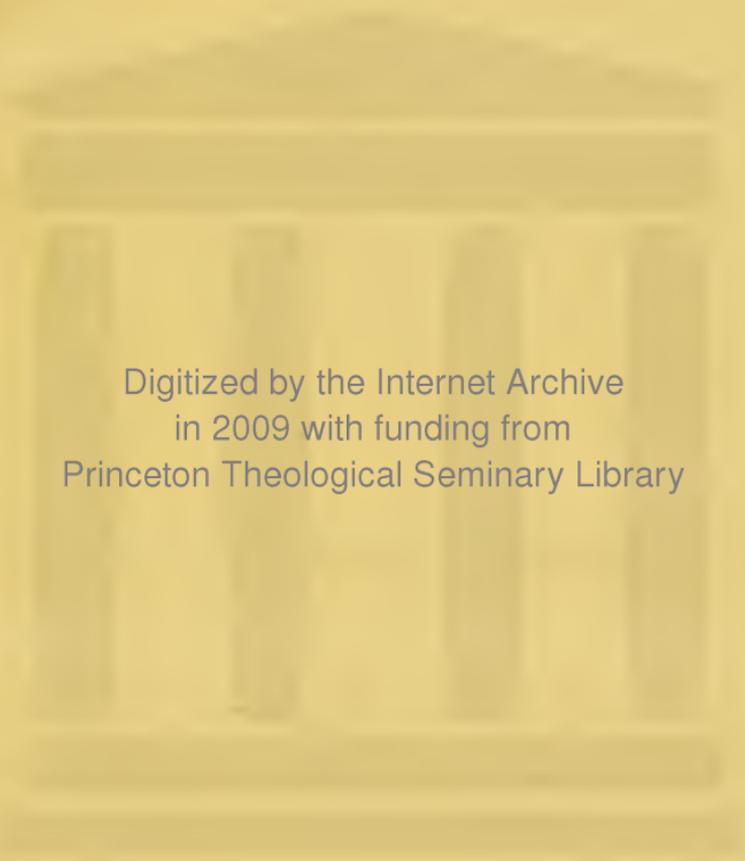


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THE
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS;

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.

A NEW EDITION, IN THREE VOLUMES.

REPRINTED FROM

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WITH HIS LIFE OF THE AUTHOR AND ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS.

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED.

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PART IV.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INTERREGNUM FROM THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. 1659.

UPON the death of the protector, all the discontented spirits who had been subdued by his administration resumed their courage, and within the compass of one year revived the confusions of the preceding ten. Richard Cromwell, being proclaimed protector upon his father's decease, received numberless addresses from all parts *, congratulating his accession to the dignity of protector, with assurances of lives and fortunes cheerfully devoted to support his title. He was a young gentleman of a calm and peaceable temper, but had by no means the capacity or resolution of his father, and was therefore unfit to be at the helm in such boisterous times. He was highly caressed by the Presbyterians, though he set out upon the principles of general toleration, as appears by his declaration of November 25, entitled, "A proclamation for the better encouraging godly ministers and others;" and for their enjoying their dues and liberties, according to law, without being molested with indictments for not using the Common Prayer-book.

The young protector summoned a parliament to meet on the 27th of January 1658—9. The elections were not according to the method practised by his father, but according to the old constitution, because it was apprehended that the smaller boroughs might be more easily influenced than cities and counties; but it

* Of these addresses, Dr. Grey says, "nothing ever exceeded them in point of flattery, except those canting addresses of the dissenters to king James upon his indulgence:" and he gives several at length, as specimens of the strain of adulation in which they were drawn up, from different corporations: from which the reader will see that mayors, recorders, and aldermen, of that day could rival the Independent ministers, whom the doctor reproaches as "most foully guilty," in their effusions of flattery. In truth, all were paying their devoirs to the rising sun.—ED.

was ill judged to break in upon the instrument of government, by which he held his protectorship. The parliament met according to appointment, but did little business, the lower house not being willing to own the upper. The army was divided into two grand factions; the Wallingford-house party, which was for a commonwealth; and the Presbyterian, which with the majority of the parliament was for the protector. The Wallingford-house party, of which Fleetwood and Desborough were the head, invited Dr. Owen and Dr. Manton to their consultations. Dr. Owen went to prayer before they entered on business, but Dr. Manton, being late before he came, heard a loud voice from within, saying, He must down, and he shall down. Manton knew the voice to be Dr. Owen's, and understood him to mean the deposing of Richard, and therefore would not go in. But the writer of Dr. Owen's life discredits this story; though, in my opinion, it is very probable, for the doctor inclined to a republican government: he sided with the army, and drew up their address against Oliver's being king: upon which he declined in the protector's favour, and as soon as Richard became chancellor of Oxford, he turned him out of the vice-chancellorship. The cabinet-council at Wallingford-house having gained over several to their party, prevailed with Richard to consent to their erecting a general council of officers, though he could not but know they designed his ruin, being all republicans; and therefore, instead of supporting the protector, they presented a remonstrance, complaining of the advancement of disaffected persons, and that the good old cause was ridiculed. Richard, sensible of his fatal mistake, by the advice of lord Broghill dissolved the council, and then the parliament voted they should meet no more; but the officers bid him defiance, and like a company of sovereign dictators armed with power, sent the protector a peremptory message to dissolve the parliament, telling him that it was impossible for him to keep both the army and parliament at his devotion, but that he might choose which he would prefer; if he dissolved the parliament he might depend upon the army, but if he refused, they would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. Upon this the timorous gentleman being at a plunge, and destitute of his father's courage, submitted to part with the only men who could support him.

After the dissolution of the parliament, Richard became a cipher in the government; lord Broghill, afterward earl of Orrery, advised him to the last to support the parliament and declare against the council of officers; and if he had allowed the captain of his guard at the same time to have secured Fleetwood and Desborough, as he undertook to do with the hazard of his life, he might have been established; but the poor-spirited protector told him, that he was afraid of blood; upon which the captain, lord Howard, made his peace with the king. The officers at Wallingford-house, having carried their point, published a declaration about twelve days after, without so much as asking the protector's

leave, inviting the remains of the long-parliament to resume the government, who immediately declared their resolutions for a commonwealth without a single person, or house of peers. Thus was the grandeur of Cromwell's family destroyed by the pride and resentment of some of its own branches: Fleetwood had married the widow of Ireton, one of Oliver's daughters, and being disappointed of the protectorship by his last will, was determined that no single person should be his superior. Desborough, who had married Oliver's sister, joined in the fatal conspiracy. Lambert, whom Oliver had dismissed the army, was called from his retirement to take his place among the council of officers. These, with sir H. Vane, and one or two more behind the curtain, subverted the government, and were the springs of all the confusions of this year, as is evident by the letters of Mr. Henry Cromwell, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, now before me, who saw farther into their intrigues at that distance, than the protector who was upon the spot. I shall take the liberty to transcribe some passages out of them to my present purpose.

Upon the surprising news of Oliver's death, he writes to his brother, September 18, 1658,—“ I am so astonished at the news of my dear father's sickness and death, that I know not what to say or write on so grievous an occasion; but the happy news of leaving your highness his successor gives some relief, not only on account of the public, but of our poor family, which the goodness of God has preserved from the contempt of our enemies. I may say without vanity, that your highness has been proclaimed here with as great joy, and general satisfaction (I believe), as in the best-affected places of England; and I make no doubt of the dutiful compliance of the army. Now, that the God of your late father and mine, and your highness's predecessor, would support you, and pour down a double portion of the same spirit that was so eminently in him, and would enable you to walk in his steps, and do worthily for his name namesake and people, and continually preserve you in so doing, is the prayer of

“ Yours, &c. H. C.”

In another letter of the same date, sent by an express messenger, he writes, that “ he had caused a very dutiful address to be sent to the army, which had been already signed by several of the field officers, and when perfected, should be sent to him as a witness against any single officer that should hereafter warp from his obedience; so that I may and do assure your highness of the active subjection of this army to your government, and will answer for it with my life.—”

In his letter of October 20, 1658, he says, “ If the account be true which I have received of the state of affairs in England, I confess it is no more than I looked for, only I had some hopes it might have been prevented by keeping all officers at their respective charges; but as things now stand, I doubt the flood is so strong you can neither stem it nor come to an anchor, but must

be content to go adrift and expect the ebb. I thought those whom my father had raised from nothing would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavour to destroy his family before he is in his grave. Why do I say I thought, when I know ambition and affection of empire never had any bounds. I cannot think these men will ever rest till they are in the saddle; and we have of late years been so used to changes, that it will be but a nine days' wonder; and yet I fear there is no remedy, but what must be used gradually and *pedetentim*. Sometimes I think of a parliament, but am doubtful whether sober men will venture to embark themselves when things are in so high a distraction; or if they would, whether the army can be restrained from forcing elections.—I am almost afraid to come over to your highness, lest I should be kept there, and so your highness lose this army, which, for aught I know, is the only stay you have, though I cannot but earnestly desire it. I also think it dangerous to write freely to you, for I make no question but all the letters will be opened that pass between us, unless they come by a trusty messenger. I pray God help you, and bless your councils.

“ I remain yours, &c. H. C.”

In a letter of the same date to his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, he writes:

“ Dear Brother,

“ I received your account of the petition of the officers; but pray give me leave to expostulate with you; How came these two or three hundred officers together? If they came of their own heads, their being absent from their charge without licence would have flown in their face when they petitioned for a due observance of martial discipline. If they were called together, were they not also taught what to say and do? If they were called, was it with his highness's privity? If they met without leave in so great a number, were they told of their error? I shall not meddle with the matter of their petition; but, dear brother, I must tell you, I hear that dirt was thrown upon his late highness at that great meeting: that they were exhorted to stand up for that good old cause which had long lain asleep.—I thought my father had pursued it to the last. He died, praying for those that desired to trample on his dust. Let us then not render evil for good, and make his memory stink before he is under ground. Let us remember his last legacy, and for his sake render his successor considerable, and not make him vile, a thing of nought, and a by-word. Whither do these things tend? What a hurly-burly is there! One hundred Independent ministers called together; a council, as you call it, of two or three hundred officers of a judgment. Remember what has always befallen imposing spirits. Will not the loins of an imposing Independent or Anabaptist, be as heavy as the loins of an imposing prelate or presbytery? And is it a dangerous opinion, that dominion is founded in grace, when it is held by the church of Rome, and a sound

principle when it is held by the fifth-monarchy men? Dear brother, let us not fall into the sins of other men, lest we partake of their plagues. Let it be so carried, that all the people of God, though under different forms; yea, even those whom you count without, may enjoy their birthright and civil liberty; and that no one party may tread upon the neck of another. It does not become the magistrate to descend into parties; but can the things you do tend to this end? Can these things be done, and the world not think his highness a knave or a fool, or oppressed with mutinous spirits? Dear brother, my spirit is sorely oppressed with the consideration of the miserable state of the innocent people of these nations: what have these sheep done that their blood should be the price of our lust and ambition? Let me beg you to remember, how his late highness loved you; how he honoured you with the highest trust, by leaving the sword in your hand, which must defend or destroy us. And his declaring his highness his successor, shews that he left it there to preserve him and his reputation. O brother! use it to curb extravagant spirits, and busy-bodies, but let not the nations be governed by it. Let us take heed of arbitrary power; let us be governed by the known laws of the land; and let all things be kept in their proper channels; and let the army be so governed, that the world may never hear of them unless there be occasion to fight. And truly, brother, you must pardon me, if I say God, and man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all miscarriages of the army, in point of discipline, at your door. You see I deal freely and plainly with you, as becomes your friend, and a good subject. And the great God, in whose presence I speak, knows that I do it not to reproach you, but out of my tender affection and faithfulness to you. And you may rest assured, that you shall always find me your true friend and loving brother.

“H. C.”

In other letters to lord Broghill, afterward earl of Orrery, with whom he maintained an intimate correspondence, “he complains of his being forbid to come over into England; and that the clause in his new commission was left out; namely, the power of appointing a deputy, or juries, in order to prevent his coming over to England, which he hopes his highness will permit, there being much more cause to press it now than ever.” “I find (says he in a letter to the protector) that my enemies have sentenced me to an honourable banishment; I am not conscious of any crime which might deserve it; but if they can denounce judgment upon my innocence, they will easily be able to make me criminal. They have already begot a doubt among my friends, whether all be right; but I will rather submit to any sufferings with a good name, than be the greatest man upon earth without it.”—In a letter to secretary Thurloe, he writes, “that since he was not allowed to leave Ireland, he could do no more than sit still and look on. The elections for parliament are like to be

good here (says he), though I could wish the writs had come timely that the members might have been there before they had been excluded by a vote, which, it is said, will be the first thing brought upon the stage."—From these, and some other of his letters, it is natural to conclude, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood was at the head of the councils which deposed Richard, which might be owing either to his republican principles, or to his disappointment of the protectorship. However, when he found he could not keep the army within bounds, who were for new changes, he retired from public business, and spent the remainder of his life privately among his friends at Stoke-Newington, where he died soon after the Revolution, being more remarkable for piety and devotion than for courage and deep penetration in politics*.

To return:—After the Rump parliament had sat about a week, the officers petitioned, "1. That the laws might have their free course. 2. That all public debts unsatisfied might be paid. 3. That all who profess faith in the holy Trinity, and acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be the revealed will of God, may have protection and encouragement in the profession of their religion, while they give no disturbance to the state, except Papists, Prelatists, and persons who teach licentious doctrines. 4. That the two universities, and all schools of learning, may be countenanced. 5. That those who took part with the king in the late wars, or are notoriously disaffected to the parliament's cause, may be removed from all places of trust. 6. That the protector's debts be paid, and an allowance of 10,000*l.* per annum be allowed to Richard and his heirs for ever. 7. That there may be a representative of the people, consisting of one house, successively chosen by the people: and that the government of the nation may be placed in such a representative body, with a select senate co-ordinate in power; and that the administration of all executive power of government may be in a council of state, consisting of a convenient number of persons eminent for godliness, and who are, in principle, for the present cause."

The parliament thanked the officers for their petition, but postponed the affair relating to Richard, till he should acquiesce in the change of government. The protector, having parted with the parliament, who were his chief support, had not the resolution to strike a bold stroke for three kingdoms, but tamely submitted to resign his high dignity †, by a writing under his hand, after he

* "He thought that prayers superseded the use of carnal weapons, and that 'it was sufficient to trust in the hand of Providence without exerting the arm of flesh.' He would fall on his knees and pray when he heard of a mutiny among the soldiers; and was with the utmost difficulty roused to action on several emergencies." Gran-ger's History of England, vol. 3. 8vo. p. 17.—ED.

† Richard Cromwell has been reproached as "extremely pusillanimous," as "a fool and a sot," and "a titmous prince," because he yielded to the times, and relinquished power and royalty. "But in the name of common sense (says Dr. Harris with virtuous animation), what was there weak and foolish in laying down a burden too heavy for the shoulders? What in preferring the peace and welfare

had enjoyed it eight months. How little the soul of Oliver survived in his son Richard may be seen by this conduct! His brother Henry, who was at the head of an army in Ireland, offered to come immediately to his assistance, but was forbid, and the timorous young gentleman returned to a private life, with more seeming satisfaction than he had accepted the sovereignty. Upon his quitting Whitehall, and the other royal palaces, the parliament voted him a maintenance, but refused to concern themselves with his father's debts *, the payment whereof swept away the greatest part of his estate, which was far from being large, considering the high preferments his father had enjoyed for several years. This was a farther contempt thrown upon the protector's memory; former obligations were forgotten, and a new council of state being chosen, the nation seemed to slide peaceably into a commonwealth government.

