themselves and us from having our libraries fired, our colleges pillaged, and our throats cut by them, if they should suddenly break in upon us. And this, my lord, is all the sinful intent we have had in permitting them to train in a voluntary and peaceable manner so as they have done. Good my lord, that which I most earnestly beg of your honour is, that at the humble request of the university you would put in action with all speed what may be most prevalent with the Parliament for

the peace and security of this place, and for the staying of our students, a great part of whom (such stout and hardy men are they), upon alarms and frights, such as have been hourly here of late, are fled away from us home to their mothers. The disciples, when in danger of drowning, clamoured our Saviour, 'Master, carest thou not that we perish?' But I am bold to assume for your honour, and to assure all of this university under your happy government, that you will not suffer us to perish, and that you will at this time give us a clear and real evidence of it, having this representation of the peril we are now in, made to your honour by me,

"Your lordship's humble servant,

"Provost, vice-chancellor of Oxford.

"Sept. 12, 1642."

This letter being sent two months after the university had conveyed their plate and money to the king; after they had refused to send up such principal managers of that affair as the Parliament had demanded; after they had taken up arms, and received a regiment of his majesty's forces into garrison, the Earl of Pembroke only returned the following angry answer :

"Sir,

"If you had desired my advice and assistance in time, I should willingly have contributed my best endeavours for your safety and protection, but your unadvised counsels and actions have reduced you to the straits you are now in; and in discretion you might have foreseen, that the admitting cavaliers, and taking up arms, could not but make the university a notorious mark of opposition against the Parliament, and, therefore, to be opposed by it. If you had contained yourselves within the decent, modest bounds of a university, you might justly have challenged me, if I had not performed the duty of a chancellor. The best counsel I now can give you is, that you presently dismiss the cavaliers, and yield up to the Parliament such delinquents as are among you; then, the cause being taken away, the effect will follow. When you have put yourselves into the right posture of a university, I will be a faithful servant to you, and ready to do you all the good offices I can with the Parliament, as I am now sorry you have brought upon yourselves these troubles.

"I rest your very true friend,

"PEMBROKE and MONTGOMERY.

"Sept. 13, 1642."

Cambridge University followed the example of Oxford, for upon reading his majesty's letter of June 29 to the vice-chancellor, Dr. Holdsworth, they readily agreed also to intrust the king with their public money: what the whole sum amounted to does not appear, but may be guessed by the particulars of one college, a receipt for which is preserved among the archives, and is as follows :

"July 2, 1642.

"Received, the day and year above written, of Win. Beale, doctor in divinity, master of St. John's College, in the University of Cambridge, for the king's use (according to the intentment and direction of his majesty's letters of the 29th of June last, to the vice-chancellor of the said

* Rushworth, part iii., vol. ii., p. 11.

university), the sum of £150.* I say, received from the treasury of the said college by me,*

“JOHN POLEY.”

This Mr. Poley was fellow of Pembroke Hall, and one of the proctors of the university. When the king had secured their money, he sent to borrow their plate, under pretence of preserving it from the Parliament; for this purpose he wrote another letter to the vice-chancellor, with directions to take an exact account, not only of the weight, but also of the form of every piece, together with the names, arms, and mottoes of the respective donors, that if his majesty should not preserve it as entire as it was, he might restore it hereafter in the same weight and form, and with the same marks, all which he ensured upon his royal word. There is no account remaining of what plate the colleges delivered up for his majesty's use, though many wished, says Mr. Fuller, that every ounce had been a pound for his sake; but in the treasury of St. John's College there are the particulars of what that college delivered in, together with the weight, forms, and names of the chief benefactors, which amounts, in the whole, according to avoirdupois weight, to two thousand sixty-five ounces and a half, as expressed in the following receipt:

“August 8, 1642.

“I do acknowledge that there has been delivered to me, in the name and on behalf of the master, fellows, and scholars of St. John's College, in Cambridge, two fir boxes, marked with these three letters, S. J. C., containing in them all the several pieces of plate above written, which said plate weigheth, as appears by the particulars, two thousand sixty-five ounces and a half, more or less, which they deposited into the king's hands for the security thereof and his majesty's service, according to the tenour of his majesty's letters, written and directed to the vice-chancellor of the university.*

“JOHN POLEY.”

According to this calculation, the king might receive from all the colleges together about £8 or £10,000 in plate, besides money. Colonel Oliver Cromwell, with his company of soldiers, endeavoured to intercept the convoy, but under the conduct of Mr. Barnaby Oley, their guide, who was acquainted with all the by-roads, they escaped the enemy, and delivered up their charge to the king about the time when he was setting up his royal standard at Nottingham. Cromwell having missed the convoy, returned to Cambridge and took possession of the town and university for the Parliament, who, being acquainted with what was done, sent them an angry message, as they had done to Oxford, full of resentments for their disposing of the public money, contrary to the trust reposed in them. The masters and fellows excused themselves by alleging the royal mandate; whereupon the two houses sent a mandate of their own to the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges in convocation assembled, desiring them to contribute their assistance to the cause in which they [the Parliament] were engaged; but though, as Dr. Barwick observes, the commander of the garrison kept them sitting till midnight, they would lend nothing, because they apprehended

it to be contrary to religion and a good conscience; the houses, therefore, ordered Dr. Beal, Dr. Martin, and Dr. Sterne, masters of St. John's, Jesus', and Queen's College, into custody;* upon which many of the scholars deserted their stations, and listed in the king's service.

Besides the two universities, the king applied underhand to the papists, who were firm to his interest, though he durst not as yet avow his correspondence with them; for in his declaration of June 3, he assures the ministers and freeholders of Yorkshire that he would not make use of foreigners, or of persons disaffected to the Protestant religion. Again, we have taken order that the power of the sword shall not come into the hands of papists.† August 10, his majesty commands that no papist should be listed as a soldier in his army; which was expedient, to avoid as much as possible the reproach of an alliance with those people, who were at this time become infamous by the Irish massacre. Though his majesty had but few Roman Catholics among his own forces, the Duke of Newcastle's army was filled with them, and popery was countenanced to that degree at York that mass was said in every corner of the street, and the Protestants so affronted that they were almost afraid to go to church.‡ The king applied to his Roman Catholic subjects to advance two or three years of the rent that they paid as composition for their estates as recusants, which they not only complied with, but wrote to their friends abroad to borrow more; proclamation was made at Bruges, and other parts of Flanders, that all people who would loan any money to maintain the Roman Catholics in England, should have it repaid in a year's time, with many thanks.

The Lancashire papists, having been lately disarmed by order of Parliament, petitioned his

* They were immediately after carried to London by Cromwell, and confined in the Tower and other prisons for some years, particularly in the noisome hold of a ship.—*Dr. Grey; Barwick's Life*, p. 32, note (t); and *Fuller's History of Cambridge*, p. 168.—*Ed.*

† Rushworth, part iii., vol. i., p. 625.

‡ Dr. Grey would impeach the truth of this detail, and says, that as Mr. Neal “quotes no authority for these particulars, I am willing to believe that they are not all of them true.” As for the first particular, I can refer for Mr. Neal to Rapin, vol. ii., p. 468, and the matter has been, within these few years, stated and discussed by Mrs. Macaulay, vol. iii., p. 377, 378, 8vo. The fact was admitted by the Earl of Newcastle himself, and he published a long declaration, partly to vindicate himself on this head, which is preserved in Rushworth, part iii., vol. ii., p. 78, &c. Though I am not able to ascertain the authorities on which my author states the other particulars, a letter of intelligence of the affairs in Yorkshire, which the Parliament received, and which has been given to the public since Mr. Neal's history appeared, affords a general confirmation to his account. It represents that the papists, after the king's proclamation for raising his standard, flocked from Ireland, Lancashire, and all parts of Yorkshire, to York; that there were great rejoicings among them, and a great forwardness to assist the service shown. The circumstances represented by our author were not unnatural or improbable consequences of such a confluence and exultation of the papists. And it appears from this letter that the cavaliers in general were guilty of tumults, outrages, and deprivation.—*Parliamentary History*, vol. xi., p. 335, 331, 405, quoted by *Mrs. Macaulay*, vol. iii., p. 343, 344, 8vo.—*Ed.*

* *Dr. Barwick's Life*, p. 22.

† *Ibid.*, p. 24.

majesty that, since the war was begun, their arms might be redelivered, that they might be in a capacity to defend his majesty's royal person and their own families. To which his majesty consented in the following words :

"—The laws for disarming recusants being to prevent dangers in a time of peace, but not intended to bar you from the use of arms in time of war for your own safety, or the defence of our person—Our will and command, therefore, is, and we charge and require you upon your allegiance, that with all possible speed you provide sufficient arms for yourselves, your servants, and your tenants, which we authorize and require you to keep and use for the defence of us, yourselves, and your country, against all forces raised against us, under colour of any order or ordinance of Parliament, and we shall use our utmost power to protect you and yours against all injuries and violence.*

"Given under our signet at Chester, September 27, in the eighteenth year of our reign."

Agreeably to this, Mr. George Tempest, a priest, writes to his brother in the king's army, "Our priests at Lancaster are at liberty; Catholic commanders are admitted, and all well enough that way; God Almighty, as I hope, will better prosper the cause." And another adds, "that there is no prosecution of priest or papist in Northumberland."

When the Parliament objected this to his majesty, and named the very officers, he was highly displeased, and in his answer makes use of these solemn expressions: "For that continued dishonest accusation of our inclination to the papists, which the authors of it in their own consciences know to be most unjust and groundless, we can say no more, and we can do no more, to the satisfaction of the world.—That any priests or Jesuits imprisoned have been released by us out of the jail at Lancaster, or any other jail, is as false as the father of lies can invent. Neither are the persons named in that declaration, to whom commissions are supposed to be granted for places of command in this war, so much as known to us; nor have they any command, or to our knowledge are present in our army. And it is strange that our oaths and protestations before Almighty God, for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, should be so slighted.—We desire to have our protestations believed by the evidence of our actions."† Surely this solemn appeal to Almighty God was ambiguous and evasive! or else we must conclude that his majesty was very little acquainted with what was done in his name, and by his commission.

It was only five days after this that the mask was thrown off, for his majesty confesses, in his declaration of October 27, that the malice and fury of his enemies had reduced him to the necessity of accepting the service and affection of any of his good subjects, whatsoever their religion was; that he did know of some few papists whose eminent abilities in command and conduct had moved him to employ them in his service; but he assures his good subjects that he would always use his endeavours to suppress their religion, by executing the laws already in force against papists, and in concur-

ring in any other remedies which his two houses should think proper.

As the king was reduced to the necessity of accepting the service and affection of the papists, so, on the other hand, the Parliament took all imaginable care to cultivate a good correspondence with the Scots, and to secure that nation in their interests. We have remembered that the Scots commissioners at London offered their mediation in the beginning of the year, which the Parliament accepted; but the king, from his extreme hatred of the Presbyterian discipline, refused, commanding them to be content with their own settlement, and not to meddle in the affairs of another nation. But the breach between the king and his two houses growing wider, the council of Scotland sent their chancellor, in the month of May, to renew their offers of a mediation between the two parties, which the king rejected as before;* and the rather, because they still insisted upon the abolishing of episcopacy, which his majesty believed to be of Divine institution, and upon a uniformity of Presbyterian government in the two nations; whereas the majority of both houses, being of Erastian principles, were under no difficulties about a change of discipline, apprehending that the civil magistrate might set up what form of government was most conducive to the good of the state. The Parliament, therefore, treated the chancellor with great respect, and not only accepted the mediation, but wrote to the General Assembly, which was to meet in July, acquainting them with the crisis of their affairs, and desiring their advice and assistance in bringing about such a reformation as was desired. To which the Assembly returned an answer, dated August 3, 1642, to the following purpose.

"After giving God thanks for the Parliament's desire of a reformation of religion, and expressing their grief that it moves so slowly, they observe, that their commissioners, far from arrogance and presumption, had, with great respect and reverence, expressed their desires for unity of religion, that there might be one confession of faith, one directory of worship, one public catechism, and one form of church government.† The Assembly," say they, "now enter upon the labours of the commissioners, being encouraged by the zeal of former times, when their predecessors sent a letter into England against the surplice, tippet, and corner-cap, in the year 1566, and again in the years 1583 and 1589. They are now farther encouraged by the king's late answer to their commissioners in their treaty for Ireland, wherein his majesty approves of the affection of his subjects of Scotland, in their desires of conformity of church government; by his majesty's late practice while he was in Scotland, in resorting to their worship, and establishing it by act of Parliament. They are also encouraged by a letter sent from many reverend brethren of the Church of England, expressing their prayers and endeavours against everything that shall be prejudicial to the establishment of the kingdom of Christ. They therefore advise to begin with a uniformity of church government; for what

* Rushworth, vol. ii., part iii., p. 50. † Ibid., p. 31.

* Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, book iii., p. 194.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., part iii., p. 387.

hope can there be," say they, "of one confession of faith, one form of worship and catechism, till prelacy be plucked up root and branch, as a plant which God had not planted? Indeed, the Reformed kirks hold their form of government by presbyters to be *jure divino*, and perpetual, but prelacy is almost universally held by the prelates themselves to be a human ordinance, and may, therefore, be altered or abolished, in cases of necessity, without wronging any man's conscience; for the accomplishing of which they promise their best assistance."

In the Parliament's answer to this letter, "they acknowledge the friendship of their brethren in Scotland, and express their desires of unity in religion, that in all his majesty's dominions there might be but one confession of faith and form of church government;* and though this is hardly to be expected punctually and exactly, yet they hope, since they are guided by the same spirit, they shall be so directed as to cast out everything that is offensive to God, and so far agree with the Scots, and other Reformed churches, in the substantial of doctrine, worship, and discipline, that there may be a free communion in all holy exercises and duties of public worship, for the attaining whereof they intend an assembly of godly and learned divines, as soon as they can obtain the royal assent. We have entered into a serious consideration," say they, "what good we have received from the government of bishops, and do perceive it has been the occasion of many intolerable burdens and grievances, by their usurping a pre-eminence and power not given them by the Word of God, &c. We find it has also been pernicious to our civil government, inasmuch as the bishops have ever been forward to fill the minds of our princes with notions of arbitrary power over the lives and liberties of the subject, by their counsels and in their sermons. Upon which accounts, and many others, we do declare, that this government, by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers depending upon the hierarchy, is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation, and very prejudicial to the civil government, and that we are resolved the same shall be taken away. And we desire our brethren of Scotland to concur with us in petitioning his majesty that we may have an assembly of divines; and to send some of their own ministers to the said assembly, in order to obtain uniformity in church government, that so a more easy passage may be made for settling one confession of faith, and directory of public worship, for the three kingdoms."

The king, being alarmed with the harmony between the two kingdoms, sent a warm remonstrance to the Council of Scotland, August 26, the very week he set up his standard at Nottingham, in which he declares,

"That he desired uniformity as much as they, in such a way as he in his conscience thought most serviceable to the true Protestant religion; but that his two houses of Parliament had never made any proposition to him since their meeting concerning uniformity of church government; so far," says his majesty, "are they

from desiring such a thing, that we are confident the most considerable persons, and those who make the fairest pretensions to you of that kind, will not sooner embrace a presbyterial than you an episcopal.* And truly it seems, notwithstanding whatsoever profession they have made to the contrary, that nothing has been less in their minds than settling the true religion, and reforming such abuses in the Church as possibly may have crept in contrary to the established laws of the land, to which we have been so far from being averse, that we have pressed them to it. And whenever any proposition shall be made to us by them, which we shall conceive may advance the unity of the Protestant religion, according to the Word of God, or establish church government according to the known laws of the kingdom, we shall let the world see that nothing can be more agreeable to us than the advancing so good a work."

Here his majesty explains the uniformity he all along intended, and very justly observes, that the Parliament no more believed the Divine institution of presbytery than others did of diocesan prelacy; for though they were content, in order to secure the assistance of the Scots nation, to vote away the power of archbishops and bishops, yet when they had conquered the king, and had nothing to fear from their neighbours, they could not be prevailed with to establish the Scots presbytery without reserving the power of the keys to themselves.

Lord Clarendon very justly observes, "that the Parliament were sensible they could not carry on the war but by the help of the Scots, which they were not to expect without an alteration of the government of the Church, to which that nation was violently inclined; but that very much the major part of the members that continued in the Parliament-house were cordially affected to the established government, at least not affected to any other."† But then, to induce them to consent to such an alteration, it was said the Scots would not take up arms without it; so that they must lose all, and let the king return as a conqueror, or submit to the change. If it should be said this would make a peace with the king impracticable, whose affection to the hierarchy all men knew, it was answered, that it was usual in treaties to ask more than was expected to be granted; and, it might be, that their departing from their proposition concerning the Church might prevail with the king to give them the militia. Upon these motives the bill to abolish episcopacy was brought into the House, and passed the Commons September 1, and on the 10th of the same month it passed the Lords. The noble historian says that marvellous art and industry were used to obtain it; that the majority of the Commons was really against it, and that it was very hardly submitted to by the House of Peers. But the writer of the Parliamentary Chronicle, who was then at London, says, the bill passed *nullo contradicente*, not a negative vote being heard among them all, and that there were bonfires and ringing of bells for joy all over the city.‡

The bill was entitled, "An Act for the utter

* Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, b. iv., p. 197.

† Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 117.

‡ Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 150.

* Rushworth, vol. ii., part iii., p. 390.

abolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries," &c.

It ordains, that "after the fifth of November, 1643, there shall be no archbishop, bishop, chancellor, or commissary of any archbishop or bishop, nor any dean, sub-dean, dean and chapter, archdeacon, nor any chancellor, chanter, treasurer, sub-treasurer, succentor, or sacrist, of any cathedral or collegiate church, nor any prebendary, canon, canon-residentiary, petty canon, vicar choral, chorister, old vicars or new vicars, of or within any cathedral or collegiate churches in England or Wales.—That their names, titles, jurisdictions, offices, and functions, and the having or using any jurisdiction or power, by reason or colour of any such names and titles, shall cease, determine, and become absolutely void.

"That all the manors, lordships, castles, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and all other possessions and hereditaments whatsoever, belonging to any archbishopric or bishopric, shall be in the real and actual possession and seisin of the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, to hold and enjoy in as ample a manner as they were held by any archbishop or bishop within two years last past, except impropriations, parsonages, appropriate tithes, oblations, obventions, pensions, portions of tithes, parsonages, vicarages, churches, chapels, advowsons, nominations, collations, rights of patronage and presentation.

"That all impropriations, parsonages, tithes, &c., and all other hereditaments and possessions whatsoever, belonging to any dean, sub-dean and chapter, archdeacon, or any of their officers, be put into the hands of trustees, to pay to all and every archbishop, bishop, dean, sub-dean, archdeacon, and all other officers belonging to collegiate and cathedral churches, such yearly stipends and pensions as shall be appointed by Parliament. And they shall dispose of all the aforesaid manors, lands, tithes, appropriations, advowsons, &c., for a competent maintenance for the support of such a number of preaching ministers in every cathedral and collegiate church as shall be appointed by Parliament; and for the maintenance of preaching ministers in other places of the country where such maintenance is wanting; and for such other good uses, to the advancement of religion, piety, and learning, as shall be directed by Parliament.

"Provided, that all revenues and rents as have been, and now ought to be, paid for the maintenance of grammar-schools or scholars, or for the repairing any church, chapel, highway, causeway, bridges, schoolhouse, almshouse, or other charitable uses, payable by any of the persons whose offices are taken away by this act, shall be continued. Provided, also, that this act shall not extend to any college, church, corporation, foundation, or house of learning in either of the universities."

It may seem strange that the Parliament should abolish the present establishment before they had agreed on another, but the Scots would not declare for them till they had done it. Had the two houses been inclined to presbytery (as some have maintained), it would have been easy to have adopted the Scots model at once ;

but as the bill for extirpating episcopacy was not to take place till above a year forward, it is apparent they were willing it should not take place at all, if in that time they could come to an accommodation with the king; and if the breach should then remain, they proposed to consult with an assembly of divines what form to erect in its stead. Thus the old English hierarchy lay prostrate for about eighteen years, although never legally abolished for want of the royal assent; and therefore, at the restoration of King Charles II., it took place again, without any new law to restore it; which the Presbyterians, who were then in the saddle, not understanding, did not provide against as they might.

While the king and Parliament were thus strengthening themselves, and calling in severally all the succours they could get, the scene of the war began to open; his majesty travelled with a large retinue into several of the northern and western counties, summoning the people together, and in set speeches endeavouring to possess them of the justice of his cause, promising, upon the word of a king, that for the future he would govern by law. Upon this assurance, about forty lords, and several members who had deserted* the House of Commons, signed an engagement to defend his majesty's person and prerogative, to support the Protestant religion established by law, and not to submit to any ordinance of Parliament concerning the militia that had not the royal assent. Great numbers listed in his majesty's service, whereby an army was formed, which marched a second time to the siege of Hull.

* Bishop Warburton censures Mr. Neal for using the word "deserted," "which," he says, "is a party word, and implies betraying their trust." His lordship owns that the conduct of the members, who left the House and retired to the king, was so called by the Parliament; but an historian's adopting, in this case, the term which impeaches their fidelity, he considers "taking for granted the thing in dispute." But, with his lordship's leave, his stricture confounds the province of the historian with that of the mere chronologist. The former does not merely detail events, but investigates their causes, and represents their connexion and influence. It is not easy to say how he can do this, without forming and expressing a decided opinion on them. That opinion does not bind the reader, nor is the impartiality of the historian violated, if facts are fairly and fully stated. In the case before us, it may be farther urged, that the word "deserted" not only conveyed Mr. Neal's idea of the conduct of the members who left the Parliament, but truly represented it. They forsook the seats to which they were elected; they left the post which was assigned to them; and they withdrew from the stage of debate and action, to which the king's writ had called, and to which the voice of their constituents had sent them. They were representatives, chosen to act in conjunction with the other representatives: instead of proceeding on this principle, they formed a separate junto and faction. The first duty of a representative is to fulfil the trust reposed in him. The word "deserted," says his lordship, is a party word; grant it. Yet the use of it was not inconsistent with the impartiality of the historian: for though it should not give the most favourable idea of the conduct of these members, it conveys the judgment which the Parliament had of it; and of the recititude of this judgment the reader is still left to form his own sentiments. The matter at the time was considered in the most serious light, and greatly alarmed and distressed all who loved the peace of the nation.—See *May's Parliamentary History*, p. 58, &c.—Ed.

A week after the king was set down before this fortress, and not before [July 12] the two houses, after long debates, came to this resolution, that an army should be raised for the defence of the king and Parliament, that the Earl of Essex should be captain-general, and the Earl of Bedford general of the horse, who were empowered to resist and oppose with force all such whom they should find in arms, putting in execution the king's commission of array. The reasons of this resolution arising from the king's extraordinary preparations for war, were published at the same time; and in their declaration of August 4, they say, "that they would have yielded up everything to the king, could they have been assured that by disarming themselves they should not have been left naked, while the military sword was in the hands of those evil counsellors who, they had reason to fear, had vowed the destruction of the two houses, and, through their sides, of the Protestant religion; but, being well acquainted with their designs, they apprehend that their duty to God and their country obliges them to hazard everything for the maintenance of the true religion, the king's person, honour, and estate, and the liberties of England." On the 9th of August the king proclaimed the Earl of Essex and all his adherents traitors, unless they laid down their arms within six days; and in another manifesto declared both houses of Parliament guilty of high treason, and forbid all his subjects to yield obedience to them. The Parliament, also, on their part, proclaimed all who adhered to the king in this cause traitors against the Parliament and the kingdom.* August 12, the king by proclamation commanded all his subjects on the north of Trent, and within twenty miles south of it, to appear in arms for the suppressing the rebels that were marching against him; and about the same time issued out another proclamation, requiring all men who could bear arms to repair to him at Nottingham, where he intended to set up his standard on Monday, August 22. In the mean time, his majesty gave out new commissions to augment his forces, and marching through Lincoln, took away the arms of the train-bands for the use of his troops. At length, being arrived at the appointed place, he caused his standard to be erected in the open field, on the outside of the castle wall, at Nottingham, but very few came to attend it; and the weather proving stormy and tempestuous, it was blown down the same evening, and could not be fixed again in two days. Three weeks after this [September 9], the Earl of Essex, the Parliament's general, left London, to put himself at the head of their army of fifteen thousand men at St. Alban's. The king, with an army of equal strength, marched from Nottingham to Shrewsbury, and having refreshed his forces there for some time, broke up October 12, in order to march directly for London; but the Earl of Essex putting himself in the way, both armies engaged at Edgehill, near Keinton, in Warwickshire, on Sunday, October 23, the very same day twelvemonth after the breaking out of the Irish massacre; the battle continued from three in the afternoon till night, with almost equal advantage, the number of slain on both sides being about four thousand. Thus the

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 457, folio edition.

sword was drawn which was drenched in the blood of the inhabitants of this island for several years, to the loss of as many Protestant lives as perished by the insurrection and massacre of Ireland.

CHAPTER XII.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF BOTH PARTIES, WITH A SUMMARY OF THE GROUNDS OF THE CIVIL WAR.

WE have already seen the unsettled state of religion upon the king's progress into Scotland, with the complaints of the Royalists for want of decency and uniformity. The hierarchy had for some time been a dead weight, the springs that moved it being stopped by the imprisonment of the bishops and the check that was given to the spiritual courts; but now the whole fabric was taken down after a year, though when that was expired no other discipline was erected in its room; nor was the name, style, and dignity of archbishops and bishops taken away by ordinance of Parliament till September 5, 1646, that is, till the war was over, and the king a prisoner. In this interval there was properly no established form of government, the clergy being permitted to read more or less of the liturgy as they pleased,* and to govern their parishes according to their discretion. The vestments were left indifferent, some wearing them, and others, in imitation of the foreign Protestants, making use of a cloak. February 2, 1642-3, the Commons ordered that the statute of the University of Cambridge, which imposes the use of the surplice upon all students and graduates, should not be pressed, as being against the law and liberty of the subject; and three days after, they made the same order for the schools of Westminster, Eton, and Winchester. Bishop Kennet says that tithes were denied to those who read common prayer; and it is as true, that they were withheld from those that did not read it; for many, taking advantage of the confusion of the times, eased themselves of a burden for which some few pleaded conscience, and others the uncertain title of those that claimed them.

Though the Parliament and Puritan clergy were averse to cathedral-worship, that is, to a variety of musical instruments, choristers, singing of prayers, anthems, &c., as unsuitable to the solemnity and simplicity of Divine service, yet was it not prohibited; and though the revenues of prebendaries and deans, &c., had been voted useless, and more fit to be applied to the maintenance of preaching ministers, yet the stipends of those who did not take part with the king were not sequestered till the latter end of the year 1645, when it was ordained, "that the deans and prebendaries of Westminster who absented themselves, or were delin-

* Here, as Dr. Grey observes, is an inaccuracy. The use of the liturgy was not permitted during the whole of this interval, as appears by Mr. Neal's own account, vol. iii.; for it was prohibited, and the directory established in its room, previously to the abolition of the episcopal titles and dignity, by ordinances of Parliament on the 3d of January, 1644-5, and 23d of August, 1645.—Ed.

quents, or had not taken the covenant, should be suspended from their several offices and places, except Mr. Osbaldeston;" but the names, titles, and offices of deans and chapters were not abolished till after the king's death, in the year 1649, the Parliament proceeding with some caution as long as there was any prospect of an accommodation with the king. Indeed, the beauty of the cathedrals was in some measure defaced about this time, by the ordinance for the removing crucifixes, images, pictures, and other monuments of superstition, out of churches. Many fine paintings in the windows and on the walls were broken and destroyed, without a decent repair of the damage. In Lambeth Chapel the organ was taken down [November 25]. The following summer, the paintings, pictures, superstitious ornaments, and images were defaced or removed out of the Cathedrals of Canterbury, Rochester, Chichester, Winchester, Worcester, Lincoln, Litchfield, Salisbury, Gloucester, St. Paul's in London, the Collegiate Church of Westminster, &c. "But," says my author, "I do not find that they then seized the revenues and estates of the cathedrals, but contented themselves with plundering and imprisoning some of the principal members, and dispersing many of the rest; and several of those places coming afterward into his majesty's hands, the service did not wholly cease, nor were the doors of those stately fabrics finally closed at that time."

Though the discipline of the Church was at an end, there was, nevertheless, an uncommon spirit of devotion among the people in the Parliament quarters; the Lord's Day was observed with remarkable strictness, the churches being crowded with numerous and attentive hearers three or four times in the day; the officers of the peace patrolled the streets and shut up all public-houses; there was no travelling on the road, or walking in the fields, except in cases of absolute necessity. Religious exercises were set up in private families, as reading the Scriptures, family prayer, repeating sermons, and singing of psalms, which was so universal that you might walk through the city of London on the evening of the Lord's Day without seeing an idle person, or hearing anything but the voice of prayer or praise from churches and private houses.

As is usual in times of public calamity, so at the breaking out of the civil war, all public diversions and recreations were laid aside. By an ordinance of September 2, 1642, it was declared, that "whereas public sports do not agree with public calamities, nor public stage-plays with the seasons of humiliation, this being an exercise of sad and pious solemnity, the other being spectacles of pleasure too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity, it is therefore ordained that, while these sad causes and set times of humiliation continue, public stage-plays shall cease and be forborne; instead of which are recommended to the people of this land the profitable duties of repentance, and making their peace with God."*

The set times of humiliation mentioned in the ordinance refers to the monthly fast appointed by the king at the request of the Parliament [January 8, 1641], on account of the Irish insurrection and massacre, to be observed every last Wednesday in the month as long as the calamities of that nation should require it. But when the king set up his standard at Nottingham, the two houses, apprehending that England was now to be the seat of war, published an ordinance for the more strict observation of this fast, in order to implore a Divine blessing upon the consultations of Parliament, and to deprecate the calamities that threatened this nation. All preachers were enjoined to give notice of it from the pulpit the preceding Lord's Day, and to exhort their hearers to a solemn and religious observation of the whole day, by a devout attendance on the service of God in some church or chapel, by abstinence, and by refraining from worldly business and diversions: all public-houses are likewise forbid to sell any sorts of liquors (except in cases of necessity) till the public exercises and religious duties of the day were ended; which continued with little or no intermission from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon, during which time the people were at their devotions, and the ministers engaged in one part or other of Divine worship.

But, besides the monthly fast, the opening of the war gave rise to another exercise of prayer and exhortation to repentance for an hour every morning in the week. Most of the citizens of London having some near relation or friend in the army of the Earl of Essex, so many bills were sent up to the pulpit every Lord's Day for their preservation, that the minister had neither time to read them nor to recommend their cases to God in prayer; it was therefore agreed, by some London divines, to separate an hour for this purpose every morning, one half to be spent in prayer, and the other in a suitable exhortation to the people. The Reverend Mr. Case, minister of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, began it in his church at seven in the morning, and when it had continued there a month, it was removed by turns to other churches at a distance, for the accommodation of the several parts of the city, and was called the morning exercise. The service was performed by divers ministers, and earnest intercessions were made, in the presence of a numerous and crowded audience, for the welfare of the public as well as particular cases. When the heat of the war was over it became a casuistical lecture, and was carried on by the most learned and able divines till the restoration of King Charles II. Their sermons were afterward published in several volumes quarto, under the title of the Morning Exercises,* each sermon being the resolution of some practical case of conscience. This lec-

* These Morning Exercises are now to be proctured but rarely; they consist of seven small quarto volumes, including a supplemental one, and are in great demand. They are regarded as furnishing one of the best compends of theology in the English language. No library of any pretensions should be without this admirable work; and although it is very expensive, it will repay the owner. The unrivalled volume on Popery is about to be republished at Boston.—C.

* Rushworth, vol. ii., part iii., p. 1. It is worthy of notice how decorous and truly respectable are all the public acts of the Parliament, and how little they appear like the productions of enthusiasts or fanatics.—C.

ture, though in a different form, is continued among the Protestant Dissenters to this day.

Some time after, another morning lecture was set up in the abbey-church of Westminster, between the hours of six and eight, for the benefit of that part of the town, and especially of the members of Parliament; it was carried on by Dr. Staunton, Mr. Nye, Marshal, Palmer, Herle, Whitaker, and Hill, all members of the Assembly of Divines. In short, there were lectures and sermons every day in the week in one church or another, which were well attended, and with great appearance of zeal and affection. Men were not backward to rise before day, and go to places of worship at a great distance, for the benefit of hearing the Word of God. Such was the devotion of the city of London and parts adjacent in these dangerous times!

Nor was the reformation of manners less remarkable; the laws against vice and profaneness were so strict, and so rigorously put in execution, that wickedness was forced to hide itself in corners. There were no gaming-houses, or houses of pleasure; no profane swearing, drunkenness, or any kind of debauchery, to be seen or heard in the streets. It is commonly said that the religion of these times was no better than hypocrisy and dissimulation; and, without all doubt, there were numbers of men who made the form of godliness a cloak to dishonesty; nay, it is probable that hypocrisy, and other secret immoralities, might be the prevailing sins of the age, all open vices being suppressed; but still I am persuaded that the body of the people were sincerely religious, and, with all their faults, I should rejoice to see, in our days, such an appearance of religion, and all kinds of vice and profaneness so effectually discountenanced.

If we go from the city to the camp of the Earl of Essex, we shall find no less probity of manners among them, most of his soldiers being men who did not fight so much for pay as for religion and the liberties of their country. Mr. Whitelocke observes,* "that Colonel Cromwell's regiment of horse were most of them freeholders' sons, who engaged in the war upon principles of conscience; and that, being well armed within by the satisfaction of their consciences, and without with good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly and charge desperately." The same author† adds, "that Colonel Wilson, who was heir to an estate of £2000 a year, and was the only son of his father, put himself at the head of a gallant regiment of citizens, who listed themselves in the Parliament's service purely upon conscience; this," says he, "was the condition of many others also of like quality and fortune in those times, who had such an affection for their religion, and the rights and liberties of their country, that *pro aris et focis* they were willing to undergo any hardships or dangers, and thought no service too much or too great for their country." The most eminent divines served as chaplains to the several regiments; Dr. Burges and Mr. Marshall were chaplains to the Earl of Essex's regiment; Dr. Downing to Lord Roberts's; Mr. Sedgwick to Colonel Hollis's; Dr. Spurstow to Mr. Hampden's; Mr. Aske to Lord Brookes's, &c. While these con-

tinued, none of the enthusiastic follies, that were afterward a reproach to the army, discovered themselves. There were among them some who afterward joined the sectaries; some who were mercenaries, and (if we may believe his majesty's declaration after the battle of Edgehill) some who were disguised papists; but, upon the whole, Lord Clarendon confesses, *there was an exact discipline in the army*; that they neither plundered nor robbed the country; all complaints of this kind being redressed in the best manner, and the offenders punished. The Rev. Mr. Baxter, who was himself in the army, gives this account of them: * "The generality of those people throughout England who went by the name of Puritans, Precisians, Presbyterians, who followed sermons, prayed in their families, read books of devotion, and were strict observers of the Sabbath, being avowed enemies to swearing, drunkenness, and all kinds of profaneness, adhered to the Parliament: with these were mixed some young persons of warm heads and enthusiastic principles, who laid the foundation of those sects and divisions which afterward spread over the whole nation, and were a disgrace to the cause which the Parliament had espoused. Of the clergy, those who were of the sentiments of Calvin, who were constant preachers of the Word of God themselves, and encouragers of it in others; who were zealous against popery, and wished for a reformation of the discipline of the Church, were on the Parliament's side. Among these were some of the elder clergy, who were preferred before the rise of Archbishop Laud; all the deprived and silenced ministers, with the whole body of lecturers and warm popular preachers both in town and country; these drew after them great numbers of the more serious and devout people, who were not capable of judging between the king and Parliament, but followed their spiritual guides from a veneration that they had for their integrity and piety. Many went unto the Parliament, and filled up their armies afterward, merely because they heard men swear for the common prayer and bishops, and heard others pray that were against them: because they heard the king's soldiers, with horrid oaths, abuse the name of God, and saw them live in debauchery, while the Parliament soldiers flocked to sermons, talked of religion, and prayed and sung psalms together on their guards. And all the sober men that I was acquainted with, who were against the Parliament," says Mr. Baxter, "used to say the king had the better cause, but the Parliament had the better men."†

The Puritan [or Parliament] clergy were zealous Calvinists, and having been prohibited for some years from preaching against the Arminians, they now pointed all their artillery against them, insisting upon little else in their

* Baxter's Life, p. 26, 31, 33, &c., fol.

† To the authorities quoted by Mr. Neal, Bishop Warburton opposes that of Oliver Cromwell, who, in his speech to his Parliament, represented the Presbyterian armies of the Parliament as chiefly made up, before the self-denying ordinance, of decayed "serving-men, broken tapsters, and men without any sense of religion; and that it was his business to inspire that spirit of religion into his troops on the reform, to oppose the principle of honour in the king's troops, made up of gentlemen."—Ed.

* Memorials, p. 68.

† Ibid., p. 72.

sermons but the doctrines of predestination, justification by faith alone, salvation by free grace, and the inability of man to do that which is good. The duties of the second table were too much neglected; from a strong aversion to Arminianism, these divines, unhappily, made way for Antinomianism, verging from one extreme to another, till, at length, some of the weaker sort were lost in the wild mazes of enthusiastic dreams and visions, and others, from false principles, pretended to justify the hidden works of dishonesty. The Assembly of Divines did what they could to put a stop to the growth of these pernicious errors; but the great scarcity of preachers of a learned education, who took part with the Parliament, left some pulpits in the country empty, and the people to be led aside, in many places, by every bold pretender to inspiration.

"The generality of the stricter and more diligent sort of preachers," says Mr. Baxter, "joined the Parliament, and took shelter in their garrisons; but they were almost all conformable ministers; the laws and the bishops having cast out the Nonconformists long enough before, and not left above two in a county: those who made up the Assembly of Divines, and who, through the land, were the honour of the Parliament party, were almost all such as till then had conformed, and took the ceremonies to be lawful in cases of necessity, but longed to have that necessity removed." He admits "that the younger and less experienced ministers in the country were against amending the bishops and liturgy, apprehending this was but gilding over their danger; but that this was not the sense of the Parliament, nor of their principal divines. The matter of bishops or no bishops," says he, "was not the main thing, except with the Scots, for thousands that wished for good bishops were on the Parliament side. Almost all those afterward called Presbyterians, and all that learned and pious synod at Westminster, except a very few, had been Conformists, and kept up an honourable esteem for those bishops that they thought religious, as Archbishop Usher, Bishop Davenant, Hall, Moreton, &c. These would have been content with an amendment of the hierarchy, and went into the Parliament because they apprehended the interests of religion and civil liberty were on that side."*

But the political principles of these divines gave the greatest disgust to the Royalists; they encouraged the people to stand by the Parliament, and preached up the lawfulness of defending their religion and liberties against the king's evil counsellors. They were for a limited monarchy, agreeable to our present happy Constitution, for which, and for what they apprehended the purity of the Protestant religion, they contended, and for nothing more; but for this they have suffered in their moral character, and have been left upon record as rebels, traitors, enemies to God and their king, &c.† His majesty, in one of his declarations, calls them "ignorant in learning, turbulent and seditious in disposition, scandalous in life, unconformable to the laws of the land, libellers, revil-

lers both of Church and State, and preachers of sedition and treason itself." Lord Clarendon says, "that under the notion of reformation, and extirpating popery, they infused seditious inclinations into the hearts of men against the present government of the Church and State; that when the army was raised they contained themselves within no bounds, and inveighed as freely against the person of the king as they had before against the worse malignants, profanely and blasphemously applying what had been spoken by the prophets against the most wicked and impious kings, to stir up the people against their most gracious sovereign." His lordship adds, "that the Puritan clergy were the chief incendiaries, and had the chief influence in promoting the civil war. The Kirk reformation in Scotland and in this kingdom," says his lordship, "was driven on by no men so much as those of their clergy; and, without doubt, the Archbishop of Canterbury never had such an influence over the councils at court as Dr. Burges and Mr. Marshal had then on the houses; nor did all the bishops of Scotland together so much meddle in temporal affairs as Mr. Henderson had done."*

Strange! when the Scots bishops were advanced to the highest posts of honour and civil trust in that kingdom, and when Archbishop Laud had the direction of all public affairs in England for twelve years together. Was not the archbishop at the head of the council-table, the Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission? Was not his grace the contriver or promoter of all the monopolies and oppressions that brought on the civil war? What could the Puritan clergy do like this? Had they any places of profit or trust under the government, or any commissions in the ecclesiastical courts? Did they amass to themselves great riches or large estates? No; they renounced all civil power and jurisdiction, as well as lordly titles and dignities, and were, for the most part, content with a very moderate share of the world. If they served the Parliament cause, it was in visiting their parishioners, and by their sermons from the pulpits: here they spent their zeal, praying and preaching as men who were in earnest for what they apprehended the cause of God and their country. But it is easy to remark, that the noble historian observes no measure with the Puritan clergy when they fall in his way.

Nor were the Parliament divines the chief incendiaries between the king and people, if we may believe Mr. Baxter, who knew the Puritans of those times much better than his lordship. "It is not true," says this divine,† "that they stirred up the people to war; there was hardly one such man in a county, though they disliked the late innovations, and were glad the Parliament were attempting a reformation." They might inveigh too freely in their sermons against the vices of the clergy and the severities of the late times, but in all the first sermons that I have read,‡ for some years after

* Vol. i., p. 302.

† Baxter's Life, p. 34.

‡ Dr. Grey, who mistakes this for the assertion of Baxter instead of Mr. Neal, opposes to it his own remark on the fast-sermons between the year 1640 and the death of the king: from which, he says, he could produce hundreds of instances for the disproof of

* Baxter's Life, p. 33, 35, 37.

† Husband's Collections, p. 514, &c.

the beginning of the war, I have met with no reflections upon the person of the king, but a religious observation of that political maxim, The king can do no wrong.

His lordship adds, that "they profanely and blasphemously applied what had been spoken by the prophets against the most wicked and most impious kings, to stir up the people against their most gracious sovereign. If this were really the case, yet the king's divines came not behind them in applying the absolute dominion of the kings of Judah in support of the unbounded prerogatives of the kings of England, and in cursing the Parliament, and pronouncing damnation upon all who died in their service. I could produce a large catalogue of shocking expressions to this purpose, but I wish such offences buried in oblivion, and we ought not to form our judgments of great bodies of men from the excesses of a few.

We shall have an opportunity hereafter to compare the learning of the Puritan divines* with the Royalists, when it will appear that there were men of no less eminence for literature with the Parliament than with the king, as the Seldens, the Lightfoots, the Cudworths, the Pococks, the Whichcotes, the Arrowsmiths, &c.; but as to their morals, their very adversaries will witness for them. Dr. G. Bates, an eminent Royalist, in his *Elenchus*, gives them this character: "Moribus severis essent, in concionibus vehementes, precibus et piis officiis prompti, uno verbo ad cætera boni," *i. e.*, "They were men of severe and strict morals, warm and affectionate preachers, fervent in prayer, ready to all pious offices, and, in a word, otherwise [that is, abating their political principles] good men." And yet, with all their goodness, they were unacquainted with the rights of conscience, and when they got the spiritual sword

what is said above. As a specimen, he quotes many passages from sermons of the most popular and leading men of those times. Some of these passages, it appears to me, point strongly at the king, and go to prove that royal personages are amenable for evil conduct. But, besides that they are given detached from their connexion, it is to be considered, that if Mr. Neal had read the same discourses, they would affect his mind differently from what they did Dr. Grey, who, through all his animadversions, appears to have looked upon Charles as an immaculate prince, and to have been a disciple to the advocates for passive obedience and nonresistance.—*Ed.*

* Mr. Neal is here charged with contradicting what he had said p. 159, where he speaks of "the great scarcity of preachers of a learned education." This is said when Mr. Neal is representing the difficulty the Assembly of Divines had to supply the pulpits through the country. This might be the case when speaking of the kingdom at large, and yet there might be some of no less eminence for literature than any who sided with the king. Mr. Neal gives the names of such; but Bishop Warburton will not allow that they were of the Parliament party: "the most that can be said of them is," he adds, "that they submitted to the power." But their acting with the Assembly of Divines was certainly more than a submission to power—it was taking a lead in the affairs of the Parliament; this, if the cause had been repugnant to their principles, they might, and as honest men would, have declined doing, as did Bishop Usher, Dr. Holdsworth, and the other Episcopalian divines, who were also chosen to attend the assembly, but who stayed away from it, because it was not, in their opinion, a legal convocation.—*Ed.*

into their hands, managed it very little better than their predecessors the bishops.*

The clergy who espoused the king's cause were the bench of bishops, the whole body of the cathedral, and the major part of the parochial clergy, with the heads and most of the fellows of both universities, among whom were men of the first rank for learning, politeness, piety, and probity of manners, as Archbishop Usher, Bishop Hall, Moreton, Westfield, Brownrigge, Prideaux, Dr. Hammond, Saunderson, &c., who joined the king, not merely for the sake of their preferments, but because they believed the unlawfulness of subjects resisting their sovereign in any case whatsoever. Among the parochial clergy were men of no less name and character. Lord Clarendon† says, "that if the sermons of those times preached at court were collected together and published, the world would receive the best bulk of orthodox divinity, profound learning, convincing reason, natural, powerful eloquence, and admirable devotion, that hath been communicated in any age since the apostles' time." And yet, in the very same page, he adds, "There was sometimes preached there matter very unfit for the place, and scandalous for the persons." I submit this paragraph to the reader's judgment; for I must confess, that after having read over several of these court-sermons, I have not been able to discover all that learning and persuasive eloquence which his lordship admires; nor can much be said for their *orthodoxy*, if the *Thirty-nine Articles* be the standard. But whatever decency was observed at court, there was hardly a sermon preached by the inferior clergy within the king's quarters, wherein the Parliament divines were not severely exposed and ridiculed under the character of Puritans, Pre-cisians, Formalists, Sabbatarians, canting hypocrites, &c. Such was the sharpness of men's spirits on both sides!

Among the country clergy there was great room for complaints, many of them being pluralists, nonresidents, ignorant and illiterate, negligent of their cures, seldom or never visiting their parishioners, or discharging any more of their function than would barely satisfy the law. They took advantage of the Book of Sports to attend their parishioners to their wakes and revels, by which means many of them became scandalously immoral in their conversations. Even Dr. Walker admits that there were among them men of wicked lives, and such as were a reproach and scandal to their function; the particulars of which had better have been buried than left upon record.‡

The common people that filled up the king's army were of the looser sort; and even the chief officers, as Lord Goring, Granville, Wilmot, and others, were men of profligate lives, and made a jest of religion; the private sentinels were soldiers of fortune, and not having their regular pay, lived for the most part upon free plunder. When they took possession of a town, they rifled the houses of all who were called Puritans, and turned their families out of doors. Mr. Baxter says, "that when he lived at Coventry, after the battle of Edgehill, there

* See also the testimony of Wood and others.—*C.*

† Vol. I., p. 77.

‡ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 72.

were above thirty worthy ministers in that city who had fled thither for refuge from the soldiers and popular fury, as he himself also had done, though they had never meddled in the wars. Among these were the Reverend Mr. Vines, Mr. Anthony Burgess, Mr. Burdall, Mr. Bromshill, Dr. Bryan, Grew, Craddock, and others. And here," says he, "I must repeat the great cause of the Parliament's strength and of the king's ruin: the debauched rabble, encouraged by the gentry, and seconded by the common soldiers of his army, took all that were called Puritans for their enemies; so that if any man was noted for a strict and famous preacher, or for a man of a precise and pious life, he was plundered, abused, and put in danger of his life; if a man prayed in his family, or was heard to repeat a sermon or sing a psalm, they presently cried out rebels, roundheads, and all their money and goods proved guilty, however innocent they were themselves. Upon my certain knowledge, it was this that filled the armies and garrisons of the Parliament with sober and pious men. Thousands had no mind to meddle in the wars, but to live peaceably at home, if the rage of the soldiers and drunkards would have suffered them. Some stayed at home till they had been imprisoned; some till they had been plundered twice or thrice over, and had nothing left; others were quite tired out with the insolence of their neighbours, with being quartered upon, and put in continual danger of their lives, and so they sought refuge in the Parliament garrisons."*

This was so notorious, that at length it came to the king's ear, who, out of mere compassion to his distressed subjects, issued out a proclamation, bearing date November 25, 1642, for the better government of his army; the preamble of which sets forth, "that his majesty, having taken into his princely consideration the great misery and ruin of his subjects, by the plundering, robbing, and spoiling of their houses, and taking from them their money, plate, household-stuff, cattle, and other goods, under pretence of their being disaffected to us and our service, and these unlawful and unjust actions done by divers soldiers of our army, and others sheltering themselves under that title; his majesty, detesting such barbarous proceedings, forbids his officers and soldiers to make any such seizures for the future without his warrant. And if they go on to plunder and spoil the people, by taking away their money, plate, household goods, oxen, sheep, or other cattle, or any victuals, corn, hay, or other provisions, going to or from any market, without making satisfaction, his majesty orders them to be proceeded against by martial law." This was as much as the king could do in his present circumstances; yet it had very little effect, for his majesty having neither money nor stores for his army, the officers could maintain no discipline, and were forced to connive at their living at free quarter upon the people.

Thus this unhappy nation was miserably harassed, and thrown into terrible convulsions by an unnatural civil war—the nobility and gentry, with their dependants, being chiefly with the king; the merchants, tradesmen, substantial

farmers, and, in general, the middle ranks of people, siding with the Parliament.