The Presbyterians would have been content with Richard's government; but seeing no likelihood of restoring the covenant, or coming into power, by the Rump-parliament, which was chiefly made up of enthusiasts, and declared enemies to monarchy, they entered into a kind of confederacy with the royalists, to restore the king and the old constitution. The particulars of this union (says Rapin) are not known, because the historians who write of it, being all royalists, have not thought fit to do so much honour to the Presbyterians. But it is generally agreed, that from this time the Presbyterians appeared no longer among the king's enemies, but very much promoted his restoration. Upon the foundation of this union, an insurrection was formed in several parts of the country, which was discovered by sir Richard Willis, a correspondent of secretary Thurloe's, so that sir George Booth, a Presbyterian,

of men, to blood and confusion, the necessary consequences of retaining the government? Or what, in a word, in resigning the power to such as, by experience, had been found fully equal to it, and intent on promoting the common welfare? Ambition, glory, fame, sound well in the ears of the vulgar; and men, excited by them, have seldom failed to figure in the eyes of the world: but the man who can divest himself of empire for the sake of his fellow-men, must, in the eye of reason, be entitled to a much higher renown, than the purpled hero who leads them on to slaughter, though provinces or kingdoms are gained to him thereby."

Ambition, cease: the idle contest end:

'Tis but a kingdom thou canst win or lose.

And why must murder'd myriads lose their all

(If life be all); why desolation lour

With famish'd frown on this affrighted ball,

That thou mayst flame the meteor of an hour.—MASON.

Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 214.—ED.

* The parliament instituted, however, an inquiry into the debts of Richard Cromwell and a schedule of them was given in; by which it appeared, that Richard even after having reduced his father's debts from 28,000*l.* to 23,550*l.* owed 29,640*l.* It was resolved to acquit Richard Cromwell from this debt, and to provide for the payment of it by the sale of the plate, hangings, goods, and furniture, in Whitehall and Hampton-court, belonging to the state, which could be conveniently spared. It was also resolved to settle on him an annuity of 8,700*l.* so as to make to him with his own fortune a yearly income of 10,000*l.* But, through the changes that followed, Richard Cromwell derived no benefit from these resolutions. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 241. Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 208, &c.—ED.

had an opportunity of appearing about Chester, at the head of five or six hundred men, declaring for a free parliament, without mentioning the king; but he and sir Thomas Middleton, who joined him, were defeated by Lambert, and made prisoners *. The king and duke of York came to Calais, to be in readiness to embark in case it succeeded, but upon the news of its miscarriage they retired, and his majesty, in despair, determined to rely upon the Roman-Catholic powers for the future. Several of the Presbyterian ministers appeared in this insurrection, as the reverend Mr. Newcombe of Manchester, Mr. Eaton of Walton, and Mr. Finch chaplain to sir George Booth, all afterward ejected by the act of uniformity.

The parliament, to secure the republican government, first appointed an oath of abjuration, whereby they renounced allegiance to Charles Stuart, and the whole race of king James, and promised fidelity to the commonwealth, without a single person or the house of peers. They then attempted the reduction of the army, which had set them up, depending upon the assurances general Monk had given them from Scotland, of his army's entire submission to their orders; but the English officers, instead of submitting, stood in their own defence, and presented another petition to the house, desiring their former address from Wallingford-house might not lie asleep, but that Fleetwood, whom they had chosen for their general, might be confirmed in his high station. The house demurred upon the petition, and seeing there was like to be a new contest for dominion, endeavoured to divide the officers, by cashiering some, and paying others their arrears. Upon this the officers presented a third petition to the same purpose; but the parliament, being out of all patience, told them their complaints were without just grounds, and cashiered nine of their chiefs, among whom were lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Kelsey, Cobbet, and others of the first rank: by means whereof things were brought to this crisis, that the army must submit to the parliament, or instantly dissolve them. The discarded officers resolved on the latter, for which purpose, October 13, Lambert with his forces secured all the avenues to the parliament-house, and as the speaker passed by Whitehall he rode up to his coach, and having told him there was nothing to be done at Westminster, commanded major Creed to conduct him back to his house. At the same time all the members were stopped in their passage, and prevented from taking their seats in parliament; Fleetwood having placed a strong guard at the door of the parliament-house for that purpose. Thus the remains of the long parliament, after they had sat five months and six days, having no army to support them, were turned out of their house a second time, by a company of headstrong officers,

* The parliament so much resented this insurrection, that they disfranchised the city of Chester. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 242.—ED.

who knew how to pull down, but could not agree upon any form of government to set up in its place.

There being now a perfect anarchy, the officers, who were masters of the nation, first appointed a council of ten of their own body to take care of the public, and having restored their general officers, they concluded upon a select number of men to assume the administration, under the title of a Committee of Safety, which consisted of twenty-three persons who had the same authority and power that the late council of state had, to manage all public affairs, till they could agree upon a new settlement. The people of England were highly disgusted with these changes, but there was no parliament or king to fly to; many of the gentry therefore from several parts sent letters to general Monk in Scotland, inviting him to march his army into England to obtain a free parliament, and promising him all necessary assistance.

The committee of safety, being aware of this, attempted an accommodation with Monk by Clarges his brother-in-law, but without success; for they had not sat above a fortnight before they received letters from Scotland full of reproaches for their late violation of faith to the parliament, and of the general's resolution to march his army into England to restore them. Upon this Lambert was sent immediately to the frontiers, who, quartering his soldiers about Newcastle, put a stop to Monk's march for about a month. In the meantime, the general, in order to gain time, sent commissioners to London, to come to terms with the committee of safety, who were so supple, that a treaty was concluded November 15, but when it was brought to Monk he pretended his commissioners had exceeded their instructions, and refused to ratify it. The council of state, therefore, which sat before the Rump-parliament was interrupted, taking advantage of this, resolved to gain over Monk to their party, and being assembled privately, sent him a commission, constituting him general of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which was the very thing he desired.

At this juncture died serjeant Bradshaw, who sat as judge and pronounced sentence of death on king Charles at his trial: he died with a firm belief of the justice of putting his majesty to death in the manner it was done, and said that if it were to do again, he would be the first man that should do it: he was buried in a very pompous manner in Westminster-abbey, being attended by most of the members of the long-parliament, and other gentlemen of quality, November 22, 1659, but his body was not suffered to rest long in its grave.

The general having secured Scotland, and put garrisons into the fortified places, marched to the borders with no more than five thousand men; but while Lambert was encamped about Newcastle to oppose his progress, it appeared that the nation was sick of the frenzies of the officers, and willing to prefer any government

to the present anarchy; Portsmouth, and part of the fleet revolted, and declared for a free parliament, as did several of the detachments of the army; upon which Lambert retired towards London, and made way for Monk's entering England. The committees of safety, seeing all things in confusion, and not knowing whom to trust, resigned their authority, and restored the parliament, which met again December 26, and would now have been glad to have had Monk back again in Scotland: for this purpose they sent letters to acquaint him with their restoration, and that now he might return to his government in Scotland: but the general, having entered England January 2, continued his march towards London, designing a new as well as a free parliament. When he came to York, lord Fairfax received him into that city, and declared for a new and free parliament; as did the London apprentices, and great numbers of all ranks and orders of men, both in city and country. The Rump being suspicious that Monk had some farther design, either of establishing himself after the example of Cromwell, or of restoring the king, obliged him to take the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart, already mentioned, and to swear, that by the grace and assistance of Almighty God, he would be true, faithful, and constant, to the parliament and commonwealth; and that he would oppose the bringing in or setting up any single person or house of lords in this commonwealth. They also sent Mr. Scot and Robinson to be spies upon his conduct, who came to him at Leicester, where he received addresses from divers parts, to restore the secluded Presbyterian members of 1648, which was the first step towards the king's restoration. Thus a few giddy politicians at the head of an army, through ambition, envy, lust of power, or because they knew not what to carve out for themselves, threw the whole kingdom back into confusion, and made way for that restoration they were most afraid of, and which, without their own quarrels, and insulting every form of government that had been set up, could not have been accomplished.

When the general came to St. Albans, he sent a message to desire the parliament to remove the regiments quartered in the city to some distance, which they weakly complied with, and made way for Monk's entrance with his forces in a sort of triumph, February 3, 1659—60. Being conducted to the parliament-house, the speaker gave him thanks for his great and many services; and the general having returned the compliment, acquainted the house, "that several applications had been made to him in his march from Scotland, for a full and free parliament; for the admission of the secluded members in 1648, without any previous oath or engagement, and that the present parliament would determine their sitting. To all which he had replied, that they were now a free parliament, and had voted to fill up their house in order to their being a full parliament; but to restore the secluded members without a previous oath to the present government, is

what had never been done in England; but he took the liberty to add, that he was of opinion, that the fewer oaths the better, provided they took care that neither the cavaliers nor fanatics should have any share in the administration."

The citizens of London being Presbyterians fell in with Monk, in hopes of a better establishment, and came to a bold resolution in common-council, February 17, to pay no more taxes till the parliament was filled up. Upon this the house, to shew their resentment, ordered the general to march into the city; to seize eleven of the most active common-councilmen, and to pull down their gates, chains, and portcullisses. This was bidding them defiance, at a time when they ought to have courted their friendship. Monk, having arrested the common-councilmen, prayed the parliament to suspend the execution of the remaining part, but they insisting upon his compliance, he obeyed. The citizens were enraged at this act of violence; and Monk's friends told him, that his embroiling himself with the city in this manner would inevitably be his ruin, for without their assistance he could neither support himself nor obtain another parliament; people being now generally of opinion with Oliver Cromwell, that the Rump-parliament was designed to be perpetual, and their government as arbitrary as the most despotic king. Monk, therefore, convinced of his mistake, resolved to reconcile himself to the magistracy of the city, in order to which, he sent his brother Clarges to assure them of his concern for what he had done; and having summoned a council of officers in the night, he sent a letter to the parliament, insisting upon their issuing out writs to fill up their house, and when filled, to rise at an appointed time, and give way to a full and free parliament. Upon reading this letter the house voted him thanks, and sent to acquaint him, that they were taking measures to satisfy his request; but the general, not willing to trust himself in their hands, broke up from Whitehall, and having been invited by the lord mayor of London, and the chief Presbyterian ministers, marched his whole army into the city; and a common-council being called, he excused his late conduct, and acquainted them with the letter he had sent to the house, assuring them, that he would now stand by them to the utmost of his power. This appeased the angry citizens, and caused them to treat him as their friend, notwithstanding what had happened the day before. When the news of this reconciliation was spread through the town, the parliament were struck with surprise; but there was a perfect triumph among the people, the bells rung, bonfires were made, and numbers of rumps thrown into them, in contempt of the parliament.

The general, being now supported by the citizens, proceeded to restore the secluded members of 1648, who were of the Presbyterian party*: for this purpose he appointed a conference

* Dr. Grey has given a list of those secluded members. Examination, vol. 3. p. 250.—ED.

between them and some of the sitting members, which miscarried, because the sitting members could not undertake that the parliament would stand to their agreement. Upon which Monk resolved to restore them immediately by force, lest the parliament and their army should come to an accommodation, and dislodge him from the city. Accordingly he summoned the secluded members to Whitehall, February 24, and having acquainted them with his design, exhorted them to take care of the true interest of the nation, and told them "that the citizens of London were for a commonwealth, the old foundations of monarchy being so broken that it could not be restored but upon the ruins of the people, who had engaged for the parliament; for if the king should return (says he) he will govern by arbitrary will and power. Besides, if the government of the state be monarchical, the church must follow, and prelacy be brought in, which I know the nation cannot bear, and have sworn against; and therefore a moderate, not a rigid Presbyterian government, with liberty of conscience, will be the most acceptable way to the church's settlement.*" He then obliged them to subscribe the following articles: "1. To settle the armies so as to preserve the peace. 2. To provide for their support, and pay their arrears. 3. To constitute a council of state for Scotland and Ireland. And, 4. To call a new parliament and dissolve the present." And so dismissed them with a strong party of guards to see them take their places in the house. This speech was very different from what is pretended the general had in view, and seems to have been drawn up by some of the moderate Presbyterians, with whom he kept a close correspondence. And though he did not turn the members out of the house as Cromwell did, yet his discharging the parliament-guards, and placing a strong body of his own horse at the door, without leave of the parliament, gave them sufficiently to understand, what would be the consequence of their making opposition.

The house thus enlarged became entirely Presbyterian. They ratified the vote of December 1648, viz. that the king's concessions at the Isle of Wight were a sufficient ground for peace.—They annulled the engagement of 1649.—They put the militia into new hands, with this limitation, that none should be employed in that trust but who would first declare under their hands, that they believed the war raised by both houses of parliament against the king was just and lawful, till such time as force and violence were used upon the parliament in 1648.—They repealed the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart.—They appointed a new council of state, and declared for a free commonwealth—for a learned and pious ministry—for the continuance of tithes, and for the augmentation of smaller livings by the tenths and first-fruits.—They resolved to encourage the two universities, and all other

* Kennet's Chron. p. 63, 64.

schools of learning.—And, to content the Independents, they voted, that provision should be made for a due liberty of conscience in matters of religion, according to the word of God.

Thus all things seemed to return to the condition they were in at the treaty of the Isle of Wight. The Presbyterians being now again in the saddle, a day of thanksgiving was kept; after which the city-ministers petitioned for the redress of sundry grievances; as, 1. “That a more effectual course be taken against the Papists. 2. That the Quakers be prohibited opening their shops on the sabbath-day. 3. That the public ministers may not be disturbed in their public services.” They requested the house to establish the assembly’s Confession of Faith, Directory, and Catechisms; to appoint persons for approbation of ministers, till the next parliament should take farther order; and to call another assembly of divines, to be chosen by the ministers of the several counties, to heal the divisions of the nation*.

In answer to these requests, the house agreed to a bill, March 2, for approbation of public ministers, according to the Directory, and named Mr. Manton, and several others of the Presbyterian persuasion, for that service; which passed into an act March 14. They declared for the assembly’s Confession of Faith, except the thirtieth and thirty-first chapters of discipline, and appointed a committee to prepare an act, declaring it to be the public confession of faith of the church of England. The act passed the house March 5, and was ordered to be printed; Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Manton, and Mr. Calamy, to have the care of the press. On the same day they ordered the solemn league and covenant to be reprinted, and set up in every church in England, and read publicly by the minister once every year.

Thus presbytery was restored to all the power it had ever enjoyed; and the ministers of that persuasion were in full possession of all the livings in England. A reform was made in the militia; and the chief places of profit, trust, and honour, were put into their hands. The army was in disgrace; the Independents deprived of all their influence, and all things managed by the Presbyterians, supported by Monk’s forces. After this the long-parliament passed an act for their own dissolution, and for calling a new parliament to meet April 25, 1660, the candidates for which were to declare under their hands, that the war against the late king was just and lawful †; and all who had assisted in any war against the parliament since January 1, 1641, they and their sons were made incapable of being elected, unless they had since manifested their good affection to the parliament ‡. They then

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 52. 75.

† This was the requisition put to such as sought a commission in the army, rather than to candidates for a seat in parliament: though Kennet, in his margin, applies it to the eligibility of members. He says nothing of the candidates being obliged to sign the declaration. So that Mr. Neal is not quite accurate in his statement of this matter.—ED.

‡ Kennet’s Chron. p. 85.

appointed a new council of state, consisting of thirty-one persons, to take care of the government; and dissolved themselves March 16, after they had sat, with sundry intermissions, nineteen years, four months, and thirteen days.

We are now come to the dawn of the Restoration, of which general Monk has had the reputation of being the chief instrument. This gentleman was son of sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge in Devonshire, and served the king in the wars for some years, but being taken prisoner he changed sides, and acted for the parliament. He afterward served Oliver Cromwell, and was by him left commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, from whence he now marched into England to restore the parliament. Lord Clarendon and Echard say, "he was of a reserved nature, of deep thoughts, and of few words; and what he wanted in fine elocution he had in sound judgment. That he had a natural secrecy in him, prevalent upon all his qualifications of a soldier; a strong body, a mind not easily disordered, an invincible courage, and a sedate and uniform contempt of death, without any frenzy of fanaticism or superstition to turn his head." This is the language of flattery. Others have set him forth in a very different light; they admit, that he was bold and enterprising, but had nothing of the gentleman, nor had any depth of contrivance; that he was perpetually wavering, and betrayed all whom he served but Cromwell. Ludlow says, he was a man of covetous temper, and of no principles; of a vicious life and scandalous conversation. Father Orleans says, that he was a man of slow understanding. And Whitelocke reports, that the French ambassador said, he had neither sense nor breeding. The truth is, he had a cloudy head, and in no action of his life discovered a quick or fine genius. In the latter part of life he was sordidly covetous, and sunk into most of the vices of the times. No man ever went beyond him in dissimulation and falsehood, as appears in this very affair of the king's restoration. He took the abjuration-oath once under Oliver; and again this very year, whereby he renounced the title of Charles Stuart, and swore to be true to the commonwealth, without a single person or house of lords*. And yet in his first message to the king by sir John Grenville, he assures his majesty, that his heart had been ever faithful to him, though he had not been in a condition to serve him till now†. When he came with his army to London, he assured the Rump-parliament of his cheerful obedience to all their commands, and desired them to be very careful that the cavalier party might have no share in the civil or military power. When he restored the secluded members, he promised the parliament to take effectual care that they should do no hurt. When the commonwealth's men expressed their fears, and asked the general whether he would join with them against the king, he replied, "I have

* Welwood's Mem. p. 117, &c.

† History of the Stuarts, p. 459.

often declared my resolution so to do;" and taking sir Arthur Haslerigge by the hand, he said, "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost, the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers." He then expostulated with them about their suspicions; "What is it I have done in bringing these members into the house? (says he.) Are they not the same that brought the king to the block, though others cut off his head, and that justly?" And yet this very man, within six months, condemned these persons to the gallows. Nay, farther, the general sent letters to all the regiments, assuring them that the government should continue a commonwealth, that they had no purpose to return to their old bondage, that is, monarchy; and if any made disturbances in favour of Charles Stuart, he desired they might be secured. So that if this gentleman was in the secret of restoring the king from his entrance into England, or his first coming to London, I may challenge all history to produce a scene of hypocrisy and dissimulation equal to his conduct. Dr. Welwood adds*, that he acted the part of a politician much better than that of a Christian; and carried on the thread of dissimulation with wonderful dexterity. Bishop Burnet differs from the doctor, and says, that "though he had both the praise and the reward, yet a very small share of the restoration belonged to him.—The tide ran so strong that the general only went into it dexterously enough to get much fame and great rewards. If he had died soon after, he might have been more justly admired; but he lived long enough to make it known how false a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance†."

But before we relate the particulars of the Restoration, it will be proper to consider the abject state of the church of England, and the religion of the young king. If Cromwell had lived ten or twelve years longer, episcopacy might have been lost beyond recovery, for by that time the whole bench of bishops would have been dead, and there would have been none to consecrate or ordain for the future, unless they could have obtained a new conveyance from the church of Rome, or admitted the validity of Presbyterian ordination. This was the case in view, which induced some of the ancient bishops to petition the king to fill up the vacant sees with all expedition, in which they were supported by sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer, who prevailed with his majesty to nominate certain clergymen for those high preferments, and sent over a list of the names to Dr. Barwick, to be communicated by him to the bishops of London, Ely, Sarum, and others who were to be concerned in the consecration. It was necessary to carry on this design with a great deal of secrecy, lest the governing powers should secure the bishops, and by that means put a stop to the work. It was no less difficult to provide

* Memoirs, p. 117, 120.

† Burnet's History, vol. 1. p. 126. 12mo.

persons of learning and character who would accept the charge, when it would expose them to sufferings, as being contrary to the laws in being, and when there was no prospect of restoring the church. But the greatest difficulty of all was, how to do it in a canonical manner, when there were no deans and chapters to elect, and consequently no persons to receive a *congé d'elire*, according to ancient custom.

Several expedients were proposed for removing this difficulty. Sir Edward Hyde was of opinion, that the proceeding should be by a mandate from the king to any three or four bishops, by way of collation, upon the lapse, for the dean and chapters' nonelection. But it was objected, that the supposal of a lapse would impair the king's prerogative more than the collation would advance it, because it would presuppose a power of election *pleno iure* in the deans and chapters, which they have only *de facultate regia*; nor could they petition for such a licence, because most of the deans were dead, some chapters extinguished, and all of them so disturbed, that they could not meet in the chapter-house, where such acts regularly are to be performed.

Dr. Barwick*, who was in England, and corresponded with the chancellor, proposed that his majesty should grant his commission to the bishops of each province respectively, assembled in provincial council, or otherwise, as should be most convenient, to elect and consecrate fit persons for the vacant sees, with such dispensative clauses as should be found necessary upon the emergency of the case, his majesty signifying his pleasure concerning

* The Dr. Barwick to whom Mr. Neal refers was a singular and eminent character at this period; an active and zealous adherent to the kings Charles I. and II. He managed with great address and dexterity the correspondence of the first with the city of London, when he was at Oxford. He corresponded with the second while he was abroad: and was sent by the bishops, as will afterwards appear, with their instructions to him at Breda, where he preached before him, and was made one of his chaplains. He had the chief hand in the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, and wrote against the covenant. It was much owing to his influence, that the Cambridge plate was presented to the king: and he is said to have furnished lord Clarendon with a great part of the materials for his history. He was so dexterous in all his communications, as to elude the vigilance of Thurloe. He was born April 20, 1612, at Wetherslack in Westmoreland, and received his classical learning at Sedberg-school in Yorkshire, where he distinguished himself by acting the part of Hercules in one of Seneca's tragedies. In the eighteenth year of his age he was sent to St. John's college, Cambridge; where, so eminent were his abilities and attainments, he was chosen, when he was little more than twenty, by the members of his college, to be their advocate in a controverted election of a master, which was heard before the privy-council. He resided some time in Durham-house in London as chaplain to the bishop, Dr. Morton; who bestowed on him a prebend in his cathedral, and the rich rectories of Wolsingham and of Houghton-in-le-Spring. In 1660, Charles II. promoted him to the deanery of Durham; and before the end of the year he was removed from that dignity to the deanery of St. Paul's. On the 18th of February, 1661, he was chosen prolocutor of the convocation. He died in the year 1664, aged fifty-two. He united in his character, with his loyalty, sincere devotion with sanctity of manners, and an undaunted spirit under his sufferings in the royal cause, for which he was imprisoned in a dungeon in the Tower. He was then far gone in a consumption; but living upon gruel and vegetables, he, after some time, recovered to a miracle. See his *Life*; and Granger's *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 257, 8vo.—ED.

the persons and the sees, which commission may bear date before the action, and then afterward upon certificate, and petition to have his majesty's ratification and confirmation of the whole process, and the register to be drawn up accordingly by the chief actuary, who may take his memorials hence, and make up the record there.*

Dr. Bramhall, bishop of Derry, was for the Irish way, where the king has an absolute power of nomination; and therefore no way seemed to him so safe as consecrating the persons nominated to void sees in Ireland, and then removing them to others in England, which he apprehended would clearly elude all those formalities which seemed to perplex the affair; but this was thought an ill precedent, as it opened a door for destroying the privileges of the church of England in their capitular elections. The old bishop of Ely was so far from wishing, with Dr. Bramhall, that the Irish method might be introduced into England, that he said, if he should live to see the church restored, he would be an humble suitor to his majesty, that the privileges of the English church, in their elections of bishops, might be introduced into Ireland.

Dr. Wren bishop of Ely, and Dr. Cosins of Peterborough, were for an expedient something like the second, to which the court agreed, and Mr. Chancellor Hyde wrote to Dr. Barwick for the form of such a commission as they judged proper, and urged, that it might be dispatched with all possible expedition. The chancellor had this affair very much at heart, but the old bishops were fearful lest it should be discovered, in which case they were sure to be the sufferers. Dr. Brownrigge of Exeter, and Dr. Skinner of Oxford, declined meddling in the affair; the rest declared their willingness to advance the work, but lived in hopes there might be no occasion for the hazard. The chancellor, in one of his letters, says, the king was much troubled that no more care was taken of the church, by those who should be the guardians of it. He censures the slowness of the clergy, and says, it was very indecent, when their afflicted mother was in extremity, any of her sons should be timorous and fearful. Such were the chancellor's narrow principles, who seemed to hang the essence of Christianity, and the virtue of all divine ordinances, upon the conveyance of ecclesiastical power by an uninterrupted succession from the apostles.

The nonjurors had the like case in view after the Revolution, and provided for it in the best manner they could. But is not the Christian world in a sad condition, if the Christian bishop cannot be chosen or consecrated without a royal mandate, and the suffrage of a dean and chapter, when there were no such officers in the church for three hundred years after the apostles? and if the validity of all sacerdotal ministrations must depend on

* Life of Barwick, p. 204, Kennet's Chron. p. 14, 15.

a regular uninterrupted succession from St. Peter? especially as Baronius a Popish historian confesses, that in a succession of fifty popes not one pious or virtuous man sat in the chair; that there had been no popes for some years together; and at other times two or three at once; and when the same writer admits between twenty and thirty schisms, one of which continued fifty years, the popes of Avignon and Rome excommunicating each other, and yet conferring orders upon their several clergy. How impossible is it to trace the right line through so much confusion!

But with regard to the king, his concern for the regular consecration of Protestant bishops was a mere farce; for if he was not a Papist before this time, it is certain he was reconciled to the church of Rome this year, at the Pyrenean treaty concluded between France and Spain at Fontarabia, whither he had repaired *incognito* to engage them in his interest. Here the king stayed twenty days, in which time his majesty, with the earl of Bristol, and sir H. Bennet embraced the Roman-Catholic religion. The secret of this affair was well known to lord Clarendon, though he is pleased to mention it with great tenderness. "It is believed (says his lordship) by wise men, that in that treaty somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the Protestant interest; and that in a short time there would have been much done against it, both in France and Germany, if the measures they had then taken had not been shortly broken, chiefly by the surprising revolution in England, which happened the next year, and also by the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns, Don Lewis de Haro, and cardinal Mazarin, who both died not long after it*." But the secret of the king's reconciliation to the church of Rome has been more fully acknowledged of late years, by the eldest son of lord Clarendon, and by the duke of Ormond, who declared to several persons of honour, that "he himself, to his great surprise and concern, accidentally in a morning early, saw the king in the great church on his knees before the high altar, with several priests and ecclesiastics about him. That he was soon after confirmed in his sentiments by sir Henry Bennet and the earl of Bristol, who both owned the king to be a Catholic as well as themselves; but it was agreed, that this change should be kept as the greatest secret imaginable." There is another story, says bishop Kennet, which I have reason to think true: "Sir H. Bennet was soon after seen to wait on the king from mass, at which sight the lord Culpeper had so much indignation, that he went up to Bennet, and spoke to this effect; 'I see what you are at; is this the way to bring our master home to his three kingdoms? Well, sir, if ever you and I live to see England together, I will have your head, or you shall have mine;' which words struck such terror upon sir Harry Bennet, that he never durst set his foot in England till after the death of lord Culpeper, who met with a very surprising end soon after the king's return."†

* Echard, p. 751.

† Kennet, p. 238.

But though the prime-ministers of France and Spain were now first witnesses of his majesty's abjuring the Protestant religion, there are strong presumptions that he was a Papist long before, even before his brother James, if we may credit the testimony of his confessor, father Huddleston.* To the proofs of this fact already mentioned under the year 1652, I would add the testimony of the author of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, printed 1689, who writes thus; "The king's [Charles II.'s] apostacy is not of so late a date as the world is made commonly to believe, for though it was many years concealed, and the contrary pretended and dissembled, yet it is certain he abjured the Protestant religion soon after the exilement of the royal family, and was reconciled to the church of Rome at St. Germain's in France. Nor were several of the then-suffering bishops and clergy ignorant of this, though they had neither integrity nor courage to give the nation warning of it."† Bishop Burnet, in the *History of his Life and Times*, confirms this testimony from the cardinal minister, who sent an advertisement of it to the bishop himself; he says, "that before the king left Paris (which was in June, 1654) he changed his religion, but by whose persuasion is not yet known; only cardinal De Retz was in the secret, and lord Aubigny had a great hand in it. Chancellor Hyde had some suspicion of it, but would not suffer himself to believe it quite ‡." And sir Allen Broderick declared upon his death-bed, that king Charles II. made profession of the Popish religion at Fontainbleau, before he was sent out of France to Cologne.

The Dutch Protestants suspected the change, but the king denied it in the most public manner; for when he was at Brussels in the year 1658, he wrote the following letter to the reverend Mr. Cawton, the Presbyterian minister of the English congregation at Rotterdam.

"CHARLES REX.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have received so full testimony of your affection to our person, and zeal for our service, that we are willing to recommend an affair to you in which we are much concerned. We do not wonder, that the malice of our enemies should continue to lay all manner of scandals upon us, but are concerned that they should find credit with any to make our affection to the Protestant religion suspected, since the world cannot but take notice of our constant and uninterrupted profession of it in all places.—No man has or can more manifest his affection to and zeal for the Protestant religion than we have done. Now, as you cannot but have much conversation with the ministers of the Dutch church, we presume and expect that you will use your utmost diligence and dexterity to root out those unworthy aspersions, so maliciously and groundlessly laid upon us by wicked men; and that you assure all

* Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 126.

† Kennet's *Chron.* p. 598.

‡ Burnet, vol. 1, p. 103, 104, 12mo.

that will give credit to you, that we value ourselves so much upon that part of our title, of being defender of the faith, that no worldly consideration can ever prevail with us to swerve from it, and the Protestant religion in which we have been bred, the propagation whereof we shall endeavour with our utmost power. Given at Brussels, November 7, in the tenth year of our reign."