It is of little consequence to inquire who began this unnatural and bloody war. None will blame them, on whose part it was just and unavoidable, for taking all necessary precautions in their defence, and making use of such advantages as Providence put into their hands to defeat the designs of the enemy, and nothing can excuse the other. His majesty professed before God to his nobles at York, that he had no intention to make war upon his Parliament. And in his last speech upon the scaffold, he affirms "that he did not begin a war with the two houses of Parliament, but that they began with him upon the point of the militia; and if anybody will look upon the dates of the commissions," says his majesty, "theirs and mine, they will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, and not I." Yet, with all due submission to so great an authority, were the dates of commissions for raising the militia the beginning of the war? Were not the crown-jewels *first* pawned in Holland, and arms, ammunition, and artillery sent over to the king at York? Did not his majesty summon the gentlemen and freeholders to attend him as an extraordinary guard, in his progress in the North, and appear before Hull in a warlike manner, before the raising the militia? Were not these warlike preparations? Dr. Welwood says, and I think all impartial judges must allow, that they look very much that way. Mr. Echard is surprised that "the king did not put himself into a posture of defence sooner;"* but he would have ceased to wonder if he had remembered the words of Lord Clarendon: "The reason why the king did not raise forces *sooner* was, because he had neither arms nor ammunition, and till these could be procured from Holland, let his provocations and sufferings be what they would, he was to submit and bear it patiently." It was, therefore, no want of will, but mere necessity, that hindered the king's appearing in arms sooner than he did. Father Orleans confesses that it was agreed with the queen, in the cabinet-council at Windsor, that while her majesty was negotiating in Holland, the king should retire to York, and there make his first levies. He adds, "*that all mankind believed that his majesty was underhand preparing for war, that the sword might cut asunder those knots he had made with his pen.*"

In order to excuse the unhappy king, who was sacrificed in the house of his friends, a load of guilt is with great justice laid upon the queen, who had a plenitude of power over his majesty, and could turn him about which way she pleased. Bishop Burnet says, "that by the liveliness of her discourse she made great impressions upon the king; so that to the queen's want of judgment, and the king's own temper, the sequel of all his misfortunes was owing."† Bishop Kennet adds, that "the king's match with the lady was a greater judgment upon the nation than the plague which then raged in the land; and that the influence of a stately queen over an affectionate husband proved very fatal both to prince and people, and laid in a vengeance for future generations." The queen was a great

* Memoirs, p. 64.

† History of his Life and Times, vol. i., p. 39. Scotch edition.

* Baxter's Life, p. 44.

bigot to her religion, and was directed by her father confessor to protect the Roman Catholics, even to the hazard of the king's crown and dignity. Though his majesty usually consulted her in all affairs of state, yet she sometimes presumed to act without him, and to make use of his name without his knowledge. "It was the queen that made all the great officers of state," says Lord Clarendon: "no preferments were bestowed without her allowance." She was an enemy to Parliaments, and pushed the king upon the most arbitrary and unpopular actions, to raise the English government to a level with the French. It was the queen that countenanced the Irish insurrection; that obliged the king to go to the House of Commons and seize the five members; and that was at the head of the council at Windsor, in which it was determined to break with the Parliament and prepare for war: "This," says the noble historian, viz., the king's perfect adoration of his queen, his resolution to do nothing without her, "and his being inexorable as to everything he promised her, were the root and cause of all other grievances. The two houses often petitioned the king not to admit her majesty into his councils, or to follow her advice in matters of state; but he was not to be moved from his too servile regards to her dictates, even to the day of his death."*

Sundry others of his majesty's privy council had their share in bringing on the calamities of the war, though when it broke out they were either dead, dispersed, or imprisoned; as the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, Finch, Windebank, Noy, &c. These had been the most busy actors at the council-table, the Star Chamber, and Court of High Commission, and were at the head of all the monopolies and illegal projects that enslaved the nation for above twelve years, and might have done it forever, had they been good husbands of the public treasure, and not brought upon themselves the armed force of a neighbouring nation. The politics of these statesmen were very unaccountable, for as long as they could subsist without a parliamentary supply, they went on with their ship-money, court and conduct money, monopolies, and suchlike resources of the prerogative; as soon as the Parliament sat, these were suspended, in expectation of a supply from the two houses, before they had inquired into the late inroads upon the Constitution; but when they found this could not be obtained, they broke up the Parliament in disgust, fined and imprisoned the members for their freedom of speech, and returned to their former methods of arbitrary government. All King Charles's Parliaments had been thus

* Many passages have been quoted from his letters to his queen, as proofs of his spiritless submission. It was Charles's great misfortune, that he was too easily wrought upon to follow the advice of others, and frequently of persons less gifted than himself. Milton says of him, in his panegyric on Cromwell, "Whether with his enemies or his friends, in the court or in the camp, he was always in the hands of another; now of his wife, then of the bishops; now of the peers, then of the soldiery; and last, of his enemies: that for the most part he followed the worse counsels, and almost always of the worse men." There is as much justice as acrimony in this remark.—*Jesse's Court of the Stuarts*, vol. ii., p. 69-70.—C.

dissolved, even to the present, which would, undoubtedly, have been treated in the same manner, had it not been for the Act of Continuation.*

On the other hand, a spirit of English liberty had been growing in the nation for some years, and the late oppressions, instead of extinguishing it, had only kept it underground, till, having collected more strength, it burst out with the greater violence; the patriots of the Constitution watched all opportunities to recover it: yet, when they had obtained a Parliament by the interposition of the Scots, they were disposed to take a severe revenge upon their late oppressors, and to enter upon too violent measures in order to prevent the return of power into those hands that had so shamefully abused it. The five members of the House of Commons, and their friends who were concerned in inviting the Scots into England, saw their danger long before the king came to the House to seize them, which put them upon concerting measures not only to restore the Constitution, but to lay farther limitations upon the royal power for a time, that they might not be exposed to the mercy of an incensed prince, so soon as he should be delivered from the present Parliament. It is true, his majesty offered a general pardon at the breaking up of the session, but these members were afraid to rely upon it, because, as was said, there was no appearance that his majesty would govern by law for the future, any more than he had done before.

The king, being made sensible of the designs and spirit of the Commons, watched all opportunities to disperse them, and not being able to gain his point, resolved to leave the two houses, and act no longer in concert with them, which was, in effect, to determine their power; for to what purpose should they sit, if the king will pass none of their bills, and forbid his subjects to obey any of their votes or ordinances till they had received the royal assent? It was this that dismembered and broke the Constitution, and reduced the Parliament to this dilemma, either to return home, and leave all things in the hands of the king and queen and their late ministry, or to act by themselves, as the guardians of the people, in a time of imminent danger: had they dissolved themselves, or stood still while his majesty had garrisoned the strong fortresses of Portsmouth and Hull, and got possession of all the arms, artillery, and ammunition of the kingdom; had they suffered the fleet to fall into his majesty's hands, and gone on meekly petitioning for the militia, or for his majesty's return to his two houses of Parliament, till the queen was returned with foreign recruits, or the Irish at liberty to send his majesty succours, both they and we must, in all probability,

* This act has been called "a violent breach of the Constitution of this government:" but the author who has cast this reproach on it also observes, that "if this act had not been obtained, perhaps it would have been impossible to oppose the king's attempts with effect." On this ground, the "Act of Continuation" has been called "an act of fidelity of the representatives of the people to their constituents; an instance of the expedience and righteousness of recovering the violated Constitution, by means not strictly justifiable when the times are peaceable, and the curators of government just and upright."—*Memoirs of Hollis*, vol. ii., p. 591.—Ed.

have been buried in the ruins of the liberties of our country. The two houses were not insensible of the risk they ran in crossing the measures of their sovereign, under whose government they thought they were to live, and who had counsellors about him who would not fail to put him upon the severest reprisals, as soon as the sword of the kingdom should return into his hands; but they apprehended that their own and the public safety was at stake; and that the king was preparing to act against them, by raising extraordinary guards to his person, and sending for arms and ammunition from abroad; therefore they ventured to make a stand in their own defence, and to perform such acts of sovereignty as were necessary to put it out of the power of the court to make them a sacrifice to the resentments of their enemies.

But though in a just and necessary war it is of little moment to inquire who began it, it is, nevertheless, of great consequence to consider on which side the justice of it lies. Let us, therefore, take a short view of the arguments on the king's side, with the Parliament's reply.

1. It was argued by the Royalists, "that all grievances, both real and imaginary, were removed by the king's giving up ship-money, by his abolishing the Court of Honour, the Star Chamber, and High Commission, and by his giving up the bishops' votes in Parliament."*

The Parliament writers own these to be very important concessions, though far from comprehending all the real grievances of the nation. The queen was still at the head of his majesty's councils, without whose approbation no considerable affairs of government were transacted. None of the authors of the late oppressions had been brought to justice except the Earl of Strafford, and it is more than probable, if the Parliament had been dissolved, they would not only have been pardoned, but restored to favour. Though bishops were deprived of their seats in Parliament, yet the defects in the public service, of which the Puritans complained, were almost untouched, nor were any effectual measures taken to prevent the growth of popery, which threatened the ruin of the Protestant religion.

2. It was argued farther, "that the king had provided against any future oppressions of the subjects by consenting to the act for triennial Parliaments."

To this it was replied, that the Triennial Act, in the present situation of the court, was not a sufficient security of our laws and liberties; for suppose at the end of three years, when the king was in full possession of the regal power, having all the forts and garrisons, arms and ammunition of the kingdom at his disposal, with his old ministry about him, the council should declare that the necessity of his majesty's affairs obliged him to dispense with the Triennial Act, what sheriff of a county, or other officer, would venture to put it in execution? Besides, had not the king, from this very principle, suspended and broke through the laws of the land for twelve years together before the meeting of this Parliament? And did not his majesty yield to the new laws with a manifest reluctance! Did he not affect to call them acts of grace, and not of justice?

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 262.

Were not some of them extorted from him by such arguments as these: "that his consent to them being forced, they were in themselves invalid, and might be avoided in better times?" Lord Clarendon says* he had reason to believe this; and if his lordship believed it, I cannot see how it can reasonably be called in question. Bishop Burnet is of the same mind, and declares, in the History of his Life and Times, "that his majesty never came into his concessions seasonably, nor with a good grace; all appeared to be extorted from him; and there were grounds to believe that he intended not to stand to them any longer than he lay under that force that visibly drew them upon him, contrary to his own inclinations." To all which we may add the words of Father Orleans, the Jesuit, who says, "that all mankind believed at that time that the king did not grant so much but in order to revoke all."†

3. It was said "that the king had seen his mistake, and had since vowed and protested, in the most solemn manner, that for the future he would govern according to law."

To this it was replied, that if the petition of right, so solemnly ratified from the throne in presence of both houses of Parliament, was so quickly broke through, what dependance could be had upon the royal promise? For though the king himself might be a prince of virtue and honour, yet his speeches, says Mr. Rapin, were full of ambiguities and secret reserves, that left room for different interpretations; besides, many things were transacted without his knowledge, and, therefore, so long as the queen was at the head of his counsels, they looked upon his royal word only as the promise of a minor, or of a man under superior direction, which was the most favourable interpretation that could be made of the many violations of it in the course of fifteen years. "The queen, who was directed by popish counsels," says Bishop Burnet, "could, by her sovereign power, make the king do whatsoever she pleased."

4. It was farther urged, "that the Parliament had invaded the royal prerogative, and usurped the legislative power, without his majesty's consent, by claiming the militia, and the approbation of the chief officers, both civil and military, and by requiring obedience to their votes and ordinances."

This the two houses admitted, and insisted upon it as their right, in cases of necessity and extreme danger, of which necessity and danger they, as the guardians of the nation, and two parts in three of Legislature, were the proper judges: "The question is not," say they, "whether the king be the fountain of justice and protection, or whether the execution of the laws belongs primarily to him? But if the king shall refuse to discharge that duty and trust, and shall desert his Parliament, and, in a manner, abdicate the government, whether there be not a power in the two houses to provide for the safety and peace of the kingdom? or, if there be no Parliament sitting, whether the nation does not return to a state of nature, and is not at liberty to provide for its own defence by extraordinary methods?" This seems to have

* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 430.

† History of his Own Times, vol. i., p. 40, Edinburgh.

been the case in the late glorious revolution of King William and Queen Mary, when the Constitution being broken, a convention of the nobility and commonalty was summoned without the king's writ, to restore the religion and liberties of the people, and place the crown upon another head.

5. The king, on his part, maintained that "there was no danger from him, but that all the danger was from a malignant party in the Parliament, who were subverting the constitution in Church and State. His majesty averred that God and the laws had intrusted him with the guardianship and protection of his people, and that he would take such care of them as he should be capable of answering for it to God."

With regard to dangers and fears, the Parliament appealed to the whole world whether there were not just grounds for them, after his majesty had violated the petition of right, and attempted to break up the present Parliament, by bringing his army to London; after he had entered their house with an armed force to seize five of their members; after he had deserted his Parliament, and resolved to act no longer in concert with them; after his majesty had begun to raise forces under pretence of an extraordinary guard to his person, and endeavoured to get the forts and ammunition of the kingdom into his possession, against the time when he should receive supplies from abroad; after they had seen the dreadful effects of a bloody and unparalleled insurrection and massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, and were continually alarmed with the increase and insolent behaviour of the papists at home; and, lastly, after they had found it impracticable, by their most humble petitions and remonstrances, to remove the queen and her cabal of papists from the direction of the king's councils; after all these things (say they), "we must maintain the grounds of our fears to be of that moment, that we cannot discharge the trust and duty which lie upon us, unless we do apply ourselves to the use of those means which God and the laws have put into our hands for the necessary defence and safety of the kingdom."*

There were certainly strong, and perhaps unreasonable jealousies and apprehensions of danger on both sides. The king complained that he was driven from Whitehall by popular tumults, where neither his person nor family could remain in safety. He was jealous (as he said) for the laws and liberties of his people, and was apprehensive that his Parliament intended to change the Constitution, and wrest the sceptre and sword out of his royal hands. On the other side, the two houses had their fears and distrusters of their own and the public safety; they were apprehensive that if they put the forts and garrisons, and all the strength of the kingdom, into his majesty's power as soon as they were dissolved, he, by the influence of his queen and his old counsellors, would return to his maxims of arbitrary government, and never call another Parliament; that he would take a severe revenge upon those members who had exposed his measures and disgraced his ministers; and, in a word, that he would break through the late laws, as having been ex-

torted from him by force or violence; but it was very much in the king's power, even at the treaty of Uxbridge in 1644-5, to have removed these distrusters, and thereby have saved both himself, the Church, and the nation; for, as the noble historian observes, "the Parliament took none of the points of controversy less to heart, or were less united in anything, than in what concerned the Church."* And with regard to the State, that "many of them were for peace, provided they might have indemnity for what was past, and security for time to come." Why, then, were not this indemnity and security offered? which must necessarily have divided the Parliamentarians, and obliged the most rigorous and violent to recede from their high and exorbitant demands, and, by consequence, have restored the king to the peaceable possession of his throne.

Upon the whole, if we believe with the noble historian, and the writers on his side, "that the king was driven by violence from his palace at Whitehall, and could not return with safety; that all real and imaginary grievances of Church and State were redressed; and that the kingdom was sufficiently secured from all future inroads of popery and arbitrary power by the laws in being," then the justice and equity of the war were most certainly with the king. Whereas, if we believe "that the king voluntarily deserted his Parliament, and that it was owing alone to his majesty's own peremptory resolution that he would not return (as Lord Clarendon admits); if by this means the Constitution was broken, and the ordinary courts of justice necessarily interrupted; if there were sundry grievances still to be redressed, and the king resolved to shelter himself under the laws in being, and to make no farther concessions; if there were just reasons to fear;" with Bishop Burnet and Father Orleans, that the king "would abide by the late laws no longer than he was under that force that brought them upon him;" in a word, "if, in the judgment of the Lords and Commons, the kingdom was in imminent danger of the return of popery and arbitrary power, and his majesty would not condescend so much as to a temporary security for their satisfaction," then we must conclude that the cause of the Parliament at the commencement of the war, and for some years after, was not only justifiable, but commendable and glorious; especially if we believe their own most solemn protestation,† in the presence of Almighty God, to the kingdom and to the world, "that no private passion or respect, no evil intention to his majesty's person, no designs to the prejudice of his just honour or authority, had engaged them to raise forces, and take up arms against the authors of this war in which the kingdom is inflamed."‡

* Vol. ii., p. 581, 594.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., part iii., p. 26.

‡ Bishop Warburton grants that "*Charles was a man of ill faith*;" from whence arose the question, "Whether he was to be trusted? Here," he adds, "we must begin to distinguish. It was one thing whether those particulars, who had personally offended the king, in the manner by which they exerted this amends from him; and another, whether the public, on all principles of civil government, ought not to have sat down satisfied. I think particulars could not safely take his word, and that the

public could not honestly refuse it. You will say, then, the leaders in Parliament were justified in their mistrust. Here, again, we must distinguish. Had they been private men, we should not dispute it. But they bore another character; they were representatives of the public, and should, therefore, have acted in that capacity." Some will consider these distinctions, set up by his lordship, as savouring more of chicanery than solid reasoning. The simple question is, Was Charles worthy to be trusted? No! His lordship grants that he was a man of ill faith. How, then, could the representatives of the people nonestly commit the national interest to a man whose duplicity and insincerity had repeatedly de-

ceived them, and, in deceiving them, had deceived the public? If they could not safely take his word for themselves, how could they do it for their constituents? In all their negotiations with him, they had been acting, not for themselves only, but for the nation. It was inconsistent with the trust invested in them to sacrifice or risk the national welfare by easy credulity; a credulity which, in their private concerns, wisdom and prudence would have condemned. Besides, the insincerity of Charles had been so notorious, they had no ground to suppose that the public would expect or approve of their doing it, to whom the proofs of his insincerity offered themselves immediately, and with all their force.—ED.

P R E F A C E

TO VOL. III. OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.

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 it is 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 Catholic religion in England, or some how or other blend it with the Protestant. This gave rise to the unparalleled 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 rendered themselves justly obnoxious, not only by setting up a new form of government at home, but by extending their jurisdiction to a neighbouring kingdom, under the government of distinct laws, and inclined to a form of church discipline very different from the English: this raised such a storm in the north, as distressed his majesty's administration, exhausted his treasure, drained all his arbitrary springs of supply, and (after an intermission of twelve years) reduced him to the necessity of returning to the Constitution, and calling a Parliament; but when the public 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 threatened 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 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 entered as far into their debates with the Erastians, Independents, and others, as was consistent with the life and spirit of the history.

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

The remarkable trial of Archbishop Laud, in which the antiquity and use of the several innovations complained of by the Puritans are stated and argued, has never been published entire to the world. The archbishop left in his diary a summary of his answer to the charge of the Commons, and Mr. Prynne, in his *Canterbury's Doom*, has published the first part of his grace's trial, relating principally to points of religion; but all is imperfect and immethodical. I have therefore compared both accounts together, and supplied the defects of one with the other; the whole is brought into a narrow compass, and thrown into such a method as will give the reader a clear and distinct view of the equity of the charge, and how far the archbishop deserved the usage he met with.

I have drawn out abstracts of the several ordinances relating to the rise and progress of Presbytery, and traced the proceedings of the committee for plundered and scandalous ministers, as far as was necessary to my general design, without descending too far into particulars, or attempting to justify the whole of their conduct; and though I am of opinion that the number of clergy who suffered purely on the ground of religion was not very considerable, it is certain that many able and learned divines, who were contented 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 plundered of everything the unruly soldiers could lay their hands upon, for not complying with the change of the times.

In the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne, Dr. Walker, of Exeter, published "*An Attempt to recover the Number 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 ever was published; it blackens the memory of the late King William III., to whom he applies that passage of Scripture, "I gave them a king in my anger, and took him away in my wrath;" it arraigns the great Duke of Marlborough, the glory of the English nation,

* Preface, page 8-11.

and both houses of Parliament, as in a confederacy to destroy the Church of England, and dethrone the queen. "Rebellion," says the doctor, "was esteemed the most necessary requisite to qualify any one for being intrusted with the government, and disobedience 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 revived."

Thus has this obscure clergyman dared to affront the great author, under God, of all our present blessings; and to stigmatize the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, the Stanhopes, the Sunderlands, the Cowpers, and others, the most renowned heroes and statesmen of the age.

It must be confessed, that the tumults and riotous assemblies of the lower sort of people are insufferable in a well-regulated government; and without all question, some of the leading members of the Long Parliament made an ill use of the populace, as tools to support their secret designs: but how easy were it to turn all this part of the doctor's artillery against himself and his friends; for Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, in their return from their several prisons, were not attended with such a numerous cavalcade as waited upon the late Dr. Sacheverel, in his triumphant progress through the western counties of England and Wales; nor did they give themselves up to the same excess of licentiousness and rage. If the mob of 1641 insulted the bishops, and awed the Parliament, so did the doctor's retinue in 1710; nay, their zeal outwent their predecessors', when they pulled down the meeting-houses of Protestant Dissenters, and burned the materials in the open streets, in maintenance of the doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance, which their pious confessor had been preaching up; "a bold, insolent man," says Bishop Burnet, "with a very small measure of religion, virtue, learning, or good sense:" but to such extremes do men's passions carry them when they write 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 Independent novices from Cambridge; a tribe of ignorant enthusiasts and schismatics; 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 mere Munster by the knipper-dolings of the age, who broke the heart-strings of learned men, who thrust out one of the eyes of the kingdom, and made eloquence dumb, philosophy sottish, widowed the arts, drove away the muses from their ancient habitation, and plucked the reverend and orthodox professors out of their chairs. They turned religion into rebellion, and changed the apostolical chair into a desk for blasphemy. They took the garland from off the head of learning, and placed it on the dull brows of ignorance. And having unhived a numerous swarm of labouring bees, they placed in their room swarms of senseless drones."† Such is the language of our historian, transcribed from Dr. Berwick! I have carefully looked into this affair, and collected the characters of the old and new professors from the most approved writers, that the disinterested reader may judge how far religion and learning suffered by the exchange.

The close of this volume, which relates the disputes between the Parliament and 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 unparalleled execution before the gates of his royal palace by the military power, is a most melancholy and affecting scene; in which, next to the all-disposing providence of God, one cannot but remark the king's inflexible temper, together with the indiscretion of his friends, especially his divines, at a time when his crown was

* Walker's Introd., p. 139, 140.

† Walker's Introd., p. 115, Querela Cant.

lost by the fortune of war, and his very life at the mercy of his enemies. Nor is the unwarrantable stiffness of the Parliament less unaccountable, when they saw the victorious army drawing towards London, flushed with the defeat of the Scots and English loyalists, and determined to set aside that very uniformity they were contending for. If his majesty had yielded at first what he did at last, with an appearance of sincerity; or if the two Houses had complied with his concessions while Cromwell was in Scotland; or if the army had been made easy by a general indulgence and toleration, with the distribution of some honours and bounty-money among the officers, the crown and Constitution might have been saved; "but so many miraculous circumstances contributed to his majesty's ruin," says Lord Clarendon,* "that men might well think that heaven and earth conspired it."

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 myself as an historian, without undertaking the defence of their several principles, or making myself an advocate for the whole of their conduct. I took the liberty to point out the mistakes of our first Reformers as I passed 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 Presbyterian consistories in all the parishes of England, equally burdensome and oppressive. Unhappy extreme! that wise and good men should not discover the beautiful consistency of truth and liberty! Dr. Barrow and others have observed, that in the first and purest ages of Christianity, the Church had no coercive power, and apprehend that it may still subsist very well without it.

The body of Protestant Dissenters of the present age have a just abhorrence of the persecuting spirit of their predecessors, and are content that their actions be set in a fair light, as a warning to posterity. They have no less a dread of returning into the hands of spiritual courts, founded on the bottomless deep of the canon law, and see no reason why they should not be equally exposed, till they are put upon a better foot; though it is an unpardonable crime, in the opinion of some churchmen, to take notice, even in the most respectful manner, of the least blemish in our present establishment, which, how valuable soever in itself, is allowed by all to be capable of amendments. Some little essays of this kind have fired the zeal of the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry,† who, in a late charge to the clergy of his diocese, is pleased to lament over the times in the following mournful language: "At so critical a juncture," says his lordship, "when common Christianity is treated with an avowed contempt and open profaneness; when an undisguised immorality prevails so very generally; when there is scarce honesty enough to save the nation from ruin; when, with regard to the Established Church in particular, the royal supremacy is professedly exposed, as inconsistent with the rights of conscience, even that supremacy, which was the groundwork 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 outworks of our ecclesiastical establishment, the Corporation and Test Acts, with the greatest insolences towards the Church, and most undutiful menaces to the civil government; when the Episcopal authority

* Vol. v., p. 258.

† Dr. Smallbrook.

has been wellnigh undermined, under a pretence of reforming the ecclesiastical courts; and if that order had been rendered useless, as it must have been when it had lost its authority, then the revenues would have been soon thought useless; and in the result of things, the order itself might have been considered as 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 the abuses of the matrimonial licenses has been laboured in so absurd a manner as to permit the marriage of minors without consent of their parents or guardians; when these melancholy circumstances have so lately concurred, it is natural to infer our zeal for the Church should be in proportion to its danger; and if these are not proper occasions for zeal for our ecclesiastical constitution, it is not easy to assign circumstances that may justly demand it.* How fine and 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 one pin of the hierarchy be removed by the wisdom of the Legislature, the whole building is supposed to fall, and all religion along with it. His lordship, therefore, advises his clergy to study the Bishop of London's Codex, in order to defend it; and it can do them no real prejudice to examine, at the same time, the principles of law and equity on which it is founded.† As to the Dissenters, his lordship adds, "However, it will become us of the clergy, in point of prudence, not to give any just suspicions of our 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 Established Church, by declaring against all legal establishments, or the legal establishment of the Church of England in particular, or by not being quiet with the present limits of their toleration, or by affecting posts of 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 boundaries of his episcopal power were enlarged, is not very difficult to determine.

The Dissenters have no envy nor ill-will to the Churches of England or Scotland, established by law (attended with a toleration of all peaceable Dissenters), any farther than they encroach on the natural or social rights of mankind; nor are they so weak 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 against myself. I had observed, upon the reign of the bloody Queen Mary,§ that an absolute supremacy over the consciences of men, lodged with a single person, might as well be prejudicial as serviceable to true religion; and in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth,¶ that the powers then claimed by the kings and queens of England were in a manner the same with those claimed by the popes in the times preceding the Reformation, except the administration of the spiritual offices of the Church. This was that supremacy which was the groundwork 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 supremacy, and the rather, because "that supremacy was acknowledged and sworn to by the old Puritans themselves, though now, inconsistently enough, disowned and condemned by their historian."* But surely his lordship should have informed his clergy, at the same time, in what sense the Puritans took the oath, when it was before his eyes in the same page; and my words are these: "The whole body of the papists refused the oath of supremacy, as inconsistent with their allegiance to the pope; but the Puritans took it under all these disadvantages, with the queen's explication in her injunctions, that is, that no more was intended than that her majesty, under God, had the sovereignty and rule over all persons born in her realm, either ecclesiastical or temporal, so as no foreign power had, or ought to have, any superiority over them."** Where is the inconsistency of this conduct of the old Puritans, or their new histo-

* Charge, p. 41, 42, 44.

† See a late excellent examination of the Codex Juris Eccl. Angl.

‡ Charge, p. 46.

§ Hist. Pur., vol. i., p. 58.

** Hist. Pur., vol. i., p. 93. See Strype's Ann., vol. i., p. 159.

† Dr. Gibson.

¶ Ibid., p. 99, 100.

rian? 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 the groundwork 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.

His lordship is pleased to ask, "If any high pretender to spiritual liberty and the rights of conscience should inquire 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 a usurpation of those natural rights?"† I answer, that with regard to the Jews, it was no usurpation, for the reasons before mentioned; 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. "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 he meant no more than the preserving their subjects in the enjoyment of their inalienable rights, nobody denies it; but if, under this pretence, they assume a sovereign and arbitrary power of modelling the ecclesiastical constitution according to their pleasure, and of enforcing their subjects' obedience by canons and penal laws, I should doubt whether they are obliged to comply, even in things not absolutely sinful in themselves, because it may derogate from the kingly office of Christ, who is sole king and lawgiver in his own kingdom, and has not delegated this branch of his authority to any vicar-general upon earth. But I readily agree with his lordship, that if any high pretender 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 inquirers as Gideon did the men of Succoth, with briers and thorns of the wilderness.

The bishop goes on: "Let us now transfer this power of Jewish kings and Christian emperors to our own kings, and the case will admit of an easy decision."§ If, indeed, an absolute supremacy in matters of religion be the natural and inalienable right of every Christian king and emperor, the dispute is at an end; but if it depend 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 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 that 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 digression, as necessary to support a principal fact of my history.

* Charge, p. 20.

† Ibid., p. 21.

‡ Ibid., p. 22.

§ Id. ibid.

|| Ibid.

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 any insinuations of any ill designs against the established religion or the public 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 politics from principles of pure religion, the balance will be very much in favour of the Puritans. In historical debates nothing is to be received upon trust, but facts are to be examined, and a judgment formed upon the authority by which those facts are supported ; by this method we shall arrive at truth ; and if it shall appear that in the course of this long history there are any considerable mistakes, the world may be assured I will take the first opportunity to retract or amend them, having no private or party views, no prospect of preferment or other reward for my labours than the satisfaction of doing some service to truth, and to the religious and civil liberties of mankind ; and yet, after all, I must bespeak the indulgence and candour of my readers, which those who are sensible of the labour and toil of collecting so many materials, and ranging them in their proper order, will readily allow to one who sincerely wishes the prosperity and welfare of all good men, and that the violence and outrage of these unhappy times, which brought such confusion and misery both on king and people, may never be imitated by the present or any future age.

DANIEL NEAL.

London, Nov. 4, 1735.



PART II.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE BATTLE OF EDGEHILL TO THE CALLING
THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER.

THE king having recruited his army at Oxford, after the battle of Edgehill, 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 surprise 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, 1642, and was honourably received by both houses of Parliament, who presented him with a gratuity of £5000, 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 abandoned it, which alarmed both houses, and made them send an express to desire a safe-conduct for a committee of Lords and Commons to attend his majesty with a petition for peace;* the committee waited on his majesty at Colnbrook, fifteen miles from London, and, having received a favourable answer,† reported it to

* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 58.

† "He seemed to receive the petition with great willingness, and called God to witness, with many protestations, that he was tenderly compassionate to his bleeding people, and more desirous of nothing than a speedy peace."—*May's Parliamentary History*, b. iii., p. 33. The immediate subsequent conduct of the king was certainly not consistent with such professions; yet Dr. Grey is displeas'd with Mr. Neal for insinuating that it was a breach of promise, and accuses him of not giving the fairest account of this action, which, he says, the king sufficiently justified. But when the doctor passed this censure, it seems that he had not looked forward to the next paragraph, where the motives of the king's behaviour are stated. The committee deputed by the Parliament to Colnbrook consisted of the Earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, Lord Wainman, Mr. Pierpont, Sir John Ipsley, and Sir John Evelyn: when the king refused to admit the last gentleman, because he had named him a traitor the day before, the Parliament, though extremely displeas'd with the exception, so as to vote it a breach of privilege, yet, from their ardent desire of accommodation, permitted the petition to be presented without Sir John Evelyn.—*May*, b. iii., p. 32. This yielding conduct leaves the king more inexcusable, as it serves to show the sincerity of the Parliament in their overtures; and Lord Clarendon says that it was believed by many, that had the king retired to Reading, and waited there for the answer of Parliament, they

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, about seven miles from London,* which he attacked with his whole army, November 13, and after a fierce and bloody encounter 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 the next morning at their gates; upon which the lord-mayor ordered the trained-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 farther 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, soldierlike speeches as these: "Come, my boys! my brave boys! I will run the same hazards with you; remember, the cause is for God and the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest, brave boys! let us pray heartily, and fight heartily, and God will bless us." When they were drawn up, they made a body of about twenty-four thousand men eager for battle; but their orders were only to be on the defensive, and prevent the king's breaking through to the city. The two armies having faced each other all day, his majesty retreated in the night to Kingston, and from thence to Reading, where having left a small garrison, he returned to Oxford about the beginning of December with his Brentford prisoners, the chief of whom were condemn'd to die,† and had

would immediately have withdrawn their garrison from Windsor, and delivered that castle to his majesty for his accommodation, to have carried on the treaty he had propos'd.—*History*, vol. ii., p. 73. The motives on which the king acted in the action at Brentford, which Mr. Neal has compress'd into one paragraph, Dr. Grey, by large quotations on different authorities, has extended through four pages, which affords a parade of confuting Mr. Neal.—*Ed.*

* Whitelocke, p. 62.

† Rushworth, vol. v., p. 93.

The persons named by Rushworth, whom Mr. Neal quotes, were Clifton Catesby, John Lilburne, and Robert Vivers. Dr. Grey says that "it does not appear that these three were taken prisoners at Brentford." He should have added, from this place in Rushworth, to which the reference is here made; for in p. 83 Rushworth informs his readers, with respect to Lilburne in particular, that he owned that he was at Brentford; and by the others being included in the same sentence, it is probable that they

been executed for high treason, if the two houses had not threatened 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 complained of the king's extraordinary conduct on this occasion, which was owing to the violent counsels of Prince Rupert and Lord Digby, animated by some of his majesty's friends in the city, who imagined that if the royal army appeared in the neighbourhood of London, the Parliament would accept of his majesty's pardon and break up, or else the confusions would be so great that he might enter and carry all before him; but the project having failed, his majesty endeavoured to excuse it in the best manner he could: he alleged that, there being no cessation of arms agreed upon, he might justly take all advantages against his enemies. He insisted, farther, upon his fears of being hummed in by the Parliament's forces about Colnbrook, to prevent which, it seems, he marched seven miles nearer the city. Lord Clarendon says,† Prince Rupert having advanced to Hounslow without order, his majesty, at the desire of the prince, marched forward to disengage him from the danger of the forces quartered in that neighbourhood; which is so very improbable, that, in the opinion of Mr. Rapin, it is needless to refute it.‡ Upon the whole, it is extremely probable the king came from Oxford with a design of surprising the city of London before the Earl of Essex's army could arrive; but, having missed his aim, he framed the best pretences to persuade the people that his marching to Brentford was only in his own defence.

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 anything to obtain it;§ for in his

were involved in the same charge of acting against the king at Brentford.

* On the authority of Lord Clarendon and Mr. Echard, Dr. Grey charges the chaplains of the Parliament army, Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshal, with publicly avowing "that the soldiers lately taken at Brentford, and discharged by the king upon their oaths that they would never again bear arms against him, were not obliged by that oath," and with absolving them from it. The doctor is also displeased with Mr. Oldmixon for treating this account as a falsehood, but he suppresses the grounds of Mr. Oldmixon's censure of it, which are these: in the first place, that there was no occasion to use these arts, when the prisoners amounted to but one hundred and fifty men, which could not be wanted when the city of London was pouring out recruits; and, then, priestly absolution was not the practice, nor the power of it the claim, of Puritan divines.—*Rushworth*, vol. v., p. 59. *Oldmixon's History of the Sturarts*, p. 214.—Ed. † *History*, p. 74.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii., p. 465, folio edition.

§ Without controverting Mr. Neal's authority, Dr. Grey calls this a bold assertion, and appeals to various messages for an accommodation which the king sent to the Parliament. But of what avail to prove a yielding and accommodating temper are speeches without actions? or softening overtures, unless they be followed up by mild and pacific measures, adopted with sincerity, and adhered to with

letter to Duke Hamilton, dated December 2, 1642, he says, "he had set up his rest upon the justice of his cause, being resolved 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 apprehending the other, I think it no unfit time to express this my resolution to you."* The justice of the cause upon which his majesty had set up his rest was his declaration and promise to govern for the future according to the laws of the land; but the point was to know whether this might be relied upon. The two houses admitted the laws of the land to be the rule of government,† and that the executive power in time of peace was with the king;‡ but his majesty had so often dispensed with the laws by the advice of a corrupt ministry, after repeated assurances to the contrary thereof, that they durst not confide in his royal word, and insisted upon some additional security for themselves and for the Constitution.§ On the other hand, his majesty averred the Constitution was in no danger from him, but from themselves, who were acting every day in defiance of it. To which it was answered, that it was impossible the laws should have their due course in time of war as in the height of peace, because this must effectually tie up their hands. Neither party by law could raise money upon the subject without each other's 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 times of general confusion, was weak and impracticable. Besides, his majesty refused to give up any of his late ministers to

firmness? Did Charles I. act with this consistency? Let them who are acquainted with the history of his reign answer the question. Even Lord Clarendon owns his belief that, in matters of great moment, an opinion that the violence and force used in procuring bills rendered them absolutely void, influenced the king to confirm them.—*History*, vol. i., p. 430. What confidence could be placed in the professions and sincerity of a man who could be displeased with the Earl of Northumberland because he would not perjure himself for Lord-lieutenant Strafford?—*Sydney's State Papers*, quoted by Dr. Harris, *Life of Charles I.*, p. 79, who has fully stated the evidence of Charles's dissimulation and want of faith. See also *An Essay towards a True Idea of the Character and Reign of Charles I.*, p. 94, &c.—Ed.

* Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, b. iv., p. 203.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 466.

‡ "Our laws have nowhere, that I know of, distinguished," says Dr. Grey, "between times of peace or war, with regard to the king's executive power." This is true; but it was the infelicity of the times of which Mr. Neal writes, that there arose new questions out of the present emergency for which the standing laws had made no provision, and difficulties to which they did not apply.—Ed.

§ "Mr. Neal," says Dr. Grey, "has not produced one single proof in support of this assertion, and I challenge him to instance in particulars." This may appear a bold challenge from a writer who professed to be conversant in the history of those times. But as the doctor has thrown it out, we will produce an instance of the king's violation of his word. He gave his assent to the Petition of Right, a kind of second Magna Charta, which he immediately violated, and continued to do for twelve years together.—*Essay towards a True Idea, &c.*, p. 94.—Ed.

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. The friends of the Parliament, who were agreed in the cause of civil liberty, were far from being of one mind in points of church discipline; the major part were for episcopacy, and desired no more than to secure the Constitution and reform a few exorbitances of the bishops; some were Erastians, and would be content with any form of government the magistrate should appoint; the real Presbyterians, who were for an entire change of the hierarchy upon the foot of Divine right, were as yet but few, and could carry nothing 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 churchmen be dissatisfied, because they knew if they could put a period to the war without the Scots, the two houses would not call in their assistance, much less submit to a kirk discipline with which they had no manner of acquaintance; 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 government 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.

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 Lord Ferdinando Fairfax. In the western and midland counties there were several sieges and rencounters, with various success, but nothing decisive. Divers counties entered into associations for their mutual defence on both sides.† The four northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham associated for the king;‡ after which the two houses encouraged the like in those that owned their

* Dr. Grey asks, "Where does Lord Clarendon discover this opinion? As he (*i. e.*, Mr. Neal) is faulty even when he quotes his authorities, I am unwilling to take his word when he makes no reference at all." What will the reader think of the candour of this insinuation, when he is told that the passages to which Mr. Neal refers are to be found in p. 531 and 594 of the second volume of Lord Clarendon's History, and that they are expressly quoted, and the references are pointed out in Mr. Neal's account of the treaty at Uxbridge?—Ed.

† Rushworth, vol. v., p. 66.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

authority, and appointed generals to command their troops; the chief of which was the eastern association of Essex, Cambridgeshire, the isle of Ely, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, and the city of Norwich, whose militia were trained and ready to march where necessity should require within their several limits. In some parts of England the inhabitants resolved to stand neuter, and not be concerned on either side; but the Parliament condemned and disannulled all such agreements.

As the two houses depended upon the assistance of the Scots, his majesty had expectations of foreign aids from the queen, who had endeavoured, by the influence of her son-in-law the Prince of Orange, to engage the states of Holland in the king's interest, but they wisely declared for a neutrality; however, they connived at her private negotiations, and gave her a general passport, by virtue whereof she transported a very large quantity of arms and ammunition to Burlington Bay, and conveyed them to the king at York. His majesty, also, in order to bring over the Irish forces under the command of the Duke of Ormond, consented to a truce with the Irish rebels [signed September 15, 1643], in which he allowed the Catholics to remain in possession of what they had conquered since the Rebellion, to the great grief of the Protestants, who by this means were legally dispossessed of their estates; a most unpopular action, in favour of a people who, by their late massacre, were become the very reproach and infamy of human nature!* Thus the whole kingdom was marshalled into parties, with their drawn swords, eager to plunge them into each other's breasts.†

The Parliament's 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, February 15, 1642-3, exhorting to the duty of repentance, as the only remedy to prevent public calamities. It was drawn up by some of the Puritan divines; and because Bishop Kennet has branded it with the reproachful characters of cant, broad hypocrisy, and a libel against the Church, I will transcribe the substance of it in their own words:

"That flourishing kingdoms have been ruined by impenitent going on in a course of sin,

* To wipe off the reflections which this transaction brings on the character of Charles I., Dr. Grey is large in producing authorities to show that the situation of the Protestants and of the army in Ireland, through the length of the war and the failure of supplies from England, required a cessation of arms. But if the reader would see a full investigation of this business, he should consult Mrs. Macaulay's History, vol. iv., 8vo, p. 63-90. Two circumstances will afford a clew into the policy and design of this truce. To prevent opposition to it in the Irish council, the members who were suspected of an attachment to the Parliament of England were committed close prisoners to the castle; and the king derived from it, as the price of granting it, £38,000, to assist him to carry on the war against his Protestant subjects in England. I will only add, that the main point aimed at by the rebels, and which the king encouraged them to expect, was a new Parliament; which, as the kingdom was circumstanced, would have put the whole power of government into their hands.—Mrs. Macaulay, p. 845.

† Rushworth, vol. v., p. 537-539, 548.

the sacred story plainly tells us; and how near to ruin our sinful nation now is, the present lamentable face of it does too plainly show. And though we should feel the heavy stroke of God's judgments yet seven times more, it is our duty to accept the punishment of our iniquities, and to say, Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgments. Yet, because the Lord, who is just, is also merciful, and in his infinite mercy has left the excellent and successful remedy of repentance to nations brought near the gates of destruction and despair, oh! 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 have 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 stirred 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 graciously to accept, it is ordained that all preachers of God's Word do earnestly inculcate these duties on their hearers, that at length we may obtain a firm and happy peace both with God and man; that glory may dwell in our land; and the prosperity of the Gospel, with all the privileges accompanying it, may crown this nation unto all succeeding ages."*

The reverend prelate above mentioned makes the following remark upon this ordinance: "When once the two houses could descend to have such fulsome penitential forms put upon them, to adopt and to obtrude in their name upon the nation, it was a sure sign that all that was sound and decent in faith and worship was now to be commanded into enthusiasm and endless schisms." I leave the reader to examine whether he can find any ground for so severe a censure.

Though the king had rejected the Scots' mediation, and set up his rest upon the justice of his cause, he was pleased, before the beginning of the campaign, to admit of a treaty with his two houses, for which purpose he sent a safe-conduct of six lords, and as many commoners, with their attendants, to repair to him at Ox-

ford, 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 sides, and the king return to his Parliament.

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

3. "That all papists be disbanded and disarmed.

4. "That his majesty will please to give his consent to the five bills hereafter mentioned.

5. "That an oath may be established by act of Parliament, wherein the papists shall abjure and renounce the pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, worshipping the consecrated host, crucifixes, and images; and the refusing such oath lawfully tendered shall be a sufficient conviction of recusancy. That your majesty will graciously please to consent to a bill for the education of papists in the Protestant religion. And to another bill for the better putting the laws in execution against them.

6. "That the Earl of Bristol and Lord Herbert may be removed from your majesty's councils, and from the court.

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

8. "That the chief-justices and judges of the several courts of law may hold their *placé quam diu se bene gesserint*.

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

10. "That your majesty will please to pass the bill now presented, to secure the privileges of Parliament from the ill consequences of the late proceedings against the Lord Kimbolton and the five members.

11. "That an act may be passed for satisfying such public debts as the Parliament has engaged the public faith for.

12. "That your majesty will please to enter into alliances with foreign Protestant powers for the defence of the Protestant religion, and recovering the Palatinate.

13. "That in the general pardon, all offences committed before the 10th of January, 1641, which have been or shall be questioned in the House of Commons before the 10th of January, 1643, be excepted. That all persons concerned in the Irish rebellion be excepted, as likewise William earl of Newcastle, and George lord Digby.

14. "That such members of Parliament as have been turned out of their places since the beginning of this Parliament may be restored, and may have some reparation upon the petition of both houses."*

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

The bills mentioned in the fourth proposition were these:

The first is entitled, "An act for the suppression of divers innovations in churches and chapels in and about the worship of God, and for the due observation of the Lord's Day, and

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 141.

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 165, 166.

the better advancement of preaching God's Holy Word in all parts of this kingdom."

It enacts, "That all altars and rails be taken away out of churches and chapels before April 18, 1643, and that the communion-table be fixed in some convenient place in the body of the church. That all tapers, candlesticks, basins, crucifixes, crosses, images, pictures of saints, and superstitious inscriptions in churches or churchyards, 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 farther, "That all bowing towards the altar, or at the name of Jesus, shall be forbidden; 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 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 40s. to the poor."*

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.†

The third is entitled, "An act for punishing scandalous clergymen, and others."

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 inquire 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 persons having cure of souls under the age of sixty, and not hindered by sickness or imprisonment; of blasphemy, perjury, or subornation of perjury, fornication, adultery, common alehouse or tavern haunting, 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, schoolmaster, or usher of any school. The commissioners shall take information by articles in writing: the party complaining to be bound in a recognizance of £10 to prosecute at a time appointed; the articles of complaint being first delivered to the party complained of twenty days before the trial, that he may prepare for his defence. Upon conviction, by the verdict of twelve men, the party complained of shall be deprived of his spiritual promotions, and be adjudged a disabled person in law, to have and enjoy the same incumbency or ecclesiastical promotion. This act to continue till November 1, 1645, and no longer."‡

The fourth is entitled, "An act against the enjoying pluralities of benefices by spiritual persons, and nonresidence."

It enacts, "That all persons that have two or more benefices with cure of souls, of what yearly value soever they be, shall resign them all but one before April 1, 1643, any license, toleration, faculty, or dispensation to the contrary notwithstanding.

"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 nominate another person, as if the former incumbent was dead."

The fifth, for calling an assembly of learned and godly divines, to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church, and for the vindication 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 forementioned propositions and bills, his majesty, after a sharp reply* to the preamble, returned the following answer: that though many of them were destructive of his just power and prerogative, yet because they might be mollified and explained upon debates, he is pleased to agree that a time and place be appointed for the meeting of commissioners on both sides to discuss them, and to consider the following proposals of his own:†

1. "That his majesty's revenues, magazines, towns, forts, and ships may be forthwith restored.

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

* Dr. Grey disputes the propriety of this epithet, applied to the king's reply. The reader may judge of it by referring to Lord Clarendon's History, vol. ii., p. 123, &c.—Ed. † Rushworth, vol. v., p. 169.

‡ The king had never made any offer of this kind but in general terms.—Mrs. Macaulay.—Ed.

* Husband's Collections, fol., 119.

† Vol. ii., p. 498, 499.

‡ Husband's Collections, fol., 140.

to Oxford the ammunition and other stores the queen had lately landed at Burlington Bay,* but the Parliament were too sensible of his designs to consent to it. They therefore empowered their commissioners to begin with the first proposition, concerning restoring the revenues of the crown, and the delivery of his majesty's magazines, towns, forts, and ships, &c. All which they were authorized to agree to, 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 redress of some grievances and a better security. Mr. Whitelocke says, that the commissioners (of which he was one) having been with the king one evening till midnight, gave his majesty such reasons to consent to a very material point, which would have much conduced to a 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 commissioners were withdrawn, some of the king's bedchamber, 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, directly contrary to what he had promised the commissioners.‡

"As soon as his majesty is satisfied concerning his own revenue, magazines, ships, and forts, in which he desires nothing but that the just known legal rights of his majesty, devolved to him from his progenitors, and of the persons trusted by him, which have violently been taken from both, be restored to him and them—

"As soon as all the members of both houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and voting in Parliament as they had on the 1st of January, 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 in-

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 476, folio.

† Whitelocke's *Memoirs*, p. 65.

‡ Dr. Grey censures Mr. Neal for not giving his reader Mr. Whitelocke's account of the king's great civility to the Parliament commissioners. We will supply the omission. "The commissioners were allowed by his majesty a very free debate with him, and had access to him at all times. He used them with great favour and civility; and his general, Ruthen, and divers of his lords and officers, came frequently to their table. The king himself did them the honour sometimes to accept of part of their wine and provisions, which the earl (viz., of Northumberland) sent to him when they had anything extraordinary." Whitelocke adds, "In this treaty the king manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him, wherein he allowed all freedom."—*Memorials*, p. 65.—Ed.

tending 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 cheerfully and readily consent that both armies be immediately disbanded, and give a present meeting to both 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 its due credit and estimation, and that upon a free debate, in a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, such provisions will 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 majesty, and the property and liberty of his subjects, that whatsoever hath been published or done in, or by colour of, any illegal declarations, ordinances, or order of one or both houses, or any committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise arms without his majesty's consent, will be in such manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, and no seed will remain for the like to spring out of for the future, to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it."*

This resolute answer broke off the treaty, and left the quarrel to be decided by the sword; upon which Bishop Kennet makes the following remark: "It is to be lamented that some of the king's most intimate friends were against his concluding a peace, and others were against his obtaining an absolute victory. They were afraid he should comply, lest his prerogative might not be great enough to protect him; and yet afraid he should conquer, lest he might be tempted to assume an arbitrary power."† It is 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 government by law for the future!"‡ For all the propositions necessarily led to this point, and till this was decided it was in vain to lose time upon the others.

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 259, 260.

† Compl. Hist., p. 135.

Thus ended the year 1642, in which died the famous Tobias Crisp, D.D., third son of Ellis Crisp, of London, Esq. He was born in Bread-street, London, 1600, educated at Eton School, and having taken the degree of bachelor of arts at Cambridge, retired to Oxford, and was incorporated into Baliol College in the beginning of February, 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 insolences 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 extreme of Antinomianism. He was certainly a learned and religious person, modest and humble in his behaviour, fervent and laborious in his ministerial work, and exact in his morals. Mr. Lancaster, the publisher of his works, says "that his life was so innocent and harmless from all evil, so zealous and fervent in all good, that it seemed to be designed as a practical confutation of the slander of those who would insinuate that his doctrine tended to licentiousness." The doctor was possessed of a very large estate, with which he did a great deal of good; but being engaged in a grand dispute against several opponents (if we may believe Mr. Wood) he overheated himself, and fell sick of the smallpox, of which he died February 27, 1642, and was buried in the family vault in Bread-street, London.* In his last sickness he was in a most comfortable and resigned frame of mind, and declared to them that stood by his firm adherence to the doctrines he had preached; that as he had lived in the belief of the free grace of God through Christ, so he did now, with confidence and great joy, even as much as his present condition was capable of, resign his life and soul into the hands of his heavenly Father. He published nothing in his lifetime, but after his death his sermons were published, in three volumes, from his own notes, which, with some additions, were reprinted by his son, in one volume quarto, about the year 1689, and gave occasion to some intemperate heats among the Nonconformist ministers of those times.