To carry on the disguise, Dr. Morley afterward bishop of Winchester was employed to write an apologetical letter to Dr. Trigland, the Dutch minister at the Hague, to assert and prove the king's steadfastness to the reformed faith and communion. The letter was dated June 7, 1659, a little before the king's going to the Pyrenean treaty, to engage the Roman-Catholic powers for his restoration*.

But to confirm the Presbyterians farther, and to put an end to all suspicions of his majesty's being turned Papist, sir Robert Murray and the countess of Balcarras were employed to engage the most eminent reformed ministers in France, to write to their Presbyterian brethren in England, and assure them of the king's steadfastness in the Protestant faith, and to excuse his not joining with the church at Charenton. Accordingly these credulous ministers, not being acquainted with the secret, wrote to their brethren at London to the following purpose:

Monsieur Raymond Gaches, pastor of the reformed church at Paris, to the Rev. Mr. Baxter, March 23, 1659—60;—"I know what odium has been cast upon the king; some are dissatisfied in his constancy to the true religion.—I will not answer what truly may be said, that it belongs not to subjects to inquire into the prince's religion; be he what he will, if the right of reigning belongs to him, obedience in civil matters is his due. But this prince never departed from the public profession of the true religion; nor did he disdain to be present at our religious assemblies at Roan and Rochelle, though he never graced our church at Paris with his presence, which truly grieved us†."—

Monsieur Drelincourt, another of the French pastors at Paris, writes, March 24,—“A report is here, that the thing which will hinder the king's restoration, is the opinion conceived by some, of his being turned Roman Catholic, and the fear that in time he will ruin the Protestant religion. But I see no ground for the report, his majesty making no profession of it, but on the contrary has rejected all the aids and advantages offered him upon that condition.—Charity is not jealous, and if it forbids us to suspect on slight grounds private persons, how can it approve jealousies upon persons so sacred! Besides, there are in the king's family, and among his domestics, some gentlemen of our religion, and my old friends; who at several times have given me assurances of the piety of this prince, and his stability in the profession he makes. Your Presbyterians are now intrusted with the honour

* Kennet's Chron. p. 95.

† Ibid. p. 91, 92.

of our churches; if they recall this prince without the intervening of any foreign power, they will acquire to themselves immortal glory, and stop their mouths for ever, who charge us falsely as enemies to royalty, and make appear that the maxim, No bishop no king, is falsely imputed to us.”—

The famous monsieur Daillé of Paris, in his letter of April 7, 1660, writes to the same purpose,—“ I know it is reported that the king has changed his religion; but who can believe a thing so contrary to all probability? Nothing of this appears to us; on the contrary we well know, that when he has resided in places where the exercise of his religion is not permitted, he has always had his chaplains with him, who have regularly performed divine service. Moreover, all Paris knows the anger the king expressed at the endeavours that were used to pervert the duke of Gloucester. And though it is objected, that he never came to our church at Charenton, yet as we are better informed of this than any one, we can testify, that religion was not the cause of it, but that it was upon political and prudential considerations, which may be peculiar to our church, for he has gone to sermon in Caen, and some other towns; and in Holland he heard some sermons from the famous monsieur More, our present colleague. Thus, sir, it is more clear than the day, that whatsoever has been reported till this time, of the change of this prince’s religion, is a mere calumny*.”

Monsieur de L’Angle, minister of the Protestant church at Rouen, wrote upon the same subject to his friend in London, more fully to evidence the king’s steadfastness in the Protestant religion. These letters were printed and industriously spread over the whole kingdom.

The king himself in his letter to the house of commons says, “ Do you desire the advancement of the Protestant religion? We have by our constant profession and practice given sufficient testimony to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and protestations of those of a contrary profession, could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it.”

It is a surprising reflection of Mr. Baxter†, upon occasion of these letters: “ These divines (says he) knew nothing of the state of affairs in England. They knew not those men who were to be restored with the king. They pray (says he) for the success of my labours, when they are persuading me to put an end to my labours by setting up those prelates, who will silence me and many hundreds more. They persuade me to that which will separate me from my flock, and then pray, that I may be a blessing to them; and yet (says he) I am for restoring the king, that when we are silenced, and our ministry at an end, and some of us lie in prisons, we may there and in that condition have peace of

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 94, 95.

† Life, part 2, p. 216.

conscience in the discharge of our duty, and the exercise of faith, patience, and charity, in our sufferings." Was there ever such reasoning as this! But the reader will make his own remarks upon these extraordinary paragraphs.

To return back to general Monk in Scotland. As long as the army governed affairs at Westminster, the general was on their side, and entertained Mr. John Collins, an Independent minister, for his chaplain; but upon the quarrel between the army and parliament, and Monk's declaring for the latter, it was apprehended he had changed sides, and would fall in with the Presbyterians; upon which Mr. Caryl and Barker were sent to Scotland with a letter from Dr. Owen, expressing their fears of the danger of their religious liberties upon a revolution of government. The general received them with all the marks of esteem; and after a few days returned the following answer, in a letter directed to Dr. Owen, Mr. Greenhill, and Mr. Hook, to be communicated to the churches in and about London.

"Honourable and dear friends,

"I received yours, and am very sensible of your kindness expressed to the army in Scotland, in sending such honourable and reverend persons, whom we received with thankfulness and great joy as the messengers of the churches, and the ministers of Christ in these three nations. I do promise you for myself, and the rest of the officers here, that your interest, liberty, and encouragement, shall be very dear to us. And we shall take this as a renewed obligation to assert to the utmost, what we have already declared to the churches of Jesus Christ. I doubt not, but you have received satisfaction of our inclinations to a peaceable accommodation. I do hope, that some differences being obviated, we shall obtain a fair composure. I do assure you, that the great things that have been upon my heart to secure and provide for, are our liberties and freedom, as the subjects and servants of Jesus Christ, which we have conveyed to us in the covenant of grace, assured in the promises purchased by the blood of our Saviour for us, and given as his great legacy to his church and people; in comparison of which we esteem all other things as dung and dross, but as they have a relation to and dependence upon this noble end. The others are our laws and rights as men, which must have their esteem in the second place; for which many members of the churches have been eminent instruments to labour in sweat and blood for these eighteen years last past, and our ancestors for many hundred years before; the substance of which may be reduced to a parliamentary government, and the people's consenting to the laws by which they are governed. That these privileges of the nation may be so bounded, that the churches may have both security and settlement, is my great desire, and of those with me. So that I hope you will own these just things, and give us that assistance that becomes the churches of Christ, in pursuance of this work. And we do assure you, we

shall comply as far as possible, with respect had to the security and safety of the nation, and the preservation of our ancient birthright and liberties. And we shall pray, that we may be kept from going out of God's way in doing God's work.

"I do, in the name of the whole army and myself, give all our affectionate thanks for this your work of love; and though we are not able to make such returns as are in our hearts and desires to do, yet we shall endeavour, by all ways and means, to express our care and love to the churches, and shall leave the reward to him who is the God of peace, and has in special assured all blessings to the peacemakers. I conclude with the words of David, 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, and blessed be your advice,' and blessed be you all. Now the Lord God be a wall of fire round about you, and let his presence be in his churches, and they filled with his glory. I have no more, but to entreat your prayers for a happy issue of this unhappy difference; which is the prayer of him who is, reverend sirs and dear friends, your very affectionate brother and servant,

"Edinburgh, Nov. 23, 1659.

G. MONK."

In one of the general's letters to the parliament, written about June 1659, he declares strongly for liberty of conscience, and an absolute commonwealth, in language which in another would be called the fumes of fanaticism. "You are the people (says he) who have filled the world with wonder, but nothing is difficult to faith: and the promises of God are sure and certain. We acknowledge that we ourselves have very much contributed to the Lord's departing from our Israel, but we see God's hour is come, and the time of the people's deliverance, even the set time, is at hand. He cometh skipping over all the mountains of sin and unworthiness, &c. We humbly beseech you, not to heal the wounds of the daughter of God's people slightly, but to make so sure and lasting provision for both Christian and civil rights, as both this and future generations may have cause to rise up and call you blessed, and the blackest of designs may never be able to cast dirt in your faces any more.*"—He then desires them to encourage none but godly ministers and magistrates, that no yoke may be imposed upon conscience but what is agreeable to the word of God, and that they would establish the government in a free state or commonwealth. Signed by general Monk and twenty-five of his chief officers.

Upon the general's coming to London, he was transformed at once into a zealous Presbyterian, and thought no more of the Independent churches; he received the sacrament at Mr. Calamy's church, and would suffer none to preach before him but whom he approved. He consulted the Presbyterian ministers, and asked their advice in all important affairs. It seems these were the gentlemen that beat him out of his commonwealth prin-

* Welwood's Memoirs, Appendix, No. II.

ciples, if we may believe the reverend Mr. Sharp, afterward archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose words are these, in one of his letters to the reverend Mr. Douglas in Scotland: "Sunday last, March 11, the general sent his coach for Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash, and me; we had a long conversation with him in private, and convinced him, that a commonwealth was impracticable; and to our sense beat him off that sponce he has hitherto maintained.— We urged upon him, that the Presbyterian interest, which he had espoused, was much concerned in keeping up this house, and settling the government upon terms. But the subtle general replied, that in regard he had declared so lately against a house of lords, and the continuing this house of commons, he could not so reputationally do it.*" Afterward, when some gentlemen of quality, suspecting the king to be at the bottom, were earnest with the general, that if the king must be brought in by the next parliament, it might be upon the terms of his late majesty's concessions at the Isle of Wight; the general at first recoiled, and declared he would adhere to a commonwealth; but at last seeming to be conquered into a compliance, he intimated to them, that this was the utmost line he could or would advance in favour of the king; and yet when this was moved in the convention-parliament by sir Matthew Hale, the general stood up, and declared against all conditions, and threatened them that should encourage such a motion with all the mischiefs that might follow. Thus the credulous Presbyterians were gradually drawn into a snare, and made to believe, that presbytery was to be the established government of the church of England under king Charles II.

The Scots were equally concerned in this affair, and much more zealous for their discipline. The general therefore sent letters to the kirk, with the strongest assurances that he would take care of their discipline †. But the Scots, not willing to trust him, commissioned Mr. Sharp to be their agent, and gave him instructions to use his best endeavours, that the kirk of Scotland might, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and liberty of her established judicatories, and to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness of a toleration in that kingdom. Sharp was to concert measures with Mr. Calamy, Ash, Manton, and Cowper; but these gentlemen being not very zealous for the discipline, Sharp informed his principals, that it was feared the king would come in, and with him moderate episcopacy, at least in England, but that the more zealous party were doing what they could to keep on foot the covenant. To which Douglas replied, "It is best that the Presbyterian government be settled simply, for you know that the judgment of honest men here is for admitting the king on no other but covenant-terms."

The Independents and Baptists were in such disgrace, that their leaders had not the honour of being consulted in this weighty

* Kennet's Chron. p. 81.

† Ibid. p. 50.

affair. General Monk and the Presbyterians were united, and had force sufficient to support their claims; the tide was with them, and the parliament at their mercy. The Independents offered to stand by their friends in parliament, and to raise four new regiments from among themselves, to force the general back into Scotland. Dr. Owen and Mr. Nye had frequent consultations with Mr. Whitelocke and St. John; and at a private treaty with the officers at Wallingford-house, offered to raise 100,000*l.* for the use of the army, provided they would protect them in their religious liberties, which they were apprehensive Monk and the Presbyterians designed to subvert; but those officers had lost their credit: their measures were disconcerted and broken; one party was for a treaty and another for the sword, but it was too late; their old veteran regiments were dislodged from the city, and Monk in possession. In this confusion their general, Fleetwood, who had brought them into this distress, retired, and left them a body without a head, after which they became insignificant, and in a few months quite contemptible. Here ended the power of the army, and of the Independents.

Being now to take leave of this people, it may be proper to observe, that the Independents sprang up and mightily increased in the time of the civil wars, and had the reputation of a wise and politic people: they divided from the Presbyterians upon the foot of discipline, and fought in the parliament's quarrel, not so much for hire and reward, as from a real belief that it was the cause of God; this inspired their soldiers with courage, and made them face death with undaunted bravery, insomuch that when the army was new-modelled, and filled up with men of this principle, they carried all before them. When the war was ended, they boldly seized the person of the king, and treated him with honour till they found him unsteady to his promises of a toleration of their principles, and then they became his most determined enemies; when they were assured afterward by the treaty of the Isle of Wight, that they were to be crushed between both parties, and to lose their religious liberty, for which they had been fighting, they tore up the government by the roots, and subverted the whole constitution. This they did, not in consequence of their religious principles, but to secure their own safety and liberty. After the king's death they assumed the chief management of public affairs, and would not part with it on any terms, lest they should be disbanded and called to account by a parliamentary power, and therefore they could never come to a settlement, though they attempted it under several forms: the first was an absolute commonwealth, as most agreeable to their principles; but when the commonwealth began to clip their military wings, they dispossessed them, and set up their own general, with the title of protector, who had skill enough to keep them in awe, though they were continually plotting against his government. After his death they dispossessed his son, and restored the com-

monwealth. When these again attempted to disband them, they turned them out a second time, and set up themselves under the title of a Committee of Safety; but they wanted Oliver's head; their new general, Fleetwood, having neither courage nor conduct enough to keep them united. Thus they crumbled into factions, while their wanton sporting with the supreme power made the nation sick of such distractions, and yield to the return of the old constitution.

The officers were made up chiefly of Independents and Anabaptists, most of them of mean extraction, and far from being as able statesmen as they had been fortunate soldiers; they were brave and resolute men, who had the cause of religion and liberty at heart; but they neglected the old nobility and gentry so much, that when they fell to pieces, there was hardly a gentleman of estate or interest in his county that would stand by them. As to their moral character, they seem to have been men of piety and prayer; they called God into all their councils, but were too much governed by the false notions they had imbibed, and the enthusiastic impulses of their own minds. I do not find that they consulted any number of their clergy, though many of the Independent ministers were among the most learned and eminent preachers of the times, as, Dr. Goodwin, Owen, Nye, and Greenhill, &c. some of whom had no small reputation for politics; but their pulling down so many forms of government, without adhering steadily to any, issued in their ruin. Thus as the army and Independents outwitted the Presbyterians in 1648, the Presbyterians in conjunction with the Scots blew up the Independents at this time; and next year the episcopal party, by dexterous management of the credulous Presbyterians, undermined and deceived them both.

This year died Dr. Ralph Brownrigge, bishop of Exeter, born at Ipswich in the year 1592, educated at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, and at length chosen master of Katherine-hall in that university*. He was also prebendary of Durham, and rector of Barly in Hertfordshire. In the year 1641, he was nominated to the see of Exeter, and installed June 1, 1642, but the wars between the king and parliament did not allow him the enjoyment of his dignity. He was nominated one of the assembly of divines; and was vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge in the year 1644, when the earl of Manchester visited it; and complied so far as to keep his mastership till the next year, when he was deprived for a sermon he preached upon the anniversary of his

* He was esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of his time to this seminary. He was one of those excellent men with whom archbishop Tillotson cultivated an acquaintance at his first coming to London, and by whose preaching and example he formed himself. His sermons were not exceeded by any published in that period; and they derived great advantage, in the delivery, from the dignity of his person and the justness of his elocution. Granger's History of England, vol. 2. p. 161, 8vo.—ED.

majesty's inauguration. He was no favourer of archbishop Laud's innovations *; for while he was vice-chancellor he sent for one of Mr. Barwick's pupils, and said to him, "I wonder your tutor, no ill man in other respects, does not yet abstain from that form of worship [bowing towards the east] which he knows is disagreeable to our excellent parliament, and not very acceptable to God himself; but be you careful to steer your course clear of the dangerous rock of every error, whether it savour of the impiety of Arminianism, or of the superstition of Popery. †"

He was succeeded by Dr. Spurstow; and suffered in common with the rest of the bishops; but being a Calvinist, and a person of great temper and moderation, he was allowed by the protector Cromwell to be a preacher at the Temple, in which employment he died, D cember 7, 1659, about the sixty-seventh year of his age. Dr. Gauden says, he was a person of great candour, sweetness, gravity, and solidity of judgment. He was consulted by Mr. Baxter and others in several points of controversy, and was indeed a most humble Christian, and very patient under most severe fits of the stone, which were very acute and tedious for some time before his death.

The reverend Mr. Charles Herle, sometime prolocutor of the assembly of divines, at Westminster, was born of honourable parents at Prideaux-Herle, near Lostwithyel in Cornwall, in the year 1598 ‡. He was educated in Exeter-college, Oxon. In the year 1618, he took the degrees in arts, and was afterward rector of Winwick in Lancashire, one of the richest livings in England, and was always esteemed a Puritan. When the wars broke out, he took part with the parliament, was elected one of the members of the assembly of divines, and upon the death of Dr. Twisse in 1646, was appointed prolocutor. After the king's death he retired to his living at Winwick, and was in very high esteem with all the clergy in that country. In the year 1654, he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers, together with Mr. Isaac Ambrose and Mr. Gee. He was a moderate Presbyterian, and left behind him some practical and controversial writings. Mr. Fuller says§, he was so much of a Christian, scholar, and gentleman, that he could agree in affection with those who differed from him in judgment. He

* Dr. Grey neglects not to inform the reader, on the authority of Dr. Gauden, that bishop Brownrigge was tenacious of the doctrine, worship, devotion, and government of the church of England; "which (he said) he liked better and better as he grew older." He seems to have been very free in his advice to Cromwell; for when the protector, with some show of respect to him, demanded his judgment in some public affairs, then at a nonplus, bishop Brownrigge, with his wonted gravity and freedom, replied, "My lord, the best counsel I can give you is that of our Saviour, Render unto C sar the things that are C sar's, and unto God the things that are God's:" with which free answer the protector rested rather silenced than satisfied. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 258.—ED.

† Life of Barwick, p. 17.

‡ Wood's Athen  Oxon. vol. 2. p. 151, 152.

§ Fuller's Worthies, p. 305.

died at his parsonage at Winwick in the sixty-first year of his age, and was buried in his own church, September 29, 1659.

The reverend Mr. Thomas Cawton, born at Raynham in Norfolk, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge; he was afterward minister of Wivenhoe in Essex, 1637, and at last of St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange. He was, says the Oxford historian*, a learned and religious Puritan, driven into exile for preaching against the murder of king Charles I., and for being in the same plot with Mr. Love, for raising money to supply the army of king Charles II. when he was coming into England to recover his right. He fled to Rotterdam, and became preacher to the English church there, where he died August 7, 1659, in the fifty-fourth year of his age †.

The new year [1660] began with the restoration of king Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors. The long parliament dissolved themselves March 16, and while the people were busy in choosing a new one, general Monk was courted by all parties. The republicans endeavoured to fix him for a commonwealth; the French ambassador offered him the assistance of France, if he would assume the government either as king or protector, which, it is said, he would have accepted, if sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had not prevented it, by summoning him before the council, and keeping the doors locked till he had taken away the commissions from some of his most trusty officers, and given them to others of the council's nomination. But be this as it will, it is certain Monk had not as yet given the king any encouragement to rely upon him, though his majesty had sent him a letter as long ago as July 21, 1659, by an express messenger, with the largest offers of reward.

The Presbyterians were now in possession of the whole power of England; the council of state, the chief officers of the army and navy, and the governors of the chief forts and garrisons, were theirs; their clergy were in possession of both universities, and of the best livings in the kingdom. There was hardly a loyalist, or professed Episcopalian, in any post of honour or trust: nor had the king any number of friends capable of promoting his restoration, for there was a disabling clause in the qualification-act, that all who had been in arms against the long-parliament, should be disqualified from serving in the next. The whole government therefore was with the Presbyterians, who were shy of the Independents as of a body of men more distant from the church, and more inclined to the commonwealth. They were no

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 432.

† Mr. Cawton had few equals in learning, and scarcely a superior in piety. Those great works, the Polyglot Bible, and Dr. Castle's Polyglot Lexicon, owed much to his encouragement and exertions. It shewed a most deep seriousness of spirit, though probably mingled with superstitious notions of the Lord's supper, that he fainted, when he first received it; and he ever afterward expressed, at that solemnity, the profoundest reverence and most elevated devotion. Granger's *History of England*, vol. 3. 8vo. p. 47.—Ed.

less vigilant to keep out of parliament the republicans of all sorts, some of whom, says Burnet*, ran about every where like men that were giddy or amazed, but their time was past. On the other hand, they secretly courted the Episcopalians, who dispersed papers among the people, protesting their resolutions to forget all past injuries, and to bury all rancour, malice, and animosities, under the foundation of his majesty's restoration. "We reflect (say they) upon our sufferings as from the hand of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations against any persons whatsoever who have been instrumental in them; and if the indiscretion of any particular persons shall transport them to expressions contrary to this general sense, we shall disclaim them †." This was signed by eighteen noblemen, and about fifty knights and gentlemen ‡. Dr. Morley and some of his brethren met privately with the Presbyterian ministers, and made large professions of lenity and moderation, but without descending to particulars. The king and chancellor Hyde carried on the intrigue. The chancellor in one of his letters from Breda, dated April 20, 1660, says, that "the king very well approved that Dr. Morley and some of his brethren should enter into conferences, and have frequent conversation with the Presbyterian party, in order to reduce them to such a temper as is consistent with the good of the church; and it may be no ill expedient (says he) to assure them of present good preferments; but in my opinion you should rather endeavour to win over those who, being recovered, will both have reputation, and desire to merit from the church, than be over-solicitous to comply with the pride and passion of those who propose extravagant things §." Such was the spirit or professions of the church-party, while they were decoying the others into the snare! The Presbyterian ministers did not want for cautions from the Independents and others, not to be too forward in trusting their new allies, but they would neither hear, see, or believe, till it was too late. They valued themselves upon their superior influence; and from an ambitious desire of grasping all the merit and glory of the Restoration to themselves, they would suffer none to act openly with them, but desired the Episcopal clergy to lie still for fear of the people, and leave the conducting this great affair to the hands it was in.

Accordingly the Presbyterian ministers wrote to their friends in their several counties, to be careful that men of republican principles might not be returned to serve in the next parliament, so that in some counties the elections fell upon men void of all religion. And in other places the people broke through the disabling cause. Dr. Barwick says, they paid no regard to it, and

* History, vol. 1. p. 123, 12mo.

† Baxter, p. 216. 218. History of the Stuarts, p. 458.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 121. 144. Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 217.

§ Life of Barwick, p. 525.

Monk declared, that if the people made use of their natural rights in choosing whom they thought fit, without reserve, no injury should be done them. So that when the houses met it was evident to all wise men it would be a court-parliament.

But the Scots were more steady to the covenant, and sent over the reverend Mr. James Sharp, with the earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, to Holland, humbly to put his majesty in mind, that the kirk of Scotland expected protection upon the footing of the Presbyterian establishment, without indulgence to sectaries. Their brethren in the north of Ireland joined in the address to the same purpose: and some of the English Presbyterians were of the same mind; ten of whom met the Scots commissioners at London, and made earnest applications to the general, not to restore the king but upon the concessions made by his father in the Isle of Wight*. But this was only the resolution of a few; the majority, says Mr. Sharp, were for moderate episcopacy, upon the scheme of archbishop Usher, and therefore willing to hearken to an accommodation with the church. Dr. Barwick adds †, "What the Presbyterians aimed at, who were now superior to the Independents, was, that all matters should be settled according to the treaty of the Isle of Wight," which gave the court a fair opportunity of referring all church-matters to a conciliatory synod, the divines of each party to be summoned when the king should be settled on his throne. This was the bait that was laid for the Presbyterians, and was the ruin of their cause. The Scots kirk stood to their principles, and would have bid defiance to the old clergy, but Mr. Calamy, Manton, and Ash, informed them in the name of the London ministers, that the general stream and current being for the old prelacy, in its pomp and height, it was in vain to hope for establishing presbytery, which made them lay aside the thoughts of it, and fly to archbishop Usher's moderate episcopacy ‡. Thus they were beaten from their first works.

But if the tide was so strong against them, should they have opened the sluices, and let in the enemy at once, without a single article of capitulation? It is hard to account for this conduct of the Presbyterians, without impeaching their understandings. Indeed the Episcopal clergy gave them good words, assuring them, that all things should be to their minds when the king was restored; and that their relying upon the royal word would be a mark of confidence which his majesty would always remember, and would do honour to the king, who had been so long neglected. But should this have induced the ministers to give up a cause that had cost so much treasure and blood, and become humble petitioners to those who were now almost at their mercy? For they could not but be sensible, that the old constitution must return with the king, that diocesan episcopacy

* Kennet's Chron. p. 101. 104. 110. † Life, p. 256. ‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 228.

was the only legal establishment, that all which had been done in favour of presbytery not having had the royal assent, was void in law, therefore they and their friends who had not episcopal ordination and induction into their livings, must be looked upon as intruders, and not legal ministers of the church of England.

But notwithstanding this infatuation and vain confidence in the court and the clergy, Mr. Echard would set aside all their merit, by saying, "Whatever the Presbyterians did in this affair, was principally to relieve themselves from the oppression of the Independents, who had wrested the power out of their hands, and not out of any affection to the king and church." Directly contrary to his majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, which says, "When we were in Holland we were attended with many grave and learned ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion, whom to our great satisfaction and comfort we found to be full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the church and state, and neither enemies (as they have been given out to be) to episcopacy or liturgy." Bishop Burnet acknowledges*, that many of the Presbyterian ministers, chiefly in the city of London, had gone into the design of the restoration in so signal a manner, and with such success, that they had great merit, and a just title to very high preferments. Mr. Baxter† gives the following reasons of their conduct. "The Presbyterians (says he) were influenced by the covenant, by which, and by the oaths of allegiance to the king and his heirs, they apprehended themselves bound to do their utmost to restore the king, let the event be what it will." But then he adds, "Most of them had great expectations of favour and respect; and because the king had taken the covenant they hoped he would remove subscriptions, and leave the Common Prayer and ceremonies indifferent; that they might not be cast out of the churches. Some, who were less sanguine, depended on such a liberty as the Protestants had in France; but others, who were better acquainted with the principles and tempers of the prelates, declared that they expected to be silenced, imprisoned, and banished, but yet they would do their parts to restore the king, because no foreseen ill consequence ought to hinder them from doing their duty." Surely these were better Christians than casuists! When the ministers waited on his majesty in Holland, he gave them such encouraging promises, says Mr. Baxter, as raised in some of them high expectations. When he came to Whitehall he made ten of them his chaplains; and when he went to the house to quicken the passing the act of indemnity, he said, "My lords, if you do not join with me in extinguishing this fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, you keep me from performing my promise, which if I had not made, neither I nor you had been now here. I pray let us not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come

* Vol. 1. p. 259.

† Life, p. 216.

hither." Here is a royal declaration, and yet all came to nothing. The reader will judge hereafter who were most to blame, the Episcopal party, for breaking through so many solemn vows and protestations; or the Presbyterians, for bringing in the king without a previous treaty, and trusting a set of men whom they knew to be their implacable enemies. I can think of no decent excuse to the former; and the best apology that can be made for the latter is, that most of them lived long enough to see their error and heartily repent it.

In the interval between the dissolution of the long-parliament, and the meeting of the convention which brought in the king, general Monk, seeing which way the tide ran, fell in with the stream, and ventured to correspond more freely with the king by sir J. Grenville, who brought the general a letter, and was sent back with an assurance that he would serve his majesty in the best manner he could. He desired the king to remove out of the Spanish dominions, and promised, that if his majesty wrote letters to the parliament, he would deliver them at the opening of the sessions. Bishop Burnet says, that he had like to have let the honour slip through his fingers, and that a very small share of it really belonged to him*.

The convention met April 25, the earl of Manchester being chosen speaker of the house of peers, and sir Harbottle Grimstone of the commons. At the opening the sessions Dr. Reynolds preached before the houses. April 30 was appointed for a fast, when Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Hardy preached before the lords, and Dr. Gauden, Mr. Calamy, and Baxter, before the commons; all except Gauden of the Presbyterian party. Lord Clarendon says, the Presbyterian party in the house were rather troublesome than powerful; but others with great probability affirm, that the body of the commons were at first of that party. Next day after the fast, the king by the advice of the general having removed privately to Breda, and addressed letters to both houses; the general stood up and acquainted the speaker, that one sir J. Grenville had brought him a letter from the king, but that he had not presumed to open it; and that the same gentleman attended at the door with another to the house. Sir John was immediately called in, and having delivered his letter at the bar, withdrew, and carried another to the lords †. The letter contained an earnest invitation to the commons to return to their duty, as the only way to a settled peace; his majesty promising an act of oblivion

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 123.

† Two days after sir John Grenville received the thanks of the house, for delivering the king's letter, in a high strain of joy and adulation: and the house voted him 500*l.* to buy a jewel, as a badge of the honour due to the person whom "the king had honoured to be the messenger of his gracious message." The city of London also presented to him and lord Mordaunt, who brought them his majesty's letter, 300*l.* to buy them rings. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3, p. 260, 261, and note (o).—ED.

for what was past, and all the security they could desire for their liberties and properties, and the rights of parliament, for the future.

Under the same cover was enclosed his majesty's declaration from Breda, granting "a general pardon to all his loving subjects who should lay hold of it within forty days, except such who should be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted (says he), let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king solemnly given, that no crime committed against us, or our royal father, shall ever be brought into question to the prejudice of their lives, estates, or reputation. We do also declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom. And we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence.—" Upon reading these letters, the commons voted, that according to the ancient constitution, the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons; and a committee was appointed to draw up a dutiful letter, inviting his majesty to return to his dominions: money was voted to defray his expenses; a deputation of lords and commons was sent to attend his majesty; and the fleet was ordered to convey him home. Sir Matthew Hale moved, that a committee might be appointed to review the propositions of the Isle of Wight, and was seconded in the motion; but Monk, who was prepared for such a motion, stood up and said, "the nation was now quiet, but there were many incendiaries upon the watch trying where they could first raise a flame; that he could not answer for the peace of the kingdom or army, if any delays were put to the sending for the king. What need is there of it (says he), when he is to bring neither arms nor treasure along with him?" He then added, "that he should lay the blame of all the blood and mischief that might follow on the heads of those who should insist upon any motion that might retard the present settlement of the nation *." Which frightened the house into a compliance. And this was all the service general Monk did towards the king's restoration, for which he was rewarded with a garter, a dukedom, a great estate in land, and with one of the highest posts of honour and profit in the kingdom.