Towards the end of this year died Robert Lord Brooke, a virtuous and religious gentleman, a good scholar, and an eminent patriot, 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-honoured and renowned pious Lord Brooke, whose most illustrious name and memory, both for his piety, prudence, incomparable magnanimity, and heroic martial spirit, for his loyalty to the king, and fidelity to the 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 show the superstition of that prelate. "First," says his grace, "I observe that this great and known enemy to cathedral churches died thus fearfully in the assault of a cathedral; a fearful manner of death in such a quarrel! Secondly, that this happened upon St. Chad's Day, of which saint the cathedral bears the name. Thirdly, that this lord, coming from dinner, about two years since, from the Lord Herbert's house in Lambeth, upon some 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."‡

While the treaty of Oxford was depending, his majesty's friends in the city were contriving to bring him to London, and deliver the Parliament into his hands. § Mr. Tomkins, Chaloner, and Waller, a member of the House of Commons, in conjunction with some others, were to carry off the king's children, to secure the most active members of the House of Commons, as Mr. Pym, Hampden, Strode, &c., to seize the Tower and the 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 being discovered by a servant of Tomkins's before it was ripe for execution, the conspirators were apprehended and tried; Tomkins and Chaloner confessed the facts, and were executed; but Waller purchased his life for £10,000, and was banished. ||

Upon this discovery, both houses resolved to strengthen themselves by a new covenant or vow, which was tendered first to their own members, then to the army, and such of the people as were willing to take it. ¶ In it they declare their abhorrence of the late plot, and engage not to lay down their arms as long as the papists were 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, against

* Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 272. † P. 211.

‡ It was the opinion of some of the Royalists, and especially of the Roman Catholics, that the bullet was directed by St. Chad. It is observable that the same man who was by one party looked upon as a monument of Divine vengeance (see *South's Sermons*, serm. i., p. 270), was by the other revered as a saint. Baxter has placed him in heaven (*Saints' Everlasting Rest*, p. 82, 83, edit. 1649), together with White, Pym, and Hampden.—*Granger's History of England*, vol. ii., p. 144, 8vo. See also *Mrs. Macaulay's History*, vol. iii., p. 417, 418, note, 8vo.—Ed. Baxter's opinion of a man's spiritual state is likely to be regarded as a good authority.—C.

§ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 322. Rapin, vol. ii., p. 487, folio. || *Ibid.*, p. 326, 327. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

* Wood's Athen. Oxon., vol. ii., p. 12, 13.

† P. 272.

the forces raised by the king without their consent. Nevertheless, the king's friends were not disheartened from entering 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 ribands 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, notwithstanding 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 surprising 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 license from himself. † By another proclamation [Oct. 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 merchandises 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 forbade all his subjects, upon pain of high treason, to obey the orders of Parliament; and all tenants to pay their rents to such landlords as adhered to the rebellion, but to reserve them for his majesty's use.

After this account of things, it is reasonable to suppose that very extraordinary burdens must be laid upon the people on both sides to support the expenses of the war. The Parliament at Westminster excised everything, even the necessaries of life: all butchers' meat paid one shilling in twenty; every rabbit a 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 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 public service, which they were supposed to abate in their families. ‡ Such were the hardships of the times!

The king's affairs this summer were very prosperous, and threatened 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 wagons 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 Atherton Moor, June 30, and Sir William Waller at the battles of Lansdown and Roundaway-down, July 5 and 13, which was followed with the loss of Weymouth, Dorchester, Portland Castle, Exeter, and almost all the West. About the latter end of July, Prince Rupert besieged and took the city of Bristol, and the king himself sat down before Gloucester [August 10], 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-bands despatched to join the Earl of Essex's broken troops, who, by this means, were 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 entered the town when reduced to the last extremity; and having supplied it with necessaries, after three days returned towards London. The king being joined by Prince Rupert with five thousand horse, got before him to Newbury, where both armies engaged with pretty equal success, till night parted them, when his majesty retired to 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, it is certain that about this time the royal 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. It is no part of my design to give a particular description of sieges and battles, or a recital of the military exploits of the heroes of these times, any farther than to inform the reader of the true situation of affairs, and to enable him to form a just idea of the grounds and reasons of those extraordinary measures that each party took for the support of their cause. Let us now, therefore, attend the affairs of the Church.

The clergy on both sides had a deep share in the calamities of the times, being plundered, harassed, imprisoned, and their livings sequestered, 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

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 357, folio.

† Husband's Collections, folio, 237, 366.

‡ For a more minute detail of the ways by which the Parliament raised money, see Dr. Grey, vol. ii., p. 42, &c., and Historical Account of all Taxes, p. 296, 297.

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 477, folio.

† Rushworth, vol. v., p. 293, 294.

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 jails of York, and other places within his majesty's quarters. When any parties of the royal army got possession of a town that adhered to the Parliament, they inquired presently for the minister's house, which was rifled and plundered of everything 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 Edgehill. Great numbers came to London with their families in a naked and starving condition, leaving their books, and everything 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 threatened reprisals.

On the other hand, the Episcopal clergy were no less harassed by the Parliament soldiers; these being in possession of the best livings in the Church, were liable to suffer the greatest damage; multitudes of them left their cures and took sanctuary in the king's armies or garrisons, having disposed of their goods and chattels in the best manner they could. Others, who had rendered themselves obnoxious by their sermons or declarations for the king, were put under confinement in Lambeth, Winchester, Ely, and most of the bishops' houses about London; and for want of room, about twenty, according to Dr. Walker, were imprisoned on board of ships in the River Thames, and shut down under decks, no friend being suffered to come to them.* The same writer observes, that about one hundred and ten of the London clergy were turned out of their livings in the years 1642 and 1643, and that as many more fled to prevent imprisonment; yet it ought to be remembered, 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, nonresidence, or for taking part with the king against the Parliament. However, it is to be lamented that several pious and worthy bishops, and other clergymen, who withdrew from the world, and were desirous to live peaceably without joining either side, suffered afterward in common with the rest of their brethren; their estates and livings being sequestered, their houses and goods plundered 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 public 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 show 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 sequestered, 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 the present Parliament. It has been remembered that a grand committee, consisting of the whole House of Commons, was appointed November 6, 1640, to inquire 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. Whitelocke, an honest, a learned, and faithful servant of the public, was chairman. Great numbers of petitions, with articles of misbehaviour, were brought before them, relating to superstition, heresy, or the immorality of their ministers, insomuch that the House was forced to branch the committee into several subdivisions for the quicker despatch of business. November 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 inquire into the true grounds and causes of the 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 of shires and burgesses of the several corporations were ordered to bring informations, within six weeks, of the state of religion in their respective counties. The sub-committee consisted of sixty-one members, together with the knights and burgesses of Northumberland, Wales, Lancashire, Cumberland, and the burgesses of Canterbury. Mr. White was chairman of this, as well as of the grand committee; they had their regular meetings in the Court of Wards, and from the powers above mentioned, were sometimes called the committee for preaching ministers, but more usually for scandalous ministers. They had the inspection of all hospitals and freeschools, and were authorized to consider of the expediency of sending commissions into the several counties to examine such clergymen as were accused, and could not with convenience be brought up to London.

But presentments against the clergy came in so fast, that, for the despatch of business, they were obliged to divide again into several smaller committees, which, from the names of the gentlemen in the respective chairs, were called Mr. White's, Corbet's, Sir Robert Harlow's, and Sir Edward Deering's committees, &c.† Within a short space above two thousand petitions were brought before them, of which Mr. Corbet's committee had no less than nine hundred. Great complaints have been made of their severity by those who will not believe the clergy were so corrupt as really they were, nor remember the political principles for which most of them suffered. The forms of proceeding in the committee were certainly unexceptionable, for they were obliged to give proper notice to the party accused to make his appearance; the witnesses were usually examined upon oath in his presence; a copy of the articles was given him if desired, and a reasonable time assigned to pre-

* Walker's Suffering Clergy, part ii., p. 180.

* Walker's Attempt, p. 63.

† *Ibid.*, p. 65.

pare for his defence.* The articles of inquiry on which they proceeded were, 1. Scandalous immoralities of life, as drunkenness, swearing, incontinency, and sometimes blasphemy and sodomy. 2. False or scandalous doctrine, *i. e.*, popish and Arminian, these being understood to be inconsistent with the Articles of the Church of England. 3. Profanation of the Sabbath by reading and countenancing the Book of Sports. 4. Practising and pressing the late innovations after they had been censured by the Parliament as illegal. 5. Neglect of their cures by not preaching according to their duty. 6. Malignancy and disaffection to the Parliament, discovered by their assisting his majesty with money, and persuading others to do so; by reading the king's declarations, and refusing to read the Parliament's; by not observing the Parliament's fasts, but calling them rebels, traitors, and wishing the curse of God upon them and their cause. These were apprehended reasonable matters of inquiry, and just grounds of exception, as matters stood between the king and the two houses. And, after all, the final determination was not with the committee; their opinion, with the evidence, was first laid before the grand committee, then it was reported to the whole House, and finally referred to the House of Lords before it was decisive. One would think here should be little room for complaint, and yet there was too much passion and prejudice on both sides, which was owing to the confusion of the times and the violent resentments of each party. The commissioners were too forward in exposing the failings of the clergy, and encouraging witnesses of slender credit; on the other hand, the clergy were insufferably rude to the committee, defaming their witnesses, and threatening revenge, for being obliged to plead their cause before laymen. However, few clergymen were sequestered by the committee for scandalous ministers before it was joined with that for plundered ministers; an account of which I shall lay before the reader, after I have given two or three examples of the proceedings of the present committee, from the relations of those clergymen who have left behind them an account of their sufferings.

The first is Mr. Symmonds, of Rayne, in Essex, who acknowledges that he was sequestered for preaching and publishing that "the king, being the supreme magistrate, hath immediate dependance on God, to whom alone he is accountable.—That authority is a sacred thing, and essential to the king's person.—That resistance is against the way of God, destructive to the whole law of God, inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel, the perpetual practice of Christianity, the calling of ministers, common prudence, the rule of humanity, nature itself, reason, the oath of allegiance, and even the late protestation."† Besides, he had notoriously defamed the Parliament, and pressed his auditors to believe the king's declarations, "because a Divine sentence was in his mouth, and he cannot err. And that, if David's heart smote him for cutting off Saul's garment, what would it have done if he had kept him from his castles, towns, and ships!" For which reasons, the Lords and Commons in Parliament assem-

bled 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 farther order. Mr. Symmonds endeavoured to discredit the evidence, but was so far from disowning the charge, that he afterward vindicated it in a pamphlet, entitled "The Loyal Subject's Belief."

A second gentleman, who has left an account of his sufferings, is the Rev. Mr. Squire, of Shoreditch; he was article'd against for "practising and pressing the late innovations, for saying the papists were the king's best subjects, because of their loyalty and 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 the hearts of his people; that the priest passing by was the Protestant, 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 articles, and extenuated others; he procured a certificate from several of his parishioners of his diligence in preaching, in catechising, and in beating down popery for thirty years past, all which might be true; but Dr. Walker admits† that from the beginning of the war he was a most strenuous claimer for allegiance, that is, for passive obedience and nonresistance, and most earnestly exhorted his people to the practice of it, which, as the times then were, might be a sufficient reason for the Parliament to silence him.

The other clergyman is Mr. Finch, of Christ Church, who was article'd against for extortion, superstition, nonresidence, and neglect of his cure, and for being a common swearer, tavern-hunter, and drunkard, which was proved by very substantial evidence. Dr. Walker's defence of this gentleman is very remarkable: "Common charity," says he, "will oblige every one to give more credit to the bare word of a clergyman, though in his own vindication, than to that of his known and professed enemies."‡ And yet, in the next page,§ he owns he was not satisfied with 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 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 freedom of this country, as most of the parochial clergy at that time did.

The committee for plundered ministers took its rise from those Puritan clergymen who,

* Walker's Attempt, p. 81.

† Walker's Suffering Clergy, p. 67.

* Walker's Suffering Clergy, p. 67.

† Ibid., p. 176.

‡ Ibid., p. 72.

‡ Walker's Attempt, p. 71.

§ Ibid., p. 72.

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 exigencies, applied to the Parliament for relief; the Commons first ordered a charitable collection for them at their monthly fast, and four days after, viz., December 31, 1642, appointed a committee to consider of the fittest way "for the relief of such godly and well-affected ministers as have been plundered; and what malignant clergymen have benefices in and about the town, whose benefices being sequestered, may be supplied by others who may receive their profits." The committee consisted of Mr. Solicitor-general, Mr. Martyn, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir William Armyne, 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 afterward added some others; among whom, Dr. Walker supposes, was the famous Mr. White, who sat in the chair of this committee, March 2, 1642-3. The commissioners were upon their oath; any four had a power to act; they were distinguished by the name of the "committee for plundering ministers;" but the Royalists, by way of reproach, called them the "committee for *plundering* ministers." They began their meetings in the Court of Exchequer, January 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 their cures, to apply the revenues to their use if they found it necessary, and to report the proceedings to the House. July 27, 1643, they were empowered to consider of informations against scandalous ministers, though there were no malignancy proved against them, and to put out such whose scandal was sufficiently proved; from which time the committee for scandalous and plundered ministers were, in a sort, united, and so continued to the end of the Long Parliament.*

In order to silence the clamours of the Royalists, and justify the severe proceedings of these committees, it was resolved to print the cases of those whom they ejected, and submit their conduct to the public 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 Prelate in whose Hands the Ordination of Ministers and Government of the Church had 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 Viciousness of Life, Errors in Doctrine, contrary to the Articles of our Religion, and for practising and pressing superstitious Innovations against Law, and for Malignancy against the Parliament." The author, in his preface, says, the reason of his appearing in print was, "that the Parliament might appear just in their doings, that the mouth of iniquity might be stopped; 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 falsehood, and make lies their refuge." And then adds, "that the grossest faults which were charged on the clergy were proved by many witnesses, seldom less than six." The whole century were convicted of malignity, or disaffection to the Parliament; and about eighty of them of scandalous immoralities in their lives. Dr. Walker has endeavoured to recover the reputation of seven or eight, and would insinuate that the rest were convicted upon too slender evidence, the witnesses not being always upon oath, nor, in his opinion, of sufficient credit to impeach a clergyman; that some of the crimes were capital, and therefore, if they had been proved, must have touched not only the livings, but the lives of the criminals; and that the Parliament, who set up for precise morals, accepted the mere verbal evidence of the most infamous people. However, the doctor himself has admitted and confirmed the centurist's account of many of the scandalous ministers, by the inquiries he has made into their characters in the places from whence they 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 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 Echard is of the same mind. But Mr. Baxter's testimony is more particular and decisive, who says, "that in all the countries where he was acquainted, six to one at least, if not many more, that were sequestered by the committees, were by the oaths of witnesses proved insufficient or scandalous, or especially guilty of drunkenness and swearing. This I know," says the reverend author, "will displease the party, but I am sure that this is true."†

It is impossible to account for the particular proceedings of all the committees, of which great outrages have been made by the friends of the sufferers. "If the meanest and most vicious parishioners could be brought to prefer a petition against their parson to the House of Commons, how 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 voting them out of their livings, right or wrong." In another place he says, "that these complaints were frequently exhibited by a few of the meanest of the people against the judgment of the parish." The like representation is made 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 com-

* Church History, b. xi., p. 207.

† Baxter's Life, p. 74.

‡ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 65.

* Walker's Attempt, p. 37.

missioners, treating them as a combination of illiterate laymen, who had nothing to do with the Church—nay, as rebels and traitors. Some refused to obey their summons, and others who appeared took 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 threatened reprisals out of court, when things should revert to their former channel; and, upon the whole, behaved as if they had engrossed all the law, learning, and good sense of the nation to themselves. The commissioners, provoked at 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 mechanics, factious, schismatical, enemies to the Church, &c., they overruled their exceptions, as long as there were no legal objections to their competency or credibility.

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 sequestered were confessed by themselves; superstition or false doctrine were hardly ever objected, far the greatest part being 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 than the prosecutor, the commissioners considered the king's clergy as their most dangerous enemies, and were ready to lay hold of all opportunities to discharge them their pulpits.

But, whatever might be the excesses or partiality of particular committees, no reasonable blame can be laid upon the two houses, whose instructions were, in my opinion, unexceptionable; the words of the ordinance are these: "And to the end that those who will appear before the committee may have the witnesses examined in their presence, it is farther ordained, that summonses, with sufficient warning of the time and place when and where the charge against them shall be proved, be either given to their persons or left at their houses; and, if they desire it, they shall have a copy of the articles against them, with a convenient time to give in their answer under their hands, which, together with their charge, and the proofs upon every particular of it, the said deputy-lieutenants and committees of Parliament shall send up to the committee of this House appointed to provide for plundered ministers, which committee shall, from time to time, transmit them to this House."* And, farther, to prevent all abuses, it is ordained, in the ordinance for sequestration, "that if any person or persons find themselves 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 infor-

mation given to both houses of Parliament, or to the committee of Lords and Commons aforementioned, such farther 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 a scrutiny into the lives and manners of the clergy, when their witnesses might be dead, they were limited to such crimes as had been committed within three years before the beginning of the present Parliament; so that, if the committees observed their orders, there could be little cause of complaint; yet, as no one will undertake to vindicate all their proceedings, we must not, on the other hand, give ear to the petulant and angry complaints of every discontented clergyman.† I shall only observe, farther, that these country committees hardly began to sit till the latter end of the year 1643 or the beginning of 1644; that they exercised their power very sparingly while the war was in suspense, but when the royal forces had been 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.

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 increase their numbers and vindicate their characters. By this account one would think most of them were of the first rank and character; but Mr. Baxter,‡ who was much better acquainted with them, says, "that when the Parliament purged the ministry, they cast out the grosser sort of insufficient and scandalous ones, and also some few civil men who had assisted in the wars against the Parliament, or set up bowing to altars, and such innovations, but they left in near one half of the ministers that were not good enough to do much service, nor bad enough to be utterly intolerable. These were a company of poor, weak preachers, who had no great skill in divinity nor zeal for godliness, but preached weekly that that was true, and were free from notorious sins." This seems a pretty fair relation of the matter; however, we shall have occasion to consider it more fully hereafter.

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, towards defraying the expenses of it; for this purpose they passed the following ordinance, April 1, 1643, the preamble to which sets forth,§ "that it is most agreeable to common justice that the estates of such notorious delinquents as have been the causes or instruments of the public calamities, which have hitherto been employed to the fomenting and nourishing of this miserable distraction, should be converted and applied towards the support of the commonwealth.

"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,

* Husband's Collections, p. 15.

† Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 81. ‡ Life, p. 95.

§ Husband's Collections, fol. 13.

* Husband's Collections, p. 311.

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

August 19, 1643, this ordinance was farther 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 persons 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 to such as they suspected the following oath:

"I, A. B., do abjure and renounce the pope's supremacy and authority over the Catholic Church in general, and over myself in particular. And I do believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, after consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. And I do also believe that there is not any purgatory, or that the consecrated Host, crucifixes, or images ought to be worshipped, or that any worship is due to any of them. And I also believe that salvation cannot be merited by works; and all doctrines in affirmation of the said points I do abjure and renounce, without any equivocation, mental

reservation, or secret evasion whatsoever, taking the words by me spoken according to the common meaning of them.

"So help me God."

Divers clergymen of considerable 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 in their circumstances with men who were always dealing in politics, privately sending the king money, preaching publicly 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 a 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 pursued the same measures, 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 publicly pray against us and our assistants, but conform to the Book of Common Prayer established by law, and preach God's Word according to the purity of it, and in their sermons will not teach sedition, nor publish illegal commands and orders for fomenting the unnatural war levied against us, are some of them driven from their cures and habitations, others silenced and discharged from their cures, and persecuted, and their curates, if orthodox, displaced, in whose places factious and 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!

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 on account of their nonconformity. Lord Clarendon, with his usual candour, says, "that from the beginning of this Parliament he is confident not one learned or orthodox man was recommended by them to the Church of England;" and yet some of

* Scobel's Collections, p. 49.

* Husband's Collections, p. 177.

the greatest ornaments of the Church for learning and good sense, in the reign of King Charles II., were of their promotion, as Bishop Reynolds, Bishop Wilkins, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Cudworth, Dr. Wallis, and others. Mr. Baxter, who was a more competent judge in this respect, says,* "that though now and then an unworthy person, by sinister means, crept into the places of the ejected 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 very young; but that could not be helped, because there were no others to be had; the Parliament could not make men learned or godly, but only put in the learnedest and ablest 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 increased in learning themselves while they profited others, and proportionably more than many in the universities do." Those clergymen who had been silenced and imprisoned by Archbishop Laud were set at liberty and promoted; some who had fled to Holland and New-England, on account of nonconformity, returned home, and were preferred to considerable lectures in the city, or to livings that had been sequestered. The Parliament entertained and promoted several Scots divines, and yet, after all, wanted a supply for several vacant benefices, which obliged them to admit of some unlearned persons and pluralists, not of choice, but through necessity; for when things were more settled, the Assembly of Divines declared against both; and it deserves to be remembered, that the Parliament, instead of giving their divines an absolute and full possession of the sequestered livings, reserved to themselves a right in their warrants to displace them if they saw occasion, which shows their great prudence and caution, for by this means it was in their power, upon the conclusion of peace, to restore those who had been ejected merely for their attachment to the king, without any injustice to the present possessor. To put some stop to the clamours of the Royalists at Oxford, who gave out that the Parliament admitted butchers, cobblers, bricklayers, and those who had no call from God or man, they ordained, July 27, 1643, "that the committees should not nominate any person to vacant benefices but such as should be examined and approved by the Assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster." Upon the whole, it is evident that the two houses did the best they could in their present circumstances, and perhaps better than the Royalists did at the Restoration, 1660, when, according to Dr. Walker, all the sequestered clergy who 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, 1642-3, sent to the lord-mayor of the city of London to desire him to put in execu-

tion the statutes for the due observation of the Lord's Day; his lordship, accordingly, issued his precept the very next day to the aldermen,* requiring them to give strict charge to the churchwardens 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 tipping in any tavern, inn, tobacco-shop, alehouse, 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 alleys, or any other ways to put things for sale, at any time of that day, or in the evening of it; or any milk-woman to cry milk; nor to suffer any persons to unlade any vessels of fruit, or other goods, and carry them on shore; or to use any unlawful exercises or pastimes; and to give express charge to all innkeepers, taverns, cook-shops, alehouses, &c., within their wards, not to entertain any guests to tittle, eat, drink, or take tobacco, in their houses on the Lord's Day, except innkeepers, who may receive their ordinary guests or travellers, who come for the despatch of their necessary business; and if any persons offend in the premises, they are to be brought before the lord-mayor, or one of his majesty's justices of the peace, to be punished as the law directs." This order had a very considerable influence upon the city, which began to wear a different face of religion to what it had formerly done.† May 5 the book tolerating sports upon the Lord's Day was ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman in Cheapside, and other usual places; and all persons having any copies in their hands were required to deliver them to one of the sheriffs of London to be burned.

Next to the Lord's Day, they had a particular regard to their monthly fast: April 24, all constables, or their deputies, were ordered to repair to every house within their respective liberties, the day before every public fast, and charge all persons strictly to observe it according to the said ordinances. And upon the day of the public fast, they were enjoined to walk through their said liberties, to search for persons who, either by following the work of their calling, or sitting in taverns, victualling, or alehouses, or any other ways, should not duly observe the same; and to return their names to the committee for examination, that they might be proceeded against for contempt. The fast was observed the last Wednesday in every month, the public 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 rigour.

* Husband's Collections, p. 7. † Ibid., p. 159.

‡ These services were protracted, undoubtedly, to a tiresome and unreasonable length, and became the subject of ridicule to the royal party; of which this proposal, in a pamphlet entitled "New Orders New," is a proof: viz., "that every year there shall be the Roundheads' feast celebrated, a well-lunged, long-breathed cobbler shall preach a sermon six hours, and his prayers two hours long, and at every mess in this feast shall be presented a godly dish of turnips, because it is very agreeable to our natures: for a turnip hath a round head, and the anagram of a Puritan is a turnip."—*Dr. Grey*, p. 76, note.—*Ed.*

* *Hist. of Life and Times*, p. 74.

Besides the stated fasts, it was usual, upon extraordinary emergencies, to appoint occasional ones; as when the army was going upon any hazardous enterprise, or were within sight of the enemy, or under very disadvantageous circumstances. When the Earl of Essex was shut up in Cornwall, the two houses appointed a day of fasting and prayer in six churches within the lines of communication, and in such other churches where it should be desired; and the crowds of serious, attentive hearers on such occasions was almost incredible.

The king, apprehending the Parliament's monthly fast was perverted from its original design, and turned into a nursery of rebellion, was pleased to dissolve it, and appoint another, for the reasons contained in the following proclamation from Oxford, dated October 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 public 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 a 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 public prayers and preaching where it may be had, that as one man we may pour out our prayers to God, for the continuance of his gracious presence and blessing upon us, and for establishing a happy peace; for which purpose we have caused devout forms of prayer to be composed and printed, and intend to disperse them, that they may be used in all parts of our kingdom."* Agreeably to this proclamation, the king's friends in the counties of Cornwall and Devonshire took an oath, and entered into an association upon sundry articles, of which this was one: That if any minister shall refuse, or wilfully neglect, to observe the fast appointed by his majesty, or shall not read the service and prayers appointed for that fast, and being carried before a justice of peace, shall not promise and protest for their future conformity, he shall be forthwith secured, and his estates sequestered; the like course to be taken with such ministers as absent themselves that day, unless upon sickness, or other cause allowed by two justices of peace; and with those that will not read such books as shall be appointed to be read by his majesty; and the constables are to certify their defaults to the next justice of the peace.† This was a new hardship upon clergy and people, for the Parliament having enjoined the continuance of the

fast on Wednesday, the Royalists were obliged to an open separation, by changing it to Friday. Thus the devotions of the kingdom were divided, and Almighty God called into the quarrel on both sides.

The next thing the Parliament undertook was the removal of those monuments of superstition out of churches, &c., which had been voted down the last year, but without any considerable effect, because of the dissent of the House of Lords. 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 churchyard, where the first Reformers used to preach frequently to the people; and upon a farther representation of the Assembly of Divines, they passed the following ordinance: "That before the 1st of November all altars and tables of stone shall be utterly taken away and demolished; and all communion-tables removed from the east end of every church, chapel, or place of public worship, and be set in some other fit and convenient place or places of the body of the church or chapel; and all rails whatsoever which have been erected near to, or before, or about, any altar or communion-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 public prayer, which has been within these twenty years raised for any altar or communion-table to stand upon, shall before the said day be laid down and levelled as it was before; and all tapers, candlesticks, and basins shall before the said day be removed and taken away from the communion-table in every church, chapel, or place of public prayer, and not to be used again afterward. And all crucifixes, crosses, images, and pictures, of any one or more persons of the Trinity, or of the Virgin Mary; and all other images, and pictures of saints, or superstitious inscriptions in or upon any of the said churches, churchyards, or other places belonging to the said churches or churchyards, or in any other open place, shall, before the said 1st of November, be taken

* The zeal showed for pulling down the crosses gave occasion for the publication of a humorous piece, entitled "A Dialogue betwixt the Cross in Cheap and Charing Cross, comforting each other, as fearing their Fall in these uncertain Times." It was also bantered in a pamphlet, with this title, "New Orders New, agreed upon by the Parliament of Roundheads, confirmed by the Brethren of the new Separation, assembled at Roundheads' Hall without Cripple-gate, with the great Discretion of Master Long-breath, an upright, new inspired Cobbler, Speaker of the House. Avowed by Ananias Dulman, alias Prick Ears." Of the strain of this piece, the following passage is a specimen: "That we have no crosses, for they are mere popery, and tend to the confusion and opposition of Scripture; especially let the sight of Cheapside Cross be a detestation unto you all, and let these streets that are called Crosses, as Red Cross-street, and White Cross-street, &c., be turned otherwise, and called after the name of some of our own family, as Green, Spencer, &c., and call it rather Green-street, than Red Cross-street, &c. That thus, all profaneness being rooted and extirpated from our conventions, nothing but holiness may remain among us."—*Dr. Grey*, vol. ii., p. 80, 81, note.—*ED.*

* Husband's Collections, p. 353.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 381, 382.

away and defaced by the proper officers that have the care of such churches. And it is farther ordained, that the walls, windows, grounds, and other places that shall be broken, impaired, or altered, by any the means aforesaid, shall be made up and repaired in good and sufficient manner, in all and every the said parish churches, chapels, or places of public prayer belonging to the parish, by the church-wardens for the time being, and in any cathedral or collegiate church or chapel by the deans or sub-deans; and in the inns of court, by the benchers and readers of the same, at the cost and charge of all and every such person or persons, bodies politic, or corporations, to whom the charge of repair does usually belong, upon penalty of 4s. to the use of the poor, for the space of twenty days after such default; and if default be made after December 1, the justice of peace of the county or city shall have power to perform it. 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 churchyard, 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 of the same tenour with the bill against innovations, presented to the king at the treaty of Oxford, and does not much differ from Queen Elizabeth's injunctions at the Reformation: there were some disorders and tumults in putting it in 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, he will see there was some need of a reformation. December 14, the commissioners cleared the Cathedral of Canterbury of all the images, and paintings in the windows. Heylin says the rabble violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs, took down the rails, &c., and affronted the statue of our blessed Saviour.† December 30, they removed the pictures, images, and crucifixes in Henry VII.'s chapel; and about Lady Day the paintings about the walls and windows were defaced, and the organs taken down in presence of the committee of the House. The Cathedral of St. Paul's was stripped about the same time, the candlesticks, crucifixes, and plate being sold for the service of the war; and within a few months most of the 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 discreet persons, to give directions what might remain and what was fit to be removed, all the mischiefs that have been complained of might have been prevented; the monuments of the dead might have remained entire, and a great many fine paintings been 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 might be very proper to remove these images and crosses, because of the superstitious resort of great numbers of people to them; though it ought to have been done in a peaceable manner, without any damage to the truly venerable remains of antiquity.

The paper combat between the two parties at Oxford and London was carried on with no less fury than the war itself; numberless pamphlets were scattered up and down the kingdom, big with disaffection and scandal against the two houses; to put a stop to which, the Commons, by an order of March 6, 1642-3, had empowered 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 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 dispersing scandalous pamphlets having been ineffectual, it is ordained that no person or persons shall print any book or pamphlet without license under the hands of such persons as shall be appointed by Parliament, nor shall any book be reprinted without the license and consent of the owner, and the printer to put his name to it; the Company of Stationers and the Committee of Examinations are required to make strict inquiry after private presses, and to search all suspected shops and warehouses for unlicensed books and pamphlets, and to commit the offenders against this order to prison, to be punished as the Parliament shall direct."* The names of the licensers appointed by this ordinance were these:

For books of divinity.

The Rev. Mr. Thomas Gataker.
The Rev. Mr. J. Downham.
The Rev. Mr. Callicot Downing.
The Rev. Dr. Thomas Temple.
The Rev. Mr. Joseph Caryl.
The Rev. Mr. Edmund Calamy.
The Rev. Mr. Carter, of Yorkshire.
The Rev. Mr. Charles Herle.
The Rev. Mr. James Crauford.
The Rev. Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick.
The Rev. Mr. Batchelor.
The Rev. Mr. John Ellis, Jun.

For law-books.

Sir John Brampton. Mr. Serg. Phesant.
Mr. Serg. Rolls. Mr. Serg. Jermyn.

For physic 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.

For philosophy, history, poetry, morality, and arts.—Sir Nath. Brent, Mr. Langley, and Mr. Farnaby, schoolmasters of St. Paul's.

For small pamphlets, pictures, &c.—The clerk of the Company of Stationers for the time being; and

For mathematics, almanacs, and prognostications.—The reader of Gresham College for the time being.

* Husband's Collections, fol. 307.

† Hist. Presbytery, p. 450.

‡ Dr. Grey gives various examples of the rude violence and indiscriminate destruction with which this was done. His authorities are, Bishops Hall, Heylin, Dugdale, and a work entitled Mercurius Rusticus.—Ed.

But neither this nor any other regulation of the press could restrain the Oxonians from dispersing their mercurys and diurnals over the whole kingdom, as long as the university was in the king's hands.

CHAPTER 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. 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 December 1, 1641. "We desire," say they, "that there may be a general synod of the 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, and 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's concurrence, till they were reduced to the necessity of calling in the Scots, who insisted that "there should be a 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 from exercising any jurisdiction or authority ecclesiastical whatsoever. It is entitled,

"An ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for settling the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations."†

The preamble sets forth,

"That whereas among the infinite blessings

* It is a just remark of Mr. Palmer, that the Assembly of Divines at Westminster was not a convocation according to the diocesan way of government, nor was it called by the votes of the ministers according to the Presbyterian way; but the Parliament chose all the members themselves, merely with a view to have their opinion and advice for settling the government, liturgy, and doctrine of the Church of England. And they were confined in their debates to such things as the Parliament proposed.—*Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. i., *Introduction*, p. 7.—*Ed.*

† Rushworth, vol. ii., part iii., or vol. v., p. 337.

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 agreeable to God's holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed churches abroad. And for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the Church of England from all false calumnies and aspersions, it is thought fit to call an assembly of learned, godly, and judicious divines, to consult and advise of such matters and things touching the premises as shall be proposed to them by both 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.

"Be it therefore ordained by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that all and every the persons hereafter in this ordinance named [the ordinance here names the persons], and such other persons as shall be nominated by both houses of Parliament, or so many of them as shall not be letted by sickness or other necessary impediment, shall meet and assemble, and are hereby required and enjoined, upon summons signed by the clerks of both houses of Parliament, left at their several respective dwellings, to meet and assemble at Westminster, in the chapel called King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, on the first of July, 1643, and after the first meeting, being at least of the number of forty, shall from time to time sit, and be removed from place to place; and also that the said assembly shall be dissolved in such manner as by both houses of Parliament shall be directed. And the said assembly shall have power and authority, and are hereby enjoined, from time to time, during this present Parliament, or till farther 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 misconstructions, as shall be proposed by either or both houses of Parliament, and no other; and to deliver their advices and opinions 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 farther direction. Four shillings per day were 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 and twenty-one divines.

N.B. The lay-assessors had an equal liberty of debating and voting with the divines, and were these:

Peers.

Algernon, earl of Northumberland.
William, earl of Bedford.
William, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
William, earl of Salisbury.
Henry, earl of Holland.
Edward, earl of Manchester.
William, lord-viscount Say and Seal.
Edward, lord-viscount Conway.
Philip, lord Wharton.
Edward, lord Howard, of Escrick.

Commoners.

John Selden, Esq.
Francis Rouse, Esq.
Edmund Prideaux, Esq.
Sir Henry Vane, knight senior.
Sir Henry Vane, knight junior.
John Glynn, Esq., recorder of London.
John White, Esq.
Bulstrode Whiteleoke, Esq.
Humphry Salway, Esq.
Oliver St. John, Esq.
Sir Benjamin Rudyard, knight.
John Pym, Esq.
Sir John Clotworthy, knight.
Sir Thomas Barrington, knight.
William Wheeler, Esq.
William Pierpoint, Esq.
Sir John Evelyn, knight.
John Maynard, Esq.
Mr. Sergeant Wild.
Mr. Young.
Sir Matthew Hale, afterward lord-chief-justice of the King's Bench [appeared, says Anthony Wood, among the lay-assessors].

Lay-assessors from Scotland.

Lord Maitland, afterward Duke Lauderdale.
Earl Lothian.
A. Johnston, called Warriston.

The divines were chosen out of such lists as the knights and burgesses brought in, of persons best qualified in their several counties, out of which the Parliament agreed upon two; though, according to Dr. Calamy, some counties had only one.

A list of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in alphabetical order:

Those with ** gave constant attendance; those with * sat in the Assembly and took the protestation, but withdrew, or seldom appeared; those with no star did not appear at all.

To supply the vacancies that happened by death, secession, or otherwise, the Parliament named others from time to time, who were called superadded divines.

** The Reverend Dr. WILLIAM TWISSE, of Newbury, was appointed by Parliament prolocutor.

** The Reverend Dr. Cornelius Burges, of Watford, Mr. John White, of Dorchester, A.M., assessors.

* The Reverend Mr. Henry Roborough, Mr. Adoniram Byfield, A.M., scribes, but had no votes.

** The Rev. John Arrowsmith, of Lynn, afterward D.D., and master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

** Mr. Simeon Ash, of St. Bride's, or Basingshaw
** Mr. Theodore Backhurst, of Overton, Waterville.
** Mr. Thomas 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 Reverend Dr. Ralph Brownrigge, bishop of Exon.
Mr. Richard Buckley.
** Mr. Anthony Burges, A.M., of Sutton-Colefield.
** Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, A.M., of Stepey.
** Mr. Richard Byfield, A.M., superadded.
** Edmund Calamy, B.D., Aldermanbury.
** Mr. Thomas Case, Milk-street.
** Mr. Richard Capel, of Pitchcombe, A.M.
** Mr. Joseph Caryl, A.M., Lincoln's Inn.
** Mr. William Carter, of London.
** Mr. Thomas Carter, of Oxon.
** Mr. William Carter, of Dynton, Bucks.
** Mr. John Cawdrey, A.M., St. Martin's Fields.
** Humphrey Chambers, D.D., of Claverton.
** Francis Cheynel, D.D., of Petworth.
** Mr. Peter Clarke, A.M., of Carnaby.
** Mr. Richard Clayton, of Showel.
** Mr. Francis Coke, of Yoxhall.
** Mr. Thomas Coleman, A.M., of Bliton.
** John Conant, of Lyminster, D.D., afterward Archdeacon of Norwich, and Prebendary of Worcester.
** Mr. Edward Corbet, A.M., Merton College, Oxon.
** Robert Crosse, D.D., afterward Vicar of Chew, Somerset.
** Mr. Philip Delme, superadded.
Mr. Thomas Dillingham, of Dean.
* Calibute Downing, D.D., of Hackney.
Mr. William Dunning, of Godalton.
** The Reverend Mr. John Drury, superadded.
Mr. Edward Ellis, B.D., Gilfield.
Mr. John Erle, of Bishopstone.
** Daniel Featley, D.D., of Lambeth.
** Mr. Thomas Ford, A.M., superadded.
** Mr. John Foxcroft, of Gotham.
Mr. Hamilton Gammon, A.M., of Cornwall
** Thomas Gataker, B.D., Rotherhithe.
** Mr. Samuel Gibson, of Burreigh.
** Mr. John Gibbon, of Waltham.
** Mr. George Gippes, of Aylston.
** Thomas Goodwin, D.D., of London, afterward President of Magdalen College, Oxon.
** Mr. William Goad, superadded.
** Mr. Stanley Gower, of Brampton-Bryan.
** William Gouge, D.D., of Blackfriars.
** Mr. William Greenhill, of Stepey.
** Mr. Green, of Pentecomb.
John Hacket, D.D., of St. Andrew's, Holborn, afterward Bishop of Litchfield.
Henry Hammond, D.D., of Penshurst, Kent.
** Mr. Henry Hall, B.D., Norwich.
** Mr. Humphrey Hardwicke, superadded.
* John Harris, D.D., prebendary of Winchester, warden of Wickham.
** Robert Harris, D.D., of Hanwell, President of Trinity College, Oxon.
** Mr. Charles Herle, A.M., Winwick, afterward prolocutor.
** Mr. Richard Heyrick, A.M., of Manchester.
** Thomas Hill, D.D., of Tichmarsh, afterward Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.
* Samuel Hildersham, B.D., of Felton.
* Mr. Jasper Hikes, A.M., of Lawrick.
** Mr. Thomas Hodges, B.D., of Kensington.
* Richard Holdsworth, D.D., master of Emanuel College, Cambridge.
** Joshua Hoyle, D.D., of Dublin, Ireland.
Mr. Henry Hutton.
** Mr. John Jackson, A.M., of Queen's College, Cambridge.
* Mr. Johnson.
** Mr. Lance, Harrow, Middlesex.
** Mr. John Langley, of West Tuderley, prebendary, Gloucester.
** Mr. John Ley, A.M., Great Budworth.
** The Reverend John Lightfoot, D.D., of Ashby, master of Catharine House.
* Richard Love, D.D., of Ekinton.
* Mr. Christopher Love, A.M., superadded.
Mr. William Lyford, A.M., Sherbourne.
** Mr. John de la March, minister of the French Church.
** Mr. Stephen Marshal, B.D., of Finchingfield.
** Mr. William Massam, superadded.
Mr. John Maynard, A.M., superadded.
** Mr. William Bew, D.D., of Essington.
** Mr. Thomas Micklethwait, Chertburton.
George Morley, D.D., afterward Bishop of Winchester.
Mr. William Moreton, Newcastle.
* Mr. Moore.

- ** Mr. Matthew Newcomen, Dedham.
- * Mr. William Newscore, superadded.
- William Nicholson, D.D., afterward Bishop of Gloucester.
- Mr. Henry Nye, of Clapham.
- ** Mr. Philip Nye, of Kimbolton.
- Mr. Herbert Palmer, B.D., Ashwell, afterward assessor.
- Mr. Henry Painter, of Exeter.
- Mr. Christopher Parkly, of Hawarden.
- ** Mr. Edward Peal, of Compton.
- ** Mr. Andrew Pern, of Wilby, Northampton.
- ** Mr. John Philips, Wrentham.
- ** Mr. Benjamin Pickering, East-Hoatly.
- ** Mr. Samuel de la Place, minister of the French Church.
- ** Mr. William Price, of St Paul's, Covent Garden.
- John Prideaux, D.D., bishop of Worcester.
- ** Nicholas Proffett, of Marlborough.
- Mr. John Pyne, of Bererferrars.
- ** Mr. William Rathband, of Highgate.
- ** Mr. William Reyner, B.D., Egham.
- ** Edward Reynolds, of Brampton, D.D., afterward Bishop of Norwich.
- ** Mr. Arthur Salway, Severn Stoke.
- Robert Sanderson, D.D., afterward Bishop of Lincoln.
- ** Mr. Henry Scudder, of Colingbourne.
- ** Lazarus Seaman, B.D., of London, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.
- ** Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, B.D., Coggeshall.
- Mr. Josias Shute, B.D., Lombard-street.
- ** The Reverend Mr. Sydrach Symphon, 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.
- ** Matthew Styles, D.D., Eastcheap.
- Mr. Strong, Westminster, superadded.
- ** Mr. Francis Taylor, A.M., Yalding.
- ** Thomas Temple, D.D., of Battersey.
- ** Mr. Thomas Thoroughgood, Massingham.
- ** Mr. Christopher Tisdale, Uphurstbourne.
- Mr. Henry Tozer, B.D., Oxon.
- ** Anthony Tuckney, D.D., of Boston, afterward Master of St. John's College, Oxon, and Regius professor.
- ** Mr. Thomas Valentine, B.D., Chalfort, Saint Giles's.
- ** Mr. Richard Vines, A.M., of Calcot, Master of Pembroke House, Cambridge.
- The most Reverend Dr. James Usher, archbishop of Armagh.
- ** Mr. George Walker, B.D., St. John the Evangelist.
- Samuel Ward, D.D., master of Sidney College, Cambridge.
- ** Mr. John Wallis, afterward D.D., and scribe.
- ** Mr. John Ward, superadded.
- Mr. James Welby, Syltatten.
- ** Thomas Westfield, D.D., bishop of Bristol.
- ** Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, A.M., Stretton.
- Mr. Francis Whiddon, Moreton.
- ** Henry Wilkinson, Senior, D.D., Waddeson, afterward Margaret professor, Oxon.
- ** Mr. Henry Wilkinson, Junior, B.D., St. Dunstan's.
- ** Mr. Thomas Wilson, Otham.
- ** Thomas Wincop, D.D., Elesworth.
- ** John Wincop, D.D., St. Martin's in the Fields.
- ** Mr. Francis Woodcock, proctor of the University of Cambridge.
- ** Mr. Thomas Young, Stow Market.

Ministers from Scotland.

- ** Mr. Alexander Henderson.
- ** Mr. George Gillespie.
- ** Mr. Samuel Rutherford.
- ** Mr. Robert Bayly.

Before the Assembly sat, the king, by his royal proclamation of June 22, forbade their meeting for the purposes therein mentioned, and declared that no act 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 who did after some time withdrew, for the following reasons:

dure, given by Baillie, is so graphic and complete, that I cannot do better than extract the entire passage.

"The like of that Assembly I never did see, and, as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor anywhere is shortly like to be. They did sit in Henry the VII.'s Chapel, in the place of the Convocation; but, since the weather grew cold, they did go to the Jerusalem Chamber, a fair room in the Abbey of Westminster, about the size of the college front-hall, but wider. At the one end, nearest the door, and along both sides, are stages of seats, as in the new Assembly House at Edinburgh, but not so high; for there will be room but for five or six score. At the uppermost end there is a chair set on a frame, a foot from the earth, for the Mr. Prolocutor, Dr. Twisse. Before it, on the ground, stand two chairs for the two Mr. Assessors, Dr. Burgess and Mr. White. Before these two chairs, through the length of the room, stands a table, at which sit the two scribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborouih. The house is well hung (with tapestry), and has a good fire, which is some dainties at London. Opposite the table, upon the prolocutor's right hand, there are three or four ranks of benches. On the lowest we five do sit. Upon the other, at our backs, the members of Parliament deputed to the Assembly. On the benches opposite to us, on the prolocutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the house to the chimney, and at the other end of the house and back of the table, till it come about to our seats, are four or five stages of benches, upon which their divines sit as they please; or albeit, commonly they keep the same place. From the chimney to the door there are no seats, but a void space for passage. The lords of the Parliament use to sit on chairs, in that void, about the fire. We meet every day of the week but Saturday. We sit commonly from nine till one or two afternoon. The prolocutor, at the beginning and end, has a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied, and very good, beloved of all, and highly esteemed; but merely bookish, not much, as it seems, acquainted with conceived prayer, and among the unfittest of all the company for any action; so after the prayer he sits mute. It was the canny convoyance (skilful management) of those who guide most matters for their own interest, to plant such a man of purpose in the chair. The one assessor, our good friend Mr. White, has kept in of the gout since our coming; the other, Dr. Burgess, a very active and sharp man, supplies, so far as is decent, the prolocutor's place. Ordinarily there will be present above threescore of their divines. These are divided into three committees, in one of which every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleases to come to any of the three. Every committee, as the Parliament gives order in writing to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion, and in their afternoon meeting prepares matters for the Assembly, sets down their minds in distinct propositions, backing their propositions with texts of Scripture. After the prayer, Mr. Byfield, the scribe, reads the proposition and Scriptures, whereupon the Assembly debates in a most grave and orderly way.

"No man is called up to speak; but whosoever stands up of his own accord, speaks so long as he will, without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedly call on his name whom they desire to hear first: on whom the loudest and maniest voices call, he speaks. No man speaks to any but to the prolocutor. They harangue long, and very learnedly. They study the questions well beforehand, and prepare their speeches; but withal the men are exceeding prompt and well-spoken. I do marvel at the very accurate and extemporal replies that many of them usually make.

* Dr. Grey refers to the 25th of Henry VIII., cap. xix., or the Act of Submission of the Clergy, to prove this assembly illegal.—ED.

† The account of the Assembly's order of proce-

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

Ans. 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."

Ans. 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 choose their own council, without being obliged to depend upon the nomination of the clergy."

Obj. 3. "But as great an exception as any was their dislike of the company, and of the

When, upon every proposition by itself, and on every text of Scripture that is brought to confirm it, every man who will has said his whole mind, and the replies, duples, and triplies are heard, then the most part call, 'To the question.' Byfield, the scribe, rises from the table, and comes to the prolocutor's chair, who, from the scribe's book, reads the proposition, and says, 'As many as are of opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say, Ay;' when ay is heard, he says, 'As many as think otherwise, say, No.' If the difference of 'Ays' and 'Nos' be clear, as usually it is, then the question is ordered by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first Scripture alleged for proof of the proposition. If the sound of Ay and No be near equal, then says the prolocutor, 'As many as say Ay, stand up;' while they stand, the scribe and others number them in their minds; when they sit down, the Nos are bidden stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a great deal of time, which we spend in reading our catalogue. When a question is once ordered, there is no more debate of that matter; but if a man will wander from the subject, he is quickly taken up by Mr. Assessor, or many others, confusedly crying, 'Speak to order, to order.' No man contradicts another expressly by name, but most discreetly speaks to the prolocutor, and, at most, holds to general terms: 'The reverend brother who lately, or last, spoke, on this hand, on that side, above, or below.' I thought meet, once for all, to give you a taste of the outward form of their Assembly. They follow the way of their Parliament. Much of their way is good, and worthy of our imitation; only their longness is woful at this time, when their Church and kingdom lie under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped; for being to establish a new platform of worship and discipline to their nation for all time to come, they think they cannot be answerable, if solidly, and at leisure, they do not examine every point thereof."—*Baillie*, vol. ii., p. 108, 109.—C

business which they had 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 apprehended) was to pull down that which they would uphold."

Ans. "This being not designed for a legal convocation, but for a council to the Parliament in the reformation of the Church, they apprehended they had a power to join some of their own members with such a committee or council, without intrenching upon the rights of convocation. The divines, except the Scots and French, were in Episcopal orders, educated in our own universities, and most of them graduates; their business was only to advise about such points of doctrine and church discipline as should be laid before them, in which the Episcopal divines might have been of service, if they had continued with the Assembly, to which they were most earnestly invited."