Thus was the king voted home in a hurry, which was owing to the flattering representations made by lord Clarendon in his letters of the king's good-nature, virtue, probity, and application to business †; so that when the earl of Southampton saw afterward what the king was like to prove, he said once in great wrath to the chancellor, "that it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not possessed them in all his letters with such an opinion of the king, they would have taken care to have

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 123, 124, 12mo.

† Clarendon, p. 88, 89.

put it out of his power either to do himself or them any mischief, which was like to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely." To which Hyde answered, that "he thought the king had so true a judgment, and so much good-nature, that when the age of pleasure should be over, and the idleness of his exile, which made him seek new diversions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have shaken off these entanglements." But here the chancellor was mistaken.

When the lords and commons sent over a deputation to the king at Breda, the London ministers moved that a pass might be granted to some of their number, to wait upon his majesty with an address from their brethren; accordingly Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Hall, Mr. Manton, and Mr. Case, were delegated, who went over with three or four attendants, and had an audience May 17, wherein, according to lord Clarendon, "they magnified their own, and the affection of their friends, who had always wished his majesty's restoration, according to the covenant, and had lately informed the people of their duty to invite him home. They thanked God for his majesty's constancy to the Protestant religion, and declared themselves no enemies to moderate episcopacy, only they desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's worship, which in their judgments that used them were indifferent, but by others were held to be unlawful*." But the tables were now turned: the king spoke kindly to them, and acknowledged their services, but told them he would refer all to the wisdom of the parliament. At another audience (if we may believe the noble historian) they met with very different usage; for when they entreated his majesty at his first landing not to use the Book of Common Prayer entire and formally in his chapel, it having been long laid aside, the king replied with some warmth, "that while he gave them liberty he would not have his own taken away. That he had always used that form of service which he thought the best in the world, and had never discontinued it in places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them. That when he came into England he should not severely inquire how it was used in other churches, but he would have no other used in his own chapel †." They then besought him, with more importunity, that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because it would give offence; but the king was as inexorable in that point as the other, and told them, that it was a decent habit, and had been long used in the church; that it had been still retained by him, and that he would never discountenance that good old practice of the church in which he had been bred. Mr. Baxter says, the king gave them such encouraging promises of peace, as raised some of them to high expectations. He never refused them a private audience when they desired it; and to amuse them farther,

* Kennet's Chron. p. 139. Campl. Hist. p. 247. † Kennet's Chron. p. 152.

while they were once waiting in an antechamber, his majesty said his prayers with such an audible voice in the room adjoining, that the ministers might hear him; "he thanked God that he was a covenanted king; that he hoped the Lord would give him an humble, meek, forgiving spirit; that he might have forbearance towards his offending subjects, as he expected forbearance from offended Heaven." Upon hearing which old Mr. Case lifted up his hands to heaven*, and blessed God who had given them a praying king.

Though the bishops held a private correspondence with chancellor Hyde, and by him were assured of the king's favour, they were not less forward than the Presbyterians in their application to his majesty himself; for while he remained at Breda, Mr. Barwick was sent over with the following instructions:—

1. He was to wait upon the right honourable the lord-chancellor of England, and beg his lordship's assistance to present a most humble petition to his majesty in the name of the bishops, and then to deliver their lordships' letters to the chancellor, to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and to the secretary of state, wherein they returned those great men their most thankful acknowledgements, for their piety and affection to the church in the late most afflicted state.

2. He was then to give his majesty a distinct account of the present state of the church in all the particulars wherein his majesty desired to be informed; and to bring the bishops back his majesty's commands, with regard to all that should be thought proper for them, or any of them, to do.

3. He was humbly to ask his majesty's pleasure, with regard to some of the bishops waiting on the sea-coast to pay their duty to his majesty, when by God's blessing he should soon land in England; and whether it was his royal pleasure, that they should attend him there in their episcopal habits; and at what time and place, and how many, and which of them his majesty pleased should wait his arrival.

4. He was also to inquire concerning the number of his majesty's chaplains; whether any of them, besides those in waiting, should attend his arrival upon the coast; and to beg that his majesty would vouchsafe to appoint how many, and who.

5. He was most humbly to beseech his majesty, that if Dr. Lushington, formerly the king's chaplain, should offer to officiate

* Mr. Daniel Dyke, who, soon after the Restoration, voluntarily resigned the living of Hadham-Magna in Hertfordshire, showed more discernment and judgment. For when Mr. Case, to induce him to continue in it, related the king's behaviour, and argued what a hopeful prospect it gave them, Mr. Dyke wisely answered, "that they did but deceive and flatter themselves; that if the king was sincere in his show of piety and great respect for them and their religion, yet, when he came to be settled, the party that had formerly adhered to him, and the creatures that would come over with him, would have the management of public affairs, and would circumvent all their designs, and in all probability not only turn them out, but take away their liberty too." Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 1. p. 357; and Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 43.—ED.

in that capacity, his majesty would be pleased not to indulge him in that favour, till inquiry should be made concerning his suspected faith and principles. [He was a Socinian.]

6. Since it has been customary for our kings to celebrate public thanksgivings in St. Paul's cathedral, he was humbly to beseech his majesty, to signify what was his royal pleasure in this behalf, considering the ruinous estate of that church.

7. His last instruction was to give a just and due account to his majesty, why the affair of filling up the vacant sees had met with no better success.

Mr. Barwick was most graciously received by the king and his ministers, and the Sunday after his arrival at Breda was appointed to preach before his majesty.* The court was as yet very much upon their guard with respect to the Presbyterians; but the flames began to kindle at home, the Episcopal clergy not observing any measures of prudence in their sermons; Dr. Griffith, having preached an angry sermon before the general at Mercers' Hall, March 25, on Prov. xxiv. 21; "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change," was for a pretence confined to Newgate, but in a few days was released, and published his sermon with a dedication to the general.—Others in their sermons took upon them to threaten those who had hitherto had the power in their hands; of which the king being advised, commanded chancellor Hyde to acquaint his correspondents, that he was extremely apprehensive of inconvenience and mischief to the church and himself, from offences of that kind, and ordered him to desire Mr. Barwick and Dr. Morley to use their credit and authority with such men, and to let them know from his majesty the tenderness of the conjuncture. The chancellor accordingly, in his letter from Breda, April 16, 1660, wrote the king's sense, and added, that if occasion required they were to speak to the bishops of Ely and Salisbury to interpose their authority to conjure these men to make a better judgment of the season, and not to awaken those jealousies and apprehensions which all men should endeavour to extinguish. "And truly I hope (says the chancellor), if faults of this kind are not committed, that both the church and the kingdom will be better dealt with than is imagined; and I am confident these good men will be more troubled that the church should undergo a new suffering by their indiscretion, than for all that they have suffered hitherto themselves."

The clouds gathering thus thick over the late managers, every one began to shift for himself. Richard Cromwell resigned his chancellorship of the university of Oxford the very day the king was invited home, and retired beyond sea: he had offered to relinquish it when he was divested of the protectorship, as appears by his letter on that occasion, which says,—“You should have had fuller experience of my high esteem for learning and learned

* Life of Barwick, p. 519, note.

men, if Providence had continued me in my high station; but as I accepted of the honour of being your chancellor in order to promote your prosperity, I assure you I will divest myself of the honour when it will contribute to your advantage.* Accordingly, as soon as the king's return was voted, he sent them the following resignation:

“ Gentlemen,

“ I shall always retain a hearty sense of my former obligations to you, in your free election of me to the office of your chancellor; and it is no small trouble to my thoughts, when I consider how little serviceable I have been to you in that relation. But since the all-wise providence of God, which I desire always to adore and bow down unto, has been pleased to change my condition, that I am not in a capacity to answer the ends of the office, —I do therefore most freely resign and give up all my right and interest therein, but shall always retain my affection and esteem for you, with my prayers for your continual prosperity, that, amidst the many examples of the instability and revolutions of human affairs, you may still abide flourishing and fruitful.

“ Gentlemen,

“ Hursley, “ Your affectionate friend and servant,
“ May 8, 1660. “ RICH. CROMWELL.”

Thus Richard went off the stage of public action. “ As he was innocent of all the evil his father had done (says Burnet †), so there was no prejudice laid against him. Upon his advancement to the protectorship, the city of London, and almost all the counties of England, sent him addresses of congratulation; but when he found the times too boisterous he readily withdrew, and became a private man; and as he had done no hurt to any body, so nobody ever studied to hurt him. A rare instance of the instability of human greatness; and of the security of innocence! In his younger years he had not all that zeal for religion as was the fashion of the times; but those who knew him well in the latter part of life have assured me, that he was a perfect gentleman in his behaviour, well acquainted with public affairs, of great gravity, and real piety; but so very modest, that he would not be distinguished or known by any name but the feigned one of Mr. Clarke. ‡ He died at Theobalds about the year 1712.

The king landed at Dover May 26, and came the same night to Canterbury, where he rested the next day, and on Tuesday, May 29, rode in triumph with his two brothers, through the city of London to Whitehall, amidst the acclamations of an innumerable crowd of spectators. § As he passed along, old Mr. Arthur

* Kennet's Chron. p. 141.

† Vol. 1. p. 116, 117.

‡ Under this name he lived, for some years, privately at Hursley, about seven miles from Romsey, now the seat of sir Thomas Heathcote, bart. and attended the meeting-house in Romsey. The pew in which he used to sit is still in being, and preserved entire at the church's removal to their new house, as a relic worthy of notice. Mr. Thomson's MS. Collections, under the word Romsey.—Ed.

§ Dr. Grey gives from Eclard and Heath a description of the procession.—Ed.

Jackson, an eminent Presbyterian minister, presented his majesty with a rich embossed Bible, which he was pleased to receive, and to declare it his resolution to make that book the rule of his conduct*.

Two days after the king's arrival at Whitehall, his majesty went to the house of peers, and after a short congratulatory speech passed an act, turning the present convention into a parliament. After which the houses, for themselves and all the commons of England, laid hold of his majesty's most gracious pardon, and appointed a committee to prepare an act of indemnity for all who had been concerned in the preceding commotions, except the late king's judges, and two or three others.

Had the directions given for the choice of this parliament been observed, no royalist could have sat in the house; however, their numbers were inconsiderable; the convention was a Presbyterian parliament, and had the courage to avow the justice and lawfulness of taking arms against the late king till the year 1648; † for when Mr. Lenthall, speaker of the long-parliament, in order to shew the sincerity of his repentance, had said, that he that first drew his sword against the late king, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head; he was brought to the bar, and received the following reprimand from the present speaker, by order of the house.

“ Sir,

“ The house has taken great offence at what you have said, which, in the judgment of the house, contains as high a reflection upon the justice of the proceedings of the lords and commons of the last parliament, in their actings before 1648, as could be expressed. They apprehend there is much poison in the said words, and that they were spoken out of design to inflame, and to render them who drew the sword to bring delinquents to punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties, into balance with them who cut off the king's head; of which they express their abhorrence and detestation. Therefore I am commanded to let you know, that had these words fallen out at any other time in this parliament but when they had considerations of mercy and indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer sentence. Nevertheless, I am, according to command, to give you a sharp reprehension, and I do as sharply and severely as I can reprehend you for it.”

But it was to little purpose to justify the civil war, when they were yielding up all they had been contending for to the court; ‡ for though they stopped short of the lengths of the next parliament, they increased his majesty's revenues so much, that if he had been a frugal prince he might have lived without parliaments for the future. The restoring the king after this manner without any treaty, or one single article for the securing men in the en-

* Baxter's Life, p. 218.

† Echard, p. 765.

‡ Rapin, p. 258.

joyment of their religious and civil liberties, was, as bishop Burnet observes*, the foundation of all the misfortunes of the nation under this reign. And as another right reverend prelate observes, the restoration of the king in this high and absolute manner, laid the foundation of all the king's future miscarriages; so that if the revolution by king William and queen Mary had not taken place, the Restoration had been no blessing to the nation.

But it ought to be remembered, that this was not a legal parliament, for the Rump had no power to appoint keepers of the liberties of England; nor had the keepers a right to issue out writs for election of a new parliament; nor could the king's writ, without the subsequent choice of the people, make them so. All the laws therefore made by this convention, and all the punishments inflicted upon offenders in pursuance of them, were not strictly legal; which the court were so apprehensive of that they prevailed with the next parliament to confirm them. When this convention-parliament had set about eight months, it was dissolved December 29, partly because it was not legally chosen, and because it was too much Presbyterian; the prime minister [Hyde] having now formed a design, in concert with the bishops, of evacuating the church of all the Presbyterians.

The managing Presbyterians still buoyed themselves up with hopes of a comprehension within the church, though they had parted with all their weight and influence; and from directors were become humble supplicants to those very men who a few months before lay at their feet. They had now no other refuge than the king's clemency, which was directed by chancellor Hyde and the bishops; but to keep them quiet, his majesty condescended, at the instance of the earl of Manchester, to admit ten of their number into the list of his chaplains in ordinary, viz. Drs. Reynolds, Spurstow, Wallis, Manton, Bates; Mr. Calamy, Ashe, Case, Baxter, and Woodbridge†.

But none of these divines were called to preach at court, except Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter, each of them once. Here again the Presbyterians were divided in their politics, some being for going as far as they could with the court, and others for drawing back. Of the former sort were, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, and Mr. Ashe, who were entirely directed by the earl of Manchester, and had frequent assemblies at his house; to them were joined Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and most of the city-ministers; but Dr. Seaman, Mr. Jenkins, and others, were of another party; these were a little estranged from the rest of their brethren, and meddled not with politics, says Mr. Baxter‡, because the court gave them no encouragement, their design being only to divide them; but the former had more confidence in their superiors, and carried on a treaty, till by force and violence they were beaten out of the field.

* Page 126.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 162.

‡ Baxter's Life, p. 229.

Upon the king's arrival at Whitehall, the liturgy of the church of England was restored to his majesty's chapel, and in several churches both in city and country; for it was justly observed, that all acts and ordinances of the long-parliament which had not the royal assent were in themselves null, and therefore prelacy was still the legal establishment, and the Common Prayer the only legal form of worship, and that they were punishable by the laws of the land who officiated by any other. The king in his declaration had desired, that the Presbyterians would read so much of the liturgy as they themselves had no exception against, but most of them declined the proposal *. But to set an example to the rest of the nation, the house of peers, two days after the king was proclaimed, appointed Mr. Marston to read divine service before them, in his formalities, according to the Common Prayer-book; and the Sunday following, Dr. Gauden preached and administered the sacrament to several of the peers, who received it kneeling. On the 31st of May they ordered, that the form of prayers formerly used should be constantly read in their house, provided that no prejudice, penalty, or reflection, shall be on any who are not present. The house of commons followed the example of the lords; and before the end of the year many of the parochial clergy, who scrupled the use of the service-book, were prosecuted for offending against the statutes made in that behalf; the justices of the peace and others insisting, that the laws returned with the king, and that they ought not to be dispensed with in the neglect of them.

The old sequestered clergy flocked in great numbers about the court, magnifying their sufferings, and making interest for preferment; every one took possession of the living from which he had been ejected; by which means some hundreds of the Presbyterian clergy were dispossessed at once. Upon this the heads of that party waited upon the king, and prayed, that though all who had lost their livings for malignancy, or disaffection to the late powers, were restored, yet that those ministers who succeeded such as had been ejected for scandal, might keep their places; but the court paid no regard to their petitions. However, where the incumbent was dead, his majesty yielded that the living should be confirmed to the present possessor.

The heads of colleges and fellows who had been ejected in the late times, were no less forward in their applications to be restored; upon which the parliament appointed a committee to receive their petitions. Dr. Goodwin having resigned his presidentship of Magdalen-college, the lords ordered, "that Dr. Oliver be restored in as full and ample manner as formerly he enjoyed it, till the pleasure of his majesty be farther known. And the three senior fellows were appointed to put this order in execution †." The ejected fellows of New-college, Oxon, petitioned

* Kennet's Chron. p. 432.

† Ibid. p. 152.

at the same time to be restored; upon which the lords ordered, May 19, that "Robert Grove, John Lampshire, &c. late fellows of New-college, Oxon, and all others who were unjustly ejected out of their fellowships, be forthwith restored; and that all such fellows as have been admitted contrary to the statute be forthwith ejected; and that no new fellows be admitted contrary to the statutes *." And to prevent farther applications of this kind, the lords passed this general order, June 4, "that the chancellors of both universities shall take care that the several colleges in the said universities shall be governed according to their respective statutes; and that such persons who have been unjustly put out of their headships, fellowships, or other officers relating to the several colleges or universities, may be restored according to the said statutes of the university, and founders of colleges therein †."

Pursuant to this order, there followed a very considerable change in both universities, commissioners being appointed by the king to hear and determine all causes relating to this affair, who in the months of August and September restored all such as were unmarried to their respective places. In the university of Oxford, besides Dr. Oliver, already mentioned, the following heads of colleges were restored, and the present possessors ejected.

<i>Heads of colleges restored, August 3.</i>	<i>President of</i>	<i>In the place of heads ejected.</i>
Dr. Hannibal Potter,	Trinity-college	Dr. Seth Ward
Dr. Richard Bayly,	St. John's college	Mr. Thank. Owen
Dr. Francis Mansel,	Jesus-college	Mr. Francis Howel
Dr. Robert Newlin,	Corpus Christi-college	Dr. Edward Staunton
Dr. Gilbert Sheldon,	All Souls-college	Dr. Meredith, dec.
Dr. Thomas Yate,	Brazen Nose-college	Dr. D. Greenwood
Mr. Henry Wightwick,	Pembroke-college	Dr. Henry Langley.

N. B. This Mr. Wightwick was ejected a second time 1664.

Mr. Henry Wightwick,	St. Mary's-hall	Mr. Thomas Cole
Dr. Robert Saunderson,	Regius Prof. in Divinity	Dr. John Conant
Dr. Thomas Willis,	Nat. Phil. reader	Dr. Josh. Crosse
Dr. John Fell,	{ Can. of Chr. Ch. and Uni. orator	} Mr. Ralph Button
Dr. Robert South,		
Dr. Thomas Barlow,	{ Can. of Christ-church and Marg. Prof.	} Dr. H. Wilkinson, sen.

Besides these, all surviving ejected fellows of colleges were restored without exceptions, and such as had been nominated by the commissioners in 1648, or elected in any other manner than according to the statutes, were ejected, and their places declared vacant.

The like alterations were made in the university of Cambridge. The earl of Manchester, chancellor, was obliged to send the following letter to the university, dated August 3, for restoring Dr. Martin to the mastership of Queen's college, whom he had

* Kennet's Chron. p. 153.

† Ibid. p. 173.

ejected for scandal by letters under his hand, dated March 13, 1643.

“Whereas I am informed, that Dr. Ed. Martin has been wrongfully put out of his mastership; these are to signify, to all whom it may concern, that I do, by virtue of an authority given to me, by the lords assembled in parliament, restore him to his said mastership, together with all lodgings, &c. appertaining to his place, from henceforth to have and enjoy all profits, rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging thereunto, unless cause be shewn to the contrary within ten days after the date hereof*.” This gentleman was accordingly restored, and with him several others; as,

<i>Heads of Colleges restored.</i>	<i>Master of</i>	<i>In place of heads ejected,</i>
Dr. J. Cosins,	Peter-house	Dr. Lazarus Seaman
Dr. Thomas Paske,	Clare-hall	} Resigned to Dr. The. Dillingham
Dr. Benjamin Laney,	Pembroke-hall	
Dr. Robert King,	Trinity-hall	Mr. William Moses
Dr. Richard Sterne,	Jesus-college	Mr. Bond
Dr. Edw. Rainbowe	} Magdalen-college, ejected for refusing Eng.	Mr. J. Worthington

All the surviving fellows unmarried were restored, as in the other university, by which means most of the Presbyterians were dispossessed, and the education of youth taken out of their hands †. To make way for the filling up these and other vacancies in the church, the honours of the universities were offered to almost any who would declare their aversion to presbytery, and hearty affection for episcopal government ‡. It was his majesty's pleasure, and the chancellor's, that there should be a creation in all faculties of such as had suffered for the royal cause, and had been ejected from the university by the visitors in 1648. Accordingly between seventy and eighty masters of arts were created this year; among whom, says the Oxford historian, some that had not been sufferers thrust themselves into the crowd for their money; others, yet few, were gentlemen, and created by the favour of the chancellor's letters only; eighteen were created bachelors of divinity, seventy doctors of divinity, twenty-two doctors of physic, besides doctors of laws. The creations in the university of Cambridge were yet more numerous. On Midsummer-day, a grace passed in the university in favour of some candidates for degrees §. August 2, the king sent letters to Cambridge for creating nine or ten persons doctors of divinity ||; and on the 5th of September there were created, by virtue of his majesty's mandamus, no less than seventy-one doctors of divinity, nine doctors of civil law, five doctors of physic, and five bachelors of divinity. So that within the compass of little more than six months, the universities conferred one hundred and fifty doctors of divinity degrees, and as many more in the other faculties.—Some of these were deserving

* Kennet's Chron. p. 221, 222.

† Fasti, p. 120.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 220, 221, &c.

§ Ibid. p. 188.

|| Ibid. p. 220, 251.

persons, but the names of most of them are no where to be found but in the university-registers. Had the parliament-visitors in 1648, or Oliver Cromwell in his protectorship, made so free with the honours of the universities, they might justly have been supposed to countenance the illiterate, and prostitute the honour of the two great luminaries of this kingdom; but his majesty's promoting such numbers in so short a time by a royal mandamus, without inquiring into their qualifications, or insisting upon their performing any academical exercise, must be covered with a veil, because it was for the service of the church. In the midst of these promotions, the marquis of Hertford, chancellor of the university of Oxford, died, and was succeeded by sir Edward Hyde, now lord-chancellor of England, and created about this time earl of Clarendon. He was installed November 15, and continued in this office till he retired into France in the year 1667.

These promotions made way for filling up the vacancies in cathedrals; July 5, Drs. Killigrew, Jones, Doughty, and Busby, were installed prebendaries of Westminster; and within a month or six weeks four more were added*. In the months of July and August, all the dignities in the cathedral of St. Paul's were filled up, being upwards of twenty. July 13, twelve divines were installed prebendaries in the cathedral of Canterbury; and before the end of the year, all the dignities in the cathedrals of Durham, Chester, Litchfield, Bristol, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, &c. were supplied with younger divines, who ran violently in the current of the times †.—There were only nine bishops alive at the king's restoration, viz.

Dr. William Juxon,	bishop of London
Dr. William Pierse,	Bath and Wells
Dr. Matthew Wren,	Ely
Dr. Robert Skinner,	Oxford
Dr. William Roberts,	Bangor
Dr. John Warner,	Rochester
Dr. Bryan Duppa,	Salum
Dr. Henry King,	Chichester
Dr. Accepted Frewen,	Litchf. and Coventry. ‡

In order to make way for a new creation, some of the bishops abovementioned were translated to better sees; as,

Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, to Canterbury, who was promoted more out of decency, says Bishop Burnet§, as being the eldest and most eminent of the surviving bishops; he never was a great divine, but was now superannuated.

Dr. Accepted Frewen was translated to York, September 22, and confirmed October 4. He was the son of a Puritanical minister, and himself inclined that way, till some time after the beginning of the civil wars, when he became a great loyalist, and was promoted in the year 1644 to the see of Litchfield and

* Kennet's Chron. p. 199. † Ibid. p. 204. ‡ Ibid. p. 252. § Vol. 1. p. 257.

Coventry: he made no figure in the learned world*, and died in the year 1664.

Dr. Bryan Duppa was translated to Winchester, and confirmed October 4. He had been the king's tutor, though no way equal to the service. He was a meek humble man, and much beloved for his good temper, says Bishop Burnet†, and would have been more esteemed if he had died before the Restoration, for he made not that use of the great wealth that flowed in upon him as was expected‡.

To make way for the election of new bishops in a regular and canonical manner, it was first necessary to restore to every cathedral a dean and chapter; which being done,

Dr. Gilbert Sheldon was advanced to the see of London; he was esteemed a learned man before the civil wars, but had since engaged so deep in politics, says bishop Burnet§, that scarce any prints of what he had been remained; he was a dexterous man in business, and treated all men in an obliging manner, but few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as an engine of government, and a matter of policy, for which reason the king looked upon him as a wise and honest clergyman. He was one of the most powerful and implacable adversaries of the Nonconformists.

Dr. Henchman was consecrated bishop of Sarum, and Dr. George Morley bishop of Worcester, October 28. December 2, seven bishops were consecrated together in St. Peter's, Westminster, viz.

Dr. John Cosins,	bishop of Durham
Dr. William Lawes,	St. David's
Dr. Benjamin Laney,	Peterborough
Dr. Hugh Lloyd,	Landaff
Dr. Richard Sterne,	Carlisle
Dr. Bryan Walton,	Chester
Dr. John Gauden,	Exeter.

* Dr. Grey observes, however, on the authority of Wood, that Dr. Frewen, though he published only a Latin oration, with some verses on the death of prince Henry, was esteemed a general scholar and a good orator. He was buried in his cathedral church, and a splendid monument was erected over his grave. He bequeathed 1000*l.* to Magdalen-college, Oxon, of which he had been president. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 663, 664. Godwinus de Præsulibus, curâ Richardson, p. 714.—ED.

† Page 258.

‡ Dr. Grey censures Mr. Neal for adopting this mistake of bishop Burnet, and says that Dr. Duppa's charities were extraordinary. He gave for redeeming of captives, building and endowing alms-houses, with other charitable deeds, in benevolences, repairs, &c., 16,000*l.* and was so good to his tenants as to abate 30,000*l.* in fines. Richardson says, that during the two years he lived after his translation to the see of Winchester, he expended great sums in public services; and was meditating more undertakings. He built an alms-house at Richmond, and endowed it by his will with 1500*l.* He bequeathed 200*l.* to the alms-house at Pembridge in Herts; and, to omit private donations, he left to the church of Salisbury 500*l.* of Winchester 200*l.* of St. Paul's, London, 300*l.* and of Cirencester, 200*l.* Grey's *Examination*, vol. 3. p. 276; and Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 243.—ED.

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On the 6th of January following four other bishops were consecrated, viz.

Dr. Gilbert Ironside,	bishop of Bristol
Dr. Edward Reynolds,	Norwich
Dr. Nicholas Monk,	Hereford
Dr. William Nicholson,	Gloucester.

Four or five sees were kept vacant for the leading divines among the Presbyterians, if they would conform; but they declined, as will be seen hereafter. In Scotland and Ireland things were not quite so ripe for execution; the Scots parliament disannulled the covenant, but episcopacy was not established in either of the kingdoms till next year.

The English hierarchy being restored to its former pre-eminence, except the peerage of the bishops, it remained only to consider what was to be done with the malecontents; the Independents and Anabaptists petitioned the king only for a toleration*; and the English Papists, depending upon their interest at court, offered his majesty 100,000*l.* before he left Breda, to take off the penal laws, upon which his majesty ordered the chancellor to insert the following clause in his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs—That others also be permitted to meet for religious worship, so be it they do it not to the disturbance of the peace; and that no justice of peace offer to disturb them.† When this was debated in the king's presence after the Restoration, the bishops wisely held their peace; but Mr. Baxter, who was more zealous than prudent, declared plainly his dislike of a toleration of Papists and Socinians; which his majesty took so very ill, that he said, the Presbyterians were a set of men who were only for setting up themselves. These still flattered themselves with hopes of a comprehension, but the Independents and Baptists were in despair.

And here was an end of those distracted times, which our historians have loaded with all the infamy and reproach that the wit of man could invent. The Puritan ministers have been decried as ignorant mechanics, canting preachers, enemies to learning, and no better than public robbers. The universities were said to be reduced to a mere Munster; and that if the Goths and Vandals, and even the Turks, had overrun the nation, they could not have done more to introduce barbarism, disloyalty, and ignorance; and yet in these times, and by the men who then filled the university-chairs, were educated the most learned divines and eloquent preachers of the last age, as the Stillingfleets, Tillotsons, Bulls, Barrows, Whitbys, and others, who retained a high veneration for their learned tutors after they were rejected and displaced. The religious part of the common people have been stigmatized with the character of hypocrites; their looks, their dress, and behaviour, have been represented in the most odious colours; and yet one may venture to challenge these declaimers

* Kennet's Chron. p. 142.

† Compl. Hist. p. 258.

to produce any period of time since the Reformation, wherein there was less open profaneness and impiety, and more of the spirit as well as appearance of religion. Perhaps there was too much rigour and preciseness in indifferent matters; but the lusts of men were laid under a visible restraint; and though the legal constitution was unhappily broken, and men were governed by false politics, yet better laws were never made against vice, or more vigorously executed. The dress and conversation of people were sober and virtuous, and their manner of living remarkably frugal: there was hardly a single bankruptcy to be heard of in a year; and in such a case the bankrupt had a mark of infamy set upon him that he could never wipe off. Drunkenness, fornication, profane swearing, and every kind of debauchery, were justly deemed infamous, and universally discountenanced. The clergy were laborious to excess in preaching and praying, and catechising youth, and visiting their parishes. The magistrates did their duty in suppressing all kind of games, stage-plays, and abuses in public-houses. There was not a play acted on any theatre in England for almost twenty years. The Lord's day was observed with unusual reverence: and there were a set of as learned and pious youths training up in the university as had ever been known. So that if such a reformation of manners had obtained under a legal administration, they would have deserved the character of the best of times.