I believe no set of clergy, since the beginning of Christianity, have suffered so much in their characters and reputations* as these, for their advices to the two houses of Parliament. In his majesty's proclamation of June 22, the far greater part of them are said to be men of no learning or reputation. Lord Clarendon admits† "about twenty of them were reverend and worthy persons, and episcopal in their 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 reputation than of malice to the Church of England." His lordship would insinuate that they understood not the original text, because the learned Mr. Selden sometimes corrected the English translation of their little pocket Bibles, and put them into confusion by his uncommon acquaintance with Jewish antiquities; as if that great man would have treated a convocation with more decency and respect.‡ But Arch-

* "And no set of clergy," says Dr. Grey, "ever deserved it more;" and to show this, he quotes a virulent invective against them by Gregory Williams, bishop of Ossory. "You may judge of them by their compeers, Goodwin, Burroughs, Arrowsmith, and the rest of their ignorant, factious, and schismatical ministers, that, together with those intruding mechanics (who, without any calling from God or man, do step from their butcher's board, or horse's stable, into the preacher's pulpit), are the bellows which blow up this fire, that threatened the destruction of our land; like Sheba's trumpet, to summon the people to rebellion, and like the dragon in the Revelations, which gave them all his poison, and made them eloquent to disgorge their malice, and cast forth floods of slander after those that keep loyalty to their sovereign, belch forth their unsavory reproaches against those that discovered their affected ignorance and seditious wickedness in defence of truth."—*Grey's Exam. of Neal*, vol. ii., p. 91.—C.

† Clarendon, vol. i., p. 530.

‡ Bishop Warburton has no doubt but Mr. Selden would have treated a convocation with more decency and respect. For his lordship adds, "he had infinitely more esteem for the learning of the Episcopal clergy, though, perhaps, no more love for their persons." In what estimation Mr. Selden held the learning of the Episcopal clergy, has been shown vol. ii., p. 128, note. With what respect he was likely to speak of a convocation, the reader will judge from the following passage in his *Table Talk*, p. 37, in

bishop Laud's account is still more extravagant, for though it is 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 was 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 must acknowledge the far greater 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. Echard 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, affirms "that they were men of eminent learning, godliness, ministerial abilities, and fidelity."*

the edition of 1777, under the word Clergy: "The clergy and laity together are," says he, "never like to do well; it is as if a man were to make an excellent feast, and should have his apothecary and his physician come into the kitchen: the cooks, if they were let alone, would make excellent meat, but then comes the apothecary, and he puts rhubarb into one sauce, and agaric into another sauce. Chain up the clergy on both sides." That he had no high opinion of the power and authority of a convocation, may be concluded from his comparing it to "a court leet, where they have a power to make by-laws, as they call them; as that a man shall put so many cows or sheep in the common; but they can make nothing that is contrary to the laws of the kingdom."—Under the word Convocation, p. 45.—ED.

* "This synod," he says, "was not a convocation according to the diocesan way of government, nor was it called by the votes of the ministers, according to the Presbyterian way; but the Parliament, not intending to call an assembly which should pretend a Divine right to make obliging laws or canons to bind their brethren, but an ecclesiastical council, to be advisers to themselves, did think that they best knew who were the fittest to give them advice, and, therefore, chose them all themselves. Two were to be chosen out of each county; but some few counties (I know not upon what reason) had but one. * * * And because they would seem impartial, and have each party to have liberty to speak, they, over and above the number, chose many Episcopal divines, even the learnedest of them in the land, as Archbishop Usher, primate of Ireland, Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Wincop, Bishop Westford, Bishop Prideaux, and many more. But they would not come, because it was not a legal convocation, and because the king declared himself against it; Dr. Van Fealty, and very few more of that party, came (but at last he was charged with sending intelligence to the king's quarters, at Oxford, of what was done in the synod and Parliament, and was imprisoned, which much reflected on the Parliament, because, whatever his facts were, he was so learned a man as was sufficient to dishonour those he suffered by). The prolocutor, or moderator, was Dr. William Twisse (a man very famous for his scholastic wit and writings, in a very smooth, triumphant style);

The Assembly was opened on Saturday, July 1, 1643, with a sermon preached by Dr. Twisse

the divines there congregated were men of eminent learning, and godliness, and ministerial abilities, and fidelity, and being not worthy to be one of them myself, I may the more freely speak that 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 all history of that kind, and by any other evidences left us, the Christian world, since the days of the apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines (taking one thing with another) than this synod and the Synod of Dort were. * * *

"For my own part, as highly as I honour the men, I am not of their mind in every point of the government which they would have set up; and some words in their catechism I could wish had been more clear; and, above all, I could wish that the Parliament, and their more skilful hand, had done more than was done to heal our breaches, and had hit upon the right way either to unite with the Episcopal and Independents (which was possible, as distant as they are), or, at least, had pitched on the terms that are fit for universal concord, and left all to come in upon those terms that would. But, for all this dissent, I must testify my love and honour to the persons of such great sincerity and eminent ministerial sufficiency as were Gataker, Vines, Burgess, White, and the greater part of that Assembly."—*Sylvester's Baxter*, part i., p. 73.

"I disliked," says the honest Puritan, "the course of some of the more rigid of them that drew too near the way of prelacy, by grasping at a kind of secular power; not using it themselves, but binding the magistrates to confiscate or imprison men, merely because they were excommunicated, and so corrupting the true discipline of the Church, and turning the communion of saints into the communion of the multitude, that must keep in the Church against their wills, for fear of being undone in the world; when, as a man, whose conscience cannot feel a just excommunication unless it be backed with confiscation or imprisonment, is no fitter to be a member of a Christian Church in the communion of saints, than a corpse is to be a member of a corporation. It's true, they claim not this power as *jure divino* (though some say that the magistrate is bound to execute these penalties on men, merely as excommunicate), nor no more do the prelates, when yet the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* is the life of all their censures. But both parties too much *debase the magistrate*, by making him their *mere executioner*; whereas he is the *judge* wherever he is the *executioner*, and is to try each cause at his own bar before he be obliged to punish any; and they corrupt the discipline of Christ by mixing it with secular force, and they reproach the keys, or ministerial power, as if it were a leaden sword, and not worth a straw, unless the magistrate's sword enforce it (and what, then, did the primitive Church for three hundred years?). And, worst of all, they corrupt the Church by forcing in the rabble of the unfit and unwilling, and thereby tempt many godly Christians to schisms and dangerous separations.

"In all this I deny not but that the magistrate must restrain all sorts of vice; but not as a hangman only, that executeth the judgment of another, nor *eo nomine*, to punish a man because he is excommunicate (that is most heavily punished already by others), till magistrates keep the sword themselves, and learn to deny it to every angry clergyman that would do his own work by it, and leave them to their own weapons, the Word and spiritual keys; *valent quantum valere possunt*, the Church shall never have unity and peace."—*Sylvester's Baxter*, part ii., p. 142.

Dr. Price remarks that, "Happily for the interests of religion, there was another party in the Assembly, the members of which added to the personal virtues and ministerial diligence of the Presbyterians, more expansive views and a more liberal creed. They were known by the name of Independents, and had

in King Henry VII.'s Chapel, both houses of Parliament being present. The ordinance for their convention was then read, and the names of the members called over, after which they adjourned to Monday, and agreed on the following rules :

(1.) "That every session begin and end with a 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 afterward, he shall have liberty to give in his name to the scribes.

(3.) "That every member, before his admis-

for some time a very arduous and perplexing duty to perform. Their numbers were at first so limited as to present but little ground to hope that they would be able successfully to resist the scheme of the Presbyterians ; but what they wanted in numerical strength was supplied by the consummate skill and first-rate ability of their leaders. They were distinguished from the Presbyterians by maintaining the absolute independence of each church, so far as jurisdiction and discipline are concerned, and by denying the communication of spiritual power in ordination. They not only rejected the *ius divinum* of prelacy, but discarded, as equally papistical, the theory which vested ecclesiastical authority in the synodical meetings of church officers. The number of Independent ministers in the Assembly did not exceed ten or twelve, of whom Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Simpson, and Bridges were the chief. These men had been trained amid the privations of exile, and their characters had hence assumed a firmness and determination, which qualified them fearlessly to resist the now dominant Presbyterians. During the supremacy of Laud, they had sought refuge in Holland, where their minds were braced and their scriptural views confirmed. It was not, therefore, to be expected that, in returning to their native country, they would acquiesce in the tyranny of those brethren who had contrived to escape the vigilant and remorseless usurpations of that primate. They consequently demanded for themselves and others the right of private judgment, and of unrestricted liberty of worship. They were the honest and consistent expounders of the principles of religious liberty, when a large body of the Puritans showed themselves to be unworthy of their high vocation. The reasonings of the Independents were broader and more comprehensive than those of their predecessors. They were founded on the acknowledged principles of human nature, and were equally applicable to all the diversified cases which could arise. Abandoning the partial and unsatisfactory ground which had been taken by the Puritans, they entrenched themselves behind the nature of man and the character of Christianity, and would enter into no compromise which endangered the highest and best interests of the human family. They became, in consequence, the rallying-point of the minor sects, whom the Presbyterians sought to repress. Against many of their dogmas they protested as strongly as the more powerful party ; but for their right to form and propagate their opinions, they honestly contended. Hence their claims on the gratitude and admiration of posterity. The principles for which Locke and succeeding philosophers triumphantly pleaded were brought forth to public view, and instilled into the national mind by the despised sectaries of the Westminster Assembly."

For the other side of this subject at large, I refer the reader to Wetherington's History of the Westminster Assembly, where he will find the cause of the Presbyterian party zealously advocated. I have, *in loco*, quoted his representation of the characters of the four Scotch commissioners, and if that volume had not been reprinted at a cheap price, would very cheerfully insert his entire view of the subject.—C.

sion to sit and vote, do take the following vow or protestation :

"I, A. B., do seriously and solemnly, in the presence of Almighty God, declare that, in this Assembly whereof I am a member, I will not maintain anything in matter of doctrine but what I believe in my conscience to be most agreeable to the Word of God ; or in point of discipline, but what I shall conceive to conduce most to the glory of God, and the good and peace of his Church."

And, to refresh their memories, this protestation was read in the Assembly every Monday morning.

(4.) "That the appointed hour of meeting be ten in the morning ; the afternoon to be reserved for 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 Commons, and a third to the committee of both kingdoms. The usual method was to take it by turns, and every Friday the chaplains were appointed for the following week.

(6.) "That all the members of the Assembly have liberty to be covered, except the scribes," who some time after had also this liberty indulged them.

Besides these, the Parliament, on the Thursday following, sent them some farther regulations. As,

(1.) "That two assessors be appointed with the prolocutor, to supply his place in case of absence or sickness, viz., Dr. Cornelius Burges, and the Rev. Mr. John White, of Dorchester.

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

(3.) "That every member, on his first entrance into the Assembly, take the fore-mentioned protestation.

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

(5.) "What any man undertakes to prove as a necessary truth in religion, he shall make good from the Holy Scriptures.

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

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

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

The proceedings being thus settled, the Parliament sent the Assembly an order to review the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church ; but before they entered upon business, viz., July 7, they petitioned the two houses for a fast, on a day when the Rev. Mr. Bowles and Matthew Newcomen preached before them. Upon which petition Bishop Kennet passes the following severe censure : "Impartially speaking, it is stuff-

ed 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.

"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,

"That your petitioners, upon serious consideration, and deep sense of God's heavy wrath lying upon us, and hanging over our heads, and the whole nation, manifested particularly by the two late sad and 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 will be pleased to command a public 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's 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.

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, wherein God is more specially and more immediately dishonoured, among which we humbly lay before you these particulars:

1. "That the brutish ignorance and palpable darkness possessing the greatest part of the people in all places of the kingdom may be remedied, by a speedy and strict charge to all ministers constantly to catechise 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 the laws may be quickened against swearing and drunkenness, with which the land is filled and defiled, and under which it mourns.

7. "That some severe course be taken against fornication, adultery, and incest, which do greatly abound.

8. "That all monuments of idolatry and superstition, but more especially the whole body and practice of popery, may be totally abolished.

9. "That justice may be executed on all delinquents, according to your religious vow and protestation to that purpose.

10. "That all possible means may be used for the speedy relief and release of our miserable and extremely distressed brethren, who are prisoners in Oxford, York, and elsewhere, whose heavy sufferings cry aloud in the ears of our God; and it would lie very heavy on the kingdom should they miscarry, suffering as they do for the cause of God.

"That so God, who is now by the sword avenging the quarrel of his covenant, beholding your integrity and zeal, may turn from the fierceness of his wrath, hear our prayers, go forth with our armies, perfect the work of reformation, forgive our sins, and settle truth and peace throughout the kingdom.

"And your petitioners shall ever pray," &c.* Pursuant to this petition, Friday, July 21, † was appointed for a fast, when the Reverend Mr. Hill, Mr. Spurstow, and Mr. Vines 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 above mentioned.

Next day a committee of divines was appointed to consider what amendments were proper to be made in the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, and report them to the Assembly, who were ten weeks in debating upon the first fifteen, before the arrival of the Scots commissioners; the design was to render their sense more express and determinate in favour of Calvinism. It is not necessary to trouble the reader with the theological debates; but the articles, as they were new-modelled, 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 real improvements. ‡

As the Assembly were for strengthening the doctrines of the Church against Arminianism, they were equally solicitous to guard against the opposite extreme 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 public sermons and writings.

At this time the interest of the Parliament was so reduced, 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

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 344.

† "July 7," Dr. Grey says, "was the day on which Mr. Bowles and Newcomen preached."—Ed.

‡ Appendix, No. 7.

the royal army in the north,* and a general assembly, August 2, to consider the state of religion. His majesty would have prevented their meeting, but that being impracticable, he gave orders to limit their consultations to the concerns of their own country; but the Parliament of England sent the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armin, Sir H. Vane, Mr. Hatcher, Mr. Darley, and two divines from Westminster, viz., Mr. Marshal and Mr. Nye, with letters to each of these assemblies, desiring their assistance in the war, and the assistance of some of their divines with those at Westminster, to settle a uniformity of religion and church government between the two nations. To enforce these requests, they delivered a letter from the Assembly, "setting forth the deplorable condition of the kingdom of England, which was upon the edge of a most desperate precipice, ready to be swallowed up by Satan and his instruments. They represent 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 given up to their rage, they fear it will endanger the safety of all the Protestant churches. In a deeper sense of this danger," say they, "than we can express, we address you in the bowels of Christ for your most fervent prayers and advice, what farther 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 August 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 apprehend the war was for religion.
2. Because the Protestant faith was in danger.
3. Gratitude for former assistances at the time of the Scots reformation required a suitable return.
4. Because the Churches of Scotland and England being embarked in one bottom, if one be ruined the other cannot subsist.
5. The prospect of 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*."‡

* Yet these conservators issued out, in the king's name, a proclamation for all persons from sixteen to sixty years old to appear in arms. "At which," says Rushworth, "the king was much incensed."—*Dr. Grey*. Who will not own that he had great reason to resent his name being used against himself?—*Ed.*

† Rushworth, vol. v., p. 463, 466, 469.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 472, &c.

The instructions of the commissioners sent to the Assembly at Westminster were, to promote the extirpation of popery, prelacy, heresy, schism, skepticism, and idolatry, and to endeavour a union between the two kingdoms in one confession of faith, one form of church government, and one directory of worship.

The committee for drawing up the solemn League and Covenant delivered it into the Assembly August 17, where it was read and highly applauded by the ministers and lay-elders, none opposing it except the king's commissioners; so that it passed both the Assembly and convention in one day,* and was despatched 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, in the letter to the Assembly of August 18, assure their brethren the Scots clergy were entirely on the side of the Parliament in this quarrel against the popish and Episcopal faction; that there were between twenty and thirty of the prime nobility present when the Covenant passed the Convention; and that even the king's commissioners confessed that in their private capacity they were for it, though as his majesty's commissioners they were bound to oppose it. So that if the English Parliament (say they) comply with the form of this covenant, we are persuaded the whole body of the Scots kingdom will live and die with them, and speedily come to their assistance.

When their commissioners arrived at London, they presented the Covenant to the two houses, who referred it to the Assembly of Divines, where it met with some little opposition: Dr. Featly declared he durst not abjure prelacy absolutely, because he had sworn to obey his bishop in all things lawful and honest, and, therefore, proposed to qualify the second article thus: "I will endeavour the extirpation of popery and all antichristian, tyrannical, or independent prelacy;" but it was carried against him. Dr. Burgess objected to several articles, and was not without some difficulty persuaded to subscribe after he had been suspended. The prolocutor, Mr. Gataker, and many others, declared for primitive episcopacy, or for one stated president, with his presbyters, to govern every church; and refused to subscribe till a parenthesis was inserted, declaring what sort of prelacy was to be abjured, viz., "[church government by archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other officers depending upon them]."‡ The Scots, who had been introduced into the Assembly September 15, were for abjuring episcopacy as simply un-

* "Wise observers," Bishop Burnet adds, "wondered to see a matter of that importance carried through upon so little deliberation or debate. It was thought strange to see all their consciences of such a size, so exactly to agree as the several wheels of a clock; which made all apprehend there was some first mover that directed all those other motions: this, by the one party, was imputed to God's extraordinary providence, but, by others, to the power and policy of the leaders, and the simplicity and fear of the rest."—*Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, p. 239.—*Ed.*

† Calamy's Abridgment, p. 81.

lawful, but the English divines were generally against it.

Bishop Burnet says our commissioners pressed chiefly for a civil league, but the Scots would have a religious one, to which the English were obliged to yield, taking care, at the same time, to leave a door open for a latitude of interpretation.* Sir Henry Vane put the word "league" into the title, as thinking that might be broken sooner than a covenant; and in the first article he inserted that general phrase of reforming "according to the Word of God," by which the English thought themselves secure from the inroads of presbytery; but the Scots relied upon the next words, "and according to the practice of the best Reformed churches," in which they were confident their discipline must be included. When Mr. 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 sort therein described. Thus the wise men on both sides endeavoured to outwit each other in wording the articles, and with these slight amendments the Covenant passed the Assembly and both houses of Parliament; and by an order, dated September 21, was printed and published as follows:

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

"We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the Gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty, and his posterity, and the true public 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 the 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 increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the Church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies; we have (now at last), 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 determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

I.

"That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and 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 archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, 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 men's 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 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 hindering 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 public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

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 we

* Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 237, 240.

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, liberty, and peace of the kingdom, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the king; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same, according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal or make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed.

“ And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof, we profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; 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 among us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for ourselves, and all others under our charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, end 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 the anti-Christian 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 tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.”*

Monday, September 25, 1643, was appointed for subscribing this Covenant, when both houses, with the Scots commissioners and Assembly of Divines, being met in the Church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, the Rev. Mr. White,

of Dorchester, opened the solemnity with prayer; after him, Mr. Henderson and Mr. Nye spoke in justification of taking the Covenant from Scripture precedents, and displayed the advantage the Church had received from such sacred combinations. Mr. Henderson spoke next,* and de-

* The four Scottish divines were, in every respect, distinguished men, and would have been so regarded in any age or country. Alexander Henderson was, however, cheerfully admitted to be, beyond comparison, the most eminent. His learning was extensive rather than minute, corresponding to the character of his mind, of which the distinguishing elements were dignity and comprehensiveness. When called to quit the calm seclusion of the country parish where he had spent so many years, and to come to the rescue of the Church of Scotland in her hour of need, he at once proved himself able to conduct and control the complicated movements of an awakening empire. Statesmen sought his counsel; but, with equal propriety and disinterestedness, he refused to concern himself with anything beyond what belonged to the Church, although the very reverse has often been asserted by his prelatial calumniators. Though long and incessantly engaged in the most stirring events of a remarkably momentous period, his actions, his writings, his speeches, are all characterized by calmness and ease, without the slightest appearance of heat or agitation, resulting, unquestionably, from that aspect of character generally termed *greatness of mind* but which would, in him, be more properly characterized by describing it as a rare combination of intellectual power, moral dignity, and spiritual elevation. It was the condition of a mighty mind, enjoying the peace of God which passeth understanding, a peace which the world had not given, and could not take away.

George Gillespie was one of that peculiar class of men who start, like meteors, into sudden splendour, shine with dazzling brilliancy, then suddenly set behind the tomb, leaving their competitors equally to admire and to deplore. When but in his twenty-fifth year, he published a book against what he termed the “English Popish Ceremonies,” which Charles and Laud were attempting to force upon the Church of Scotland. This work, though the production of a youth, displayed an amount and accuracy of learning which would have done honour to any man of the most mature years and scholarship. In the Assembly of Divines, though much the youngest member there, he proved himself one of the most able and ready debaters, encountering, not only on equal terms, but often with triumphant success, each with his own weapons, the most learned, subtle, and profound of his antagonists. He must have been no common man who was ready, on any emergency, to meet, and frequently to foil, by their own acknowledgment, such men as Selden, Lightfoot, and Coleman, in the Erastian controversy, and Goodwin and Nye in their argument for Independency. But the excessive activity of his ardent and energetic mind wore out his frame; and he returned from his labours in the Westminster Assembly, to see once more the Church and the land of his fathers, and to die.

Samuel Rutherford gained, and still holds, an extensive reputation by his religious works; but he was not less eminent, in his own day, as an acute and able controversialist. The characteristics of his mind were clearness of intellect, warmth and earnestness of affection, and loftiness and spirituality of devotional feeling. He could and did write vigorously against the Independent system, and, at the same time, love and esteem the men who held it. In his celebrated work, “*Lex Rex*,” he not only entered the regions of constitutional jurists, but even produced a treatise unrivalled yet as an exposition of the true principles of civil and religious liberty. His “*Religious Letters*” have been long admired by all who could understand and feel what true religion is, though grovelling and impure minds have striven

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 478.

clared 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 tendered to all persons within the bills of mortality, being read in the several churches to their congregations, as above.

October 15, it was taken by the House of Lords, after a sermon preached by Dr. Temple, from Nehemiah, x., 29, and an exhortation by Mr. Colman. October 29, it was ordered by the Committee of States in Scotland to be 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 November 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; November 18, their goods were ordered to be seized, and their persons apprehended; upon which they fled into England. Such was the unbounded zeal of that nation! February 2 following, the Covenant was ordered to be taken throughout the kingdom of England, by all

to blight their reputation by dwelling on occasional forms of expression, not necessarily unseemly in the homeliness of phrase used in familiar letters, and conveying nothing offensive according to the language of the times. His powers of debate were very considerable, being characterized by clearness of distinction in stating his opinions, and a close, syllogistic style of reasoning, both the result of his remarkable precision of thought.

Robert Baillie, so well known by his "Letters and Journals," was a man of extensive and varied learning, both in languages and in systematic theology. He rarely mingled in debate; but his sagacity was valuable in deliberation, and his great acquirements, studious habits, and ready use of his pen, rendered him an important member of such an assembly. The singular ease and readiness of Baillie in composition enabled him to maintain what seems like a universal correspondence; and, at the same time, to present in a vivid, picturesque, and exquisitely natural style, the very form and impress of the period in which he lived, and the great events in which he bore a part. And when it was necessary to refute errors by exhibiting them in their real aspect, the vast reading and retentive memory of Baillie enabled him to produce what was needed with marvellous rapidity and correctness. Scarcely ever was any man more qualified to "catch the manners living as they rise," and, at the same time, to point out with instinctive sagacity what in them was wrong and dangerous.

Such were the Scottish commissioners; and it may easily be believed that they acted a very important and influential part in the Westminster Assembly of Divines.—*History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, by Rev. W. M. Hetherington, p. 125-7.*

—C.

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 475.

† Duke of Hamilton's Memoirs, p. 240.

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*, February 9, 1643.

"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 tendered, a people ready to entertain it with all cheerfulness 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, yet it goeth forth in its own strength with such convincing evidence of equity, truth, and righteousness, as may raise in ell (not wilfully ignorant or miserably seduced) inflamed affections to join with their brethren in this happy bond, for putting an end to the present miseries, and for saving both king and kingdom from utter ruin, now so strongly and openly laboured by the popish faction, and such as have been bewitched 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.

Ans. The life and soul of the hierarchy is already taken away, nothing of jurisdiction remaining; and since it is but a human constitution, if it be found a grievance, we may certainly endeavour its extirpation in a lawful way.

Obj. 2. It is said to be inconsistent with the oath of canonical obedience.

Ans. 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 oath of supremacy and allegiance.

Ans. This is false, for it binds to the pres-

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 475. Husband's Collections, p. 424.

ervation 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.

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

Dr. Barwick says* that some persons in the University of Cambridge published an answer to this exhortation, which I have not seen; but if the reader will look forward to the year 1647, he will find the reasons of the University of Oxford against it, confirmed in convocation, the validity of which he will judge of for himself. It is 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 of 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 reasonably scruple, who were otherwise well affected to the Protestant religion and the liberties of their country, the imposing it as a test can never 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:

Ordered, "That copies of the Covenant be sent to all commanders-in-chief, and governors of towns, forts, garrisons, and soldiers, that it may be taken by all soldiers under their command.

"That copies be sent to the committees of Parliament, in the several counties that are under the power of the Parliament, and that the committees, within six days, disperse the said copies, and cause them to be delivered to the ministers, church-wardens, or constables of the several parishes.

"That the several ministers be required to read the Covenant to the people the next Lord's Day after they have prepared the people to take it.

"That the committees of Parliament take it themselves within seven days after they have

* Life of Barwick, p. 35.

† "That is," says Bishop Warburton, "the Puritan: for Puritanism and religion are convertible terms with this historian." This evidently appears to be remarked with a sneer, and to impeach the impartiality of Mr. Neal. But, in answer to the remark, it may be observed, that it is not candid to interpret Mr. Neal's words as if he limited all seriousness of character to the Puritans; and then the question is, whether the fact was not as Mr. Neal states it? if it were, his language is irreprehensible.—Ed.

‡ Rapin, vol. xii., p. 133.

§ Husband's Collections, p. 420.

received the copies, and then disperse themselves throughout their counties, so as three or four of them may be together at the several places appointed for the people to take it. That they summon all the ministers, church-wardens, constables, and other officers to that place, and after a sermon preached by a minister whom they shall appoint, they shall cause the said minister to 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 parishioners next Lord's Day; and if any minister refuse or neglect to appear at the said summons, or refuse to take the said Covenant, the committee shall appoint another minister to do it in his place.

"If any minister refuse to take or tender the Covenant, or if any other person refuse 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 Lords and Commons, that no person should be capable of being elected a common councilman of the city of London, or so much as a voice in such elections, who has not taken the Covenant.† On the 29th of January, 1644, it was ordered by the Commons, that the solemn League and Covenant be, upon every day of fasting and public humiliation, publicly 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 public 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, either 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. 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.‡

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 public

* Whitelocke, p. 79. Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 172.

† Husband's Collections, p. 404.

‡ Abridgment, p. 104.

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, October 9, in the nineteenth year of his reign.

“ By the King

“ Whereas there is a printed paper, entitled ‘ A solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion,’ &c., pretended to be printed by order of the House of Commons, September 21, which Covenant, though it seems to make specious expressions of piety and religion, is in truth nothing else but a traitorous and seditious combination against us and the established religion and laws of this kingdom, in pursuance of a traitorous 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 soever, upon their allegiance, that they presume not to take the said seditious and traitorous Covenant. And we do likewise hereby farther 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 utmost and extremest perils.”*

His majesty sent the like declaration into Scotland, to which the states of that kingdom paid no farther regard 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 reason, of the execution this test did upon the king’s clergy throughout the kingdom. It was a new weapon put into the hands of the committees, which enabled them with more ease and certainty to detect malignant or disaffected ministers ; for instead of producing a number of witnesses, as had been the method hitherto, they now tendered 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 incumbent avoided it by withdrawing for a few weeks, and getting another to officiate. Some who 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 tendered ; for though it was pressed pretty closely in some places notorious for disaffection, in others that had been quiet it was 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 adhered to the king, or of whose disaffection they had sufficient evidence, several who behaved peaceably being permitted to keep their places, who would

certainly have refused it. It has been observed already, 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 would have answered all the ends of civil government, without shackling the consciences of men, which ought always to be left free, and open to conviction. 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 publicly to abjure it, or quit their preferments.

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 Catholics, 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. Whitelocke* says several of their officers and soldiers came over with the king’s army ; that a month or two after, eight hundred native Irish rebels landed at Weymouth, under the Lord Inchequin, and another party at Beaumaris, which committed great spoils, destroying with fire what they could not carry off. Another party landed near Chester, under the Earl of Cork, and fifteen hundred were cast away at sea : these wretches brought hither the same savage disposition which they had discovered in their own country ; they plundered and killed people in cold blood, observing neither the rules of honour nor the law of arms.† The Scotch forces in the north of Ireland entered 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

* P. 75, 76, 78, 79. Rapin, vol. ii., p. 486, folio. Clarendon, vol. ii., part i., p. 439.

† Dr. Grey contrasts this charge against the Irish rebels with instances of the conduct of the English adherents to the Parliament. He brings forward with this view the murder of Dr. Walter Raleigh, dean of Windsor, by the man to whose custody he was committed ; and of Colonel Bulkley, by Major Cheadle : the perpetrators in each case were acquitted. The doctor also refers to the petition of the Irish Catholics to the king in 1642, complaining of the violences and cruelties of which they were the objects. It is sufficient to observe, that the cruelty of one party does not exculpate the other. On whichever side acts of injustice and cruelty are committed, humanity will lament it, and equity will reprobate it. Such is the nature of war, such is the envenomed spirit that irritates civil contests, each party is, generally, very guilty ; and it may not be often easy to ascertain the proportion of guilt.—Ed.

war to them; they forbade all masters of ships to bring over any officers or soldiers, on penalty of the forfeiture of their vessels, and gave letters of marque to merchants and others, who would fit out ships at their own expense, 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 quarters 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.

This unhappy management of the king alienated the affections of great numbers of his friends who had the Protestant religion at heart; many who wished well to his person deserted him upon this occasion, and made their peace with the Parliament, as the Earls of Holland, Bedford, Clare, Carlisle, Sir Edward Deering, and others; this last gentleman published the reasons of his conduct to the world, the principal of which were, the Irish cessation, his majesty preferring popish officers to chief places of trust and honour, and the language of the Oxford clergy and others that the king should come no other way to his palace but by conquest.* There was certainly a very malignant spirit among those gentlemen at this time, as appears by their form of thanksgiving, or, rather, imprecation, for the taking of Bristol, and the success of the Earl of Newcastle's army in the north: "O Lord," say they, "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 lies; see it, O God, as see it thou dost, and vindicate what thou seest on the heads of those who lead these wretches."† Many of the Earl of Newcastle's soldiers, in the north, upon news of the Irish cessation, threw down their arms and offered a composition; and, if we may believe the Parliamentary Chronicle,‡ this single action lost the king all the northern counties. To put a stop to the clamours of the people, and prevent any farther desertions, his majesty resolved to support his own character as a Protestant, and accordingly made the following protestation in presence of the congregation at Christ Church, Oxford, immediately before his receiving the sacrament from the hands of Archbishop Usher:

"My Lord,

"I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the declaration I do now make. I have, to the utmost of my power, prepared my soul to be a worthy receiver, and may I so receive comfort from the blessed sacrament as I do intend the establishment of the true Reformed Protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at popery. I bless God that, in the midst of these public distractions, I have still liberty to communicate. And may this sacrament be my damnation if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation."‡

How consonant was this with his majesty's actions, when within a few days he agreed to a cessation with the Irish papists for a year, and a toleration of their religion! All men knew that his majesty not only connived at popery, but indulged it as far as was in his power; historians, therefore, are at a loss to reconcile this solemn appeal to Heaven with the king's piety and sincerity. The Parliament was so apprehensive of the consequences of bringing over the Irish papists, that, by an order of November 22, they desired the Assembly of Divines to write letters to the foreign churches of Holland, France, and Switzerland, and other places, to inform them of the artifices of his majesty's agents; of the constant employment of Irish rebels, and other papists, to be governors, commanders, and soldiers in his armies; of the many evidences of their intentions to introduce popery, to hinder the intended reformation, and to condemn other Protestant churches as unsound because not prelatial; and that the Scots commissioners be desired to join with them. In pursuance of this order, the Assembly wrote the following letter, dated November 30, 1643:

"To the Belgic, French, Helvetian, and other Reformed Churches.

"Right reverend and dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ,

"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 it is probable the same instruments of Satan and Antichrist have, by their emissaries, endeavoured to represent us as black as may be among yourselves.* And we sometimes doubt whether we have not been wanting to our own 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 extreme difficulties ever since our meeting, has hindered 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 anti-Christian faction, who are for hindering 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 Rochelle, are so fully known and felt by you all, that we need not speak anything of them. And we suppose their inveterate hatred against you all is sufficiently manifest, in that multitudes of them have refused to acknowledge any of you for churches of Christ because you are not prelatial, and thereby, as they conceive, want a lawful vocation of ministers. Sure we are, that among ourselves, scarce one thing can be thought of which may be supposed an

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 383. † Part iii., p. 86.

‡ Rushworth, p. 346. Rapiu, vol. ii., p. 490, folio.

* Rushworth, p. 371.

argument of their design to advance popery, that has not been attempted. The laws against popery have been suspended; judges forbid to proceed against condemned priests; Jesuits set free; houses of superstition in Ireland and England have been set up, and not discountenanced; notorious papists harboured about the court and preferred; 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 publicly preached, and endeavoured to leaven the people with all points of popery, except the supremacy, and introduced abundance of corrupt innovations into the worship of God; for noncompliance with which many have been forced to fly for refuge to the remote parts of the world.

"They imposed upon the kingdom of Scotland a new popish service-book and canons, to which when that nation would not submit, they prevailed with his majesty to proclaim them rebels, and raise an army against them, to which all the papists, and those who were popishly affected, contributed; and had not the Lord, by his blessing on the Scots' arms, and by the calling of this Parliament, prevented it, the two nations had been imbruing their hands in each other's blood.

"But though we hoped, through the goodness of God, and his blessing upon this Parliament, whose hearts were inclined to a more perfect reformation, that our winter had been passed, yet, alas! we find it to be quite otherwise. We know our sins have deserved all, and if we die and perish, the Lord is righteous; to his hand we submit, and to him alone we look for healing. The same 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 alienated the heart of his majesty from his Parliament, and prevailed with him to withdraw and raise an army, which at first pretended only to be made up of Protestants, but soon after papists were armed by commission from the king; many great papists were put into places of public command, and the body of all the papists have joined his majesty with all their might; they profess and exercise their religion publicly in several parts of the kingdom, and go up and down plundering, murdering, and spoiling of their goods all such as adhere to the Parliament, and to the cause of religion. Nor has the Parliament been able, by their petitions and remonstrances, to recover his majesty 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 complete our miseries, they have prevailed with his majesty so far to own the rebels in Ireland, as not only to call them his Roman Catholic subjects now in arms, but to grant them a cessation of arms for a year, and to hold what they had gotten, with liberty to strengthen themselves with men, money, arms, ammunition, &c., whereby they are enabled not only to destroy the remnant of Protestants in Ireland, but to come over hither (as many of

them are already) to act the same butchery upon us.

"In the midst of these troublesome times the two houses of Parliament have called this Assembly, to give them our best counsel for the reformation of the Church, requiring us to make God's Word only our rule, and to endeavour the nearest conformity to the best Reformed churches, and uniformity to all the churches of the three kingdoms.

"The Church and kingdom of Scotland have made offer of their humble mediation to the king for a pacification, which being rejected, both nations have entered 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 ourselves 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 present you herewith) will sufficiently clear us. Let the righteous Lord judge between us, whom we implore to help us no farther than we can plead these things in sincerity.

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

"Thirdly, That you would conceive of our condition as your own common cause, which, if it be lost with us, yourselves are not like long to escape, the quarrel being not so much against men's 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 yourselves, only we importunately crave your fervent prayers, both public and private, that God would bring salvation to us; that the blessings of truth and peace may rest upon us; that these three nations may be joined as one stick in the hands of the Lord; and that we ourselves, contemptible builders, called to repair the house of God in a troublesome time, may see the pattern of this house, and commend such a platform to our Zerubbabels as may be most agreeable to his sacred Word, nearest in conformity to the best Reformed churches, and to establish uniformity among ourselves; that all mountains may become plains before them and us, that then all who now see the plummet in our hands, may also behold the top-stone set upon the head of the Lord's house among us, and may help us with shouting to cry, Grace, grace to it.

"Thus much we have been commanded to inform you of, reverend brethren (and by you all faithful Christians under your charge), by the honourable House of Commons, in whose name, and in our own, we bid you heartily farewell in the Lord.

"Your most affectionately devoted brethren in Christ,

William Twisse, *Prolocutor.*

Cornelius Burges, John White, *Assessors.*

Henry Roborough, Adoniram Byfield,

Scribes.

John Maitland, A. Johnston, Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Bailie, George Gillespie, *Commissioners of the Church of Scotland."*

The inscription was, "To the reverend and learned Pastors and Elders of the Classes and Churches of the Province of Zealand, our much-honoured Brethren."

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, Hanau, and Hainault; and to the Protestant congregation at Paris; all which were received with respect, and answered by the several classes.* But the churches of Bohemia, Transylvania, 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 Guelderland June 29; and Mr. Whitelocke observes, that the Netherland divines expressed not only their approbation of the proceedings of the Parliament and Assembly touching the Covenant, but desired to join with the two kingdoms therein.

The king, apprehending himself misrepresented to the foreign churches in that part of the Assembly's letter which insinuates a design to introduce popery, and being advised to vindicate his character from that imputation, caused a manifesto to be drawn up in Latin and English, to all foreign Protestants, which, though not published till the beginning of next year, may be properly inserted in this place.

"Charles, by the special 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.

"Whereas we are given to understand that many false rumours and scandalous letters are spread up and down among the Reformed churches in foreign parts by the politic, 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 public exercise of popery again into our dominions, which most detestable calumny, being grounded upon no imaginable foundation, hath raised these horrid tumults, and more than barbarous wars, throughout this flourishing island, under pretence of a kind of reformation which is incompatible with the fundamental laws and government of this kingdom; we desire that the whole Christian world should rest assured that we never entertained the least thought to attempt such a thing, or to depart a jot from that holy religion, which, when we received the crown and sceptre 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 asseverations at the head of our armies, and the public attestation of our barons, with the circumspection used in the education of our royal offspring, besides divers other undeniable arguments, only demonstrate this, but also that happy alliance of marriage we contracted between our eldest daughter and the illustrious Prince of Orange most closely confirms the reality of our intentions 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 Anglican Church, ordained by so many convocations of learned divines, confirmed by so many acts of Parliament, and strengthened by so many royal proclamations, together with the ecclesiastical discipline and liturgy, which the most eminent Protestant authors, as well as Germans, French, Danes and Swedes, Dutch and Bohemians, do with many eulogies, and not without a kind of envy, approve and applaud in their public writings, particularly in the transactions of the Synod of Dort, wherein (besides others of our divines who were afterward prelates) one of our bishops assisted, to whose dignity all due respect and precedency were given; this religion, we say, which our royal father, of blessed memory, doth publicly assert in his famous confession addressed to all Christian princes, with the hierarchy and liturgy thereof, we solemnly protest, that, by the help of God, we will endeavour, to our utmost power and last period of our life, to keep entire and inviolable; and will be careful, according to our duty to heaven and the tenour of our oath at our coronation, that all ecclesiastics, in their several degrees and incumbencies, shall preach and practise. Wherefore we command all our ministers of state beyond the seas, as well ambassadors as residents, agents, and messengers; and we desire all the rest of our loving subjects that sojourn in foreign parts, to communicate and assert this our solemn and sincere protestation, when opportunity of time and place shall be offered.

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

This declaration did the king little service among foreign Protestants, for though it assured them his majesty would not turn papist,

* History of the Stuarts, p. 232.

† "Diodati, the prince of divinity there," Bishop Warburton says, "returned a very temperate answer, noway inconsistent with the re-establishment of Episcopacy."—Ed.

it convinced them that no alteration in the English hierarchy was to be expected. His marrying his daughter to the Prince of Orange was, perhaps, the only evidence of his charity for the Dutch reformation; but his appeal to the education of his children was trifling, when all the world knew they were under popish instructors, in pursuance of a marriage contract, till twelve or fourteen years of age, and had received impressions not to be easily effaced. His insinuating to the foreign churches that their most learned divines preferred 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 who 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 anything 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 expelled 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 house." The doctor was a learned man, and a Calvinist, upon which account the Assembly paid him a high regard, and indulged him in all his speeches in favour of Episcopacy, and against the Covenant, some of which were afterward published to the world. They appointed him to answer to 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

* Dr. Grey will have it that the contrary was the fact, and quotes Bishop Carleton. But the quotation goes to prove no more than that the foreign divines at the synod, in their conversations with him, expressed their approbation of the Episcopal government of the English Church, and their wishes to have the same order established among themselves. But Mr. Neal's representation does not seem to be accurate. The case of precedency, according to Brandt, appears to have stood thus: when the synod met, the two commissioners of the States took place near the chimney, on the right hand. The English divines sat on the left. An empty seat was kept for the French. The third place was appointed for the deputies of the Palatinate, and so on. Next to the commissioners on the right the professors of divinity took place, and then the ministers and elders of the country, according to the rank of each province. So that the precedency which the English bishop had naturally arose from his rank among the English divines; to whom, in general, was assigned the first seat on the left hand.—*History of the Reformation*, abridged, vol. ii., p. 397.—Ed.

† The imprisonment of Dr. Featly, Mr. Baxter observed.

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 public 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, though it was not as yet abolished by an ordinance of Parliament. There were no ecclesiastical courts, no visitations, no wearing the habits, no regard paid to the canons or ceremonies, or even to the common prayer itself. The Archbishop of Canterbury, by an ordinance of May 16, had been forbid to collate any benefices in his gift but to persons nominated by Parliament; for disobedience to which he was, by another ordinance of June 10, "suspended *ab officio et beneficio*, and from all archiepiscopal jurisdiction, till he should be acquitted or convicted of the high treason of which he was impeached; and as to such livings, 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 his behalf, upon the nomination and recommendation of both houses of Parliament." By this extraordinary method the Rev. Mr. Corbet was inducted into the living of Chatham, "ratione suspensionis dom. Guil. Archiepiscopi Cant. et sequestrationis temporalium archiepiscopatus in manibus supremæ curiæ Parliamenti, jam existentis," "by reason of the suspension of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the sequestration of the temporalities of his archbishopric 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, church business went through their hands; the parishes elected their ministers, the Assembly examined and approved of them, 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 February 27, the preamble says, "The houses being credibly informed that many ministers in the county of York were not only of a scandalous life, but, having left their churches and cures, had withdrawn themselves wilfully from the same, and joined such forces as had been raised against the Parliament, and assisted them with men, money, horses, and arms; therefore it is ordained that Lord Fairfax be authorized to fill up their places with such learned and godly divines as he shall think fit, with advice of the Assembly."*

This created a great deal of business; for though the Assembly had not a parliamentary authority to ordain, yet the examination and approbation of such clergymen already in orders as petitioned for sequestered livings, being by express order of the two houses referred to

serves, "much reflected on the Parliament; because, whatever the facts were, he was so learned a man, as was sufficient to dishonour those he suffered by."

—*Baxter's Life and Times*, p. 75.—Ed.

* Parliamentary Chronicle, part iv., p. 128.

them, they were obliged to choose a select committee for this work ; their names were,

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

The method of examination was this : the names of the ministers who petitioned for livings, or were recommended by either house of Parliament, being published in the Assembly two or three days before the examination, liberty was given in that time to make exceptions to their characters ; if nothing was objected, they were examined by the committee, or any five of them, who reported their qualifications to the House, upon which each candidate received a certificate from the Assembly to the following effect :

“ According to an order bearing date —, from the committee of the House of Commons for plundered ministers, to the committee of divines for the examination of A. B., concerning his fitness to be admitted to the benefit of the sequestration of the Church of —, in the county of —, and so to officiate in the cure thereof, these are to certify the said committee of plundered ministers, that, upon examination of the said A. B., and some trial of his gifts and abilities, we conceive him fit to officiate in the cure of —, in the county aforesaid. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.”

The scribes of the Assembly were ordered to keep a record of all orders and certificates concerning ministers recommended to sequestrators, 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.

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 afterward turned Roman Catholic, and went to the Jesuits' College at St. Omer's, where not being thoroughly satisfied in some of their principles, he returned to England in 1631, and having embraced the religion of the Church of England, published an excellent treatise, entitled “ The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation,” for which he was preferred to the chancellorship of the Church of Sarum, and made master of Wygston Hospital, in Leicester. He was inserted in the list with other Loyalists to be created D.D. in the year 1642, but came not thither to receive that honour. It was the general opinion of the times that he was a Socinian, but in his last letter, at the end of his works, he appears an Arian. It is very certain he refused to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, for some years after his conversion, (1.) Because he did not believe the morality of the fourth commandment. (2.) Because he did not agree to the damnatory clauses in the Athanasian creed, and, therefore,

could not read the common prayer. He objected also to the twentieth article, “ of the Church's power to decree rites and ceremonies ;” to the nineteenth article, “ that works done before the grace of Christ, &c., are not pleasing to God ;” and, indeed, says the writer of his life, to the articles in general, as an imposition on men's consciences, much like the authority which the Church of Rome assumes.*

Mr. Chillingworth blesses God, that when he had entertained some thoughts of subscription, two unexpected impediments diverted him from it ; “ for,” says he, “ I profess since I entertained it I never enjoyed quiet, day nor night, till now that I have rid myself of it again ; and I plainly perceive, that if I had swallowed this pill, howsoever gilded over with glosses and reservations, and wrapped 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.” † 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, 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 principles were high, he was low enough with regard to the authority of councils, fathers, and convocations in matters of faith : adhering steadfastly to that celebrated declaration, “ that the Bible alone is the religion of a Protestant.” He was an excellent mathematician, and served as engineer in Arundel Castle, in Sussex, in which he was taken prisoner, and when indisposed, had the favour of being lodged in the bishop's house at Chichester, where he died, January 20, 1643-4. It is 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.§

* Chillingworth's Life, p. 273.

† Ibid., p. 79.

‡ Ibid., p. 314, 325.

§ Dr. Cheynel's kindness extended to the procuring a commodious lodging for Mr. Chillingworth, to engage the physician, as his symptoms grew worse, to renew his visits, and to securing for him the rites of burial, which some would have denied him. Yet he held the opinions of Mr. Chillingworth in the greatest detestation, and treated his name and memory with virulence and asperity, as appears from the above speech at the interment of this great man, and by a pamphlet he published, entitled “ Chillingworthi Novissima ; or, the Sickness, Heresy, Death,

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 his character, threw his book, entitled "The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation," into the grave, saying, "Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which has seduced so many precious souls; earth to earth, dust to dust; get thee into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author, and see corruption." A most unchristian and uncharitable imprecation!

Among the considerable statesmen who died this year may be justly reckoned John Hampden, Esq., of Buckinghamshire, a gentleman of good extraction, and one of the greatest patriots of his age, as appears by his standing trial with the king in the case of ship-money, which raised his reputation to a very great height throughout the kingdom. He was not a man of many words, but a very weighty speaker; his reputation for integrity universal, and his affections 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 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 persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief;* which is very unac-

and Burial of William Chillingworth," &c., which Bishop Warburton calls "a villanous book;" and tells us that "Mr. Locke speaks of it in the harshest terms, but not more severely than it deserves." The fact is, as Bishop Hoadley states it, "Dr. Cheynel was a rigid, zealous Presbyterian; exactly orthodox; very unwilling that any should be supposed to go to heaven but in the right way. And this was that one way in which he himself was settled; and in which he seems to be as sincere, as honest, and charitable as his bigotry and his cramped notions of God's *peculium* could permit him to be." Years after this, Dr. Snape, a clergyman of name in the Church of England, displayed the like temper and spirit to Dr. Cheynel, in the Bangorian controversy, which I mention to introduce Bishop Hoadley's excellent conclusion from both these instances of bigotry, namely, "that an intemperate heat scorches up charity in one church as well as in another, and everywhere equally lays waste the most amiable duties of Christianity; and that men of the most opposite persuasions, agreeing in the same narrowness of principles and notions of zeal, though differing from one another in many particulars, even to a degree of mutual destruction, can kindly and lovingly unite in condemning the best principles of all religion as subtle atheism, or indifference, or infidelity, and in declaring them to be the principles of all irreligion when their several schemes and systems are likely to suffer from them." So the sentiments on toleration, charity, and free inquiry, as they were defended by Chillingworth and by Hoadley's friend, were condemned by Cheynel and Snape.—*Hoadley's Works*, vol. ii., p. 622, folio; and *Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. ii., p. 466.—Ed.

* Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 227.

Dr. Grey endeavours to establish the authenticity

countable in one whom his lordship had commended as a person not only of cheerfulness 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 sustained 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 Calgrave Field.*

of this passage by a large quotation from the Weekly Miscellany, by Richard Hooker, of the Temple, Esq. To Mr. Neal's account of Hampden it may be added, that he was born in the year 1594, and died the 24th of June, 1643, leaving ten children behind him. The Parliament, as a testimony of his service to the public, ordered the sum of £5000 to be paid to his assignees out of the excise. Mr. Baxter has placed him with the saints in heaven (*Everlasting Rest*, p. 82, 83); and Lord Cobham with the worthies in his elysium at Stow. Under his bust is this inscription:

"JOHN HAMPDEN,

"Who, with great spirit and consummate abilities, began an opposition to an arbitrary court, in defence of the liberties of his country; supported them in Parliament, and died for them in the field."

He argued the case of ship-money with the judges for twelve days together, in the Exchequer Chamber; and "had more reason to triumph," says Mr. Granger, "from his superiority in the argument, than the crown had of his victory in the cause."—*Biographical History of England*, vol. ii., p. 212, 8vo, and *Mrs. Macaulay's History*, 8vo, vol. iii., p. 432, 433, note, in which work the character of this great man is fully delineated.—Ed.

* The dying language of Hampden was, "O Lord, save my bleeding country. Have these realms in thy special keeping. Confound and level in the dust those who would rob the people of their liberty and lawful prerogative. Let the king see his error, and turn the hearts of his wicked counsellors from the malice and wickedness of their designs. Lord Jesus, receive my soul!" Again, recurring to his native land, he prayed, "O Lord, save my country! O Lord, be merciful to—" here his speech failed him, and, falling back on his bed, he expired.—*Lord Nugent's Hampden*, vol. ii., p. 438. Little need be said respecting the character of John Hampden. It is sufficiently apparent throughout his history, and has uniformly commanded the respect and admiration of impartial men. His fearless resistance of the tyranny of Charles, when that tyranny was both powerful and merciless; the calm and dignified tone in which he ruled the early deliberations of the Long Parliament; and the energy and decision with which he sought to bring the struggle to an issue when an appeal to arms was inevitable, all prove him to have been as consummate a statesman as he was an inflexibly upright man. Even Clarendon, while endeavouring to injure his reputation, is compelled to do homage to his transcendent abilities and surpassing prudence of address. "He was, indeed," remarks the party historian, "a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew." To a remarkably equable temper he united a self-control and clearness of perception, which rendered him an eminently successful parliamentary speaker, while his unspotted integrity and firm adherence to principle constituted him the most formidable opponent of the court. With the eye of a skilful tactician he surveyed the forces arrayed against him; allowed them to expend their strength, to pour forth the vials of their wrath, or to justify themselves behind the precedents of a former age; and then, when their victory was supposed to be won, and tokens of exultation were displayed, the matchless power of Hampden's eloquence was felt. "He had so subtle a way

John Pym, Esq., member for Tavistock in all the Parliaments of King Charles I., was a man of the greatest experience in parliamentary affairs of any man of his time. He was an admirable speaker, and by the gravity of his countenance and graceful behaviour, could turn the House which way he pleased; he was a man of business and for moderate measures, according to Lord Clarendon, till the king impeached him of high treason. In his private life he was eminent for true piety and exactness of manners; and though inclined to the Puritan party, not averse to the hierarchy with some emendations. He was one of the lay-members of the Assembly of Divines, and at the head of all public business, the fatigue of which wore out his constitution, and put an end to his life, December 8, 1643, in the sixtieth year of his age. The news of no man's death was more welcome to the Royalists than his, who spread a report that he died of the *morbus pediculosus*;* to confute which aspersion, his body was exposed to public 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, wherein "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

of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person."

To his profound sagacity as a statesman, and his skill as a parliamentary leader, he added an enlightened patriotism, and the sterling virtues of Christianity. On the whole, it may be pronounced with safety, that English history records no purer or brighter example of public virtue and of private excellence than was exhibited in the career of John Hampden. Consistent from the first, that career was happily terminated before its lustre had been dimmed, or its beauty impaired by the mists of human passion; and he now shines forth the idol and the pattern of all succeeding worthies.—*Dr. Price's History of Nonconformity*, vol. ii., p. 303-4.—C.

* Dr. Grey has the candour to discredit this report; and says, from the funeral sermon for Mr. Pym by Mr. Marshal, that it was confuted by the testimony of near a thousand people who saw the corps, and of eight physicians who were present at the opening of the body. Yet the doctor repeats, from Clarendon, the calumnies of those who accused him of raising considerable sums by dishonest practices, of corrupting witnesses, and selling his protection for bribes; though he was exculpated before the tribunal of Parliament, vindicated his conduct by his own pen, and left his private fortune at so low an ebb, that the Parliament expended a considerable sum in the payment of his debts; an evidence sufficient of itself to confute his enemies. Mr. Pym was called, in early life, *Phœbi deliciae, lepos puella*. He was commonly called "King Pym;" and from his experience in the forms of Parliament, his knowledge of the law and Constitution, his powers of argument and elocution, and his known honesty and integrity, he enjoyed an unrivalled authority in the Lower House.—*Mrs. Macanlay*, vol. iv., p. 92, 94; and *Granger's Biographical History*, vol. ii., p. 211.—Ed.

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 case their own."*

CHAPTER III.

THE OXFORD PARLIAMENT.—PROGRESS OF THE WAR.—VISITATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE BY THE EARL OF MANCHESTER.—COMMITTEES FOR PLUNDERED, SEQUESTERED, AND SCANDALOUS MINISTERS.

The campaign being ended without any prospects of peace, both parties endeavoured to strengthen themselves by new and sovereign acts of power. The Parliament experiencing the want of a great seal, for many purposes, gave orders that one should be made.† They continued to list soldiers, to levy taxes, and to use every method to support their cause,‡

* John Pym, who died in December of the same year, was cast in a different mould from Hampden. He was more moderate in his ecclesiastical views, and would probably have preferred a reduced episcopacy, such as Usher advocated, to any other form of church government. But the efforts of the bishops to widen the misunderstanding between the king and his Parliament, and their zeal in aiding the arms of the former, induced him to concur in the abolition of their functions.

His intimate acquaintance with the forms of parliamentary procedure, combined with unwearied diligence, extensive researches, matchless skill in the arrangement of public business, and an unspotted integrity, secured him great influence in the House. His style of oratory was masculine and nervous, and effected its purpose by a straightforwardness and honesty, rather than by any brilliancy of conception or loftiness of intellectual range. "He had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself," says Clarendon, "with great volubility of words, natural and proper; and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man; and had observed the errors and mistakes in government, and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were."—*Dr. Price's Hist. of Nonconformity*, vol. ii., p. 305, 306.—C.

‡ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 560.

† "What was all this," says Dr. Grey, "but high treason?" To confirm his opinion, he refers to Dr. Wood's *Institute of the Laws of England*, and to the 25th of Edward III., cap. ii., as authorities to show that the acts of Parliament were acts of treason. As if laws formed to preserve the allegiance of the subjects to a king acting constitutionally, and fulfill-

which their policy suggested and their necessity urged. On the other hand, the king raised contributions without form of law;* ordered the removal of the courts of justice from Westminster; and that he might seem to act in a parliamentary way, summoned the members who had been expelled the houses, and all others willing to withdraw from the rebellious city of London, to meet him at Oxford, † January 22, 1643-4, which was, in effect, disannulling the act for continuing of the present Parliament. In obedience to the proclamation, there appeared forty-nine peers, and one hundred and forty-one of the House of Commons, not reckoning those employed in his majesty's service, or absent with leave. Lord Clarendon says ‡ the appearance of both houses with the king was superior in number, as well as quality, to those at Westminster; which must be a mistake; for though the majority of peers were on that side, Mr. Whitlocke § assures us, that upon a call of the House of Commons, the very day the others were to meet at Oxford, there were present two hundred and eighty members, not reckoning one hundred more, who were engaged in their service in the several counties. This is a very considerable majority; though if there had been only forty, the king could not have prorogued or dissolved them without their own consent. However, the Oxford members styled themselves the Parliament, Lord Littleton being speaker for the peers, and Sergeant 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 popery, sectaries, and innovations: the crown may possess those just prerogatives, which may enable me to govern my people according to law, and the subjects be confirmed in those rights which I have granted them in Parliament, to which I shall be ready to add such new graces as I shall find may most conduce to their happiness." They laid an excise upon tobacco, wine, strong waters, ale, cider, grocery and mercery wares, soap, salt, and butcher's meat, and subscribed

ing faithfully his part of the political contract, applied to extraordinary emergencies, and to a sovereign who had violated the Constitution. As if laws made to restrain individuals bound the majority of the representative body of the nation.—See also *Rapin*, vol. ii., p. 495, folio.—Ed.

* "And pray," asks Dr. Grey, "what form of law had the rebels for raising contributions?" That form of law, our readers will probably reply, and that spirit of the Constitution, which invest the representatives of the people with the power and right of appointing the taxes.—Ed.

† The impolicy of this step is forcibly, though somewhat jocularly, represented by Mr. Selden: "The king calling his friends from the Parliament," said this great man, "because he had use of them at Oxford, is as if a man should have use of a little piece of wood, and he runs down into the cellar, and takes the spigot: in the mean time all the beer runs about the house: when his friends are absent the king will be lost."—*Table-Talk on the Word King*.—Ed.

‡ Clarendon's Remains, p. 165.

§ Memoirs, p. 76.

¶ Rushworth, p. 567, 688. *Rapin*, p. 496, 502, folio. Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 246.

¶ On another occasion, in his speech to the inhabitants of Somersetshire, July 13, 1644.—Ed.

considerable sums of money for support of the war; they declared the Scots then entering England with an army traitors; and the Lords and Commons at Westminster, guilty of high treason for inviting them, as well as for countenancing the great seal. On the other hand, the Parliament at Westminster would not acknowledge the Oxford members, or receive a message from them under the character of a Parliament, but expelled them their house, except they returned to their seats within a limited time.* April 16, 1644, the king prorogued his Oxford members to November following, when they fell under his displeasure, for advising to pacific 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 Catholic 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 breathe an air of too great satisfaction.

"Dear heart,

"What I told thee last week concerning a good parting with our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed: now if I do anything unhandsome, or disadvantageous to myself or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault. Now I promise thee, if the treaty be renewed (which I believe it will not) without some eminent good success on my side, it shall be to my honour and advantage, I being now as well free from the place of base and mutinous motion † (that is to say, our mungrel Parliament here) as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be children by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them." ‡

Mr. Whitlocke 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 obtain.

On the 19th of January, 1643-4, the Scots army, consisting of twenty-one thousand men, under the command of General Leven, crossed the Tweed at Berwick, and entered 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 those under the command of the Earl of Manchester and Lieutenant-general Cromwell, from the associated counties. The united armies laid siege to the city of York,

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 383. *Rapin*, vol. ii., p. 497, 506, folio.

† "There is no circumstance," observes Bishop Warburton, "that bears harder on the king's conduct than this. It is not to be conceived that these men, who hazarded all to support the king's right, could advise him to anything base in a mutinous manner. I doubt that this is too strong a proof that nothing less than arbitrary government would heartily satisfy him."—Ed.

‡ *Rapin*, p. 512, folio.

§ Rushworth, vol. vi., p. 603.

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; and thereupon the Marquis of Newcastle, leaving the royal army, embarked with divers lords and gentlemen for Hamburgh, Prince Rupert retiring towards Hester, and deserting all the northern garrisons to the mercy of the enemy, which, falling into their hands next summer, concluded the war in those parts.

His majesty, however, had better success in the west, where, being strengthened 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 engage nor retreat.* Here the king invited the earl to make his peace, but he choosing rather to retire in a boat to Plymouth, left 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 clothes 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.

Upon the defeat of the Earl of Essex, his majesty resolved to march directly for London, and upon the road issued a proclamation, September 30, 1644, requiring all his loving subjects to appear in arms, and accompany him in his present expedition.† This gave rise to a combination of men, distinguished by the name of Clubmen, who associated in Worcestershire and Dorsetshire, agreeing to defend themselves against the orders both of king and Parliament. Their increase was owing to the prodigious ravages of the king's forces in their march. Prince Rupert was a fiery youth, and, with his flying squadrons of horse, burned towns and villages, destroying the countries where he came, and indulging his soldiers in plunder and blood. In Wales, he drove away the people's cattle, rifled their houses, and spoiled their standing corn. Aged and unarmed people were stripped naked, some murdered in cool blood, and others half hanged, and burned, and yet suffered to live.‡ “Lord Goring,

the king's general of the horse, was one of the most finished debauchees of the age, and wanted nothing but 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 and integrity.”* Sir Richard Grenville, who commanded the army before Plymouth, is represented by the noble historian as having been exceeding barbarous and cruel in Ireland, hanging up old men and women of quality, even though they were bed-rid, if he did not find the plunder he expected; when he came into the west, he exercised all kinds of cruelty, and would sometimes make one of the company hang all the rest, contrary to the law of arms.†

The licentiousness of the king's soldiers was not inferior to that of their officers: for having no regular pay, they committed rapines and plunders, without distinction of friends or foes; and were infamous for the most execrable oaths, and all kinds of impiety. “Lord Goring's horse,” says the noble historian, “committed horrid outrages and barbarities in Hampshire, and infested the borders of Dorsetshire, Som-

prince upon quarter, yet were all put to the sword.” “This, indeed,” says Dr. Grey, “was bad enough, but not quite so bad as Mr. Neal has represented it. Not one word of stripping aged and unarmed people naked, or murdering people in cold blood, or of half hanging or burning others. A dismal character of Prince Rupert this, indeed, had we not reason to call the truth of it in question.” The references which we have now supplied will show that the truth of this character ought not to have been questioned, and that it was drawn from facts stated by Mr. Whitelocke; from whom we will give another instance of the severity with which Prince Rupert, at the commencement of his military career, pursued his conquests, and of the cruelty of the royal party from the beginning, before mutual provocations had inflamed their passions, or they had been familiarized to scenes of blood. When the prince had taken the magazine of the county, at Cirencester, and one thousand one hundred prisoners, he sent these captives, tied together with cords, almost naked, beaten and driven along like dogs, in triumph to Oxford, where the king and the lords looked on them, and too many smiled at their misery.—*Memoirs*, p. 64.—Ed.

* The reader will be surprised when he is told that Dr. Grey discredits this character of the Lieutenant-general Wilmot, though it is given from Lord Clarendon, and opposes to it a narrative of his lordship,* in which he relates, that Wilmot, when he was before Marlborough, gave, not only his life, but his liberty, to a spy whom he had apprehended. This Dr. Grey extols as a generous act, when, according to the statement he himself gives of it from Clarendon, it was to be ascribed to Wilmot's policy and generalship. For, before he dismissed the spy, he ordered his forces to be drawn up before him in the most convenient place, and bid the fellow to look well upon them, and observe, and return to the town and report what he had seen, with a threat to the magistrates if the garrison did not surrender, and a promise of security if it submitted. The representations which the man made were of some advantage to the views of the royal party. Yet this conduct of Wilmot, which seems to have been a manœuvre only, in order to disparage Mr. Neal's delineation of his general character, is pompously represented by Dr. Grey as a singular instance of honour and generosity.—Ed.

† Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 534.

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 691, 701, 705, 710.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 504, folio.

‡ Whitelocke, p. 62, 87, 103.

The reference here, in the former editions of Mr. Neal, is to p. 87 of Whitelocke's *Memoirs*, where all that is said concerning Prince Rupert is, “that he took in Liverpool a garrison of the Parliament's in Lancashire, but they first shipped all their arms, ammunition, and portable goods, and most of the officers and soldiers went on ship-board, while a few made good the fort, which they rendered to the

* Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 537, 555.

setshire, and Devon with unheard-of rapines, so that the people, who were well devoted to the king, wished for the accession of any force to redeem them.* They raised vast contributions in several counties, without any other pretence but the king's sovereign pleasure. In Cornwall they levied £700 a week; in Devonshire £2200 a week, and proportionably 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 plundered the town and hanged the mayor, though it was surrendered upon articles. At Evesham, the king sent the mayor and aldermen prisoners to Oxford. At Woodhouse, in Devonshire, they seized fourteen substantial west-country clothiers, who were not in arms, and hanged them, by way of reprisal for some Irish rebels that had been executed according to the ordinance of Parliament. In short, wherever they came they lived at free quarter, and took but everything they could, and, therefore, no wonder the Clubmen united in their own defence.

The king thought to have reached 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 despatched thither five thousand of the city trainbands, under the command of Sir Jams Harrington, by which accession they were enabled to face his majesty's army at Newbury, October 27; and having forced the town, which the king had fortified, after a smart engagement, 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 retreated 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 provisions, when, on a sudden, a party of the king's horse raised the blockade and carried off the artillery to Oxford. This occasioned great murmuring at London, and quarrels among the generals, Essex, Manchester, and Cromwell, which ended in the new-modelling of the army, as will be seen under the next year.

While the royal army was little better than a company of banditti, or public 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 achievements and exercises.‡ Most of their officers were

* Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 631. † Ibid., p. 643.

‡ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 348. This, Dr. Grey argues, does not agree with what Lord Clarendon says in another place, viz., in his History, vol. ii., p. 46 and 55, and he insinuates that it is not true. As if what Mr. Neal advances must be false, even when he quotes Lord Clarendon for his assertions, because it is apparently repugnant to the representations elsewhere given by his lordship's pen; as if it were incumbent on Mr. Neal to reconcile this noble writer to himself. But the veracity of Mr. Neal, and the consistency of Lord Clarendon with himself, would not have been impeached by Dr. Grey had he exam-

men of religion;* their soldiers possessed with a belief that their cause was the cause of God,† and that they fought for the Protestant religion and Magna Charta; however, there were among them men of dissolute lives, who fought only for pay and plunder; strange complaints being sent up from Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Sussex, of the disorders of the common soldiers, the Parliament appointed a committee to inquire into the facts, and make examples of the offenders, which put an effectual stop to the growing mischief. And as the Parliament was 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 were quartered.‡

Upon the whole, the Parliament affairs were low at the end of this year, and their counsels divided by reason of the length of the war, and the king's were much worse; for though he had triumphed over the Earl of Essex in Cornwall, and was master of the open country in the west, he had no accession of real strength, nor had taken any considerable garrisons; the entrance of the Scots broke his army in the north, and lost him that part of the kingdom; whereby the Parliament were enabled to draw off their forces to the west; and the worst circumstance of all was, that his majesty, having exhausted his treasure, had no way of raising a supply, which obliged him to connive at his soldiers' living at free quarter; his officers, being poor, quarrelled in the royal presence, and carried their resentments to such a height that the king himself could not reconcile them,

ined the passage to which Mr. Neal refers; by which it appears that both the king's and the Parliament's army, at different periods, were of different characters; and the description which they deserved at one time did not apply to another. The passage which Mr. Neal now quotes referred to a later, and the passage below, to which Dr. Grey directs his reader, refers to a former period. His lordship says, "Those under the king's commanders grew insensibly into all the license, disorder, and impiety with which they had reproached the rebels; and they into great discipline, diligence, and sobriety."—Ed.

* "Of pretended sanctity," says Dr. Grey, "in which none could exceed them. They were praying and preaching when the enemy was at a distance, and literally made long prayers to devour widows' houses." He refers, then, to his own appendix for an instance of their fanatical humour; but the authorities which he here produces relate to the Scottish, not the English army.—Ed.

† This representation, Dr. Grey thinks, is contrary to Mr. Neal's character of them in chap. vii., from Mr. Baxter, who says, "that the greatest part of the common soldiers were ignorant men, of little religion." But the doctor neither reverts to the time when this was said, namely, in 1646, after the army had been new-modelled, nor observes what follows in Mr. Baxter, which shows that these ignorant, irreligious men were many of them such as had belonged to the royal corps; "abundance of them such," says he, "as had been taken prisoners, or turned out of garrisons under the king, and had been soldiers in his army."—*Baxter's Life*, p. 53.—Ed.

‡ Dr. Grey, to confute these assertions of Mr. Neal, refers to papers which he has given in the appendix to his second volume; but the complaints brought forward in these papers are made of the Scottish army, and to transactions of the following year, viz., 1645.—Ed.

which had a very ill aspect on the succeeding campaign.* The Parliament generals, also, were censuring each other's conduct in the House, on occasion of the escape of the king's artillery from Dennington Castle. The Earl of Essex's party was charged with a design of protracting 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 among themselves, some being for peace, and others for carrying on the war to the last extremity. All property was in a manner lost, the farmers paying no rent to their landlords; nor could any man be secure of what he possessed, except he buried it under ground. The spirits of the contending parties were as much exasperated as ever, and there was no seeing the end of their troubles.

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 engaged to attempt the total extirpation of it, and to establish another scheme for both kingdoms in its room; though 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 headquarters of their forces, that they might have a succession of clergymen training up in the principles they had espoused.

The town of Cambridge was in the interest of the Parliament, but the colleges were so many little garrisons for the king, and sanctuaries of disaffection; the university press was at his majesty's disposal, and their sermons filled with invectives against the two houses. Frequent quarrels happened between the townsmen and scholars, which would have ended in the ruin of the university, had not the Parliament forbid the offering any violence to the colleges, chapels, libraries, and schools, under severe penalties.† Indeed, the committee enjoined the proper officers of the parish to put in execution the ordinance for destroying the relics of superstition, whereby the paintings in windows, images of the Deity, and a great deal of carved work, were 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 40s. 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, January 6, 1643-4, declaring "that none of the estates, rents, and revenues of the university, or of the colleges and halls respectively, shall be sequestered or seized upon, or in any wise disposed of, by virtue of the ordinance for sequestering 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 approved of by the Earl of Manchester, and to be applied to their proper uses as heretofore. But 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 January 22, for regulating the University of Cambridge, and for removing scandalous ministers in the seven associated counties: the preamble sets forth, "that the service of the Parliament was retarded, the people's souls starved, by the idle, ill-affected, and scandalous clergy of the University of Cambridge, and the associated counties; and that many who were willing to give evidence 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 provosts, masters, and fellows of colleges, all students and members of the university, all ministers in any of the counties of the association, all schoolmasters that were scandalous in their lives, or ill affected to the Parliament, or fomenters of this unnatural war, or that shall wilfully refuse obedience to the orders of Parliament, or that have deserted their ordinary places of residence, not being employed in the service of the king and Parliament. The said committee was 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 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 approved by the Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster. He had also power to order the Covenant to be administered where he thought fit, and to assign the fifths of sequestered estates for the benefit of their wives and children."† The ordinance makes no mention of the doctrine or discipline of the Church, seeming to be levelled only against those who took part with the king in the war.

The Earl of Manchester, who was at the head of these sequestrations, was styled, in the lifetime of his father, Lord Kimbolton, and was one of the impeached members of the House of Commons: Lord Clarendon observes,‡ that "he was of a genteel and generous nature; that his natural civility and good manners flowed to all men, and that he was never guilty of any rudeness, even to those whom he was obliged to oppress; that he longed 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 Cambridge, about the middle of February, with his two chaplains, Mr. Ashe and Mr. Good, and by his warrant of the 24th instant, required

* Clarendon, vol. ii., 389-391.

† Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 168.

‡ Ibid., p. 111; and Dr. Grey, vol. ii., p. 141.

* Husband's Collections, p. 409. † Ibid., p. 415

‡ Clarendon, vol. i., p. 183; vol. ii., p. 211, 212.

the heads of the several colleges and halls to send him their statutes, with the names of all their members, and to certify who were present and who absent, with the express time of their discontinuance.* Two days after, the officers of each college and hall were ordered to give speedy advertisement to the masters, fellows, scholars, &c., to repair to Cambridge by the 10th of March, in order to answer such inquiries as should be made by himself or his commissioners. But the earl being informed that this notice was too short, the time was prolonged to the 3d of April, when the earl summoned Mr. Tunstal and Mr. Palgrave, fellows of Corpus-Christi College, to appear before the commissioners at the Bear Inn, in Cambridge, on penalty of ejection. Warrants of the same nature were sent to several of the fellows of Cairns, St. John's, Queen's, Peterhouse, Sidney, Trinity, Christ's, Magdalen, and Jesus Colleges; and to Pembroke 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, nonresidence, and not returning upon due summons, and several other political misdemeanors.† If the parties ejected returned after this, they were required not to continue in the university above three days, on pain of imprisonment, and confiscation of their goods; their names were put out of the buttries, 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.

The Covenant, which was read March 18, 1641, in the churches and chapels of the town and university, and tendered to the inhabitants and soldiers, was not offered to the whole university, but only to such of whose disaffection

they had sufficient evidence. Archbishop Tillotson says, the greatest part of the fellows of King's College were exempted, by the interest of Dr. Whichcote; and no doubt others who had behaved peaceably obtained the same favour.* Dr. Berwick, 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 remembered no such thing. Mr. Fuller adds, that he is upon just grounds daily confirmed in his confidence, that neither the Earl of Manchester, nor any other under him, by his command or consent, enforced such an oath.†

The whole number of graduates expelled the university in this and the following years, by the Earl of Manchester and his commissioners, including masters and fellows of colleges, were, according to Dr. Walker, near two hundred, besides inferior scholars, which were something more than one half;‡ for the same author tells us in another place,§ there were about three hundred and seventy-five fellowships in the several houses of the university; above one hundred and fifty kept their places, and far the greatest part of the rest had deserted their stations, and fled to the king. There were six heads of colleges out of sixteen that complied, viz., Dr. Bainbrigge, of Christ's College; Dr. Eden, of Trinity Hall; Dr. Richard Love, of Ben'et College; Dr. Brownrigge, of Katherine Hall, ejected in the year 1645; Dr. Bacherof, of Caius College; and Dr. Rainbow, of Magdalen College. The ten who 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:

<i>Masters turned out.</i>	<i>Colleges.</i>	<i>Succeeded by</i>
Dr. John Cosins, from	Peter House,	Dr. Lazarus Seaman.
Dr. Thomas Pask,	Clare Hall,	Dr. Ralph Cudworth.
Dr. Benjamin Laney,	Pembroke Hall,	Mr. Richard Vines.
Dr. Samuel Collins,	King's College,	Dr. Benjamin Whichcote.
Dr. Edward Martin,	Queen's College,	Mr. Herb. Palmer.
Dr. Richard Stern,	Jesus College,	Dr. T. Young.
Dr. Wilham Beale,	St. John's College,	Dr. J. Arowsmith.
Dr. Thomas Comber,	Trinity Hall,	Dr. Thomas Hill.
Dr. R. Holdsworth,	Emanuel College,	Dr. Ant. Tuckney.
Dr. Samuel Ward,	Sidney College,	Dr. Richard Minshull.
<i>Anno 1645.</i>		{ Dr. W. Spurstow, and afterward
Dr. Ralph Brownrigge,	Katherine Hall,	{ 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 he replied, that the nation was in a state of war; that these gentlemen were declared enemies to the proceedings of Parliament; that they instilled into their pupils 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, farther, that it was a great loss to learning, because those who succeeded were not equal to those who were ejected.‡

Had this been true, it is no sufficient reason for keeping them in their places, in a time of war, if they were enemies to the Constitution and liberties of their country. But the best way of determining the question as to their learning is by comparing their respective characters.

Dr. Cosins had been sequestered 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 preferred to

* Introduction to the Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 113. † Appeal, p. 72.

‡ Introduction to the Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 114. § Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 163.

¶ Dr. Barwick, in the life of his brother, complains, that when the most learned men were displaced from their professorships, they "put block-heads, for the most part, and senseless scoundrels in their places." Let the reader examine this list, and estimate the justness of this allegation.—*Life*, p. 32.—C.

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 112.

† *Ibid.*, p. 131, 160.

‡ Walker's Attempt, p. 114.

the rich bishopric of Durham: he was a learned man, of an open, frank, and generous temper, and well versed in the canons, councils, and fathers.*

Dr. Paske lived peaceably and cheerfully under the Parliament, and was reinstated in all his livings at the Restoration, except the mastership of his college, which he quitted to his son. The Querela Cantab. says he was eminent for learning; but I do not remember that he has given any specimens of it to the world.†

Dr. Laney was first chaplain to Dr. Neil, and afterward Prebendary of Westminster; he was one of the king's divines at the treaty of Uxbridge, and attended upon King Charles II. in his exile; after the Restoration he was successively Bishop of Peterborough, Lincoln, and Ely, and was more favourable to the Nonconformists than most of his brethren. He has some sermons extant, and a small treatise against Hobbes.

Dr. Collins was regius professor, Provost of King's College, and Rector of Fenny-Ditton; of which last he was deprived by the Earl of Manchester, for his steady adherence to the royal cause. He kept his provostship till the year 1645, and his professorship much longer. He died in the year 1651, and had the reputation of a great scholar, says Dr. Barwick, and his name was famous in foreign universities, though he has transmitted very little down to posterity.‡

Dr. Martin was one of Archbishop Laud's chaplains, and one of Mr. White's scandalous ministers; he was accused not only of practising the late innovations, and of being in the scheme of reconciling the Church of England with Rome, but of stealing wheatheaves out of the field in harvest, on the Sabbath day, and in laying them to his tithe stock. He was very high in his principles, and was imprisoned for sending the university plate to the king. After his enlargement he retired to France, and at the Restoration was preferred to the deanery of Ely. Lloyd says he was a godly man, and excellently well skilled in the canon, civil, and common law; but Mr. Prynne gives him a very indifferent character, and Bishop Kennet acknowledges his principles were rigid, and his temper sour.§

Dr. Stern was another of Archbishop Laud's chaplains, and imprisoned for the same reason as the former. He afterward 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.¶

Dr. Beale was also imprisoned for sending the university plate to the king; after his en-

largement 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, though, 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, though imprisoned and deprived, for sending the university plate to the king; after his enlargement he lived privately till the year 1654, 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 professor in Gresham College; he was afterward chosen master of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and was a zealous advocate for the king, for which he was some time under confinement. He attended his majesty at Hampton Court and the Isle of Wight, and soon after died with grief. He was a pious and charitable man, but high in his principles, and of a hasty, passionate temper. He published one sermon in his lifetime, and after his death his friends published his Prelectiones 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, though 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 merit 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 naturally, to the resentments of the Parliament in these boisterous times.

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

Dr. Lazarus Seaman, a very considerable divine, according to Mr. Wood, a complete 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 Peterhouse in 1662, and

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 68.

† Ibid., p. 153. Calamy's Abridgment, p. 173.

‡ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 150.

§ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 670.

¶ Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 146. ¶ Ibid., p. 148.

* Bishop Brownrigge was one of the ablest preachers in the kingdom. His Sermons, in two volumes, folio, 1674, are exceedingly valuable; they are eminently suggestive to a thinking mind, and there are few richer storehouses to which a young minister can repair for fine illustration of Gospel truth.—C.

† Calamy's Abridgment, vol. ii., p. 16.

died in 1675.* 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.

Mr. Richard Vines was a very learned and excellent divine, a popular and laborious preacher, one of the Parliament divines at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, and a most industrious and useful man in his college. He was turned out of his mastership for refusing the engagement, and died before the Restoration.

Dr. Benjamin Whichcote was fellow of Emanuel College, and, upon the ejection of Dr. Collins, preferred to the mastership of King's College, in which he continued till the Restoration, and then conformed. The account Archbishop Tillotson gives of him is this: "that he was an excellent tutor and instructor of youth, and bred up many persons of quality and others, who afterward 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."‡

Mr. Herbert Palmer, B.D., was one of the university preachers in 1632, and clerk in convocation for the diocese of Lincoln at the beginning of this Parliament; he was one of the assessors of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and on April 11, 1644, constituted master of Queen's College by the Earl of Manches-

* He always carried about with him a small Latin Hebrew Bible without points. He had a deep and piercing judgment in all points of controversial divinity; nor was he less able to defend than find out the truth. Upon the invitation of an honourable lady, who was the head of a noble family, and was often solicited by Romish priests to change her religion, he engaged two of the most able priests they could pick out, in a dispute, in the presence of the lord and lady, for their satisfaction; and, by silencing them upon the head of transubstantiation, was instrumental to preserve that whole family steadfast in the Protestant religion. Dr. Grey acknowledges, on Mr. Wood's authority, that he was a learned man, and died much lamented by the brethren.—*Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. i., p. 77.—Ed.

† This work, distinguished by the excellence of its reasoning and the variety of its learning, was published to stem the torrent of irreligion and atheism that prevailed in the reign of Charles II. The author, who was superior to all his contemporaries in metaphysics, was father to the learned and accomplished Lady Masham, of Oates, in Essex, in whose house Mr. Locke spent the last fourteen years of his life.—*Granger's History of England*, vol. iii., p. 283, 284.—Ed.

‡ "His notions of religion were, like his charity," says Mr. Granger, "exalted and diffusive, and never limited by the narrow prejudices of sects and parties. He was disgusted with the dryness and foolishness of preaching that prevailed in his time, and encouraged the young students of his college to form themselves after the best models of Greece and Rome."—*History of England*, vol. iii., p. 283, 284, 285.

ter.* He was very careful to appoint such persons for tutors of youth as were eminent the learning and piety; and, being possessed of a good paternal estate, was unbounded in his liberality. He was a polite gentleman, a complete 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 only 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 preferred to the mastership of Jesus College, where he behaved with great prudence and piety, till he was turned out for refusing the engagement. He was one of the authors of the pamphlet called *Smeectynnus*.

Dr. John Arrowsmith was fellow of Katherine Hall, and of an unexceptionable character for learning and piety. He was an acute disputant, and a judicious divine, as appears by his *Tactica Sacra*, a book of great reputation in those times. He died before the Restoration.

Dr. Thomas Hill was fellow of Emanuel College, and one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He was first constituted master of Emanuel, and afterward 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 as solicitous to preserve the honour and privilege 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. Anthony Tuckney had been vicar of Boston, in Lincolnshire, from whence he was called up to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. In the year 1645, he was constituted master of Emanuel College.¶ In 1653, he was chosen master of St. John's, and upon the death of Dr. Arrowsmith, regius professor of Oxford, which place he enjoyed till the Restoration, when King Charles II., by letter under the hand of Secretary Nicholais, ordered him to resign, promising him, in consideration of his great pains and diligence in discharge of his duty, £100 per annum, 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 *Prelectiones Theologicae*, with a volume of sermons, were printed after his death.¶

* Clarke's Lives, p. 183, annexed to his *General Martyrology*.

† What Archbishop Laud urged in his defence at his trial, as an instance of his impartiality, ought to be mentioned here to his credit, namely, that he presented Mr. Palmer, though professedly of Puritan principles, on account of his excellent character, to the vicarage of Ashwell, in Hertfordshire, in 1632.—*Granger's History of England*, vol. ii., p. 183, 8vo.—Ed.

‡ Clarke's Lives, p. 194.

§ Ibid., p. 130, *ut ante*.

¶ Calamy's Abridgment, p. 77.

¶ Dr. Tuckney was also vice-chancellor of the

Dr. Richard Minshull was fellow of Sidney College, and, upon the death of Dr. Ward, chosen regularly, according to the statutes, into the vacant mastership, and continued therein till the Restoration, when he conformed, and was confirmed in his place, which he filled with reputation till his death.

Dr. William Spurstow, one of the Assembly of Divines, and one of the commissioners at the Savoy in the year 1662,* was a person of good learning, of a peaceable and quiet disposition, and of great humility and charity. He was turned out of his mastership of Katherine Hall for refusing the engagement, and was succeeded by the famous

Dr. Lightfoot, the most complete master of Oriental learning of his age; the doctor enjoyed this mastership, with the sequestered living of Muchmunden, given him by the Assembly of Divines, till the Restoration, when he would have resigned 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.

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, and by their observing 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, inasmuch 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 period.† The noble historian confesses the University of Oxford flourished as much in learning and learned men at the Restoration as before the civil wars, which is equally true of Cambridge. And it ought to be remembered, that most of the considerable divines and philosophers who flourished in the reigns of King Charles II. and King William III., owed their education to the tutors of those times, for whom they always retained a great veneration.

Though the form of inducting the new masters was not according to the statutes (as has been observed), because of the distraction of the times, it is evident this was not designed

University of Cambridge, and, after the Restoration, was appointed one of the commissioners at the conference at the Savoy. His modesty was as distinguished as his learning. He presided over his college, which never flourished more than under his government, with great prudence and ability, and is said to have shown more courage in maintaining the rights and privileges of the university in the lawless time in which he lived, than any of the heads of houses at Cambridge. — *Granger's History of England*, vol. iii., p. 305, 306. 8vo.—Ed.

* Calamy's Abridgment, vol. ii., p. 471.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 74.

to be a precedent for their successors, as appears by the manner of their investiture, which was this: Mr. Lazarus Seaman having been examined and approved by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, the Earl of Manchester came in person into the Chapel of Peterhouse, April 11, and did there declare and publish Mr. Lazarus Seaman to be constituted master of the said Peterhouse, in the room of Dr. Cousins, late master, who had been justly and lawfully ejected; requiring Mr. Seaman to take upon him that office, putting him into the master's seat, and delivering to him the statutes of the college in token of his investiture, straitly charging the fellows, &c., to acknowledge and yield obedience to him, "notwithstanding he was not elected, nor admitted according to the ordinary course prescribed by the said statutes in this time of distraction and war, there being a necessity of reforming, as well the statutes themselves as the members of the said house."† The earl then gave him an instrument under his hand and seal to the same effect, and administered 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 learning and piety in myself, the fellows, scholars, and students that do or shall belong to the said college, agreeably to the late solemn national League and Covenant, by me sworn and subscribed, with respect to all the good and wholesome statutes of the said college and of the university, correspondent to the said Covenant; and, by all means, to procure the good, welfare, and perfect reformation, both of the college and university, so far as to me appertaineth."

The other masters were introduced into their several chairs after the same solemn manner, their warrants bearing date the 11th, 12th, or 13th of April, 1644; but the clause of the Covenant was omitted by those who did not take it, as in the case of Dr. Whichcote, and others.

The vacant fellowships being more numerous, were not so quickly filled, though the earl took the most prudent method in that affair; April 10, he 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 degree, 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 presented were constituted fellows by warrant under the hand and seal of the Earl of Manchester, to the heads of the several colleges, in the following form:

"Whereas A. B. has been ejected out of his fellowship in this college; and whereas C. D. has been examined and approved by the Assembly of Divines, these are, therefore, to require you to receive the said C. D. as fellow in the room of A. B., and to give him place according to his seniority in the university, in

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 114, 115.

preference to all those that are, or shall hereafter be, put in by me.”*

I have before me the names of fifty-five persons,† who, after they had been examined by the Assembly, were presented to the vacant fellowships, in the compass of the year 1644; and within six months more all the vacancies were in a manner supplied, with men of approved learning and piety.

From this time the University of Cambridge enjoyed a happy tranquillity; learning flourished, religion and good manners were promoted, 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 the candour and impartiality of the famous Dr. Barwick, author of the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, whose words are these: “Thus the knipperdolings of the age reduced a glorious and renowned university almost to a mere Munster, and did more in less than three years than the apostate Julian could effect in his reign, viz., broke the heartstrings of learning and all learned men, and thereby luxated all the joints 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 themselves, had overrun 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 sottish; widowed the arts, drove the muses from their ancient habitation, plucked the reverend and orthodox professors out of the chairs, and silenced them in prison or their graves; turned 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 honeydews 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 the spirit of the ejected Loyalists!

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, 1644.*

“By virtue of an ordinance of both houses of Parliament, bearing date January 22, 1643-4, I do authorize and appoint you, —, or any five of you, to call before you all ministers or schoolmasters 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 ministers, with the charge and proof against them, to me.”*

It is to be observed, that the warrant is pointed only against those who are immoral, or deserted 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 the trust. The instructions were to this effect:

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

Secondly, “That they should issue their warrants, to summon before them such ministers and witnesses as the articles preferred against them should require.

Thirdly, “That the party accused should not be present at the taking the depositions, because of discourteasing 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 thereabout.

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 farther directions.

Fifthly, “If the party accused would not appear to make his defence, they were to certify the cause of his absence, because, if they were nonresidents, or in arms against the Parliament, the earl would proceed against them. ‡

Sixthly, “It being found, by experience, that parishioners were not forward to complain of their ministers, though very scandalous—some being enemies to the intended reformation, and others sparing their ministers, because 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 hundred, who, having no private engagements, were to be encouraged by the committees to inquire after the doctrines, lives, and conversations of all ministers and schoolmasters, and to give information what could be deposed, and who could depose 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 occasion 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

* *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 117.

† This was owing to the insolent and unmannerly behaviour of some of the clergy before the commissioners; for the ordinance of September 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.

‡ *Husband’s Collections*, p. 311.

* *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 114, 115.

† *MS. penes me.*

‡ *Querela*, Pref., p. 2, 26, 27. *Walker’s Attempt*, p. 115.

ministry, and to take particular care that no Anabaptist or Antinomian be recommended.

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

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

With these instructions the earl sent an exhortation by letter, in the following words:

"Gentlemen,

"I send you, by this bearer, a commission, with instructions for executing the ordinance, &c., within your county. I neither doubt of your abilities nor affections to further this service, yet, according to the great trust reposed in me herein by the Parliament, I must be earnest with you to be diligent therein. You know how much the people of this kingdom have formerly suffered in their persons, souls, and estates, under an idle, ill-affected, scandalous, and insolent clergy, upheld by the bishops; and you cannot but foresee that their pressures and burdens will still continue, though the form of government be altered, unless great care be taken to displace such ministers, and to place orthodox and holy men in every parish; for, let the government be what it will for the form thereof, yet it will never be good unless the parties employed therein be good 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 expect to be called to an 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 ordinance for procuring a general reformation in all the associated counties, expecting your forwardness, and heartily joining with me herein.* "I rest," &c.

When a clergyman was convicted according to the instructions above mentioned, report was made to the earl, who directed a warrant to the church-wardens of the parish to eject him out of his parsonage, and all the profits thereof; and another to receive the tithes and all the benefits into their own hands, and to keep them in safe custody till they should receive farther orders from himself.† At the same time he directed the parishioners to choose a proper minister for the vacant place, and, upon their presentation, his lordship sent him to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, with an account of his character, for their trial and examination. And upon a certificate from the Assembly that they approved of him as an orthodox divine, and qualified to officiate in the pastoral function, his lordship issued out his last warrant, setting forth that "such a one having been approved by the Assembly, &c., he did therefore authorize and appoint him, the said —, to officiate as minister, to preach, teach, and catechise in such a parish during his (the earl's) pleasure, and then empower him to take possession of the church, parsonage-houses, glebelands, and to receive the tithes and profits, and enjoy the same until his lordship should take

farther order concerning the same, requiring all officers to aid and assist him for that purpose."

If the committees observed these articles there could be no reasonable ground of complaint, except of the sixth, which may 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 was 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 expedient for the support of the cause in which the Parliament was engaged.

The committees for the associated counties acted, I apprehend, no longer than the year 1644, the last warrant of ejection mentioned by Dr. Nalson, bearing date March 17, 1644-5, in which time affairs were brought to such a settlement in those parts, that the Royalists could give them no disturbance.* The associated counties, says Mr. Fuller, escaped the best of all parts in this civil war, the smoke thereof only offending them, while the fire was felt in other places. The chief ejections by the commissioners in other parts of England were in the years 1644, 1645, and till the change of government in the year 1649, when the Covenant itself was set aside, and changed into an engagement to the new commonwealth.

It is hard to compute the number of clergymen that might lose their livings by the several committees during the war, nor is it of any great importance, for the law is the same whether more or fewer suffer by it; and the not putting it in execution might be owing to want of power or opportunity. Dr. Nalson says that in five of the associated counties one hundred and 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 upward 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

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 118. † Ibid., p. 119.

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 119.

his cathedral clergy he reckons up several prebends and canonries, in which he supposes sufferers without any evidence. Of this sort Dr. Calamy has reckoned about two hundred.* If one clergyman was possessed of three or four dignities, there appear to be as many sufferers. The like is observable in the case of pluralists; for example, Richard Stuart, LL.D., is set down as a sufferer in the deanery of St. Paul's, as prebendary of St. Pancras, and residentiary; in the deanery and prebend of the third stall in Westminster; in the deanery of the royal chapel; in the provostship of Eton College, and prebend of Norshilton 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 it is easy to deceive the reader, and swell the account beyond measure. The Reverend Mr. Withers,† a late Nonconformist minister at Exeter, has taken care to make an exact computation in the associated counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge-shire, in which are one thousand three hundred and ninety-eight parishes, and two hundred and fifty-three sequestrations; so that if these may be reckoned as a standard for the whole kingdom, the whole number will be reduced considerably under two thousand. He has also made another computation from the county of Devon, in which are three hundred and ninety-four parishes, and one hundred and 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 and 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 were deducted as were fairly convicted, upon oath, of immoralities of life, &c. (which were a fourth in the associated counties), and all such as took part with the king in the war, or disowned the authority of the Parliament; preaching up doctrines inconsistent with the cause for which they had taken arms, and exciting the people to an absolute submission to the authority of the crown, the remainder that were displaced only for refusing the Covenant must be very inconsiderable. Mr. Baxter says they cast out the grosser sort of insufficient and 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, farther, "that in all the counties in which he was acquainted six to one at least, if not more, that were sequestered by the committees, were by the oaths of witnesses 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, the sufferings of the former ought not to be compared to the latter; though Dr. 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 violence and injustice of actions in a civil war? 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 the Church; my reason is, that the former were used in time of peace and a settled government, whereas the latter were inflicted in a time of tumult and confusion, so that the plundering and ravaging endured by the church ministers were owing, many of them at least, to the rudeness of the soldiers and the chances of war; they were plundered not because they were Conformists, but cavaliers, and of the king's party."† The case of those who were sober and virtuous seems to be much the same with the nonjurors 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 ejections (many scandalous ministers being deservedly punished), so at the same time the veins of the English Church were also emptied of much good blood."‡

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 their king. The houses, therefore, ordained, September 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.¶ Yet, 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. When some pretended to excuse themselves on the forementioned exceptions, the two houses published the following explanation, November 11, 1647, viz., "that the wives and children of all such persons whose estates and livings are, have been, or shall be,

* Conform. First Plea, p. 12, 13.

† Calamy's Church and Dissenters compared, p. 23, 24.

‡ Church History, p. 207.

§ Calamy's Ch. and Diss. comp., p. 24.

¶ Husband's Collections, p. 726.

* Church and Dissenters compared, p. 52.

† Appendix to his Reply to Mr. Agate, p. 27, 28.

‡ History of Life and Times, p. 74.

sequestered 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 plundered ministers, and all other ministers, are required to take notice hereof, and yield obedience hereunto.* Afterward, when it was questioned whether the fifths should pay their proportion of the public taxes, it was ordained that the incumbent only should pay them. Under the government of the Protector Cromwell, 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 receive his fifths, and all his arrears, provided he had not a real estate of his own of £30 per annum, or £500 in money.

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 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 November 8, 1644, "strictly enjoined 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, who had no scruple about the payment of tithes, refused to pay them to the new incumbent, because the ejected minister had the legal right; insomuch that the Presbyterian ministers were obliged in many places to sue their parishioners, which created disturbances and divisions, and at length gave rise to several petitions from the counties of Buckingham, Oxford, Hertford, &c., praying that their ministers might be provided for some other way. The Parliament referred them to a committee, which produced no redress, because they could not fix upon another fund, nor provide for the lay-impropriations.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE SEVERAL PARTIES IN THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES—PRESBYTERIANS, ERASTIANS, INDEPENDENTS. THEIR PROCEEDINGS ABOUT ORDINATION, AND THE DIRECTORY FOR DIVINE WORSHIP. THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND SUFFERINGS OF THE ENGLISH ANTIPÆDOBAPTISTS.

BEFORE we proceed to the debates of the Assembly of Divines, it will be proper to distinguish the several parties of which it was con-

* Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 100.

† That the reader may enjoy the amplest opportunity to form an enlarged and impartial view of this matter, I shall insert the entire account of the parties which composed the Assembly, as it is given by the Presbyterian historian Hetherington, in his History of the Westminster Assembly. This is done that I may escape the charge of having withheld any

stituted.* The Episcopal clergy had entirely deserted it before the bringing in of the Cove-

light of history, although the entire work is a pretty close abridgment of Neal, allowing for the needed additions.

Before proceeding to relate the discussions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, thus finally constituted and prepared for its duties, it may be expedient to give a brief view of the parties, by the combination of which it was from the first composed, by whose jarring contentions its progress was retarded, and by whose divisions and mutual hostilities its labours were at length frustrated and prevented from obtaining their due result.

When the Parliament issued the ordinance for calling together an Assembly of Divines for consultation and advice, there was, it will be remembered, actually no legalized form of church government in England, so far as depended on the Legislature. Even Charles himself had consented to the bill removing the prelates from the House of Lords; and though the bill abolishing the hierarchy had not obtained the royal sanction, yet the greater part of the kingdom regarded it as conclusive on that point. The chief object of the Parliament, therefore, was to determine what form of church government was to be established by law, in the room of that which had been abolished. And as their desire was to secure a form which should both be generally acceptable, and should also bear, at least, a close resemblance to the form most prevalent in other Reformed churches, they attempted to act impartially, and, in their ordinance, they selected some of each denomination, appointing bishops, untitled Episcopalians, Puritans, and Independents. Several Episcopalians, and at least one bishop, were present in the first meeting of the Assembly. But when the Solemn League and Covenant was proposed and taken, and when the king issued his condemnation of it, all the decided Episcopalians left, with the exception of Dr. Featly. He remained a member of the Assembly for some time; till, being detected corresponding with Archbishop Usher, and revealing the proceedings of the Assembly, he was cut off from that venerable body and committed to prison.* From that time forward there were no direct supporters of prelacy in the Assembly, and the protracted controversial discussions which arose were on other subjects, on which account we have nothing to do with the Episcopal controversy, beyond what has been already stated in our preliminary pages.

There can be no doubt that the close alliance which the English Parliament sought with Scotland, and the ground taken by the Scottish Convention of Estates and General Assembly, in requiring not only an international league, but also a religious covenant, tended greatly to direct the mind of the English statesmen and divines towards the Presbyterian form of church government, and exercised a powerful influence in the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly. But let it be also remembered, that in every one of the Reformed Continental churches, either the Presbyterian form, or one very closely resembling it, had been adopted; and that the Puritans had already formed themselves into presbyteries, held presbyterial meetings, and endeavoured to exercise Presbyterian discipline in the reception, suspension, and rejection of members. Both the example of other churches, therefore, and their own already begun practice, had led them so far onward to the Presbyterian model, that they would almost inevitably have assumed it altogether apart from the influence of Scotland. In truth, that influence was

* The name of Puritans is from this time to be sunk; and they are for the future to be spoken of under the distinction of Presbyterians, Erastians, and Independents, who had all their different views.—Dr. Warner's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., p. 561.—Ed.

* Neal, vol. ii., p. 234, 235.

nant, so that the establishment was left without a single advocate. All who remained were

exerted and felt almost solely in the way of instruction from a church already formed to one in the process of formation; and none would have been more ready than the Scottish commissioners themselves to have repudiated the very idea of any other kind of influence. It may be said, therefore, with the most strict propriety, that the *native* aim and tendency of the Westminster Assembly was to establish the Presbyterian form of church government in England, the great body of English Puritans having gradually become Presbyterians. There is reason to believe that both Pym and Hampden favoured the Presbyterian system; but their early and lamented death deprived that cause of their powerful support, and the House of Commons of their able and steady guidance. The chief promoters of presbytery in the House of Commons were, Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Colonel Massey, Colonel Harley, Sergeant Maynard, Denzil Hollis, John Glynn, and a few more of less influential character.

The Independents, or Congregationalists, formed another party, few in point of number, but men of considerable talent and learning, of undoubted piety, of great pertinacity in adhering to their own opinions, and, we are constrained to say, well skilled in the artifices of intriguing policy. Independency was, according to the statement of its adherents, a medium between the Brownist and the Presbyterian systems. They did not, with the Brownists, condemn every other church as too corrupt and anti-Christian for intercommunion, for they professed to agree in doctrine both with the Church of England in its articles, and with the other Reformed churches; but they held the entire power of government to belong to each separate congregation; and they practically admitted no church censure but admonition, for that cannot properly be called excommunication which consisted not in expelling from their body an obstinate and impenitent offender, but in withdrawing themselves from him. With regard to their boast of being the first advocates of toleration and liberty of conscience, that will come to be examined hereafter; this only need be said at present, that toleration is naturally the plea of the weaker party; that the term was then, has been since, and still is, much misunderstood and misused; and that, wherever the Independents possessed power, as in New-England, they showed themselves to be as intolerant as any of their opponents.

The leading Independents in the Westminster Assembly were, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, and Sidrach Simpson. These men had at first been silenced by the violent persecutions of Laud and Wren, and had then retired to Holland, where they continued exercising their ministry among their expatriated countrymen for several years. Goodwin and Nye resided at Arnheim, where they were highly esteemed for their piety and talents. Bridge went to Rotterdam, where he became pastor of an English congregation, previously formed by the notorious Hugh Peters. Burroughs went also to Rotterdam, and became connected with a congregation then under the pastoral care of Bridge, in what was termed the different but co-ordinate office of teacher. Simpson subsequently joined himself to the two preceding brethren, having, according to their system, given an account of his faith. But, though at first highly approving the order of the church under the care of Mr. Bridge, he subsequently proposed some alterations, which would, as he thought, promote its welfare—particularly the revival of the prophesyings used by the old Puritans. This Mr. Bridge opposed, and Mr. Simpson withdrew from communion with him, and formed a church for himself.* The quarrel, however, did not so terminate. Mr. Ward, another

for taking down the main pillars of the hierarchy, before they had agreed what sort of building to erect in its room.

rejected Puritan, having about the same time retired to Holland, came to Rotterdam, and having joined Mr. Bridge's church, was appointed his colleague in the pastoral office. He, too, wished for additional improvements; and as he did not retire, like Simpson, but continued the struggle, Bridge thought it necessary to depose him from the ministry, which his superior influence in the congregation enabled him to accomplish. To prevent the evil consequences which might have resulted from these unhappy divisions, Goodwin and Nye came from Arnheim, instituted an investigation of the whole matter, and induced the two contending brethren and their adherents to acknowledge their mutual faults, and to be reconciled.* The reconciliation, however, appears to have been but superficial, and to have required the interposition of the magistracy ere it could be even plausibly effected. Such divisions might have caused these divines to entertain some suspicion that the model of church government which they had adopted was not altogether so perfect as they wished it to be thought; but so far as their subsequent conduct, as members of the Westminster Assembly, is concerned, this does not seem to have been the case in even the slightest degree. When the contest between the king and the Parliament had become so extreme that the Parliament declared its own continuation as permanent as it might itself think necessary, and began to threaten the abolition of the whole prelatical hierarchy, the above-named five Independent divines returned to England, prepared to assist in the long-sought reformation of religion, and to avail themselves of every opportunity which might occur to promote their favourite system. And admitting them to be conscientiously convinced of its superior excellence, they deserve no censure for desiring to see it universally received. In every such case, all that can be wished is, that each party should prosecute its purpose honourably and openly, in the fair field of frank and manly argument, with Christian candour and integrity, and not by factious opposition, or with the dark and insidious craft too characteristic of worldly politicians.

Of these five leading Independents, often termed "The Five Dissenting Brethren," Goodwin appears to have been the deepest theologian, and perhaps altogether the ablest man; Nye, the most acute and subtle, and the best skilled in holding intercourse with worldly politicians; Burroughs, the most gentle and pacific in temper and character; Bridge is said to have been a man of considerable attainments, and a very laborious student; and Simpson bears also a respectable character as a preacher, though not peculiarly distinguished in public debate. To these Baillie adds, as Independents, Joseph Caryl, William Carter, of London, John Phillips, and Peter Sterry—naming nine, but saying that there were "some ten or eleven."† Neal adds Anthony Burges and William Greenhill.‡ Some of the views of the Independents were occasionally supported by Herle, Marshall, and Vines, and some few others; but none of these men are to be included in the number of the decided Independents.

The third party in the Assembly were the Erastians; so called from Erastus, a physician at Heidelberg, who wrote on the subject of church government, especially in respect of excommunication, in the year 1568. His theory was, That the pastoral office is only persuasive, like that of a professor over his students, without any direct power; that baptism, the Lord's Supper, and all other Gospel ordinances, were free and open to all; and that the minister might state and explain what were the proper qualifications, and might dissuade the vicious and

* Brook, vol. ii., p. 454; Edwards's Autoplogia, p. 115-117; Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 75-77.

† Baillie, vol. ii., p. 110. ‡ Neal, vol. ii., p. 275, 360.

* Brook's Lives of the Puritans, vol. iii., p. 312.

The majority at first intended only the reducing episcopacy to the standard of the first or

unqualified from the communion, but had no power to refuse it, or to inflict any kind of censure. The punishment of all offences, whether of a civil or a religious nature, belonged, according to this theory, exclusively to the civil magistrate. The tendency of this theory was, to destroy entirely all ecclesiastical and spiritual jurisdiction, to deprive the Church of all power of government, and to make it completely the mere "creature of the State." The pretended advantage of this theory was, that it prevented the existence of an *imperium in imperio*, or one government within another, of a distinct and independent nature. But the real disadvantage, in the most mitigated view that can be taken, was, that it reproduced what may be termed a civil popery, by combining civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and giving both into the possession of one irresponsible power, thereby destroying both civil and religious liberty, and subjecting men to an absolute and irremediable despotism. In another point of view, the Erastian theory assumes a still darker and more formidable aspect. It necessarily denies the mediatorial sovereignty of the Lord Jesus Christ over his Church; takes the power of the keys from his office-bearers and gives them to the civil magistrate; destroys liberty of conscience, by making spiritual matters subject to the same coercive power as temporal affairs naturally and properly are; and thus involves both State and Church in reciprocal and mutually destructive sin: the State, in usurping a power which God has not given; and the Church, in yielding what she is not at liberty to yield—the sacred crown-rights of the Divine Redeemer, her only Head and King.

But as the Erastian controversy will come fully before us in the debates of the Assembly, it is unnecessary to enter upon it here. There were only two divines in the Assembly who advocated the Erastian theory; and of these, one alone was decidedly and thoroughly Erastian. The divine to whom this unenviable pre-eminence must be assigned was Thomas Coleman, minister at Bliton, in Lincolnshire. He was aided generally, but not always, by Lightfoot, in the various discussions that arose involving Erastian opinions. Both of these divines were eminently distinguished by their attainments in Oriental literature, particularly in rabbinical lore; and their attachment to the study of Hebrew literature and customs led them to the conclusion that the Christian Church was to be in every respect constituted according to the model of the Jewish Church; and having formed the opinion that there was but one jurisdiction in Israel, combining both civil and ecclesiastical, and that this was held by the Hebrew monarchs, they concluded that the same blended government ought to prevail under the Christian dispensation. Of the lay-assessors in the Assembly the chief Erastians were the learned Selden, Mr. Whitelocke, and Mr. St. John; but though Selden was the only one of them whose arguments were influential in the Assembly itself, yet nearly all the Parliament held sentiments decidedly Erastian, and having seized the power of church government, were not disposed to yield it up, be the opinion of the assembled divines what it might. Hence, though the Erastian divines were only two, yet their opinions, supported by the whole civil authority in the kingdom, were almost sure to triumph in the end. This, in one point of view, was not strange. The kingdom had suffered so much severe and protracted injury from the usurped authority and power of the prelates, that the asserters of civil liberty almost instinctively shrunk from even the shadow of any kind of power in the hands of ecclesiastics. A little less passion and fear, and a little more judgment and discrimination, might have rescued them from this groundless apprehension; and they might have perceived that freedom, both civil and ecclesiastical, would be best secured by the full and authoritative recognition of their respective

second age, but, for the sake of the Scots alliance, they were prevailed with to lay aside the

jurisdictions, separate and independent. But, indeed, this is a truth which has yet to be learned by civil governments—a truth unknown to ancient times, in which religion was either an engine of the State or the object of persecution—a truth unknown during the period of papal ascendancy, in which the Romish priesthood usurped dominion over civil governments, and exercised its tyranny alike over the persons and the conscience of mankind—a truth first brought to light in the great religious reformation of the sixteenth century—but not then, nor even yet, fully developed, rightly understood, and permitted to exercise its free and sacred supremacy. That it will finally assume its due dominion over the minds and actions of all bodies of men, both civil and ecclesiastical, we cannot doubt; and then, but not till then, will the two dread counterpart elements of human degradation, tyranny and slavery, become alike impossible.

Into these three great parties, Presbyterian, Independent, and Erastian, was the Westminster Assembly of Divines divided, even when first it met; and it was inevitable that a contest should be waged among them for the ascendancy, ending most probably either in increased hostility and absolute disruption, or in some mutual compromise, to which all might assent, though perhaps with the cordial approbation of none. The strength of these parties was more evenly balanced at first than might have been expected. The Puritans, though all of them had received Episcopal ordination, and had been exercising their ministry in the Church of England under the hierarchy, were nearly all Presbyterians, or at least quite willing to adopt that form of church government, though many of them would have consented to a modified Episcopacy on the Usserian model. Their influence in the city of London was paramount, and throughout the country was very considerable; and as they formed the most natural connecting link with Scotland, they occupied a position of very great importance. Although the Independents were but a small minority in the Assembly, yet various circumstances combined to render them by no means a weak or insignificant party. They were supported in the House of Peers by Lords Say and Sele, and frequently, also, by Lords Brooks and Kimbolton, the latter of whom is better known by his subsequent title of Lord Manchester. Philip Nye, one of the leading Independents, had been appointed to Kimbolton by the influence of Lord Kimbolton, and continued to maintain a constant intercourse with him, both while he was acting as a legislator, and when leading the armies of the Parliament. It is even asserted by Palmer, in his "Nonconformists' Memorial," that Nye's advice was sought and followed in the nomination of the divines who were called to the Assembly.* And when, farther, it is borne in mind that Oliver Cromwell was an Independent, and acted as lieutenant-general under Lord Manchester, it will easily be perceived that Nye's intercourse with the army was direct and influential, and that thus the Five Dissenting Brethren were able to employ a mighty political influence. Nor can the Erastian party be justly termed feeble, though formed by not more than two divines, and a few of the lay-assessors, who were not always present; for both Coleman and Lightfoot were influential men, on account of their reputation for learning, in which they were scarcely inferior to Selden himself in the department of Hebrew literature. So high was Selden's fame, that any cause might be deemed strong which he supported; and Whitelocke and St. John possessed so much political influence in Parliament that they could not fail to exercise great power in every matter which they promoted or opposed. But the main strength of the Erastian theory consisted in the combination of three potent elements—the natural love of holding and ex-

* Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. i., p. 96.

name and function of bishops, and attempt the establishing a Presbyterian form, which at length they advanced into *jus divinum*, or a Divine institution, derived expressly from Christ and his apostles. This engaged them in so many controversies as prevented their laying the top stone of the 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, Sergeant Maynard, Colonel Massey, Colonel Harley, John Glynn, Esq., and a few others.

The Erastians formed another branch of the Assembly, so called from Erastus, a German divine of the sixteenth century. The pastoral office, according to him, was only persuasive, like a professor of the sciences over his students, without any power of the keys annexed.* The Lord's Supper, and other ordinances of the Gospel, were to be free and open to all. The minister might dissuade the vicious and unqualified from the communion, but might not refuse it, or inflict any kind of censure; the punishment of all offences, either of a civil or religious nature, being reserved to the magistrate. The pretended advantage of this scheme was, that it avoided the erecting *imperium in imperio*, or two different powers in the same civil government; it effectually destroyed all that spiritual jurisdiction and 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, Redmayn, Cox, &c.; and Archbishop Whitgift, in his controversy with Cartwright, delivers the same opinion: "I deny," says he, "that the Scripture has set down any one certain form of church government to be perpetual." Again: "It is well known that the manner and form of government expressed in the Scriptures neither is

exercising power, which is common to all men and parties, tending to render the Parliament reluctant to relinquish that ecclesiastical supremacy which they had with such difficulty wrested from the sovereign; their want of acquaintance with the true nature of Presbyterian church government, which led them to dread that, if allowed free scope, it might prove as oppressive as even the prelatical, beneath whose weighty and galling yoke the nation was still down-bent and bleeding; and the strong instinctive antipathy which fallen human nature feels against the spirituality and the power of vital godliness. It is easy to perceive that the theory which was supported by these three elements in thorough and vigorous union, was one which it would be no easy matter to encounter and defeat; or, rather, was one over which nothing but Divine power could possibly gain the victory.

The Scottish commissioners cannot with propriety be regarded as forming a party in the Westminster Assembly, as they and the English Presbyterians were in all important matters completely identified. Still, it may be expedient to give a very brief account of men who occupied a position so important, and exercised for a time so great an influence on the affairs of both kingdoms. Their names have been already mentioned.—*Hetherington*, p. 116-124.—C.

* Baxter's Life, p. 139.

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. Whitelocke; and in the House of Commons, besides Selden and Whitelocke, Oliver St. John, Esq., Sir Thomas Widdrington, John Crew, Esq., Sir John Hipsley, and others of the greatest names.

The Independents, or Congregational brethren, composed a third party, and made a bold stand against the proceedings of the High Presbyterians; their numbers were small at first, though they increased prodigiously in a few years, and grew to a considerable figure under the protectorship of Oliver Cromwell.*

We have already related their original, and carried on their history till they appeared in public, about the latter end of the year 1640. The divines who 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 public 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 in 1643, and presented to the House of Commons.

"As to the Church of England," say they, "we profess, before God and the world, that we do apprehend a great deal of defilement in their way of worship, and a great deal of unwarranted power exercised by their church governors, yet we allow multitudes of their parochial churches to be true churches, and their ministers true ministers. In the late times, when we had no hopes of returning to our own country, we held communion with them, and offered to receive to the Lord's Supper some that came to visit us in our exile, whom we knew to be godly, upon that relation and membership they held in their parish churches in England, they professing themselves to be members thereof, and belonging thereto. The same 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 Independents," remarks Dr. Lingard, "were few, and could only compensate the paucity of their numbers by the energy and talent of their leaders. They never exceeded a dozen in the Assembly; but these were veteran disputants, eager, fearless, and persevering, whose attachment to their favourite doctrines had been riveted by persecution and exile, and who had not escaped from the intolerance of one church to submit tamely to the control of another."—*History of England*, vol. x., p. 274.—C.

the members of their churches to communion in the sacrament, and other ordinances, by virtue of their relation to those churches.*

The scheme they embraced was a middle way between Brownism and Presbytery, viz., that "every particular congregation of Christians has an entire and complete power of jurisdiction over its members, to be exercised by the elders thereof, within itself. This, they are sure, must have been the form of government in the primitive Church, before the numbers of Christians in any city were multiplied so far as to divide into many congregations, which it is 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 neighbouring churches, and, on their persisting in their error of miscarriage, they then are to renounce all Christian communion with them till they repent, 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 public 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 public and solemn prayers for kings, and all in authority; and though they did not approve of a prescribed form, they admitted that public 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 administered; 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 public 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 that, out of a regard to the public peace, they had 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 reproaches and calumnies that have been cast upon them by their adversaries, but should have waited for a free and open debate of their sentiments in the pres-

ent Assembly of Divines, though they are sensible they shall have the disadvantage with regard to numbers, learning, and the stream of public interest; however, they are determined, in all debates, to yield to the utmost latitude of their consciences, professing it to be as high a point of religion to acknowledge their mistakes when they are convinced of them, as to hold fast the truth; and when matters are brought to the nearest agreement, to promote such a temper as may tend to union as well as truth.*

"They therefore beseech the honourable houses of Parliament not to look upon them as disturbers of the public 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.

"Signed by

"Thos. Goodwin, Sydrach Simpson, Philip Nye, Jer. Burroughs, William Bridge."†

The Reverend Mr. Herle, afterward prolocutor of the Assembly, in his *imprimatur* to this Apology, calls it a performance full of peaceableness, modesty, and candour; and, though he wrote against it, yet, in his 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." The more rigid Presbyterians attacked the Apology with greater severity; swarms of pamphlets were published against it in a few months, some reflecting on the persons of the apologists, and others on their principles, as tending to break the uniformity of the Church under the pretence of liberty of conscience. The most furious adversaries were Dr. Bastwick, old Mr. Vicars, and Mr. Edwards, minister of Christ Church, London, who printed an *Antapologia* of three hundred pages in quarto, full of such bitter invectives, that the pacific 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 hereafter.

Lord Clarendon and Mr. Echard represent the Independents as ignorant and illiterate enthusiasts; and though Mr. Rapin confesses he knew nothing of their rise and progress, he has painted them out in the most 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,

* Apologet. Nar. of the Independents, p. 78.

† *Ibid.*, p. 12, 15.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

* Apologet. Narr. of the Independents, p. 24, 25, 27.

† *Ibid.*, p. 30.

‡ Vol. ii., p. 514. folio.

preached, admonished, and interpreted Scripture, without any other call than what himself drew from his supposed gifts and the approbation of his hearers.*

It is surprising so accurate an historian should take such liberties with men whose principles he was so little acquainted with as to say the Independents abhorred monarchy, and approved of none but a Republican government; whereas they assure the world, in their Apology, that they prayed publicly 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 him on the knee, and, in all probability, would have restored him to 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 are 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, Rapin 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 public, exhort his brethern, 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." Here his annotator, Mr. Tindal, rightly observes, that he has mistaken the Independents for the Brownists; the Independents had their stated officers in the Church for public prayer, preaching, and administering the sacraments, as pastors, teachers, and elders (who were ecclesiastics), and deacons to take care of the poor; nor did they admit of persons unordained to any office to exercise their gifts publicly, except as probationers, in order to their devoting themselves to the ministry. The words of their confession are, "The work of preaching is not so peculiarly confined to pastors and teachers, but that others also gifted, and fitted by the Holy Ghost for it, and approved (being by lawful ways and means, by the providence of God, called thereunto), may publicly, ordinarily, and constantly perform it, so that they give themselves up thereunto."‡

It is necessary the reader should make these remarks, to rectify a train of mistakes which runs 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 increased after they despaired of bringing the king into their measures, and it is well known that at their first appearance Cromwell, by his personal valour, suppressed them with the hazard of his life. These were chiefly Anabaptists, and proved as great enemies to the protector as they had been to the king. But there is nothing in the principles of the Presbyterians, Independents, 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 Independents, and knew them much better than the above-mentioned writers, admits "that most of them were zealous, and very many learned, discreet, and pious, capable of being very serviceable to the Church, and searchers into Scripture and antiquity;"* though he blames them, on other occasions, for making too light of ordination; for their too great strictness in the qualification of church members; for their popular form of church government, and their too much exploding of synods and councils; and then adds, "I saw commendable care of serious holiness and discipline in most of the Independent 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.

There was not one professed Antipædobaptist in the Assembly, though their sentiments began to spread wonderfully without doors. Their teachers were for the most part illiterate, yet 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 Independents in the points 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 differed from them.

It is not to be wondered that so many parties with different views should entangle the proceedings of this venerable body, and protract the intended union with the Scots; though, as soon as the Covenant was taken, they entered upon that affair, the Parliament having sent them the following order, dated October 12, 1643.

"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

* Page 8. † Memoirs, p. 90, 1718.

‡ Savoy Conference, 4to, p. 24, art. 14.

* Baxter's Life, p. 140, 143.

† Life, p. 40.

the Church of Scotland, &c., to be settled in this Church instead of the present church government by archbishops, bishops, &c., which it is resolved to take away; and to deliver their advice touching the same to both houses of Parliament with all convenient speed.*

Hereupon the Assembly set themselves to inquire into the constitution of the primitive Church, in the days of the apostles, which, being founded upon the model of the Jewish synagogues, gave the Lightfoots, the Seldens, the Colmans, and other masters of Jewish antiquities, an opportunity of displaying their superior learning, by new and unheard-of interpretations of Scripture, whereby they frequently disconcerted the warmer Presbyterians, whose plan of discipline they had no mind should receive the stamp of an apostolic sanction in the Church of England.*

It was undoubtedly 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; during which time, no wonder seeds and divisions arrived to such a pitch, that it was not in their power afterward to destroy them. Committees, indeed, were appointed to prepare materials for the debate of the Assembly, some for discipline, and others for worship, which were debated in order, and then laid aside without being perfected, or sent up to Parliament to be framed into a law. Nothing can be alleged in excuse of 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 the ordination of ministers; which was the more necessary, because the bishops refused to ordain any who were not† in the interest of the crown: this gave occasion to inquire 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 should 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 Independents entered their dissent, unless the ordination was attended with the previous election of some church. New difficulties being continually started, upon this and some other heads, the Scots commissioners were out of all patience, and applied to the city ministers to petition the Parliament to call for the advice of the Assembly. The petition was presented September 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 a 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 destruction threatened, and in part inflicted upon us lately in the west. May it therefore please your wisdoms, as a sovereign remedy for the removal of our present miseries, and preventing their farther progress, to expedite a directory for public 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 this the Assembly were ordered to send up their humble advice upon this head: which was to the following effect [September 22], viz., that in this present exigency, while there were no Presbyterians, yet it being necessary that ministers should be ordained for the army and navy, and for the service of many destitute congregations, by some who, having been ordained themselves, have power to join in the setting apart of others: they advise,

(1.) That an association of some godly ministers in and about the city of London be appointed by public 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 recommended, be ordained as aforesaid, by the associated ministers of London, or some others in the country, and the like for any other congregations that want a minister.†

According to this advice, the two houses passed an ordinance, October 2, for the ordination of ministers *pro tempore*, which appoints the following ten persons, being presbyters, and members of the Assembly, to examine and ordain, by imposition of hands, all those whom they shall judge qualified to be admitted into the sacred ministry, viz.,

Dr. Cornelius Burgess,	Mr. Edmund Calamy,
assessor.	Mr. Humphrey Chambers.
Mr. George Walker.	Mr. John Ley.
Mr. John Conant.	Mr. Starkey Gower.
Mr. Daniel Cawdry.	Mr. Henry Roborough.
Dr. William Gouge.	

And the following thirteen, being presbyters of the city of London, but not members of the Assembly, viz.,

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 780.

† Vol. Pamp., *penes me*, No. 68.

* Lightfoot's Remains, in Pref. p. 8.

† Bishop Hall complained that he was violently restrained in his power of ordination. On this single instance Dr. Grey grounds a general assertion, that the bishops were prevented from ordaining by the rabble.—Ed.

Rev. Mr. John Downham.	Rev. Mr. Sam. Clarke.
Mr. Tim. Dodd.	Mr. Fulk Billers.
Mr. Tho. Clendon.	Mr. Leon. Cooke.
Mr. Em. Bourne.	Mr. Richard Lee.
Mr. Fr. Roberts.	Mr. Tho. Horton.
Mr. Cha. Offspring.	Mr. Arthur Jackson.
Mr. James Cranford.	

And 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 passed the houses for the benefit of the county of Lancaster, whereby the Rev. Mr. Charles Herle, Mr. Richard Herrick, Mr. Hyet, Mr. Bradshaw, Mr. Isaac Ambrose, and others, to the number of twenty-one, had full power given them to ordain *pro tempore* in the county of Lancaster. And to obviate the reproaches of the Oxford divines, the following clause was added: "That if any person do publicly preach, or otherwise exercise any ministerial office, who shall not be ordained, or thereunto allowed by seven of the said ministers, their names shall be returned to both houses of Parliament, to be dealt with as they in their wisdom shall think fit." It was voted farther, that "no minister be allowed to preach unless he has a certificate of his ordination, or at least of his being examined and approved by the Assembly."* And February 16, at a conference between the two houses, it was agreed that the Assembly of Divines be desired to admit none into their pulpits except 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 devotion. The old liturgy being laid aside, there were no public officers in the Church: a committee was therefore appointed, October 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 January 3, 1644-5, under the title of "A Directory for Public 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. "It is 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 heightened the grievances, and the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies have occasioned much mischief, by disquieting the consciences of many who could not yield to them. Sundry good people have by this means been kept from the Lord's table, and many faithful ministers debarred from the

exercise of their ministry, to the ruin of them and their families. The prelates and their faction have raised their estimation of it to such a height, as if God could be worshipped no other way but by the service-book; in consequence of which the preaching of the Word has been depreciated, and in some places entirely neglected.

"In the mean time, the papists have made their advantage this way, boasting that the Common Prayer Book came up to a compliance with a great part of their service, by which means they were not a little confirmed in their idolatry and superstition, especially of late, when new ceremonies were daily obtruded upon the Church.

"Besides, the liturgy has given great encouragement to an idle and unedifying ministry, who choose rather to confine themselves to forms made to their hands than to exert themselves in the exercise of the gift of prayer, with which our Saviour furnishes all those whom he calls to that office.

"For these and many other weighty considerations, relating to the book in general, besides divers particulars which are a just ground of offence, it is thought advisable to set aside the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God, not out of any affectation of novelty, nor with an intention to disparage our first Reformers, but that we may answer, in some measure, the gracious providence of God which now calls upon us for a farther reformation; that we may satisfy our own consciences, answer the expectations of other Reformed churches, ease the consciences of many godly persons among ourselves, and give a public testimony of our endeavours after a uniformity in Divine worship, pursuant to what we had promised in our solemn League and Covenant."

It has been observed that the Directory is not an absolute form of devotion, but, agreeably to its title, contains only some general directions, taken partly from the Word of God, and partly from rules of Christian prudence; it points out the heads of public prayer, of preaching, and other parts of the pastoral function, leaving the ministers a discretionary latitude to fill up the vacancies according to his abilities. It is divided into several chapters, and being a book of a public nature, comprehending all the peculiarities of the Presbyterian reformation, I have given it a place in the Appendix.* Mr. Fuller observes,† that the Independents in the Assembly were hardly persuaded to consent to it, for fear of infringing the liberty of prayer, yet being admitted to qualify some things in the preface, they complied. The committee who composed the preface were Mr. Nye, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Burges, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, all Independents; Mr. Vines, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Marshall, and Dr. Temple, with the Scots commissioners.

The Directory passed the Assembly with great unanimity; those who 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.

* Appendix, No. 8.

† Church History, b. xi., p. 222.

* Parliamentary Chronicle, p. 152.

It may not be improper in this place to advise the reader of the following variations introduced into the service of the Church upon this occasion. Instead of one prescribed form of prayer, the Directory only points out certain topics on which the minister might enlarge. The whole Apocrypha is rejected; private and lay baptism, with the use of godfathers and godmothers, and 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 Independents were to the whole brotherhood; but Lightfoot, Selden, Colman, and others were for an open communion, to whom the Parliament was 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, showing 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, are 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 reckoned 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

* Another variation, not noticed by Mr. Neal, was the exclusion of dipping, and declaring sprinkling to be sufficient. This was owing to Dr. Lightfoot. When the Assembly came to the vote whether the Directory should run thus, "The minister shall take water, and sprinkle or pour it with his hand upon the face or forehead of the child," some were unwilling to have dipping excluded, so that the vote came to an equality within one; for the one side there being twenty-four, and for the other twenty-five. Next day the affair was resumed, when the doctor insisted on hearing the reasons of those who were for dipping. At length it was proposed that it should be expressed thus: that "pouring on of water, or sprinkling, in the administration of baptism, is lawful and sufficient." Lightfoot excepted against the word "lawful," it being the same as if it should be determined lawful to use bread and wine in the Lord's Supper; and he moved that it might be expressed thus: "It is not only lawful, but also sufficient;" and it was put down so accordingly.—*Robinson's History of Baptism*, p. 450, 451.—Ed. (*Toulmin*).

† Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 588.

worship, it being apprehended more proper for a confession of faith; and accordingly the Creed and Ten Commandments were added to the Assembly's confession, published a year or two forward. 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 public 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 revolution in the form of public worship took place 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 who should read any other form than that contained in the Directory.* The ordinance is dated August 23, 1645, and enacts that "the knights and burgesses of the several counties of England and Wales shall send printed books of the Directory, fairly bound, to the committee of Parliament in their several counties, who shall deliver them to the officers of the several parishes in England and Wales, by whom they shall be delivered to the several ministers of each parish. It ordains farther, that the several ministers, next Lord's Day after receiving the Book of Directory, 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 public worship, or in any private place or family, under penalty of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and for the third a year's imprisonment. Such ministers as do not observe the Directory in all exercises of public worship shall forfeit 40s.; and they who, with a design to bring the Directory into contempt, or to raise opposition to it, shall preach, write, or print anything in derogation of it, shall forfeit a sum of money not under £5, nor more than £50, 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."†

These were the first-fruits of Presbyterian uniformity, and are equally to be condemned with the severities and oppressions of the late times; for though it should be admitted that the Parliament or Legislature had a right to abrogate the use of the Common Prayer Book in churches, was it not highly unreasonable to forbid the reading it in private families or closets? Surely the devotion of a private family

* Who does not see the spirit of persecution which invariably accompanies all attempts of a church or nation at uniformity? Independency has not this sin to answer for.—C.

† Rushworth, part iv., vol. i., p. 205.

could be no disturbance to the public; nor is it any excuse to say that very few suffered by it, because the law is still the same, and equally injurious to the natural rights of mankind.

Though 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 November 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 a uniformity in the Church of England; whereas the Directory gives liberty to ignorant, factious, and evil men to broach their own fancies and conceits, and utter those things in their long prayers which no conscientious man can assent to; and be the minister never so pious, it breaks in upon the uniformity of public service. And whereas this alteration is introduced by an ordinance of Parliament, inflicting penalties on offenders, which was never pretended to be in their power without our consent: now, lest our silence should be interpreted as a connivance in a matter so highly concerning the worship of God, and the established laws of the kingdom, we do therefore require and command all ministers in all cathedral and parish churches, and all other places of public 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 [or, more properly, Antipædobaptists] began to make a considerable figure, and spread themselves into several separate congregations. We have already distinguished the German Anabaptists from the English, who differed only from their Protestant brethren about the subject and mode of baptism; these were divided into general and particular, 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 Independent 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 Independent congregation about the year 1638, and set up for themselves, under the pastoral care of Mr. Jesse, as has been related; and having renounced their former baptism, they sent over one of their number [Mr. Blunt] to be immersed 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. Upon Mr. Blunt's return he baptized Mr. Blacklock, a teacher, and Mr. Blacklock dipped the rest of the society, to the number of fifty-three, in this present year, 1644. "Presuming upon the patience of the state," says Dr. 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, by William Kiffin, Thomas Patience, George Tipping, John Spilsbury, Thomas Sheppard, Thomas Munden, Thomas Gun, John Mabbet, 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 Dennis le Barbier and Christopher Durell, minister of the French congregation in London, of the same judgment.

Their confession consisted of fifty-two articles, and is strictly Calvinistical in the doctrinal part, and according to the Independent discipline; it confines the subject of baptism to grown Christians, and the mode to immersion; 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 conscionable, quiet, and harmless people (no way dangerous or troublesome to human society), and to labour to work with

* MS. *penes*.

† Dr. Featly was the author of the famous pamphlet entitled "The Dippers Dipped." Its tone and temper are none of the mildest, as may be judged from this extract. Rarely has more gall and malice been concentrated than in this now obsolete production. In wonderful contrast is the spirit of "the Confession of Faith" referred to. The superscription is, "To all that desire the lifting up of the name of the Lord Jesus in sincerity, the poor despised churches of God in London send greeting with prayers for their farther increase in the knowledge of Christ Jesus." This Confession is an admirable compend of sound doctrine, and appeared in 1644. A fac-simile edition is now in the press of W. D. Ticknor & Co., Boston.—C.

* Rushworth, part iv., vol. i., p. 207.

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: to show 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 anything that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should, in his strength, rather embrace all reproaches and tortures of men; to be stripped of all our outward comforts, and, if it were possible, to die a thousand deaths, rather than to do anything against the truth of God, or against the light of our own consciences. And if any shall call what we have said heresy, then do we with the apostle acknowledge, that after the way they call heresy so worship we the God of our fathers; disclaiming all heresies (rightly so called) because they are against Christ; and in desiring to be steadfast and immovable, always abounding in obedience to Christ, as knowing our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord."

When Dr. Featly had read this confession, he owned they were neither heretics nor schismatics, but tender-hearted Christians, upon whom, through false suggestions, the hand of authority had fallen heavy while the hierarchy stood.

The advocates of this doctrine were, for the most part, of the meanest of the people; their preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the country making proselytes of all who would submit to 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 enthusiastic fury against all that opposed 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 strengthened 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 incom-

parable parts, well versed in the Greek and Hebrew languages, and a most excellent disputant. He wrote several letters to Mr. Selden against infant baptism, and published a Latin exercitation upon the same subject, containing several arguments, which he represented 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, Gerec, Baxter, and others. The people of this persuasion were more exposed to the public resentments, because they would hold communion with none but such as had been dipped. All must pass under this cloud before they could be received into their churches; and the same narrow spirit prevails too generally among them even at this day.*

Besides the above-mentioned writers, the most eminent divines in the City of London, as Mr. Vines, Calamy, and others, preached vigorously against these doctrines, which they had a right to do, though 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 reckoned the Reverend Mr. Henry Denn, formerly ordained by the Bishop of St. David's, and possessed of the living of Pyeton, in Hertfordshire; Mr. Coppe, minister in Warwickshire, and some time 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 public 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, in 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 jail six months, signed a recantation, and was released. The recantation,‡ as entered in the committee's books, was in these words:

* On this opinion the editor would say nothing, though he could say much; he would refer his readers to the *Acts of the Apostles*.—C.

† Nothing, it is justly observed by Mr. Crosby, is more evident than that the most distinguished of the Presbyterian divines preached and wrote against toleration, and were strenuous advocates for the interference of the civil power to suppress what they deemed error. Mr. Baxter always freely avowed that "he abhorred unlimited liberty, or toleration of all." Dr. Lightfoot informed the House of Commons, in a sermon at St. Margaret's, Westminster, that though "he would not go about to determine whether conscience might be bound or not, yet, certainly, the devil in the conscience might be, yea, must be bound by the civil magistrate."—*Crosby's History of the English Baptists*, vol. i., p. 176. 178. *Robinson's History of Baptism*, p. 151.—Ed. (*Toulmin*).

‡ Every instance of a recantation which ecclesiastical history furnishes moves our pity and excites our indignation; our pity of the weakness and timidity from which it flows, and our indignation at the spirit of intolerance which can demand the sacrifice of principle and integrity. "Mr. Clarkson had not

* Baxter's Life, p. 102, 144.

† We refer the reader, for a more full account of the Baptists of this period, to the Supplement in vol. iii., where their history will be given in greater detail, and continued without interruption. Suffice it to say here, that Mr. Baxter, great and excellent as he was, had his weaknesses and prejudices, for which much allowance must be made. Severe as is what he says above of the Baptists, he speaks of them, at other times, with more candour and respect. As p. 140 of his Life: "For the Anabaptists themselves (though I have written and said so much against them), as I found most of them were persons of zeal in religion, so many of them were sober, godly people, and differed from others but in the point of infant baptism; or, at most, in the points of predestination, and free-will, and perseverance." It is to be regretted, on the ground of the justice due to this people, and even to Mr. Baxter, that Mr. Neal should have overlooked or omitted this testimony, so honourable to both.—Ed. (*Toulmin*).

"July 15, 1645.

"This day Lawrence Clarkson, formerly committed for an Anabaptist, and for dipping, does now, before the committee, disclaim his errors. And whereas formerly he said he durst not leave his dipping, if he might gain all the committee's 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 practice it again, if he might gain all the committee's estates by doing it. And that he makes this recantation not for fear, or to gain his liberty, but merely out of a sense of his error, wherein he will endeavour to reform others."

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 merely on account of religious principles, not inconsistent with the public peace, nor propagated in a riotous and tumultuous manner, is not to be justified on any pretence whatsoever; and it was the more inexcusable in this case, because Mr. Baxter admits* that the Presbyterian zeal was in a great measure the occasion of it.

Before we leave the Assembly for this year, it will be proper to take notice, that it was honoured with the presence of Charles Lewis, elector palatine of the Rhine, eldest son of Frederic, &c., king of Bohemia, who married King James's daughter, and lost his territories by the fatal battle of Prague in 1619. The unhappy Frederic died in 1632, and left behind him six sons 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 approve 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. Echard adds,† that the birth of King Charles II., in the year 1630, gave no great joy to the Puritans, because, as one of them declared, "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,

only been imprisoned six months, but all the intercession of his friends, though he had several, could not procure his release. The committee were unrelenting. Nay, though an order came down, either from a committee of Parliament or the chairman of it, to discharge him, yet they refused to obey it."—*Crosby's History of English Baptists*, vol. i., preface, p. 16.—Ed. (*Toulmin*).

* Baxter's Life, p. 103.

† History, p. 449.

served the king in his army, 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 myself much obliged to the Parliament for their favours, and my coming is to express in person what I have often done by letter, my sincere affections to them, and to take off such jealousies as either the actions of some of my relations, or the ill effects of what my enemies might by my absence cast upon me. My wishes* are constant for the good success of the great work you have undertaken, for a thorough reformation; and my desires are to be ruled and governed by your grave counsels."†

The Parliament ordered an apartment to be fitted up for the prince at Whitehall, and voted him £8000† a year for his maintenance, and £10,000 for his royal mother, till he should be restored 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, afterward married the Duke of Brunswick and Hanover, whose son, upon the decease of Queen Anne, succeeded to the crown of Great Britain, by the name of George I.; the numerous posterity of King Charles I. being set aside as papists, and thus the descendants of the Queen of Bohemia, electress-palatine, and daughter of King James I., came to inherit the imperial crown of these kingdoms, 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!

Religion was the fashion of the age: the Assembly was often turned into a house of prayer, and hardly a week passed 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 had proved ineffectual, 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, fruits, herbs, or goods of any sort be exposed to sale, or cried about the streets, upon penalty of forfeiting the goods. That no person without cause shall travel, or carry a burden, or do any worldly labour, upon penalty of ten shillings for the traveller, and five shillings for every burden.‡ 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

* Bishop Warburton thinks it apparent, from many circumstances, that the elector had his eye on the crown, matters being gone too far for the king and Parliament ever to agree.—Ed.

† Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 268.

‡ It was ordered October, 1645, but Dr. Grey quotes authority to prove that it was ill paid.—Vol. ii., *Appendix*, No. 50.—Ed.

§ Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 279.

|| "And for every offence in doing any worldly labour or work."—Ed.

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 twelvence for every offence. That all May-poles be pulled down, and none others erected. That if the several fines above mentioned cannot be levied, the offending party shall be set in the stocks for the space of three hours. That the king's declaration concerning lawful sports on the Lord's Day be called in, suppressed, and burned.

"This ordinance shall not extend to prohibit dressing meat in private families, or selling victuals in a moderate way in inns or victualling houses, for the use of such who cannot otherwise be provided for; nor to the crying of milk before nine in the morning, or after four in the afternoon."*

The solemn League and Covenant was in such high repute at this time,† that by an order of the House of Commons, January 29, 1634, it was appointed "that, on every fast-day and day of public humiliation, the Covenant should be publicly 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 public place of the church to be read." Which was done accordingly, and they continued there till the Restoration.‡

But that which occasioned the greatest disturbance over the whole nation, was an order of both houses relating to Christmas Day. Dr. Lightfoot says, the London ministers met together last year to consult whether they should preach on that day; and one of considerable name and authority opposed it, and was near prevailing with the rest, when the doctor convinced them so far of the lawfulness and expediency of it, that the question being 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:

"*Dic Jovis*, 19 Dec., 1644.

"Whereas some doubts have been raised 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 public notice be given, that the fast appointed to be kept the last Wednesday in every month ought to be observed, till it be otherwise ordered by both houses; and that this day in particular is to be kept with the more solemn humiliation, because it may call to remembrance our sins and the sins of our forefathers, 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."*

The Royalists raised loud clamours on account of the supposed impiety and profaneness of this transaction, as what had never before been heard of in the Christian world, though they could not but know that this, as well as other festivals, is of ecclesiastical appointment; † that there is no mention of the observation of Christmas in the first or second age of Christianity; that the Kirk of Scotland never observed it since the Reformation, except during the short reign of the bishops, and do not regard it at this day. Some of the most learned divines among the Presbyterians, as well as Independents, were in this sentiment. Mr. Edmund Calamy, in his sermon before the House of Lords 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 preferred 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 are 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 midsummer this year died Dr. Thomas Westfield, bishop of Bristol, born in the Isle of Ely, 1573, educated in Jesus College, Cambridge, and afterward Rector of Hornsey, and of St. Bartholomew the Great, London, and Archdeacon of St. Alban's. In the year 1641 he was advanced to the see of Bristol, which he accepted, though he had refused it, as is said, twenty-five years before.‡ He was a gentleman of great modesty, a good preacher, an 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 bishopric were detained, the committee ordered them to be restored, and gave him a pass to go to

* Scobell's Collect., p. 68.

† Dr. Grey gives various passages from the sermons of the day to prove in what extravagant estimation it was held, and to show what high encomiums were passed upon it.—Ed.

‡ Lond. Min. Test. to the Truth of Jesus, p. 26.

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 817.

† Dr. Grey says that the observation of Christmas was appointed by statute 5 and 6 Edward VI., c. iii.—Ed.

‡ Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 3.

Bristol to receive them, wherein they style him a person of great learning and merit. He died in possession of his bishopric, June 25, 1644, aged seventy-one, and composed his own epitaph, one line of which was,

Senio et mœrore confectus.
Worn out with age and grief.

And another,

Episcoporum infimus, peccatorum primus.
The least of bishops, the greatest of sinners.

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 looked awry on the Church. In his sermon before the Artillery Company, September 1, 1640, he maintained that, for the defence of religion and reformation of the Church, it was lawful to take up arms against the king, if it could be obtained no other way. For this he was forced to abscond till the beginning of the present Parliament. He was afterward 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 in the interest of his country.

CHAPTER V.

ABSTRACT OF THE TRIAL OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD, AND OF THE TREATY OF UXBRIDGE.

NEXT day, after the establishment of the Directory, Dr. William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, received sentence of death. He had been a prisoner in the Tower almost three years,* upon an impeachment of high treason by the House of Commons, without once petitioning for a trial, or so much as putting in his answer to the articles; however, as soon as the Parliament had united with the Scots, it was resolved to gratify that nation by bringing him to the bar; accordingly, Sergeant Wild was sent up to the House of Lords, October 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:

1. "That the archbishop had endeavoured to destroy the use of Parliaments, and to introduce an arbitrary government.

2. "That for ten years before the present Parliament, he had endeavoured to advance the council-table, the canons of the Church, and the king's prerogative, above law.

3. "That he had stopped writs of prohibition to stay proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, when the same ought to have been granted.

4. "That he had caused Sir John Corbet to be committed to the Fleet for six months, only for causing the petition of right to be read at the sessions.

5. "That judgment having been given in the Court of King's Bench against Mr. Burley, a clergyman of a bad character, for nonresidence, he had caused the judgment to be stayed, saying he would never suffer judgment to pass upon any clergyman by *nihil dicit*.

6. "That large sums of money having been contributed for buying in impropriations, the archbishop had caused the feoffments to be overthrown into 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 conformity, declaring thereby his intention to alter the true Protestant religion established in it.

9. "That after the dissolution of the last Parliament, he had caused a convocation to be held, in which sundry canons were made contrary to the rights and privileges of Parliament, and an illegal oath imposed upon the clergy, with certain penalties, commonly known by the *et cætera* 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 his answer in writing to the above-mentioned article in three weeks, which he did, taking no notice of the original ones.† The trial was put off from time to time, at the request of the prisoner, till September 16, when the archbishop appearing at the bar, and having kneeled some time, was ordered to stand, and 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 Sergeant Maynard rose 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 assigned him for that purpose. That it would be absurd in them to proceed on the additional articles, when there was no issue joined 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."

The archbishop says the Lords looked hard one upon another, as if they would ask where the mistake was, he himself saying nothing, but that his answer had not been called for.‡ His grace would have embarrassed them farther, by desiring them to hear his counsel, whether the articles were certain and particular enough

* Laud had become almost unthought of, and it would have been wise in the Long Parliament to have left him in seclusion.—C.

* Prynne's Complete History of the Trial of Archbishop Laud, p. 38.

† Ibid., p. 45.

‡ Wharton's History of Archbishop Laud's Troubles, p. 214, 215.

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 his peremptory answer to the original articles of the Commons by the 22d instant, which he did accordingly, to this effect:

“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 none of the persons excepted by the said act, nor are any of the offences charged upon this defendant excepted by the said act.

“And as to all the other articles, both original and 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 articles charged against him.”

The trial was deferred all the month of February, as the archbishop insinuates, because Mr. Prynne was not ready with his witnesses. When it came on, Lord Grey, of Werk, speaker of the House of Lords, was appointed president; but the archbishop complains that there were seldom more than sixteen or eighteen peers at a time. The managers for the Commons were Mr. Sergeant Wild, and Mr. Maynard, Mr. Brown, Mr. Nicolas, and 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. Hern, Mr. Hales, Mr. Chute, Mr. Gerard; and his solicitor was his own secretary, Mr. Dell. The trial was depending almost five months, in which time the archbishop was heard twenty days, with as much liberty and freedom of speech as could be reasonably desired. When he complained of the seizure of his papers,* the Lords ordered him a copy of all such as 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 £200. His counsel had free access to him at all times, and stood by to advise him during the whole of his trial.

The method of proceeding was this: 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 adjourned till 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 in the evening.

It is unhappy that this remarkable trial, which contains the chief heads of controversy between the Puritans and the hierarchy, was not published 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 keen and satirical reflections on his adversaries; but these being detached performances, I have endeavoured to reduce the most material passages into a proper method, without confining myself to the exact order of time in which the articles were debated.

All the articles may be reduced to these three general heads.

First, “That the archbishop had traitorously attempted and endeavoured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and to exalt the king's power above law.

Secondly, “That he had traitorously 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, “That he had traitorously 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, 1643–4, when Mr. Sergeant Wild, one of the managers of the House of Commons, opened the impeachment with a smart speech, in which he stated and 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, in his reply, endeavours to wipe off the aspersions that were cast upon him, in a laboured speech which he held in his hand. He says, “It was no less than a torment to him to appear in that place, and plead for himself on that occasion, because he was not only a Christian, but a clergyman, and, by God's grace, advanced to the greatest place this Church affords. He blessed God that he was neither ashamed to live nor afraid to die; that he had been as strict an observer of the laws of his country, both in public and private, as any man whatsoever; and as for religion, that he had been a steady member of the Church of England as established by law, which he had endeavoured to reduce to decency, uniformity, and beauty in the outward face of it; but he had been as far from 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 twen-

* Laud, on his first committal, had sent the key of his cabinet to Warner, bishop of Rochester, desiring him to burn or conceal such papers as might be prejudicial to his own interest or those of his friends. Warner was engaged for three hours at the task, and had only just completed it, when a messenger from the House of Lords came to seal up the cabinet. Among the documents carried off by Warner was the original Magna Charta. This valuable relic of antiquity was found among Warner's papers at his death. It was afterward presented to Bishop Burnet, and is now in the British Museum.—*Jesse's House of Stuart*, vol. ii., p. 389.—C.

* Wharton's History of Archbishop Laud's Troubles, p. 223.

ty-one persons whom he had converted from popery to the Protestant religion.

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 representative body of the nation.†

The next day [March 13] the managers for the Commons began to make good the first branch of their charge, to the following purpose, viz. :

"That the archbishop had traitorously attempted to subvert the rights of Parliament, and to exalt the king's power above the laws."

In support of which they produced, (1.) a passage out of his own diary, December 5, 1639. "A resolution was voted at the board to assist the king in extraordinary ways, if," says he, "the Parliament should prove peevish and refuse."

The archbishop replied, that this was the vote of the whole council-table, of which he was only a single member, and therefore could not be called his counsel. Besides, the words had relation to the troubles of Scotland, and are therefore included in 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 fostered by an ill nurse."‡

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 averred, "That he had said in council, that the king's proclamation was of as great force as an act of Parliament; and that he had compared the king to the stone spoken of in the Gospel, that whosoever falls upon it shall be broken, but upon whomsoever it falls it will grind him to powder."

The archbishop replied, that this was in the case of the soap business, twelve years ago, and thinks it impossible those words should be spoken by him; nor does he apprehend the gentlemen who press this evidence can believe it themselves, considering they are accusing him as a cunning delinquent. "So God forgive these

* Dr. Grey thinks that the severest expressions were justifiable in answer to so foul-mouthed an impeacher as Sergeant Wild, and that there was nothing in the bishop's speech unbecoming that great prelate to speak, or that assembly to hear.—Ed.

† "To give him his due," says Prynne, "he made as full, as gallant, as pithy a defence of so bad a cause, and spoke 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 anything (animated by his sealed pardon lying by him), as argued him rather obstinate than innocent, impudent than penitent, a far better orator, sophister, than Protestant or Christian, yea, truer son of the Church of Rome than of the Church of England."—*Canterbury's Doom*, p. 462.—C.

‡ *Laud's History*, p. 229–231. § *Ibid.*, p. 409.

men the falsehood 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 farther maintenance of this part of their charge, the managers produced "two speeches which his grace framed for the king to be spoken to the Parliament; and his majesty's answer to the remonstrance of the House of Commons in the year 1628, which was all written with the archbishop's own hand, and these words endorsed 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 his power is only from God, and to him only he is accountable for his actions; that never king was more jealous of his honour, or 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 behaved themselves, they should continue, or not be. When some of the members of Parliament had spoken freely against the Duke of Buckingham, they were by the king's command sent to the Tower; and his majesty coming to the House of Peers, tells them that he had thought fit to punish some insolent speeches lately spoken against the duke, for I am so sensible of all your honours, (says he), that he that touches any of you, touches me in a very great measure. Farther, when the Parliament was dissolved in the year 1628, a proclamation was published, together with the above-mentioned remonstrance, in which his majesty declares, that since his Parliament was not so dutiful as they ought to be, he was resolved to live without them, till those who had interrupted his proceedings should receive condign punishment, 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."†

The archbishop replied, that he did indeed make the above-mentioned speeches, being commanded to the service, and followed his instructions as close as he could. As for the smart passages complained of, he hopes they will not be thought such when it is considered whose mouth was to utter them, and upon what occasion. However; if they be, he is heartily sorry for them, and humbly desires they may be passed by. The answer to the remonstrance was drawn by his majesty's command, as appears by the endorsement; and the severe passages objected to were in his instructions. When a Parliament errs, may not their king tell them of it? Or must every passage in his answer be sour that pleases not?‡

The managers proceeded to produce some other passages tending more immediately to

* *Laud's History*, p. 234.

† *King's Speeches*, March 27, 29, and May 11.

‡ *Laud's Hist.*, p. 230, 403, 404, 406.

subvert the rights of Parliament; and among others, they insisted on these three:

1. "That the archbishop had said at the council-table, after the ending of the late Parliament, that 'now the king might make use of his own power.' This was attested by Sir Harry Vane the elder, who was a privy councillor, and then present."

The archbishop replied, that he did not remember the words; that if he did speak them, they were not treasonable; or if they were, he ought to have been tried within six months, according to the statute 1 Eliz., cap. vi. That Sir Henry Vane was only 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 remembered, 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 save 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 1 Eliz., cap. i., 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 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 farther. The archbishop added, that, in his opinion, it was the prerogative of the Church alone to determine truth and falsehood, though the power of making laws for the punishment of erroneous persons was in the Parliament, with the assent of the clergy.† Indeed, the king and Parliament may, by their absolute power, change Christianity into Turkism if they please, and the subjects that cannot obey must fly, or endure the penalty of the law; but of right they cannot do this without the Church. Thus the Parliament, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by absolute power abolished 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, as 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.

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.'"

The archbishop was so provoked with the oath of the witness who gave this in evidence [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 license, 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 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, cannot subsist. As to the last words, of his rescinding those acts that were against the canons, he is morally certain he could not utter them; nor does he believe any man that knows him will believe him such a fool as to say he hoped to see the canons and the king's prerogative of equal force with an act of Parliament, since he has lived to see sundry canons rejected, and the king's prerogative discussed by law, neither of which can be done by any judges to an act of Parliament. However, if such words should have escaped him, he observes there is only 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 the archbishop, which was his design "to subvert the fundamental temporal laws of the kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary government against law and the liberty of the subject." In maintenance whereof, they alleged "his illegal pressures of tonnage and poundage without act of Parliament, ship-money, coat and conduct money, soap-money, &c., and his commitment of divers persons to prison for nonpayment; for a proof of which there appeared, among others, three aldermen, viz., Aldermen Atkins, Chambers, and Adams."

The archbishop confessed that, as to the business of ship-money, he was zealous in that affair, yet not with an intent to violate the law, for though this was before judgment given for the king, it was after the judges had declared the legality of it under their hands, and he thought he might safely follow such guides. He was likewise of opinion that tonnage and poundage, coat and conduct money, were lawful on the king's part; that he was led into this opinion by the express judgment of some lords present, and by the silence of others, none of the great lawyers at the table contradicting it; however, that it was the common act of the council-table, and, therefore, all were as culpable as himself; and he was sure this could not

* Laud's History, p. 231.

† Ibid., p. 401.

* Laud's History, p. 236, 937.

† Can., 77, 79.

amount to treason, except it were against the three aldermen, Atkins, Chambers, and Adams.*

They objected, farther, "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 shopkeepers were forcibly turned 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 £50 for noncompliance; and when he pleaded the statute of the 39th of Elizabeth, the archbishop replied, 'Do you plead law here? either abide the order, or take your trial at the Star Chamber.' When Mr. Wakern had £100 allowed him for the pulling down his house, he was soon after fined £100 in the High Commission Court for profanation, of which he paid thirty.†

This the archbishop admitted, and replied to the rest, that he humbly and heartily thanked God that he was counted worthy to suffer for the repair of St. Paul's, which had cost him out of his own purse above £1200. As to the grievances complained of, there was a composition allotted for the sufferers, by a committee named by the Lords, not by him, which amounted to 8 or £9000 before they could come at the church to repair it; so that, if anything 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 recompense made them, whereas, in King James's time, when a commission was issued for demolishing these very houses, no care was taken for satisfaction of any private man's interest; and I cannot forbear to add, says the archbishop, that the bishop, and dean, and chapter did ill in giving way to these buildings, to increase 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 warrant 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 III.'s time. As to the brewhouse, the archbishop owned that he had said to the proprietor that he must seal a bond of £3000 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 brewhouse. The like answer he made to the charge about the goldsmiths' shops, namely, that it was the order of council, and it was thought to be for the beauty and grandeur of the city, and he did apprehend the

council had a right to command 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 show that we sat not there as judges of the law, but to offer his majesty's grace by way of composition to them who 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. The Commons replied, with great reason, that no commission from the king could justify the pulling down men's houses, or oblige them to part with their estates without act of Parliament.

The managers objected farther to the archbishop, "several illegal commitments, and exorbitant fines and censures in the Star Chamber and High Commission Court, as in the cases of Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, Huntley, and others; and that when the persons aggrieved brought prohibitions, he threatened to lay them by the heels, saying, 'Does the king grant us power, and are we then prohibited? Let us go and complain: I will break the back of prohibitions, or they shall break mine.' Accordingly, several persons were actually imprisoned for delivering prohibitions, as was testified by many witnesses; nay, Mr. Wheeler swore 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."

The archbishop replied, that the fines, imprisonments, and other censures complained of, were the acts of the several courts that directed them, and not his. That the reason why several persons were imprisoned for prohibitions, was because they delivered them in court in an unmannerly way, throwing them on the table, or handing them over the heads of others on a stick, to the affront of the court; notwithstanding which, as many prohibitions had been admitted in his time as in his predecessors'; and 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, while the bishops' courts were kept under a foreign power, whereas now all power exercised in spiritual courts, as well as in temporal, is for the king. As to the words in 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, more than 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 farther, "the archbishop's taking undue gifts, and, among others, his receiving two butts of sack, in a cause of some Chester men, whom it was in his power to relieve, by mitigating the fine set on them in the High Commission, and taking several large sums of money by way of composition for fines

* Laud's History, p. 232-234.

† Ibid., p. 235, 244, 246, 265.

* Laud's History, p. 270, 271, 273, 274.

in the High Commission Court, making use of the method of commutation, by virtue of a patent obtained from the king, which took away all opportunity from his majesty of doing justice and showing mercy to his poor subjects, and invested the archbishop with the final determination."

His grace heard this part of his charge with great resentment and impatience. "If I would have had anything to do in the base, dirty business of bribery," says he, "I needed not be in such want as I am now." As to the sack,* he protested, as he should answer it to God, that he knew nothing of it, and offered to confirm it by his oath, if it might be admitted. He declared that, when his steward told him of Mr. Stone's design, he absolutely forbade his receiving it, or anything from any man who 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. Afterward, when his steward acquainted him that the sack was brought in, he commanded it should be carried back; but Mr. Stone entreated that he might not be so disgraced, and protested he did not do it on the account of the Chester business, though after this he went home and put it on their account; for which they complained to the House of Commons, and produced Mr. Stone for their witness. The archbishop observes, that Mr. Browne, in summing up his charge, did him justice in this particular, for neither to the Lords nor Commons did he so much as mention it.

As to the other sums of money which he received, by way of composition or otherwise, for fines in the High Commission, he said that he had the broad seal from the king for applying them to the repairing the west end of St. Paul's, for the space of ten years, which broad seal was then in the hands of Mr. Holford, and was on record to be seen. And all fines in the High Commission belonging to the crown, his majesty had a right to give them to what use he pleased; that as for himself, he thought it his duty to get as much money for so good a work as he could, even by way of commutation for certain crimes; which method of pecuniary commutations was according to law, and the ancient custom and practice of this kingdom, especially where men of quality were offenders, and he had applied no part of them 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,

* Dr. Grey charges Mr. Neal with not giving the whole truth here, and with being cautious not to produce too many things in favour of the archbishop. The editor, not having Laud's History, cannot ascertain the truth or candour of this charge.—Ed.

the offering up the regalia on the altar, without any rubric or direction for these things, and inserting the following charge, taken verbatim out of the Roman pontifical: 'Stand, and hold fast, from henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us, and all the bishops and servants of God; and as you see the clergy come nearer the altar than others, so remember, that in place convenient you give them greater honour, that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne, to be the mediator between the clergy and the laity, and that you may reign forever with Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth forever. Amen.'"

The archbishop replied, that he did not insert the words above mentioned into the coronation oath, they being 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; and if this be not the meaning, yet he avers, that the clause was in the coronation oath of King James. As to the other alterations, they were 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 his predecessor crowned and anointed the king; indeed, he supplied the place of the Dean of Westminster, and was obliged to look after the regalia, and 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 from the pontifical by him, for it was used at King James's coronation, and being a good one, it is 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.*

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 justices of peace into the High Commission, for holding the sessions at Tewkesbury in the

* Laud's Hist., p. 318. Prynne, p. 475.

churchyard, being consecrated ground, though they had license 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 churchyard. And a fifth was, that he had caused certain church-wardens to be prosecuted for executing the warrant of a justice of peace upon an alehouse-keeper.*

The archbishop replied in general, that he never attempted to bring the temporal power under the clergy, nor to free the clergy from being under it; but this he confessed, that he had laboured to preserve the clergy from some laymen's oppressions, for *vis laica* has been an old and a just complaint; and this I took to be my duty, says he, assuring myself that God did not raise me to that place of eminence to sit still, and see his ministers discountenanced and trampled upon. To the first particular he replied, that it was an order of council, and therefore not his: but it was a reasonable one, for the sword was not submitted to any foreign or home power, but to God only, and that in the place and at the performance of his holy worship, at which time and place kings submit themselves, and therefore cannot insist upon the emblems of their power. To the second and third examples he replied, that he saw no treason or 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 anything in it that looks towards treason. To the prosecuting the church-wardens he answered, that those statutes concerned alehouse-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.

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 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."†

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 complained 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 licenses 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 condemned the canons, since their lordships would not suffer him to debate the justice and equity of it, he could only reply, that all these canons were made in open and full convocations, and are acts of that body, and cannot be ascribed to him, though president of that synod, so by me (says the archbishop) they were not made.*

These were the principal evidences produced by the Commons, in maintenance of the first branch of their charge, viz., his grace's endeavours to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the fundamental temporal laws of the kingdom. From whence it is easy to observe that, besides the sharpness of the archbishop's temper, there are three capital mistakes which run through this part of his defence.

1. A groundless supposition, that where the law is silent, the prerogative takes place; and that, in all such cases, a proclamation, or 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 oppressed 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 is supposed to be the act of the whole body, and not of any particular member.† According to which way of reasoning, the Constitution might be destroyed, 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 brewhouse or an alderman, or the like; though he was told over and over, by the managers for the Commons, that they did not object these things to him as so many treasonable acts, but as proofs and evidences of one general charge, which was, a traitorous 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.

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 traitorously endeavoured and practised to alter and subvert God's true religion by law established in this realm, and, instead thereof, to set up popish superstition and idolatry, and to reconcile us to the Church of Rome."

This was divided into two branches:

1st. "His introducing and practising certain popish innovations and superstitious ceremonies

* Laud's Hist., p. 293.

† Ibid., p. 287, 292.

* Laud's History, p. 292.

† Ibid., p. 437.

nies, not warranted by law, nor agreeable to the practice of the Church of England since the Reformation.

2dly. "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 :

(1.) "His countenancing the setting up of images in churches, church-windows, and other places of religious worship. That, in his own chapel at Lambeth, he had repaired the popish paintings on the windows, that had been destroyed at the Reformation, and made up the history of Christ crucified between two thieves ; of his rising out of the grave ; of his ascension into heaven ; of the Holy Ghost descending in form of a dove ; of Christ raising Lazarus out of the grave ; and of God himself raining down manna from heaven ; of God's giving the Law to Moses on Mount Sinai ; of fire descending from heaven at the prayer of Elisha ; of the Holy Ghost overshadowing the Virgin, &c., all taken from the Roman missal, with several superstitious mottoes and inscriptions. That he had caused divers crucifixes to be set up in churches over the communion-table, in his chapel at Lambeth, at Whitehall, and at the University at 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 bowed and did reverence as they went along the streets, which could not be done without his allowance ; nay, so zealous was this prelate," say the managers, "in defence of images, that he procured Mr. Sherfield to be sentenced in the Star Chamber, for defacing a church-window in or near Salisbury, because there was an image in it of God the Father ; all of which is contrary to the statute of the 3d and 4th of Edward VI., and the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, which enjoin all pictures, paintings, images, and other monuments of idolatry and superstition to be destroyed, so as that there remain no memory of them in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere, within any church or house."*

The archbishop answered in general, that crucifixes and images in churches were not simply unlawful ; that they were in use in Constantine's time, and long before, and therefore there could be no popery in them. Tertullian says they had the picture of Christ engraven on their chalice in form of a shepherd carrying home a lost sheep ; and even Mr. Calvin allows an historical use of images, *Instit.*, lib. i., cap. xi., sect. xii. "Neque tamen ea superstitione teneor ut nullas prorsus imagines ferandas censeam, sed quia sculptura et pictura, Dei dona sunt, purum et legitimum utriusque usum requiro." The archbishop appealed likewise to the Homilies, p. 64, 65, for an historical use of images ; but if it should be granted, says he, that they are condemned 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.*

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 of 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.‡ 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 ; it is not, therefore, certain that it was the image of God the Father ; but if it was, yet Mr. Sherfield ought not to have defaced it but by command of authority, though it had been an idol of Jupiter ; the orders of the vestry, which Mr. Sherfield pleads, being nothing at all without the bishop of the diocese.§ The statute of Edward VI. has nothing to do with images in glass windows ; the words of the statute are, "Any images of stone, timber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved, or painted, taken out of any church, &c., shall be 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.¶ Lactantius says there can be no religion in a place where any image is. Epiphanius rent in pieces an image painted on cloth, which he found in a church, out of holy indignation. All the ancient councils are against images in churches ; and many godly emperors cast them out after they began to be in use in 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 wrote 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 forbidden it. But the homilies are so express that they wonder the archbishop can men-

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

† *Prynne*, p. 462.

‡ *Laud's History*, p. 329.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

¶ *Prynne*, p. 463-465.

* *Prynne's Cant. Doom*, p. 157, 462, &c.

tion 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 observed farther, that the archbishop had confessed the particulars of this part of their charge, and had only excused himself as to the University of Oxford, though they conceive it impossible he could be ignorant of those innovations, being chancellor and visiter, and having entertained the king, queen, and elector-palatine there for many 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.

(2.) Another popish innovation charged on the archbishop was "his superstitious manner of consecrating chapels, churches, and churchyards; 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 finished in Bishop Mountaine's time, Divine service and administration of sacraments having been performed in it three or four years before his death; but no sooner was the archbishop translated to the See of London, than 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, farther, 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 promoting annual revels, or feasts of dedication, on the Lord's Day, in several parts of the country, whereby that holyday was profaned, and the people encouraged in superstition and ignorance."

The archbishop answered to the consecration of churches, that the practice was as ancient as Moses, who consecrated the tabernacle, with all its vessels and ornaments; that the temple was afterward consecrated by King Solomon; that as soon as Christian churches began to be built, in the reign of Constantine the Great, they were consecrated, as Eusebius testifies concerning the Church of Tyre, in his Ecclesiastical History, lib. x., cap. iii., and so it has continued down to the present time. Besides, if churches were not consecrated, they would not be holy; nor does Archbishop Parker speak against consecrations in general, but

against popish consecrations, which mine were not, says the archbishop, for I had them from Bishop Andrews.*

As to the manner of consecrating Creed Church, St. Giles's, &c., his grace confessed that when he came to the church door, that passage in the Psalms was read, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, even lift them up, ye everlasting doors, that the King of glory may come in;"† that he kneeled and bowed at his entrance into the church, as Moses and Aaron did at the door of the tabernacle; that he declared the place holy, and made use of a prayer like one in the Roman pontifical; that afterward 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 sworn 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's sake, and for the honour of their memories, says his grace, has been very ancient, as appears in St. Austin, and divers others of the fathers; but the dedication, strictly speaking, is only to God; nor is the observing the annual feasts of dedication less ancient; the feast of the dedication of the temple was observed in our Saviour's time, and though, no doubt, 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.

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 a holiness in the altar which sanctifies the gift, which it could not do, except itself were 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 a 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.

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

* Laud's History, p. 339, 340. Prynne, p. 115.

† The archbishop alleged that this place of Scripture had been anciently used in consecrations, and that it referred not to the bishop, but to the true King of glory.—*Dr. Grey*.—*Ed.* † Prynne, p. 498.

‡ Laud's Hist., p. 269. ¶ Laud's Hist., p. 313.

* Peril of Idol., p. 41–43.

† Prynne, p. 113, 114, 497.

the high-priest; but we read of no other consecrating the tabernacle and its utensils, but anointing them with oil, for which Moses had an express command; nor of any other consecrating the temple, but of Solomon's making an excellent prayer in the outward court, not in the temple itself, and of his hallowing the middle court by offerings and peace-offerings; and it is 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, it is 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 credible authority for consecrating churches for three hundred years.† Eusebius, in his 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. xlv. Here were no processions, no knocking at the doors by the bishop, crying "Open, ye everlasting doors;" nor casting dust or ashes into the air, and pronouncing the ground holy; no reverencing towards the altar, nor a great many other inventions of latter 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 is plain to a demonstration, that the archbishop's method of consecrating churches is a modern popish invention; for it is agreed by Gratian, Platina, the centuriators, and others, that Pope Hyginus, Gelasius, Sylvester, Felix, and Gregory, were the first inventors and promoters of it; and it is nowhere to be found but in the Roman pontifical, published by command of Pope Clement VIII., *De Ecclesiæ Dedicacione*, 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, chap. 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. 85-87.‡

But the archbishop says, if churches are not consecrated they cannot be holy, whereas many places that were never consecrated are styled holy, as "the most holy place," and the "holy city Jerusalem;" and our homilies say, that the Church is called holy, not of itself, but because God's people resorting thither are holy, and exercise themselves in holy things; and it is evident that sanctification, when applied to places,

is nothing else but a separating them from common use to a religious and sacred one, which may be done without the superstitious method above mentioned; and though the archbishop avers he had not his form of consecration from the Roman pontifical, he acknowledges he had it from Bishop Andrews, who could have it nowhere else.*

As for consecrating altars, pattens, chalices, altar cloths, and other altar furniture, their original is no higher than the Roman missal and pontifical, in both which there are particular chapters and set forms of prayer for this purpose; but to imagine that these vessels may not be reputed holy, though separated to a 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 Maccabeus, to be kept annually by the space of eight days (1 Macc., 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., anno 1536, restrained them all to the first Sunday in October, not to be kept on any other day; and afterward, by the statute, 5 and 6 Edward VI., cap. iii., of holydays, they were totally abolished. 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, published an order for suppressing them; but was obliged the next year as publicly to revoke it, and to declare such recreations to be lawful; and as a farther punishment on the judge, the archbishop obtained his removal from that circuit. It is very certain that at these revels there were a great many disorders, as drunkenness, quarrelling, fornication, and murder; it is therefore very unlikely they should answer any good purpose, and how fit they were to succeed the public devotions of the Lord's Day, we shall leave to your lordships' consideration.

(3.) The managers charged the archbishop farther "with giving orders to Sir Nath. Brent, his vicar-general, to enjoin the church-wardens of all parish churches within his diocese, that they should remove the communion-table from the middle of the chapel to the upper end, and

* Prynne, p. 115, 499, &c.

† *Ibid.*, p. 501.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 115-117.

* Prynne, p. 502.

† *Ibid.*, p. 65, &c.; 467, 470.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

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 predecessor's time; and to the *credentia*, or side-table, in conformity to the Roman ceremonial, 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.*

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 who are acquainted with antiquity know was at the east end of the chancel, with the ends north and south, close to the wall, and thus they were usually placed both in this and other churches of Christendom; the innovation, therefore, was theirs who departed from the injunctions, and not mine, who have kept to them. Besides, altars, both name and thing, were in use in the primitive churches long before popery began; yea, they are to be found both in the Old and New Testament; and that there can be no popery in railing them in, I have proved in my speech in the Star Chamber. However, I aver that I gave no orders nor directions to Sir Nath. Brent, my vicar-general, neither by letter nor otherwise, to remove or rail in communion-tables in all parish churches; and I desire Sir Nath. may be called to testify the truth upon his oath. Sir Nath. being sworn, the archbishop asked him upon his oath, whether he had ever given him such orders. To which he replied, "My lords, upon the oath I have taken, I received an express direction and command from the archbishop himself to do what I did of this kind, otherwise I durst never have done it."† The archbishop insisting that he never gave him such orders, and wondering 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-table 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 Andrews's model; and the piece

of arras that was hung up over the altar in Passion-week he apprehended was very proper for the place and occasion, such representations being approved by the Lutherans, and even by Calvin himself, as had been already shown.

The managers replied to the antiquity of altars, that though the name is often mentioned in Scripture, yet it is never applied to the Lord's Table; but altars, and priests are put in opposition to the Lord's Table and ministers of the New Testament, 1 Cor., ix., 13, 14. Christ himself celebrated the sacrament at a table, not at an altar, and he calls it a supper, not a sacrifice; nor can it be pretended by any law or canon of the Church of England, that it is called an altar more than once, stat. 1, Edw. VI., cap. i., which statute was repealed within three years, and another made, in which the word altar is changed into table. It is 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 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 septuor 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 public laws and injunctions at the Reformation, and tables were set up in their stead, which continued till the archbishop was pleased to turn them again into altars.

But the archbishop is pleased to maintain that the queen's injunctions prescribe the communion-table to be set in the place where the altar stood, and that this was anciently at the east end of the choir; whereas, we affirm that he is not able to produce one precedent or authority in all antiquity for this assertion; on the contrary, we are able to demonstrate to your lordships, that altars and Lord's tables, among Jews and Christians, stood anciently in the midst of their churches or choirs,‡ where the people might sit, stand, and go conveniently round them. So it was certainly in the Jewish Church, as every one allows; and it was so in the Christian Church till the very darkest times of popery, when private masses were introduced.§ Eusebius, Dionysius Areopagita, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Augustine, &c., affirm that

* Prynne, p. 480, 481.

† Ibid., p. 62.

‡ Choir or chorus has its denomination from the multitude standing round about the altar [*in modum coronæ*] in the form of a ring or circle. In the ancient liturgies they prayed for all those that stood round about the altar. The priest and deacons stood round about the altar when they officiated, and so did the bishops when they consecrated it.

§ Prynne, p. 482, 484. Vide Bishop Williams's Life, p. 109.

* Prynne, p. 62, 91, &c. † Laud's Hist., p. 310.

‡ Prynne, p. 89.

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 it is 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 within the chancel, as where-by the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants, and the communicants may more conveniently, and in greater numbers, communicate with him. Now, if it be to be removed at the time of communion, it is absurd to suppose it to be fixed to the wall, and encompassed with rails. Besides, the rubric of the Common Prayer Book, and the eighty-second canon of 1603, appoint the communion-table to be placed in the body of the church, where the chancel is too small, or near the middle of the chancel, where it is large enough ; and thus they generally stood in all churches, chapels, and in Lambeth Chapel itself, till the archbishop's time, which puts the matter out of question.* And if it be remembered that the saying of private masses brought in this situation of altars into the Church of Rome, contrary to all antiquity, the archbishops imitating them in that particular must certainly be a popish innovation.

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, trindals, 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.

The like may be said of the *credentia* [or side-table], which is taken expressly out of the Roman Ceremoniale and Pontifical, and is used among the papists only in their most solemn masses. It was never heard of in any Protestant church, or 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 nowhere else but from the Roman missal. †

The arras hangings, with the picture of Christ at his last supper, with a crucifix, are no less popish than the former, being enjoined by the Roman Ceremoniale, edit. Par., 1633, lib. i., cap. xii., p. 69, 70, in these words : " Quod si altare parieti adhæreat, applicari poterit ipsi parieti supra altare pannus aliquis cæteris nobilior

et speciosior, ubi intextæ sint D.N. Jesu Christi, aut gloriosæ Virginis, vel sanctorum imagines." " If the altar be fixed to the wall, let there be hangings more noble and beautiful than the rest fastened upon the wall over the altar, in which are wrought the images of Christ, the blessed Virgin, or the saints." Besides, these things being condemned by our statutes, homilies, and injunctions, as we have already proved, ought not certainly to have been introduced by a prelate, who challenges all that is between heaven and hell justly to tax him in any one particular of favouring popish superstition or idolatry.

" Another innovation charged on the archbishop was his introducing divers superstitions into Divine worship, as bowing towards the altar, bowing at the name of Jesus, enjoining people to do reverence at their entrance into church, reading the sacred service at the communion-table, standing up at the *Gloria Patri*,* and introducing the use of copes and church music. They objected, farther, his repairing old crucifixes, his new statutes of the University of Oxford, among which some were arbitrary, and others were superstitious : of the former sort are the imposing new oaths ; the statute of banishment ; referring some misdemeanors to arbitrary penalties, and obliging students to go to prison on the vice-chancellor's or proctor's command. Of the latter sort, are bowing to the altar, singing the litany, and reading Latin prayers in Lent ; together with the above-mentioned superstitions in the manner of Divine worship." †

The archbishop answered, that bowing in Divine worship was practised among the Jews (2 Chron. xxix., 29) ; and the Psalmist says, " O come, let us worship and bow down ; let us kneel before the Lord our Maker" (Psalm xcvi., 6) : that it was usual in Queen Elizabeth'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 it is only, This is my word. And shall I bow to men in each house of Parliament, and not bow to God in his house, whither I come to worship him ? Surely I must worship God and bow to him, though neither altar nor communion-table be in the church. †

Bowing at the name of Jesus is prescribed in direct terms by Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, No. 12, and by the eighteenth canon of our Church ; and, though standing up at the *Gloria Patri* is not prescribed by any canon of the Church, it is 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 rubric.

The use of copes is prescribed by the twenty-fourth canon of 1603, which says, " that in all cathedrals and collegiate churches, the com-

* " It is observable," remarks Mrs. Macaulay, " that the most obnoxious of those ceremonies which Laud so childishly insisted on were established at the Restoration, and have been ever since regularly practised in the Church ; and that many of his most offensive measures have been adopted by revolution ministers, such as the nominating clergymen to be justices of peace, with restraints laid on marriage." — *History of England*, vol. iv., p. 135, the note.—Ed.
† Prynne, p. 72, &c. † Laud's Hist., p. 313, 361.

* Prynne, p. 467, 451.

† Prynne, p. 63, 468.

munion shall be administered 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 used of.

As to the statutes of the University of Oxford, it is honour, more than enough for me, that I have finished and settled them; nor did I anything 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.*

The managers replied, that bowing to the altar is popish, superstitious, and idolatrous, being prescribed only by popish canons, and introduced on purpose to support the doctrine of transubstantiation, which the archbishop's practice seems very much to countenance, when, at his coming up to the altar to consecrate the bread, he makes three low bows, and at his going away three more, giving this reason for it, "Quia hoc est corpus meum," "Because this is my body;" whereas he does not bow to the pulpit, because a greater reverence is due to the body than to the Word of the Lord.† Besides, it has no foundation in antiquity, nor has it been approved by any Protestant writers, except the archbishop's creatures, such as Dr. Heylin, Pocklington, &c., and has been condemned by the best writers, as popish and superstitious. The black book of the knights of the garter, at Windsor, is a sorry precedent for a Protestant archbishop to follow, being made in the darkest times of popery, viz., in the reign of Henry V.; and if they bow, *Deo et altari*, to God and to his altar, as the archbishop in the Star Chamber is of opinion Christians ought to do, we cannot 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*, which must therefore be an innovation, and is of no greater antiquity than the office of the mass, for it is derived from the *Ordo Romanus*, as appears from the works of Cassander, p. 98.‡ And, though bowing at the name of Jesus be mentioned in the canons, yet these canons are not binding, not being confirmed by Parliament,§ especially since the homilies, the Common Prayer Book, the Articles of Religion, and the Book of Ordination, which are the only authentic rules of the Church, make no mention of it; nor was it ever introduced before the time of Pope Gregory X., who first prescribed it; and from the Councils of Basil, Sennes, and Augusta, it was afterward inserted in the Roman Ceremoniale; besides,

our best Protestant writers have condemned the practice.

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, the rubric in the Common Prayer Book, and was never practised in parish churches till of late, though used in some cathedrals, where the rubric enjoins the communion to be administered every Sunday in the year, which, being omitted, the second service at the table was left to supply it. The Lord's Table was ordained only to administer the sacrament, but the Epistle and Gospel, which are the chief parts of the second service, are appointed to be read with the two lessons in the reading pew.*

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, though they are evidently derived from the popish wardrobe, and the last Common Prayer Book of King Edward VI. expressly prohibits them.† The twenty-fourth canon of 1603 enjoins only the chief minister to wear a cope at the administration of the sacrament, whereas the archbishop prescribed them to be worn by others besides the chief minister, and as well when the sacrament was not administered as when it was. But, as we observed before, those canons not being confirmed by Parliament, expired with King James, and there can be no warrant for their present use. Nor is the use of music in churches, or chanting of prayers, of any great antiquity, being first introduced by Pope Vitalian, A.D. 666, and encouraged only by popish prelates.‡

And though the archbishop pleads that the statutes of Oxford are agreeable to ancient custom and usage, we affirm they contain sundry innovations, not only with regard to the liberty of the subject, but with regard to religion, for Latin prayers were formerly said only on Ash-Wednesdays before the bachelors of arts, whereas now none others are to be said throughout all Lent; the statute for singing in solemn processions was made in time of popery, and renewed in these statutes to keep up the practice of such superstitious perambulations; and though the archbishop with his wonted assurance wonders what these things have to do with treason, we apprehend that if they appear so many proofs of a design to subvert the es-

* Prynne, p. 492.

† Ibid., p. 64, 479, 480.

‡ Ibid., p. 65.

§ Mrs. Macaulay thinks that to the charge of endeavouring to subvert the established religion, and to set up popish superstition and idolatry, the archbishop was particularly strong in his defence, and the allegations to support the charge were particularly vague and trifling. "The truth is," as that author observes, "those superstitious ceremonies which he with so much blind zeal had endeavoured to revive, and which were so justly ridiculed and abhorred by the more enlightened Protestants, were the discipline of the first Reformers in this country, and had the sanction both of the civil and ecclesiastical power: reformation had begun in England at the wrong end; it was first adopted and modelled by government, instead of being forced upon government by the general sense of the people; and thus, to further the ambitious views of the monarch, and to gratify the pride of the prelacy, a great part of the

* Laud's History, p. 304.

† Prynne, p. 63, 64, 474, 477, 487. ‡ Ibid., p. 64.

§ Dr. Grey contends here, that the canons of a convocation duly licensed by the king, when confirmed by royal authority, are properly the ecclesiastical laws of the Church of England, and are as binding as the statutes of Parliament.—Ed.

established religion of the Church of England, they will be judged so in the highest degree.”*

Farther, they charged the archbishop with advising the king “to publish his declaration for the use of sports on the Lord’s Day, in order to suppress afternoon sermons; with obliging the clergy of his diocese to read it in their pulpits, and punishing those that refused.”†

The archbishop answered, that he had the king’s warrant for printing the Book of Sports; that there is no proof that it was by his procurement, nor that it was done on purpose to take away afternoon sermons, since these recreations are not allowed till they are over; besides, the declaration allows only lawful recreations, which is no more than is practised at Geneva, though, for his own part, he always observed strictly the Lord’s Day. What he enjoined about 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 archbishop’s letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, that the declaration was printed by his procurement, the warrant for printing it being written all with his own hand, and without date, and, therefore, might probably be obtained afterward; § moreover, some of the recreations mentioned in it are unlawful on the Lord’s Day, according to the opinion of the fathers, councils, and imperial laws; and though Calvin differs from our Protestant writers about the morality of the Sabbath, yet he expressly condemns dancing and pastimes on that day. As for his grace’s own strict observation of the Lord’s Day, it is 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 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 inquiry 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.

The reader will, no doubt, remark upon this

mystery of popery was retained in the doctrine, and a great part of the puppet-shows of the papists in the discipline, of the Church of England.”—*History of England*, vol. iv., p. 135.—Ed.

* Prynne, p. 478.

† *Ibid.*, p. 128, 151, 382.

‡ *Laud’s Hist.*, p. 343, 344.

§ Prynne, p. 505.

part of the archbishop’s trial, that those rites and ceremonies which have bred such ill blood, and been contended for with so much fierceness as to disturb the peace of the Church and divide its communion, have no foundation in Scripture or primitive antiquity, taking their rise, for the most part, in the darkest and most corrupt times of the papacy. I speak not here of such rites as are established by law, as the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the communion, &c., because the Commons could not charge these on the archbishop as criminal. And it will be observed farther, that when men claim a right to introduce ceremonies for decency of worship, and impose them upon the people, there can be no bounds to a fruitful invention. Archbishop Laud would, no doubt, by degrees, have introduced all the follies of the Roman Church; and admitting his authority to impose rites and ceremonies not mentioned in Scripture, it is not easy to give a reason why fifty should not be enjoined as well as five.

The managers went on next to the second branch of their charge, to prove the archbishop’s design to subvert the Protestant religion by countenancing and encouraging sundry doctrinal errors in favour of Arminianism* and popery.

And here they charged him, first, “with being the great patron of that part of the clergy who had declared themselves in favour of these errors, and with procuring their advancement to the highest stations in the Church, even though they were under censure of Parliament, as Dr. Manwaring, Montague, &c. They averred that the best preferments in his majesty’s gift, ever since the archbishop’s administration in 1627, had, by his advice, been bestowed 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 stopped, and some that ventured to transgress the king’s declaration were punished in the High Commission, when their adversaries were left at large to spread their opinions at their pleasure.”

The archbishop answered, that he had not

* The reader has seen, in the preceding part of this reign, and in that of James I., how Arminianism became connected with the politics of the time. There is no natural or necessary union between Arminianism and despotism. And at the same time that the court in England protected and patronised the Arminians, and in return received from them a sanction to its arbitrary views, the reverse took place in Holland: where the Arminians, favoured by the magistrates of the States, opposed the aspiring designs of the Stadtholder Maurice; and the Calvinists, on the contrary, who were there called Gomarists, espoused his interest, and seconded his ambitious and arbitrary measures against the liberty of their country. These have continued the dominant party to this day: and the most violent of them have not only the sway in the Church, but their favour is courted by the prince, who finds his interest advanced by a connexion with them. In this instance the Dutch Calvinists, while they maintain all the rigour of his theological system, have greatly and ignominiously deviated from the political principles of their illustrious founder; whose character as a legislator, more than as a divine, displayed the strength of his genius; and whose wise edicts were dictated by genuine patriotism and the spirit of liberty.—*Appendix to the 12th vol. of the Monthly Review*, enlarged, p. 523; and *Rousseau’s Social Compact*, p. 112, note.—Ed.

defended any points of Arminianism, though he heartily wished, for the peace of Christendom, that these differences were not pursued with such heat and animosity.* He confessed that he had been taxed in a declaration of the House of Commons as a favourer of Arminians, but without proof, and he took it as a very great slander. Nor had he, to the best of his remembrance, advanced any such to ecclesiastical livings; if they proved so afterward, it was more than he could foresee; but he had preferred 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 Neal, 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 the five points, it was his majesty's own, and not his; and since the publishing of it he had endeavoured to carry it with an equal hand, and to punish the transgressors of it on one side as well as the other.†

The Commons replied, that they wondered at the archbishop's assurance in denying his endeavours to promote Arminianism in the Church; that the remonstrance of the Commons was a sufficient evidence of his guilt, being confirmed by many proofs, though his answer to it proved so full of bitterness and sauciness, as throwing scandal on the whole representative body of the nation.‡

As to the particulars, they say that his preferring Mr. Downham and Taylor, orthodox men, to some benefices, was only a blind to cover his advancing so many popishly-affected clergymen. It is 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 signed 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 everybody knows that the disposal of all or most of the bishoprics, deaneries, and considerable benefices since the year 1627, have been under the direction of this archbishop; and what sort of persons have been preferred is apparent to all men, by the present distracted condition of the Church and universities.

The king's declaration for prohibiting preaching on the five controverted points was an artifice of the archbishop's to introduce the Arminian errors, by preventing orthodox ministers from awakening the minds of people against them. And whereas he avers that he has carried it with an even hand, and could bring witnesses from Oxford to prove it, we challenge him to name one scholar or minister that was ever imprisoned, deprived, silenced, prosecuted in the High Commission, or cast out of favour on this account; there was, indeed, one Rainsford, an Arminian, who, in the year 1632, was obliged publicly to confess his error in disobeying his majesty's declaration, and 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, Harsnet an archbishop, Lindsey promoted to two bishoprics, Potter to a deanery, and Duppa to a deanery and bishopric, and made tutor to the prince, &c.*

The managers objected farther to the archbishop, "that having obtained the sole licensing of the 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 with notes, Gellibrand's Protestant Almanac, in which the popish saints were left out of the calendar and Protestant martyrs put in their places; that his chaplains had refused to license the Confession of Faith of the Palatine churches, Fox's Book of Martyrs, Bishop Jewel's Works, some part of Dr. Willet's, and the History of the Gunpowder 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 foot to win them by mildness. That the archbishop had suppressed sundry new books written against Arminianism and popery, and had castrated others, expunging such passages as reflected upon the superstition and idolatry of that Church,"† a large catalogue of which the Commons produced; many authors appeared in maintenance of this part of the charge, and among others, Dr. Featly, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Jones, Mr. Ward, &c.‡ It was said in particular, "that he had expunged divers passages, which bore hard upon the papists, out of the collection of public prayers for a general fast against the plague; and that in the prayer-book appointed by authority for the 5th of November, 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 turned it against the Puritans, thus: 'Root out the antichristian sect of them, who turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction.'

"And as the archbishop had castrated some books, because they refuted the doctrines he would countenance, so he gave full license to others, wherein the grossest points of Arminianism and popery were openly asserted; as Cosins's Hours of Prayer, Sale's Introduction to a Devout Life, Christ's Epistle to a Devout Soul, and others, in which the following doctrines were maintained: (1.) The necessity of auricular confession, and the power of priests to forgive sins. (2.) The lawfulness and benefit of popish penance, as wearing hair-cloth, and other corporeal 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

* Laud's Hist., p. 352. Prynne, p. 529.

† Prynne, p. 508.

‡ Ibid., p. 529.

* Prynne, p. 172, 511. † Ibid., p. 179, 180, 182, &c.

‡ Ibid., p. 254, 255, 257, 258, &c.

altar. (5.) That crucifixes, images, and pictures may be lawfully set up in churches, and ought not to be removed. (6.) That the pope is not antichrist. (7.) That there are venial sins. (8.) That there is a purgatory, or *limbus patrum*. (9.) That the relics of saints are to be preserved and revered. (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 were 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 farther encouragement to popery, they objected his grace's "conniving at the importation of popish books, and restoring them to the owners when seized by the searchers, contrary to the statute of 3 Jacob. I., by which means many thousands of them were dispersed over the whole kingdom; whereas he gave the strictest commands to his officers to seize all imported Bibles with notes, and all books against Arminian and popish innovations. All which put together amounted to no less than a demonstration of the archbishop's design to subvert our established religion, by introducing doctrinal Arminianism and popery.†

The archbishop answered, that the decree of the Star Chamber for regulating the press was the act of the whole court, and not his; and he is still of opinion that it was both a necessary and useful act, being designed 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 suppressed for the marginal note on Exod., i., 17, which allows disobedience to the king's command. Gellibrand's Almanac had left out all the saints and apostles, and put in those named by Mr. Fox, and, therefore, deserved to be censured. As to the Book of Martyrs, it was an abridgment of that book I opposed (says his grace), lest the book itself should be brought into disuse, and lest anything 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 had been inferred 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 servant's act, 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 November, and for the general fast, by his majesty's command; and he is of opinion the expressions were too harsh, and therefore ought to be changed.

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

The Commons replied, that the decree for regulating the press was procured by him with a design to enlarge his jurisdiction; and though some things in it might deserve the thanks of the stationers, they complain loudly that books formerly printed by authority might not be re-printed without a new license 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. Gellibrand's Almanac 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 questioned in Parliament for excommunicating two servants of the Bishop of Durham, employed in the king's service, the archbishop threw the blame on his commissary, who was the person that excommunicated them; but it was then resolved in Parliament that the commissary's act was his own, and he was fined four thousand marks to the king. Now the commissary was an officer established by law; but the archbishop's chaplains are not officers by law, and, therefore, dare not license anything without his privity and command.

Besides, it is 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 license 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 November 5 on the king, when everybody knows by whom the king's conscience was directed.†

And whereas the archbishop denies his conniving at the importation of popish books, he does not so much as allege 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 has been sworn to be done by his own order; but if it had not, yet he, being president of that court, ought to have crossed those orders, that court not daring to have made any such restitutions without his consent; so that we cannot but be of opinion that the whole of this charge, which shows a manifest partiality on the side of Arminianism and popery, and the strongest and most artificial attempts to propagate these errors in the nation, still remains in its full strength.

The managers went on to charge the arch-

* Prynne, p. 188, 202.

† *Ibid.*, p. 349.

‡ Laud's History, p. 350.

* Prynne, p. 515.

† *Ibid.*, p. 522.

bishop with his severe prosecution of those clergymen who had dared to preach against the dangerous increase of Arminianism and popery, or the late innovations; they instanced in Mr. Chauncy, Mr. Workman, Mr. Davenport, and others, some of whom were punished in the High Commission for not railing in the communion-table, and for preaching against images; and when Mr. Davenport fled to New-England to avoid the storm, the archbishop said his arm should reach him there. They objected, farther, "his suppressing afternoon sermons on the Lord's Day, and the laudable design of buying in impropriations, which was designed for the encouraging such lecturers."*

The archbishop answered, that the censures passed on the ministers above mentioned was the act of the High Commission, and not his; and he confesses their sentences appeared just and reasonable, inasmuch 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 the people groundless fears and jealousies of popery, and to cast aspersions on the governors of the Church; that therefore, if he did say his arm should reach Mr. Davenport in New-England, he sees no harm in it, for there is no reason that the plantations should secure offenders against the Church of England from the edge of the law; and he meddled with none except such as were Puritanical, factious, schismatical, and enemies to the good orders of the Church.†

As to the suppressing afternoon sermons, the instructions for turning them into catechising was before his time, and he could not but approve of the design, as a proper expedient for preserving peace between ministers and people, the lecturers being for the most part factious, and the occasion of great contentions in the parishes where they preached ‡

He confessed that he overthrew the design of buying up impropriations, and thanked God he had destroyed it, because he conceived it a plot against the Church, for if it had succeeded, more clergymen would have depended on these feoffees than on the king, and on all the peers and bishops besides; but he proceeded against them according to law, and if the sentence was not just, it must be the judges' fault, and not his.

The Commons replied, that it was notorious to all men how cruel he had been towards all those 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 or out of it, an embargo being laid on all ministers going to New-England; and if any such got over clandestinely, he threatened 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 above-mentioned 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 are coming in like a flood.*

As to the instructions for suppressing afternoon sermons, whensoever they were drawn up, it is evident he was the man that put them in execution, and levelled 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, how diligent soever in their callings and pious in their lives, being reputed factious, schismatical, and unworthy of the least employment in the Church.†

As to the impropriations, there was no design in the feoffees to render the clergy independent on the bishops, for none were presented but conformable 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 perceived the archbishop was bent on their ruin, Mr. White went to his grace, and promised to rectify anything that was amiss, if the thing itself might stand. But he was determined to destroy it, and by his mighty influence obtained 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 grace's open attempts to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome, as appears, first, by the papal titles he suffered the universities to give him in their letters, as 'sanctitas vestra,' your holiness; 'sanctissime pater,' most holy father; 'Spiritus Sancti, effusissime plenus,' full of the Holy Ghost; 'summus pontifex, optimus maximusque interris,' &c. Agreeably to this, he assumed to himself the title of patriarch, or Pope of Great Britain, 'alterius orbis papa;' which gave the Romanists such an opinion of him, that they offered him twice a cardinal's hat; though, as things then stood, he did not think it prudent to receive it.§ But Sir H. Mildmay and Sir N. Brent swore that, both at Rome and elsewhere, he was reputed a papist in his heart;|| which opinion was not a little confirmed, (1.) By his forbidding the clergy to pray for the conversion of the queen to the Protestant faith. (2.) By his owning the Church of Rome to be a true church; by denying the pope to be antichrist, and wishing a reconciliation with her; and affirming that she never erred in fundamentals, no, not in the worst of times. (3.) By his sowing discord between the Church of England and foreign Protestants, not only by taking away the privileges and immunities of the French and

* Prynne, p. 361, 362, &c.

† Laud's Hist., p. 332, 348.

‡ Prynne, p. 537.

* Prynne, p. 335, &c.

† Ibid., p. 537.

|| Ibid., p. 409, &c.

† Ibid., p. 370, 537, 538.

§ Ibid., p. 441.

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 pursuivants who were diligent in apprehending them; to all which they added, the influence the archbishop had in marrying the king to a papist, and his concealment of a late plot to reduce these kingdoms to popery and slavery.*

To this long charge the archbishop gave some general answers, 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 wrote 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 replied, that whatever papal power he had assumed, he had assumed it not in his own right, as the popes did, but from the king. That the style of holiness was given to St. Augustine and others, and therefore not peculiar to the pope; why, then, should so grave a man as Mr. Brown (says he) disparage his own nation, as if it were 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, it is one thing to assume papal titles, and another to assume papal power. As to the title of patriarch or pope of the other world, it is the title that Anselm says belongs to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and not so great a one as St. Jerome gave St. Augustine, when he wrote 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 cannot help it.‡ I

* Prynne, p. 539.

† Laud's Hist., p. 285, 286, 325, &c. Prynne, p. 543. Laud's Hist., p. 418, 419.

‡ It may be pertinent to observe here, that though Laud did not approve the doctrinal articles of the Church of Rome, "it is possible that one who dislikes many points of the Romish faith may yet be very fond of introducing her tyrannical government, and, in order to it, of amusing the poor laity with the long train of her gaudy and mysterious ceremonies; that while they stand fondly gazing at this lure and are busied about impertinences, they may the more easily be circumvented in irrecoverable bondage, by men of deeper but more mischievous designs."—*Memoirs of Hollis*, vol. ii., p. 578.—Ed. There are just such prelates at the present moment,

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 forbade ministers praying for the queen's conversion; but when I was told the queen was prayed for in a factious and seditious manner, I referred the matter to my visiters, 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 a true church, I confess myself of that opinion, and do still believe that she never erred in fundamentals, for the foundations of the Christian religion are in the articles of the creed, and she denies none of them; and it would be sad if she should, for "it is 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 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 do not conceive myself bound to believe every phrase that is in them. I confess I have often wished 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 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. Jerome, 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 apostle's 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 done the Church of England so much harm as they have since done.||

To the fourth objection, I answer that I had

only they are inferior to Laud in talent and energy of character.—C. * Laud's History, p. 383.

† *Ibid.*, p. 392.

‡ Prynne, p. 556.

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

|| *Ibid.*, p. 378.

no intimate correspondence with priests or Jesuits, nor entertained them at my table, knowing them to be such. I never put my hand to the releasing any priest out of prison, nor have I connived at the liberties they assumed; the witnesses who pretended to prove this are either mean persons, or strongly prejudiced; and to most of the facts there is but one witness. As to the nuncios from Rome, it was not in my power to hinder their coming, the king having condescended to it, at the earnest request of the queen; nor had I any particular intimacy with them while 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 persecuted some for their schisms and misdemeanors.*

As to the king's marrying, it is 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 and said he remembered 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 introducing 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 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 checked them, whereas he does not so much as mention these exorbitances, nor find the least fault with them. And though there be a difference between papal title 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 offered, 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 spoken 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 showed himself favourable to their party. The like evidence was given by Mr. Challoner and others.*

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 Radcliffe, of St. Martin's, Ludgate, who swore that Sir Nathaniel 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 January 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 failed him on such occasions.

His grace confesses the Church of Rome to be a true church, whereas we aver her to be a false and anti-Christian one, for she has no sure foundation, no true head, no ordinances, sacraments, or worship, no true ministry, nor government of Christ's institution; she yields no true subjection to Christ's laws, word, or spirit, but is overspread with damnable errors in doctrine, and corruptions in manners and worship, and is therefore defined by our homilies to be a false church. Must she not err in fundamentals, when she affirms the Church to be built on Peter, not upon Christ, and resolves our faith into the Church, and not into the Scriptures? When she deifies the Virgin Mary and other saints by giving them Divine worship, and obliges us to adore the consecrated bread in the sacrament as the very body and blood of Christ; when she denies the cup to the laity, obliges people to pray in an unknown tongue, and sets up a new head of the Church instead of Christ, with the keys of the kingdom of heaven at his girdle? What are these but fundamental errors, which nullify the Church that maintains them! The religion of the Church of Rome and ours is not one and the same, for theirs is no Christian religion, but a heap of superstition and idolatry; and his affirming salvation may be

* Laud's Hist., p. 394.

† Prynne, p. 543.

* Prynne, p. 413.

† Ibid., p. 418.

‡ Ibid., p. 444.

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., penned by the convocation.

But can anything 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 infallibility. The pretence, therefore, of the Church of Rome's meeting us half way, was a mere blind to deceive the people of England, till he had carried them wholly over into her territories.*

The archbishop has denied his endeavours to sow discord among foreign Protestants, and asserted his endeavours to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists, though he has produced no evidence of it; but his late behaviour towards the Scots, on the account of their having no bishops, and to the foreign settlements among ourselves, is a sufficient proof of the contrary. The maxim that he cites from St. Jerome, *No bishop, no church*, is a plain perverting of his sense, for his words are, "*Ubi non est sacerdos, non est ecclesia;*" but it is 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 like has been proved of Sancta Clara, St. Gifes Leander, Smith, and Price, and we cannot 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 (among 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 Englishmen is within the statutes of 23 Eliz., cap. i., and 27 Eliz., cap. ii. It is very certain that the liberty the Jesuits have enjoyed in prison and elsewhere was owing to his connivance; and though the archbishop is so happy as not to remember his checking the officers for their diligence in apprehending popish priests, yet his distinction between not persecuting papists and prosecuting Puritans, besides the quibble, is an unanswerable argument of his affection to the one beyond the other.*

The managers produced six or eight witnesses to prove the archbishop's discountenancing and threatening such as were active in apprehending priests and Jesuits. And though he would wash his hands of the affair of the pope's nuncio residing here in character, and holding an intimate correspondence with the court, because himself did not appear in it, yet it is evident that Secretary Windebank, who was the archbishop's creature and confidant, held an avowed correspondence with them. If he had no concern in this affair, should he not, out of regard to the Protestant religion and Church of England, even to the hazard of his archbishopric, have made some open protestation, when Gregorio Panzani resided here in character two years; Gregory Con, a Scot, for three years and two months; and, last of all, Count Rosetti, till driven away by the present Parliament!†

It has been sufficiently proved that the archbishop was concerned 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 having declared the pope to be antichrist; for the Duke of Buckingham was the prince's director, and himself acknowledged that he was the duke's confessor.

And as to the late plot of Habernfield, we have owned, in our evidences, that at first he discovered it to the king, because he imagined it to be a plot of the Puritans; but when he found the parties engaged in it to be papists, and, among others, Secretary Windebeck and Sir Toby Mathew, his own creatures, he then concealed his papers, called it a sham plot, and browbeat 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 latter discoveries, fully prove; and his concealment of it we conceive to be a 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

* Prynne, p. 552, &c.

† Ibid., p. 541.

‡ Ibid., p. 448, 456, 559, 561.

* Prynne, p. 448, 458.

† Ibid., p. 446.

‡ Ibid., p. 564, &c.

our charge, namely, that the archbishop has traitorously 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 traitor.

Before the archbishop withdrew from the bar, he moved the Lords that, considering the length of his trial,* and the distance of time between the several days of hearing, they would allow him a day that he might set before their lordships in one view the whole of the Commons' charge, and his defence; to which they condescended, and appointed September 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 public good, and done at his own great expense, as the repair of St. Paul's, and the statutes of Oxford. (5.) That many of the witnesses were sectaries and schismatics, whereas, by the canon law, no schismatic should be heard against his bishop. He complained, also, of the number of witnesses produced against him, which were above one hundred and fifty; whereas the civil law says that the judges should moderate things so as no man should be oppressed with the multitude of witnesses. (6.) That he had been charged with passionate and hasty words, which he hopes their lordships will pardon as human frailties. (7.) That other men's actions had been laid to his charge, as those of his chaplains, and the actions of the High Commission and Star Chamber, which, he insists, cannot by any law be put upon him, it being a known rule, "Refertur ad universos quod publicè fit per majorem partem." He then went over the particular charges above mentioned, and concluded with a request, that when the Commons had replied to the facts, his counsel might be heard as to matters of law. The Commons replied to the archbishop's speech, September 11, and the same day his counsel 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 the kingdom? (2.) Whether the impeachment and articles did contain such certainties and particularities as are required by law in cases of treason?"‡ The

* It had been drawn out through more than three months, and he had been often, when summoned before the Lords, sent back unheard. This had, needlessly, exposed him to the scorns and revilings of the people, and to an expense which he could ill bear; for he never appeared but it cost him £6 or £7 per day. His estate and goods had been sequestered; and it was not until towards the end of his trial, and after repeated solicitations, that the Commons allowed him £200 to support his necessary expenses.—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. iv., p. 138, note.—Ed. † Laud's History, p. 412, 419. ‡ Ibid., p. 422.

Lords sent down the queries to the Commons, who, after they had referred them to a committee of lawyers, agreed that the archbishop's counsel might be heard to the first query, but not to the second. Accordingly, October 11, the archbishop being present at the bar, Mr. Hearn proposed to argue these two general questions:*

(1.) "Whether there be, at this day, any other treason than what is enacted by the statute 25 Edward III., cap. ii., 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 insisted that an "endeavour to subvert the laws, the Protestant religion, and the rights of Parliament, which are the three general charges to which all the particulars alleged 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 contended, first, "That the particulars alleged 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 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 joined as the result of some other offence below treason."‡

"The like may be observed to the second charge, of endeavouring to subvert religion; it is not treason by the letter of any law established in this kingdom, for the statute of 1 Edward VI., cap. xii., makes it but felony to attempt an alteration of religion by force, which is the worst 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. iv., it is 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 deemed 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

* Laud's History, p. 423.

† Ibid., p. 424, 425.

‡ Ibid., p. 427.

§ Ibid., p. 429.

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 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."*

These arguments of the archbishop's counsel staggered 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 questioned, and, therefore, the Lords deferred 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 him beyond measure, and said he perfectly triumphed over his accusers; and his grace seems to be of the same mind, when he tells us that all men magnified his answer to the House of Commons, but he forbore to set down in what language, because it was high. ‡ Mr. Prynne allows that "he made as full, as gallant, and pithy a defence, and spoke 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 anything, 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

* Laud's Hist., p. 430.

† We cannot allow ourselves to withhold here from our reader the just and important remarks of a late biographer of the archbishop. "It appears a great defect in the laws of a free and limited government, that an attempt to subvert the Constitution and mode of government should not be judicially deemed a capital offence, punishable as such. For, in a just and political sense, the man who endeavours to enslave his countrymen, to deprive them of their natural and legal rights and privileges, and instead of a free constitution of government, to introduce one that is arbitrary and despotic; such a man is, undoubtedly, guilty of as high a crime, and is as much a traitor to his country, as he who attempts to deprive the prince of the crown, and ought to be punished with equal severity."—*British Biography*, vol. iv., p. 286. Nay, it may be added, that the severity of the punishment ought to be regulated by the more heinous guilt, which attaches itself rather to the former than to the latter conduct: by the latter conduct, the blow is aimed at the rights and prosperity of one person, or, at most, of one family only; but the former conduct robs millions of their rights, and involves, in its effects, generations to come. Nor does it lessen the guilt, if men, instead of being the agents of prerogative, are the tools of influence; if, instead of being awed into a subservency to the views of despotism, they are brought over to measures inimical to the liberties of the people.—Ed.

‡ Laud's Hist., p. 441.

§ Prynne, p. 462.

boldness to the king's pardon, which he had in his pocket.

Bishop Burnet is of opinion that "in most of the particulars the archbishop made but frivolous excuses; as, that he was but one of many,* who, either in council, Star Chamber, or High Commission, voted illegal things. Now, though this was true, yet a chief minister, and one in high favour, *determines the rest so much*, that they are little better than machines acted by him. On other occasions he says, the thing was proved but by one witness. Now, how strong soever this defence may be in law, it is of no force in an appeal to the world; for if a thing be true, it is no matter how full or defective the proof is." †

The archbishop himself has informed us of his great patience under the hard usage he met with at his trial; but his Diary furnishes too many examples to the contrary, for it appears from thence that he sometimes gave the witnesses very rude language at the bar, insinuating to the court that many of them were perjured; that their evidence was the effect of malice, envy, and a thirst after his blood. Sometimes he threatened them with the judgments of God, and once he was going to bind his sin 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 only 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 Wm. Balfore, 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 checked at the bar for reflecting upon the witnesses, and put in mind by the managers that some of them were aldermen, some gentlemen, and some men of quality, he replied, smartly, "That is nothing; there is not an active separatist in England but his hand is against me: both gentlemen, aldermen, and men of all conditions, are separated

* To what Bishop Burnet observes on this plea, it is pertinent to add the remarks of a late writer: "that if it were admitted, it would always be impracticable to bring a wicked minister of state to justice, for any proceedings in the privy council, to which the rest concurred; and that it would not be thought a proper justification of criminals of an inferior order, in any court of justice, if they were to allege that there were other persons accomplices in the crimes with which they were accused."—*British Biography*, vol. iv., p. 285.—Ed.

† History of his Life, p. 50, or p. 68, edition in 12mo, at Edinburgh.

‡ Laud's History, p. 237.

§ He also charged Prynne with keeping a school of instruction for the witnesses, and tampering with them in a most shameful manner.—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. iv., p. 137, note.—Ed.

|| Laud's Hist., p. 417.

from the Church of England, and I would to God some of my judges were not.”*

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 arguments, 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, Sergeant Maynard, one of the ablest lawyers of his age; he lived to be the father of his profession; and when the Prince of Orange [afterward King William III.] complimented him upon his having outlived 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 outlived the law itself. He managed the first part of the evidence March 13, 16, 18, and 28. “This gentleman,” says the archbishop, “pleaded, though strongly, yet fairly, against me.”‡

Sergeant Wild was the son of Sergeant George Wild, of Droitwich, in Worcestershire; he was afterward reader of the Inner Temple, a great lawyer, 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 evi-

dence which concerned religion, May 20, 27; June 6, 11, 17, 20, and 27; July 20 and 24; but “this gentleman,” says the archbishop, “though he had language good enough sometimes, he had little or no sense. I had a character given me before of him, which I forbear to express, but, by his proceedings with me, I found it exactly true.”*

Samuel 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 Lords' bar. “His behaviour towards the archbishop was decent and civil, but his pleadings (according to his grace) very unfair.”†

Robert Nicolas, Esq., pressed the archbishop very hard, and, therefore, no wonder that he was displeased with him. The archbishop allows that he had some sense, but extreme virulent and foul language. He managed the second and fourth branches of the evidence, April 16, May 14, 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 much at leisure to reflect upon what had passed in the hurry of passion, and in the exaltation of his prosperity, yet,” as Bishop Burnet observes, “he does not, in any one point 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 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

conference with the lords about Mr. Rolfe, the Commons alleged that Mr. Rolfe was committed by their lordships without any cause in the warrant, and they found reason to clear him. August 31. The grand jury, at Southampton, found the bail against Major Rolfe *ignoramus*. September 9. There was an order for £150 for Mr. Rolfe for his unjust imprisonment.—*Memoirs*, p. 310. All these transactions appear to have taken place independently of Sergeant Wild, and before he was preferred to be a judge. To these particulars it may be added, that the king himself acquitted Colonel Hammond, involved in the same accusation with Rolfe, and professed a perfect confidence in him as a man of honour and trust.—*Memoirs*, p. 315. The stress which Lord Clarendon, and after him Mr. Echar and Dr. Grey, have laid on this charge against Sergeant Wild, will apologize for so minute an investigation of a matter not essentially connected with the general truth of Mr. Neal's history.—*Ed.*

* *Laud's History*, p. 320, 330.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

* *Laud's Hist.*, p. 434.

† “Like true lawyers,” says Mrs. Macaulay, “they played their parts in baiting the unhappy prisoner with the most acrimonious and insulting language; like true lawyers, they took all the unfair advantages which their offices and other opportunities procured them; and, like true lawyers, they put a forced and unwarrantable construction on all the facts which they cited against him.”—*History of England*, vol. iv., p. 137, 8vo.—*Ed.*

‡ *Laud's History*, p. 330.

§ The character of Sergeant Wild is impeached, and the above account of his preference is shown to be inaccurate by Dr. Grey. He was made lord-chief-baron of the exchequer (see *White Locke's Memorials*, p. 337), 12th October, 1648. In the protectorate of Cromwell he retired, and did not act. During the Rump Parliament, he was restored to the exchequer. After King Charles II. returned, he lived nine years in a retired condition.—*Wood's Athene Oxon.*, vol. i., p. 808. On the authority of Wood, Dr. Grey charges him with having received £1000 out of the privy purse at Derby House, for the condemnation of Captain Burley, at Winchester, for causing a drum to beat up for God and King Charles, in the Isle of Wight, in order to rescue his captive king. The reader will judge what credit is due to this charge, when he is informed that Captain Burley was convicted, sentenced, and executed, according both to Wood and White Locke [*Memorials*, p. 290], in 1647, some months before Sergeant Wild was made a judge. Another charge brought against him, from Lord Clarendon and Wood, is, that he received another £1000 for the acquittance of Major Rolfe, who had a design to murder or poison the king. That the reader may form his judgment on this charge, we will state the proceedings on the affair of Major Rolfe, as they are chronologically given by White Locke.—1648, June 23. A charge by Osborne against Colonel Hammond and Captain Rolfe was ordered to be printed. July 11. A letter was received from Colonel Hammond, desiring that Osborne's charge against Mr. Rolfe may come to a speedy hearing, it reflecting so highly upon the army and upon him; and being a horrid scandal, whereof he clears his own innocence, and the officers of the army, and Mr. Rolfe. Accommodations were ordered for Mr. Rolfe. August 1. Major Rolfe was bailed. August 12. At a

charity and patience under his sufferings, I must leave it with the reader to form his own judgment.

While the proceedings against the archbishop were at a stand by reason of the Lords being dissatisfied whether the facts proved against him were treason by statute law, the citizens of London assembled, and presented a petition to the House of Commons, October 28th, signed with a great number 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 farther 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 farther defence he thought proper. Mr. Browne summed up the charge, November 2, and the archbishop had nine days given him to prepare his defence. November 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 passed the House the very same day with but one dissenting voice, and that not upon the substance of the charge, but upon the manner of proceeding.* The bill being sent up to the Lords, they made an order, December 4, "that all books, writings, &c., concerning the archbishop's trial should be brought in to the clerk of the Parliament," which being done, they examined over again all the heads and principal parts of the evidence, and voted each particular as they went forward; so tender were they of the life of this prelate, and so careful to maintain the honour and justice of their proceedings. When they had gone through the whole, they voted him guilty of all 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 counsel as to the point of law, which they accordingly did at a conference, January 2, when Sergeant Wild, Mr. Browne, and Mr. Nicolas, having given the reasons of the Commons for their attainder, the Lords were satisfied, and January 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, signed April 19, 12th Car., but it was overruled by both houses. 1. Because it was granted before conviction. And, 2. If it had been subsequent, yet, in the present

* It was greatly against the archbishop that the management of the trial was assigned to Prynne, a man of sour and austere principles; whom Laud had made his enemy by the severe sentence of the Star Chamber; and who, by his behaviour on this occasion, showed that he remembered and resented the share Laud had in inflicting his past sufferings.—Ed.

† Dr. Grey will not allow the decree of the Commons to be called "a bill." It was, in his opinion, an ordinance only, and that an imperfect one; because it was not supported by the royal assent, and, therefore, he says, had no legal force at all.—Ed.

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 suffered in his life or liberty.*

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, January 10, when the archbishop being conducted to the scaffold, attended by his chaplain, Dr. Stern, and Mr. Marshal and Palmer, sent by the Parliament,† read his last speech to the people,‡ which was a sort of sermon from Heb., xii., 2: "Let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith, who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God." In which he acknowledges himself to have been a great sinner; but, having ransacked every corner of his heart, he thanks God that he has not found any of his sins deserving 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 clamoured against me," says he, "that I designed to bring in popery, but I pray God that the pope do not come in by means of these sectaries which clamour so much against me." As for the king, he assured the world that he was 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 ruin 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 him patience to die for his honour, for the king's happiness, and the Church of England. He then prays for the preservation of the king

* Whitelocke's Memoirs, p. 117.

† It marks a virulent and bitter spirit in the conduct of this execution, that of the three clergymen, whose consolatory attendance and service at his exit Laud petitioned for, but one was allowed him; and this under the restraint of the inspection of two ministers appointed by Parliament.—*Macaulay's History*, vol. iv., p. 144.—Ed.

‡ "In this very performance," observes Mrs. Macaulay, "which was executed with great art of composition, and likewise in his remarks on the charge which the Scots brought against him, he plainly shows that his adversity had not altered his opinions, nor corrected any one of his most mischievous prejudices; and that, had accident re-established him in his former plenitude of power, he would have run, to the end of his days, the same persecuting course for which he now suffered."—*History of England*, vol. iv., p. 140.—Ed.

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, having forgiven his enemies, he concluded with the Lord's Prayer. After which he gave his paper to Dr. Stern, saying, "Doctor, I give you this, to show 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

* Mrs. Macaulay's reflections on this event appear to carry weight and pertinence with them. "As the justice of the country had been something satisfied by the death of the criminal Strafford, it would have done honour to the Parliament to have left this aged prelate the example of their mercy, rather than to have made him the monument of their justice. Perpetual imprisonment, with no more than a decent maintenance, and the deprivation of his archiepiscopal function (which, of course, followed the abolishment of that kind of church government), would have taken away his abilities of doing farther mischief; and the present prosperous state of the Parliament affairs rendered his death a circumstance of no importance to the public. It is plain that he fell a sacrifice to the intolerant principle of the Presbyterians, a sect who breathed as fiery a spirit of persecution as himself. It is farther to be observed of this prelate, that he is the only individual of that high office in the Church of England (Cranmer, the martyr, excepted) who ever suffered death by the hands of the executioner; though the turbulent ambition of his order has disturbed the peace of society from the first period of the Church power to the present day."—*History of England*, vol. iv., p. 143, 144.—Ed. (*Toulmin*).—No enlightened friend of civil and religious liberty will allow his sympathy with the sufferer to blind his judgment to the obliquities of his administration. A medium course between the absurd eulogies of Heylen and the fierce denunciations of Prynne is best accordant with the facts of his history and the claims of truth. He met with the same harsh and cruel treatment which he had dealt out to others, and is mainly indebted to this fact for the interest with which he has subsequently been regarded. Utterly estranged from the spirit of the English Constitution, he sought to level all the safeguards of freedom, and to expose its citadel to the occupation of a despotic monarch. Amid the slavish minions of the court of Charles, he shone unrivalled—exulting in the severity of his measures, and deriving from past defeat fresh hostility against the liberties of his country. His dark and scheming spirit disburdened itself only to the listened ear of Strafford, from whose loftier genius and more expansive views Laud anticipated the accomplishment of his designs. In the Church, he ruled with a rod of iron. Inaccessible alike to pity and remorse, he sought to crush the spirit of the Puritans, and to restore the departed glories of his Church. Incapable of infusing into it the vigour of a healthful piety, it was his aim to increase the splendour and to multiply the ceremonies of the Church. He was too proud and despotic to be a subordinate of Rome, yet he would gladly have assimilated his Church to the external form of the papacy. Personal ambition was

a coffin, and, by the permission of Parliament, buried in Barking Church, with the service of the Church read over him. The inscription upon the coffin was this: "In hac cistula conduntur exuvie Gulielmi Laud, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, qui securi percussus immortalitatem adiit, die x^o Januarii, ætatis suæ 72, archiepiscopatus xii." But after the Restoration his body was removed to Oxford, and deposited with great solemnity in a brick vault, according to his last will and testament, near the altar of the chapel of St. John the Baptist College, July 24, 1663.

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 archiepiscopal translation. He was of low stature, and a ruddy countenance; his natural temper was severe and uncourly, his spirit active and restless, which pushed him on to the most hazardous enterprises. His conduct was rash and precipitate, for, according to Dr. Heylin, he attempted more alterations in the Church in one year than a prudent man would have done in a great many. His counsels in state affairs were high and arbitrary, for he was at the head of all the illegal projects, of ship-money, loans, monopolies, Star Chamber fines, &c., which were the ruin of the king and Constitution.

His maxims in the Church were no less severe, for he sharpened the spiritual sword, and drew it against all sorts of offenders, intending, as Lord Clarendon expresses it, 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*

united with ecclesiastical pride, and political servitude was promoted as a means to clerical domination. Had he been brought to trial when first arrested, it would have been difficult to establish any material distinction between his case and that of Strafford. They had been co-workers in the service of an unprincipled tyranny; and if the lord-lieutenant deserved his doom, no less a penalty might justly have been inflicted on the primate. But the state necessity, which was pleaded in the case of Strafford, was wholly absent from that of Laud. He had sunk into contempt, and was, therefore, incapable of mischief. Perpetual imprisonment might have been inflicted, but to take away his life was a gratuitous violation of the letter and forms of the Constitution. It savoured more of private vengeance than of public justice, and betokened the departure of those master-spirits who had presided over the earlier deliberations of Parliament. Laud's patronage of literature and learned men constitutes the only redeeming feature of his administration. It is the solitary virtue which sheds a partial lustre over an otherwise unbroken course of misrule.—*Dr. Price's Hist. Nonconformity*, vol. ii., p. 301.—C.

Rome than to the foreign Protestants;* and though he was an avowed enemy to sectaries and fanatics 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 £500 in money.§ He gave £800 to the repair of the Cathedral of St. Paul's, 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, withal,|| "that he was a learned, sincere, and zealous man, regular in

* One of the daughters of William, earl of Devonshire, having turned Catholic, she was questioned by Laud upon the subject of her conversion, and the motives by which she had been actuated. She replied, that her principal reason was a dislike to travel in a crowd. The meaning being obscure, the archbishop asked her what she meant. "I perceive," she said, "your grace and many others are making haste to Rome, and, therefore, to prevent being crowded, I have gone before you."—C.

† "Just the contrary," says Bishop Warburton: "he did not understand business at all, as fully appears from the historian's account of his civil administration, and was a great master of religious controversy." Mr. Hume, speaking of Laud's learning and morals, expresses himself in the following manner: "This man was virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence from pleasure, could deserve that name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise."—*History of Great Britain*, vol. v., p. 193.—Ed.

‡ These manuscripts, which he had purchased at a prodigious expense, were in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Egyptian, Ethiopian, Arminian, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Saxon, English, and Irish. The archbishop also founded an Arabic lecture in the University of Oxford, which began to be read in 1636. He obtained the advowson of the living of St. Lawrence, in Reading, for St. John's College. He procured a charter for Reading, and founded, and endowed with £200 per annum, an hospital in that town. Oxford owed also to his influence a large charter, confirming its ancient, and investing it with new privileges. It is but justice due to his memory to record, to the honour of Laud, these acts of munificence and public utility.—*British Biography*, vol. iv., p. 289, 290.—Ed.

§ *Diary*, p. 56.

|| *History of his Life*, vol. i., p. 49, 50; or *Scotch edit.*, p. 68.

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 setting 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 blemishes, 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, written with so much care when he was in the Tower, is a very mean performance; and his friends have really lessened him—Heylin by writing his life, and Wharton by publishing his vindication of himself." Mr. Rapin adds, "Let the archbishop's favourers say what they please, he was one of the chief authors of the troubles that afflicted England: 1. By supporting with all his might the principles of that arbitrary power which the court strove for several years to establish. 2. By using too much strictness and rigidity in the observance of trifles in Divine service, and in compelling everybody to conform themselves thereto."† To which I would beg leave to add, that since nothing relating to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England established by law was objected to him at his trial, but only certain innovations in the Church, without or contrary to law, I cannot conceive with what propriety of language his friends and admirers have canonized him as the blessed martyr of the Church of England.‡

* "His superstitions," says Mrs. Macaulay, "were as contemptible as those that belonged to the weakest of women." His Diary fell into the hands of Prynne, in the search of the archbishop's papers, and was published by him during his trial. This his grace complained of, as done to abash and disgrace him. The publication of it certainly did not tend to soften the prejudices against him, or to raise him in the opinion of the public. It was done by an order of a committee of the House of Commons.—Ed.

† Rapin, vol. i., p. 507, folio.

‡ Dr. Grey calls Mr. Neal's delineation of Archbishop Laud's character "a long invective," and opposes to it Lord Clarendon's character of this prelate. Facts will show who has drawn it with truth; and by facts we may decide concerning a more recent delineation of it by the pen of Mrs. Macaulay. "Laud, a superstitious churchman, who had studied little else than canon law and the dotting opinions of the fathers, was entirely ignorant of the utility, equity, and beauty of civil and religious liberty, was himself imposed on before he endeavoured to impose on others; and became a zealous instrument of tyranny, even for conscience' sake. The principles of religion on which he uniformly acted were as noxious to the peace of society as were the principles of the papists; the same want of charity, the same exercise of cruelty, the same arrogance of dominion, were common to both. Utterly unacquainted with the simplicity, charity, and meekness of the Gospel, his character was void of humility and forgiveness; nor had he other rules to judge of men's deservings; but as they were more or less attached to the power of the Church. Upon the whole, his character serves

The last and most memorable transaction of this year was the treaty of Uxbridge. His majesty had sent the two houses sundry propositions for peace last summer, which 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 November 26, but though the king had given them a safe-conduct, Mr. Whitelocke observes, they met with very rude treatment from the populace, who saluted them as they passed along the streets with the names of traitors, rogues, and rebels, throwing stones and dirt into their coaches; when they came to their inn, they were insulted by the soldiers, so that they were obliged to shut up the doors till the king ordered them a guard. When they delivered their propositions, his majesty received them coldly;* and because they were only to receive his answer, told them a letter carrier might have done as well.† Next day his majesty gave them his answer in writing sealed up; and when they desired to see it, he replied, with a frown, "What is it to you, who are but to carry what I send? If I will send the song of Robin Hood, or Little John, you must carry it." But at length they obtained a copy, which was only to desire a safe-conduct for the Duke of Lenox and Earl of Southampton to come to London with his majesty's answer; but the letter not being directed to the Parliament of England, the houses would not consent but upon that condition. The king's council advised him to yield, which did not prevail till his majesty had found out an evasion, and entered it upon record in the council-books, as appears by his

as an eminent example, to show that extensive learning and abilities are not incompatible with a narrow judgment; and that, in all the catalogue of human frailties, there are none which more corrupt the heart, or deprave the understanding, than the follies of religion."—*History of England*, vol. iv., p. 134, 142, 143. Were it necessary for the editor of Mr. Neal to subjoin his idea of Laud's character, he would be inclined to give it in three words; as formed of superstition, tyranny, and intolerance.—ED. His old friend, Judge Whitelocke, described his character in a few words: "He was too full of fire, though a just and good man. His want of experience in state matters, and his too much heat and zeal for the Church, had he proceeded in the way he was then in, would have set the nation on fire."—C.

* This, as Dr. Grey observes, is not expressly said by Whitelocke; whose words are, "The next day they," i. e., the commissioners, "had access to his majesty, who used them civilly, and gave to every one of them his hand to kiss; but he seemed to show more disdain to the Scots commissioners than to any others of their company." On the evening of the same day, as Hollis and Whitelocke were paying a visit to the Earl of Lindsey, the king came into the chamber, and treated those gentlemen with extraordinary respect, entered into a free conversation with them, and asked their advice as friends.—*Memorials*, p. 108. Rushworth says that "the king received the commissioners very obligingly, but seemed more to slight the Scots commissioners than any of the rest."—Vol. v., p. 841. Even here, though the language of Rushworth is more descriptive of a courteous and complaisant reception than is that of Whitelocke, there is yet an intimation of something in the king's manner to all the commissioners that indicated coldness and indifference, and it justifies Mr. Neal's representation of it.—ED.

† Whitelocke, p. 106, 107, 109, 110.

letter to the queen, dated January 2, in which he says, "that his calling them a Parliament did not imply his acknowledging them as such; upon which construction, and no other," says he,* "I called them as it is registered in the council-books; and if there had been but two of my opinion," says the king, "I would not have done it."† In another intercepted letter to the queen, he tells her, "he could not prevail with his Parliament at Oxford to vote those at Westminster no Parliament, but assures her he would not make peace without her approbation, nor go one jot beyond the paper she sent him."‡ In another, the king informs the queen, "that the Parliament were sending 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 determined by the queen and her popish council. Besides, his majesty was, unhappily, elevated at this time by the divisions at Westminster, which produced the new modelling the army; and with a false and romantic account of the successes of the Marquis of Montrose 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 considerable as to oblige them to draw off a single regiment.

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 January 30, 1645, and to continue twenty days.

There were sixteen commissioners for the king, viz., nine lords, six commoners, and one divine; twelve for the Parliament, and ten for the Scots, and one divine, viz., Mr. Henderso; 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, reli-

* Whitelocke, p. 277.

† Dr. Grey aims here to impeach, not the accuracy only, but the veracity of Mr. Neal, whose account of the matter does, indeed, seem to imply that the king was at length prevailed on to direct his answer to the Parliament at Westminster; whereas Dr. Grey shows, from Rapin and Rushworth, that his majesty put no direction at all on it, and the commissioners accepted it without a direction; and that, therefore, the charge of evasion against the king was without ground. But Dr. Grey contents himself with a partial account and view of this matter, and does not apprise his reader that Rapin also mentions the expedient by which the king reconciled to himself a compliance with the requisition of the Parliament: the fact, in its full extent, was, that the commissioners, though they objected to the form and the want of direction to the king's message, yet did deliver it to the Parliament at Westminster, and were thanked for their services. But, then, the like exceptions were made by both houses, and it was resolved not to grant the safe-conduct it asked, nor to receive his majesty's answer, unless he should send to the Parliament of England assembled at Westminster. The trumpeter went away with the letter to this effect December 3, and returned on the 7th with an answer from the king, acknowledging those at Westminster to be the Parliament.—*Rushworth*, vol. v., p. 843, 844.

‡ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 943.

gion, the militia, and Ireland; each of which was to be debated three days successively, till the twenty days were expired.

The treaty was preceded by a day of fasting and prayer on both sides for a blessing, but was interrupted the very first day by a sermon preached occasionally in the church of Uxbridge by Mr. Love, then preacher to the garrison of Windsor, wherein he had said that they [his majesty's commissioners] came thither with hearts full of blood, and that there was as great a distance between this treaty and peace as between heaven and hell. The commissioners having complained of him next day, the Parliament commissioners laid it before the two houses, who sent for him to London, where he gave this account of the affair: that the people being under a disappointment at their lecture, he was desired unexpectedly to give them a sermon, which was the same he had preached at Windsor the day before.* He admits that he cautioned the people not to have too great a dependence upon the treaty, because, "while our enemies," says he, "go on in their wicked practices, and we keep to our principles, we may as soon make fire and water to agree; and, I had almost said, reconcile heaven and hell, as their spirits and ours. They must grow better, or we must grow worse, before it is possible for us to agree." He added, farther, "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 a health to their damnation." "Though there might be some truth in what the preacher said, yet these expressions were unbecoming any private man in so nice a conjuncture; he was therefore confined to his house during the treaty, and then discharged.†

It was too evident that neither party came to the treaty with a healing spirit. The king's commissioners were under such restraints, that little good was to be expected from them; and the Parliament commissioners would place no

manner of confidence in his majesty's promises, nor abate a tittle of the fullest security for themselves and the Constitution.* The king, therefore, in his letter to the queen of January 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 was between the rebels' propositions and his; and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, but by force."†

We shall only 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 rendered inactive, and 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 farther.

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 heal divisions, and induce the Parliament to put the sword into the king's hands !!

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 510, folio.

† The quotation from Rapin, as Dr. Grey intimates, is not exact or full. The passage stands thus: "I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, till they be out of hope to prevail with force, which a little assistance, by thy means, will soon make them be; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable sum of money would do), they would be easily brought to reason."—*Rushworth*, vol. vii., p. 944. As the passage now appears at its full length, though the reader should judge Mr. Neal's manner of quoting it inaccurate, he will perceive that he has truly given the idea and meaning of the king, who thought of nothing but of putting the Parliament out of hope of prevailing by force, by carrying against them a superior force.—Ed.

‡ Rapin, p. 513.

§ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 592.

|| Bishop Warburton treats this with contempt, calling it "a foolish declamation. The subject here was Ireland, not the militia." So Mr. Neal represents it: but the force of his remark turns on the propriety of putting the sword into the king's hands; and whether the sword was worn by the English militia or the Irish rebels, in either case it was an object of fear and jealousy to the Parliament. The

* Dugdale's Treaty of Uxbridge, p. 764.

† Dr. Grey opposes to the account which Mr. Neal gives of the proceedings against Mr. Love, Lord Clarendon's representation, which states only, that the commissioners seemed troubled at the charge against him, promised to examine it, and engaged that he should be severely punished; but afterward confessed that they had no authority to punish him, but that they had caused him to be sharply reprehended and sent out of town: "This," his lordship adds, "was all that could be obtained, so unwilling were they to discountenance any man who was willing to serve them."—*History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii., p. 579. Dr. Grey remarks here, "This is Lord Clarendon's account, who himself was a commissioner of that treaty." The remark is evidently made to intimate that Mr. Neal's account is not true. It is to be regretted that he has not, in this instance, referred to his authority. But it is certain that Lord Clarendon does not relate the whole of the commissioners' answer or conduct. The former, according to *Rushworth*, vol. v., p. 865, and *Dugdale*, p. 765, was a promise "to represent the complaint against Mr. Love to the Parliament, who would proceed therein according to justice;" and the latter, it appears by *Whitelocke*, was correspondent to this engagement: "For the Parliament, having notice of Mr. Love's sermon from the commissioners, sent for him, and referred the business to an examination."—*Memorials*, p. 123.—Ed.

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, though, considering the influence of the Scots, and the growing strength of the Presbyterian and Independent parties, it is very much to be doubted. However, this being the first point debated in the treaty, and a Church controversy, it will be proper to represent the instructions on both sides. While this was upon the carpet, Dr. Steward, clerk of the closet, and a commissioner for the king, sat covered without the bar, behind the commissioners, as did Mr. Henderson behind those of the Parliament. The assistant divines were present in places appointed for them, opposite to each other.

His majesty's instructions to his commissioners on the head of religion were these: "Here," says the king, "the government of the Church will be the chief question, wherein two things are to be considered, conscience and policy; for the first, I must declare, that I cannot 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 myself particularly bound, by the oath I took at my coronation, not to alter the government of this Church from what I found it; and as for the church patrimony, I cannot 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 dependance 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."*

The commissioners from the two houses of Parliament at Westminster, instead of being instructed to treat about a reformation of the hierarchy, were ordered to demand the passing of a bill for abolishing and taking away Episcopal government; for confirming the ordinance for the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines; that the Directory for public worship,

reader will not be displeased to see how the bishop becomes advocate for the king on the charge here alleged, of breaking his promise to leave the Irish war to the Parliament. His answer, *i. e.*, the king's, says his grace, is to this effect, and I think it very pertinent: "It is true I made this promise, but it was when the Parliament was my friend, not my enemy. They might be then intrusted with my quarrel; but it would be madness to think they now can. To prevent, therefore, their making a treaty with the Irish, and in their distresses bringing over their troops against me, I have treated with them, and have brought over the troops against them." This was speaking like a wise and able prince.—Ed.

* Rushworth, vol. v., p. 945.

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, enjoying the taking it by all the subjects of the three kingdoms.*

The propositions annexed 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 Presbyterianism. After several papers had passed between the commissioners about the bill for taking away Episcopacy, it was debated by the divines for two days together.

Mr. Henderson, in a laboured speech, endeavoured to show 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 could not subsist without it. That this latter position could not be maintained in the affirmative without condemning all other Reformed churches in Europe. That the Parliament of England had found Episcopacy a very inconvenient and corrupt government; that the hierarchy had been a public grievance from the Reformation downward; that the bishops had always abetted popery, had retained many superstitious 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 communion, to the great scandal of the Protestant churches of Germany, France, Scotland, and Holland. That the prelates had embroiled 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 formed for the advancement of piety; that this alteration was the best expedient to unite all Protestant 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 conscience could not be urged against such a compliance, because he had already done it in Scotland; nor could he believe that Episcopacy was absolutely

* Dugdale, p. 766.

necessary to the support of the Christian religion.*"

Dr. Steward, clerk of the king's closet, addressing 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 rhetoric; that he was firmly of opinion that a government which, from the planting of Christianity in England, had continued without interruption, that a government under which Christianity had spread and flourished to a remarkable degree, could have nothing vicious or antichristian in its frame; that he expected that those who had sworn themselves to an abolition of this primitive constitution, and came hither to persuade 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 sermons and prints they gave Episcopacy an antichristian 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 alteration. Forasmuch as a union with the Protestant churches abroad was the chief reason for his change, the doctor desired to know what foreign church they designed for a pattern; that he was sure the model in the Directory had no great resemblance to any foreign Reformed 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 lamented a defect in their reformation, and that the want of Episcopacy was an unhappy circumstance; that they had always paid a particular reverence to the Church of England, and looked upon it as the most perfect constitution, upon the score of its having retained all that was venerable in antiquity. From hence he proceeded to enlarge upon the apostolical institution of Episcopacy, and endeavoured to prove, that without bishops the sacerdotal character could not be conveyed, nor the sacraments administered to any significance.

"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 farther obliged 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."

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 opposed by Mr. Henderson, Mr. Marshal, and Mr. Vines, and very learnedly replied to by his majesty's divines, who severally declared their judgments upon the apostolical institution of Episcopacy; but neither party were convinced or satisfied.

When the debate concerning religion came on a second time, his majesty's commissioners delivered in their answer to the Parliament's demands in writing, with their reasons why they could not consent to the bill for abolishing Episcopacy, and establishing the Directory in the room of the Common Prayer, nor advise his majesty to take the Covenant: but for the uniting and reconciling all 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 opinion soever, in matters of ceremony; and that all the penalties of the laws and customs which enjoin these ceremonies be suspended.¶

(2.) "That the bishop shall exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination without the consent 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 hindered by the infirmities of old age or sickness) he preach every Sunday in some church within his diocese.

(4.) "That the ordination of ministers shall

byterian way of government, and that Episcopacy was not so suitable to the Word of God as Presbytery, which they argued to be *jure divino*." See also *Whitelocke's Memorials*, p. 123. Dr. Grey fills several pages with quotations from Calvin, Beza, and other foreign divines, in favour of Episcopacy.—Ed.

* Rushworth, p. 848.

† Rushworth and Whitelocke add, that the Earl of Pembroke and many of the commissioners, besides these two lords, were of the same judgment, and wished, passing over this point, to come to the particulars.—*Rushworth's Collection*, vol. v., p. 849. *Whitelocke's Memorials*, p. 123.—Ed.

‡ "The Marquis of Hertford," says Bishop Warburton, "seems to have read Hooker to more advantage than the king his master, who fancied that great men contended for the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy in his E. P., in which he has been followed by many divines since."—Ed.

§ Whitelocke, p. 123.

¶ Rushworth, p. 872.

¶ Dugdale, p. 780.

* Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 584.

† These assertions of Mr. Henderson and Mr. Marshal are not to be found, as Dr. Grey remarks, in the place to which Mr. Neal refers. Rushworth says there only in general, "that Mr. Henderson and Mr. Marshal answered the doctor, commending the Pres-

be always in a public 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.

(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 public peace, £100,000 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 excommunication, 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 ourselves 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.

Mr. Rapin observes, upon the first of these concessions, that since the penal laws were not to be abolished, but only suspended, it would be in the king's power to take off the suspension whensoever he pleased. Upon the third, fourth, and fifth, that they were so reasonable and necessary, that it was not for the king's honour to let them be considered as a condescension to promote the peace; and the remainder, depending upon the joint consent of king and Parliament, after a peace, it would always be in the king's breast to give or withhold his assent, as he thought fit.*

The commissioners for the Parliament replied to these concessions, that they were so many new propositions, wholly different from what they had proposed; that they contained little or nothing but what they were already in possession of by the laws of the land; that they were noway 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 insist to desire their lordships that the bill may be passed, and their other demands concerning religion granted.† The Parliament commissioners, in their last papers, say, that all objections in favour of the

present hierarchy, arising from conscience, law, or reason, being fully answered, they must now press for a determinate answer to their proposition concerning religion.

The king's commissioners deny that their objections against passing the bill for abolishing Episcopacy have been answered, or that they had received any satisfaction in those particulars, and therefore cannot consent to it.

The Parliament commissioners add, that after so many days' debate, and their making it appear how great a hinderance 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.*

The king's commissioners replied, "It is evident, and we conceive consented to on all sides, that Episcopacy has continued from the apostles' time, by a continued succession, in the Church of Christ, without intermission or interruption, and is therefore *juro divino*."

The Parliament commissioners answer, "So far were we from consenting that Episcopacy has continued from the apostles' time, by a continued succession, that the contrary was made evident to your lordships, and the unlawfulness of it fully proved."†

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 offered. Nor had the Parliament commissioners given them a view in particular of the government they would substitute in place of the present; if, therefore, the alterations proposed do not satisfy, they desire the matter may be suspended till after the disbanding the armies, and both king and Parliament can agree in calling a National Synod.

The above-mentioned concessions would surely have been a sufficient foundation for peace, if they had been made twelve months sooner, before the Scots had been called in with their solemn League and Covenant, and sufficient security had been given for their performance; but the commissioners' hands were now tied, the Parliament apprehending themselves obliged by the Covenant to abolish the hierarchy; and yet, if the commissioners could have agreed about the militia, and the punishment of evil counsellors, the affair of religion would not, in the opinion of Lord Clarendon, have hindered the success of the treaty; his words are these: "The Parliament took none of the points of controversy less to heart, or were less united in anything, than in what concerned the Church;§ the Scots would have given up everything into the hands of the king for their beloved Presbytery; but many of the Parliament were for peace, provided they might have indemnity for what was passed, and security for time to come."|| And were not these reasonable requests? Why, then, did not the commissioners prevail with the king to give

* History, vol. ii., p. 512, 513.

† Dugdale, p. 783.

* Dugdale, p. 787. † Ibid., p. 788.

‡ Ibid., p. 790, 878. § Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 581.

|| Ibid., p. 594.

then security, and divide the Parliament, or put an end to the war?

The last day of the treaty the Parliament continued sitting till nine of the clock at night, in hopes of hearing something from their commissioners that might encourage them to prolong the treaty; but when an express brought word that the king's commissioners would not yield to one of their propositions, they broke up without doing anything in the business. Each party laid the blame upon the other; the king's commissioners complained that the Parliament would not consent to prolong the treaty;* and the others, that after twenty days' conference not one proposition had been yielded. All sober men, and even some of the king's commissioners, were troubled at the event; but, considering the state of the king's affairs, and his servile attachment to the counsels of a popish queen, it was easy to foresee it could not be otherwise.

Bishop Burnet, in the History of his Life and Times,† says that Lord Hollis, who was one of the commissioners, told him "that the king's affairs were now at a crisis, for the treaty of Uxbridge gave him an opportunity of making peace with the Parliament, but all was undone by the unhappy success of the Marquis of Montrose at this time in Scotland, which being magnified to the king far beyond what it really was, prevailed with his majesty to put such limitations on his commissioners as made the whole design miscarry."

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 rode post from Uxbridge to Oxford, to entreat the king to yield something to the necessity of the times; several of his council pressed him to it on their knees; and it is said his majesty was at length prevailed with, and appointed next morning to sign a warrant to that purpose, but that Montrose's romantic letter, of his conquest in Scotland, coming in the mean time, made the unhappy king alter his resolution.‡

* See a proof of this in Dr. Grey.—Ed.

† Vol. i., p. 51, Edinburgh edition.

‡ Dr. Grey attempts to convict Mr. Neal of falsehood in each part of this paragraph. For the first part, the doctor says, "That, as far as he could learn, there was not so much as the shadow of an authority." In reply, it may be observed, that though Mr. Neal has not, as it is to be wished he had, referred to his authority, yet the doctor's assertion is not well supported, for Whitelocke informs us, that "on the 19th of February the Earl of Southampton and others of the king's commissioners went from Uxbridge to Oxford, to the king, about the business of the treaty, to receive some farther directions from his majesty therein."—*Memorials*, p. 127. As the treaty closed on the 22d, the reader will judge whether Mr. Neal, speaking of the object and expedition of his journey, had not so much as the shadow of an authority. With respect to the latter part of the paragraph concerning Montrose, Dr. Grey will have it, that Bishop Burnet's authority makes directly against Mr. Neal; and then he quotes from him as follows: "Montrose wrote to the king that he had gone over the land from Dan to Beersheba, and that he prayed the king to come down in these words, Come thou and take the city, lest I take it, and it be called by my name." This letter was written, but never sent, for he was routed, and his papers taken before he had despatched the courier.

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 broken 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 Catholics, 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, January 6, 1644-5, she desires his majesty "to have a care of his honour, and not to abandon those who had served him; for if you agree upon strictness against Roman Catholics, it will discourage them from serving you; nor can you expect relief from any Roman Catholic prince."† In her letter of January 27, she adds, "Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor Catholics." In answer to which the king writes, January 30, "I desire thee to be confident that I shall never make peace by abandoning my friends." And, February 15, "Be confident that, in making peace, I shall ever show my confidence in adhering to the bishops, and all our friends." March 5, "I give thee power, in my name, to declare to whom thou thinkest fit, that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England as soon as God shall make me able to do it, so as by their means I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it."‡ As for Ireland, his majesty had already commanded the Duke of Ormond, by his letter of February 27, to make peace with the papists, cost what it would. "If the suspending Poyning's act will do it," says he, "and taking away the penal laws, I shall not think it a hard bargain. When the Irish give me that assistance they have promised, I will consent to the repeal by law."§

It appears from hence that the peace which the king seemed so much to desire was an empty sound. The queen was afraid he might be prevailed with to yield too far; 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 anything unhandsome to myself or my friends, it will be my own fault; I was afraid of being pressed to make some

Of course the doctor means to conclude that the king could not be influenced to obstruct the operation of the treaty by a letter which was never received. But it escaped Dr. Grey's attention, that the letter which he quotes was written more than a year after the treaty was broken off; and Mr. Neal speaks, on the authority of Bishop Burnet, of another letter, or expresses received, while the treaty was pending: so that there is no contradiction in the case.—Ed.

* Vol. ii., p. 594.

† Rapin, vol. ii., p. 511, 512, folio edition.

‡ Rushworth, vol. v., p. 942, 944, 946, 947.

§ Ibid., p. 978, 979.

mean overtures to renew the treaty, but now if it be renewed, it shall be to my honour and advantage."* Such was the queen's ascendant over the king, and his majesty's servile submission to her imperious dictates; † the fate of three kingdoms was at her disposal; no place at court or in the army must be disposed of without her approbation; no peace must be made but upon her terms; the Oxford mongrel Parliament, as his majesty calls it, must be dismissed with disgrace, because they voted for peace; the Irish Protestants must be abandoned to destruction; and a civil war permitted to continue its ravages throughout England and Scotland, that a popish religion and arbitrary government might be encouraged and upheld. ‡

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 publicly at present, engaging, upon 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

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 512, folio edition.

† We will leave with our readers Bishop Warburton's remarks on this reflection of Mr. Neal. "Never was the observation of the king's unhappy attachment made in a worse place. His honour required him not to give up his friends; and his religion, viz., the true principles of Christianity, to take off the penal laws from peaceable papists; and common humanity called upon him to favour those who had served him at the hazard of their lives and fortunes." It may be properly added, that religion, in the liberal sense in which his lordship explains the term, required the king to take off the penal laws from peaceable Puritans as well as papists. But in his majesty's dictionary the word does not appear to have borne so generous and just a meaning.—Ed.

‡ Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 364.

§ Dr. Grey treats this account of the Earl of Glamorgan's commission as a fine piece of slander, furnished by a tribe of Republican writers: and to confute it, he produces a letter from the king to the lord-lieutenant and council of Ireland, one from Colonel King, in Ireland, and another from Secretary Nicholas to the Marquis of Ormond. There is no occasion here to enter into a discussion of the question concerning the authority under which the Earl of Glamorgan acted; for, since Mr. Neal and Dr. Grey wrote, the point has been most carefully and ably investigated by Dr. Birch, in "An Inquiry into the Share which King Charles I. had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan," published in 1747. And the fact has been put out of all doubt by a letter of that nobleman to the Lord-chancellor Hyde, written a few days after King Charles II.'s restoration, which has appeared in the Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii., p. 20-203, and has been republished in the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii., p. 320, under the life of Dr. Birch. The general fact having been ascertained beyond all contradiction, the question which offers is, how far the king acted criminally in this transaction. Mrs. Macaulay represents him as violating every principle of honour and conscience. Mr. Hume, on the contrary, speaks of it as a very innocent transaction, in which the king was engaged by the most violent necessity. Dr. Birch considers it with temper, though he appears to think it not easily reconcilable to the idea of a good man,

warrant is remarkable, as 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 more to do than to sit still and be restored upon his own terms, for which reason he was so unyielding at the treaty of Uxbridge; and yet the earl, by his majesty's commission, granted everything to the Irish, even to the establishing the Roman Catholic 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 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 of reliance on the king's promises! and, consequently, to whose account the calamities of the war, and the misery and confusions which followed after this period, ought to be placed.

The day before the commencement of the treaty of Uxbridge, the members of the House of Commons attended the funeral of Mr. John White, chairman of the grand committee of religion, and publisher of the "Century of Scandalous Ministers;" he was a grave lawyer, says Lord Clarendon, and made a considerable figure in his profession. He had been one of the feoffees for buying in impropriations, for which he was censured in the Star Chamber. He was representative in Parliament for the borough of Southwark; having been a Puritan from his youth, and, in the opinion of Mr. Whitelocke,* an honest, learned, and faithful servant of the public, though somewhat severe at the committee for plundered ministers. He died January 29, and was buried in the Temple Church with great funeral solemnity. †

a good prince, or a good Protestant. Mr. Walpole has some candid and lively reflections on it: "It requires," he observes, "very primitive resignation in a monarch to sacrifice his crown and his life, when persecuted by subjects of his own sect, rather than preserve both by the assistance of others of his subjects who differ from him in ceremonials or articles of belief. His fault was not in proposing to bring over the Irish, but in having made them necessary to his affairs. Everybody knew that he wanted to do without them all that he could have done with them."—*Biographia Britannica*, second edition, vol. ii., p. 321, note.—Ed. See *Rushworth*, vol. vi., p. 239, &c. *Rapin*, p. 330. *Hist. Stuarts*, p. 305.

* Memorials, p. 122.

† Dr. Grey, on the authority of Walker, "charges Mr. White with corrupt practices by the way of bribery; says that Dr. Bruno Ryves called him a fornicating Brownist, and that the author of *Persec. Undec.* suggests much worse against him; and, on the testimony of an anonymous author, represents him as dying distracted, crying out how many clergymen, their wives and children, he had undone; raving and condemning himself at his dying hour for his undoing so many guiltless ministers." Such representations carry little weight with them against the testimony of Clarendon and Whitelocke, especially when it is considered that the obnoxious part which Mr. White acted would necessarily create many enemies; some of whom would invent, and

others easily credit, the most reproachful calumnies against him. Dr. Calamy and Mr. Withers, whom Dr. Grey never notices, having sufficiently exposed the partiality and credulity of Dr. Walker to render his assertions suspicious. And it should not be over-

looked, as a strong presumption at least of the purity of Mr. White's character and the integrity of his proceedings, that he appealed to the public by his *Century of Scandalous Ministers.*—Ed.

END OF VOL. I.













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