But when the legal constitution was restored, there returned with it a torrent of debauchery and wickedness. The times which followed the Restoration were the reverse of those that preceded it; for the laws which had been enacted against vice for the last twenty years being declared null, and the magistrates changed, men set no bounds to their licentiousness. A proclamation indeed was published against those loose and riotous cavaliers, whose loyalty consisted in drinking healths, and railing at those who would not revel with them; but in reality the king was at the head of these disorders; being devoted to his pleasures, and having given himself up to an avowed course of lewdness; his bishops and chaplains said, that he usually came from his mistresses' apartments to church, even on sacrament-days*. There were two play-houses erected in the neighbourhood of the court. Women-actresses were introduced into the theatres, which had not been known till that time; the most lewd and obscene plays were brought on the stage; and the more obscene, the king was the better pleased, who graced every new play with his royal presence. Nothing was to be seen at court but feasting, hard drinking, revelling, and amorous intrigues, which engendered the most enormous vices. From court the contagion spread like wildfire among the people, insomuch that men threw off the very profession of virtue and piety, under

* Kennet's Chron. p. 167.

colour of drinking the king's health; all kinds of old cavalier rioting and debauchery revived; the appearances of religion which remained with some, furnished matters of ridicule to libertines and scoffers*: some who had been concerned in the former changes, thought they could not redeem their credit better than by deriding all religion, and telling or making stories to render their former party ridiculous. To appear serious, or make conscience either of words or actions, was the way to be accounted a schismatic, a fanatic, or a sectarian; though if there was any real religion during the course of this reign, it was chiefly among those people. They who did not applaud the new ceremonies were marked out for Presbyterians, and every Presbyterian was a rebel. The old clergy who had been sequestered for scandal, having taken possession of their livings, were intoxicated with their new felicity, and threw off all the restraints of their order. Every week, says Mr. Baxter†, produced reports of one or other clergyman who was taken up by the watch drunk at night, and mobbed in the streets. Some were taken with lewd women; and one was reported to be drunk in the pulpit‡. Such was the general dissoluteness of manners which attended the deluge of joy which overflowed the nation upon his majesty's restoration!

About this time died the reverend Mr. Francis Taylor, sometime rector of Clapham in Surry, and afterward of Yalden, from whence he was called to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster, and had a considerable share in the annotations which go under their name. From Yalden Mr. Taylor removed to Canterbury, and became preacher of Christ-church in that city, where I presume he died, leaving behind him the character of an able critic in the oriental languages, and one of the most considerable divines of the assembly. He published several valuable works, and among others a translation of the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch out of the Chaldee into Latin, dedicated to the learned Mr. Gataker, of Rotherhithe, with a prefatory epistle of Selden's, and several others, relating to Jewish antiquities. Among the letters to archbishop Usher there is one from Mr. Taylor, dated from Clapham, 1635. He corresponded also with

* Kennet's Chron. p. 493.

† Life, part 2. p. 288.

‡ Dr. Grey questions the truth of the above charge. But whoever reads Mr. Baxter's account of the matter, and of the conduct of himself and some of his brethren on the report of it, which rang through the city, will scarcely doubt the fact. But there is force and candour in what Dr. Grey adds concerning the reply of Mr. Selden to an alderman of the long-parliament on the subject of episcopacy. The alderman said, "that there were so many clamours against such and such prelates, that they would never be quiet till they had no more bishops." On this Mr. Selden informed the house, what grievous complaints there were against such and such aldermen; and therefore, by parity of reasoning, it was his opinion, he said, that they should have no more aldermen. Here was the fault transferred to the office, which is a dangerous error; for not only government, but human society itself, may be dissolved by the same argument, if the frailties or corruptions of particular men shall be revenged upon the whole body. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 267.—ED.

Boetius, and most of the learned men of his time. He left behind him a son who was blind*, but ejected for nonconformity in the year 1662, from St. Alphage-church in Canterbury, where he lies buried.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. TO THE CONFERENCE AT THE SAVOY. 1660.

BEFORE we relate the conference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian divines, in order to a comprehension it will be proper to represent the views of the court, and of the bishops, who had promised to act with temper, and to bury all past offences under the foundation of the Restoration. The point in debate was, "Whether concessions should be made, and pains taken, to gain the Presbyterians?" The king seemed to be for it; but the court-bishops, with lord Clarendon at their head, were absolutely against it: Clarendon was a man of high and arbitrary principles, and gave himself up to the bishops, for the service they had done him in reconciling the king to his daughter's clandestine marriage with the duke of York. If his lordship had been a friend to moderate measures, the greatest part of the Presbyterians might have been gained; but he would not disoblige the bishops; the reasons of whose angry behaviour were, "1. Their high notions of the episcopal form of government, as necessary to the very essence of a Christian church. 2. The resentments that remained in their breasts against all who had engaged with the long-parliament, and had been the cause of their sufferings. 3. The Presbyterians being legally possessed of most of the benefices in church and state, it was thought necessary to dispossess them; and if there must be a schism, rather to have it out of the church than within it;" for it had been observed, that the half conformity of the Puritans before the war, had, in most cities and corporations, occasioned a faction between the incumbents and lecturers, which latter had endeavoured to render themselves popular at the expense of the hierarchy. 4. Besides, they had too much influence in the election of representatives to serve in parliament; therefore, instead of using methods to bring them into the church, says bishop Burnet †, they resolved to seek the most effectual ones for casting them out. Here was no gene-

* He lost his sight by the small-pox: but pursued his studies by the aid of others who read to him. His brother, who was also blind, he supported, and took great pains to instruct and win over to serious religion, but not with all the success he desired: he was a man of good abilities, and noted for an eloquent preacher: and his ministry was much valued and respected. He did not long survive the treatment he met with, in being seized and carried to prison; but was cheerful in all his afflictions. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 57, 58.—ED.

† Vol. 1. p. 259, 260, 12mo.

rosity, or spirit of Catholicism, no remembrance of past services, no compassion for weak or prejudiced minds, but a fixed resolution to disarm their opponents at all events; so that the ensuing conferences with the Presbyterians were no other than an amusement to keep them quiet, till they could obtain a law for their utter expulsion.

The king was devoted to his pleasures, and had no principles of real religion; his grand design was to lay asleep the former controversies, and to unite both Protestant and Papist under his government; with this view he submitted to the scheme of the bishops, in hopes of making it subservient to a general toleration; which nothing could render more necessary, than having great bodies of men shut out of the church, and put under severe penal laws, who must then be petitioners for a toleration which the legislature would probably grant; but it was his majesty's resolution, that whatsoever should be granted of that sort should pass in so limited a manner, that Papists as well as other sectaries should be comprehended within it. The duke of York and all the Roman Catholics were in this scheme; they declared absolutely against a comprehension, but were very much for a general toleration, as what was necessary for the peace of the nation, and promoting the Catholic cause.

The well-meaning Presbyterians were all this while striving against the stream, and making interest with a set of men who were now laughing in their sleeves at the abject condition to which their egregious credulity had reduced them. They offered archbishop Usher's model of primitive episcopacy as a plan of accommodation; that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the communion, should be left indifferent*. They were content to set aside the assembly's confession, and let the articles of the church of England take place with some few amendments. About the middle of June, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Ashe, Mr. Baxter, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Manton, and Dr. Spurstow, waited upon the king, being introduced by the earl of Manchester, to crave his majesty's interposition for reconciling the differences in the church; that the people might not be deprived of their faithful pastors. Honest Mr. Baxter told his majesty, that the interest of the late usurpers with the people arose from the encouragement they had given religion; and he hoped the king would not undo, but rather go beyond, the good which Cromwell or any other had done†. They laid a good deal of stress on their own loyalty, and carefully distinguished between their own behaviour and that of other sectaries, who had been disloyal and factious. The king replied, that "he was glad to hear of their inclinations to an agreement; that he would do his part to bring them together, but this must not be by bringing one party over to another, but by abating somewhat on both

* Kennet's Chron. p. 173.

† Ibid. p. 182.

sides, and meeting in the midway; and that if it were not accomplished it should not be his fault; nay, he said, he was resolved to see it brought to pass*." Accordingly, his majesty required them to draw up such proposals as they thought meet for an agreement about church-government, and to set down the most they could yield; promising them a meeting with some episcopal divines in his majesty's presence, when the proposals were ready. Upon this they summoned the city ministers to meet and consult at Sion-college, not excluding such of their country brethren as would attend, that it might not be said afterward they took upon themselves the concluding so weighty an affair †. After two or three weeks' consultation they agreed upon a paper to the following purpose, drawn up chiefly by Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Worth, and Mr. Calamy, which, together with archbishop Usher's reduction of episcopacy, they offered to the king, with the following address:

"May it please your most excellent majesty,

"We, your majesty's most loyal subjects cannot but acknowledge it is a very great mercy of God, that immediately after so wonderful and peaceable restoration to your throne and government (for which we bless his name) he has stirred up your royal heart, as to a zealous testimony against profaneness, so to endeavour a happy composing of the differences, and healing the sad breaches which are in the church. And we shall, according to our bounden duty, become humble suitors to the throne of grace, that the God of peace, who has put such a thing as this into your majesty's heart, will, by his heavenly wisdom and Holy Spirit, assist you herein, that you may bring your resolutions to a perfect effect and issue.—

"In humble conformity to your majesty's Christian designs, we, taking it for granted that there is a firm agreement between our brethren and us in the doctrinal truths of the reformed religion, and in the substantial parts of divine worship, humbly desire,

First, "That we may be secured of those things in practice of which we seem to be agreed in principle; as,

1. "That those of our flocks that are serious in matters of their salvation may not be reproachfully handled by words of scorn, or any abusive language, but may be encouraged in their duties of exhorting and provoking one another in their most holy faith, and of farthering one another in the ways of eternal life.

2. "That each congregation may have a learned, orthodox, and godly pastor, that the people may be publicly instructed by preaching every Lord's day, by catechising, by frequent administering the Lord's supper and baptism; and that effectual provision by law may be made, that such as are insufficient, negligent, or scandalous, may not officiate.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 183.

† Baxter, part 2. p. 232.

3. "That none may be admitted to the Lord's supper till they personally own their baptismal covenant by a credible profession of faith and holiness, not contradicted by a scandalous life. That to such only confirmation may be administered; and that the approbation of the pastor to whom the instructing those under his charge doth appertain, may be produced before any person receives confirmation.

4. "That an effectual course be taken for the sanctification of the Lord's day, appropriating the same to holy exercises both in public and private, without any unnecessary divertisements."

"Then for matters in difference, viz. church-government, liturgy, and ceremonies, we humbly represent,

"That we do not renounce the true ancient primitive episcopacy or presidency, as it was balanced with a due commixion of presbyters. If therefore your majesty, in your grave wisdom and moderation, shall constitute such an episcopacy, we shall humbly submit thereunto. And in order to an accommodation in this weighty affair, we desire humbly to offer some particulars which we conceive were amiss in the episcopal government as it was practised before the year 1640.

1. "The great extent of the bishop's diocess, which we apprehend too large for his personal inspection.

2. "That by reason of this disability the bishops did depute the administration, in matters of spiritual cognizance, to commissaries, chancellors, officials, whereof some are secular persons, and could not administer that power that originally belongs to the officers of the church.

3. "That the bishops did assume the sole power of ordination and jurisdiction to themselves.

4. "That some of the bishops exercised an arbitrary power, by sending forth articles of visitation, inquiring unwarrantably into several things; and swearing churchwardens to present accordingly. Also many innovations and ceremonies were imposed upon ministers and people not required by law.

"For remedy of these evils we crave leave to offer,

1. "The late most reverend primate of Ireland, his reduction of episcopacy into the form of synodical government.

2. "We humbly desire, that the suffragans, or chorepiscopi, may be chosen by the respective synods.

3. "That no oaths, or promises of obedience to the bishops, nor any unnecessary subscriptions or engagements, be made necessary to ordination, institution, or induction, ministration, communion, or immunities, of ministers, they being responsible for any transgression of the law. And that no bishops or ecclesiastical governors may exercise their government by their private will or pleasure, but only by such rules, canons, and constitutions, as shall be established by parliament.

Secondly, "Concerning liturgy.

1. "We are satisfied in our judgments concerning the lawful-

ness of a liturgy, or form of worship, provided it be for matter agreeable to the word of God, and suited to the nature of the several ordinances and necessities of the church, neither too tedious, nor composed of too short prayers or responsals, not dissonant from the liturgies of other reformed churches, nor too rigorously imposed, nor the minister confined thereunto, but that he may also make use of his gifts for prayer and exhortation.

2. "Forasmuch as the Book of Common Prayer is in some things justly offensive, and needs amendment, we most humbly pray, that some learned, godly, and moderate divines of both persuasions, may be employed to compile such a form as is before described, as much as may be in Scripture words; or at least to revise and reform the old: together with an addition of other various forms in Scripture phrase, to be used at the minister's choice.

Thirdly, "Concerning ceremonies.

"We hold ourselves obliged, in every part of divine worship, to do all things decently and in order, and to edification; and are willing to be determined by authority in such things as being merely circumstantial, or common to human actions and societies, are to be ordered by the light of nature, and human prudence.

"As to divers ceremonies formerly retained in the church of England, we do, in all humility, offer to your majesty, the following considerations:

"That the worship of God is in itself pure and perfect, and decent, without any such ceremonies. That it is then most pure and acceptable when it has least of human mixtures. That these ceremonies have been imposed and advanced by some, so as to draw near to the significancy and moral efficacy of sacraments. That they have been rejected by many of the reformed churches abroad, and have been ever the subject of contention and endless disputes in this church; and therefore being in their own nature indifferent, and mutable, they ought to be changed, lest in time they should be apprehended as necessary as the substantials of worship themselves.

"May it therefore please your majesty graciously to grant, that kneeling at the Lord's supper, and such holydays as are but of human institution, may not be imposed on such as scruple them. That the use of the surplice and cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, may be abolished. And forasmuch as erecting altars and bowing towards them, and such like (having no foundation in the law of the land), have been introduced and imposed, we humbly beseech your majesty, that such innovations may not be used or imposed for the future."

When the Presbyterian divines came to court with these proposals, the king received them favourably, and promised to bring both parties together. His majesty expressed a satisfaction in hearing they were disposed to a liturgy, and forms of prayer, and that they were willing to yield to the essence of episcopacy, and

therefore doubted not of procuring an accommodation. The ministers expected to have met the bishops with their papers of proposals, but none of them appeared, having been better instructed in a private conference with the lord-chancellor Hyde, who told them, it was not their business to offer proposals, because they were in possession of the laws of the land; that the hierarchy and service-book, being the only legal establishment, ought to be the standard of agreement; and therefore their only concern was to answer the exceptions of the ministers against it. Accordingly, instead of a conference, or paper of proposals, which the ministers expected, the bishops, having obtained a copy of the paper of the Presbyterians, drew up an answer in writing, which was communicated to their ministers, July 8.

In this answer, the bishops take notice of the ministers' concessions in their preamble, as that they agree with them in the substantial of doctrine and worship; and infer from thence, that their particular exceptions are of less importance, and ought not to be stiffly insisted on to the disturbance of the peace of the church.*

To the particulars they answer,

1. Concerning church-government, "That they never heard any just reasons for a dissent from the ecclesiastical hierarchy of this kingdom, which they believe in the main to be the true primitive episcopacy, which was more than a mere presidency of order. Nor do they find that it was balanced by an authoritative commixtion of presbyters, though it has been in all times exercised with the assistance and counsel of presbyters in subordination to bishops. They wonder that they should except against the government by one single person, which, if applied to the civil magistrate, is a most dangerous insinuation."†

As to the four particular instances of things amiss.

1. "We cannot grant the extent of any diocess is so great, but that a bishop may well perform his duty, which is not a personal inspection of every man's soul, but the pastoral charge, or taking care that the ministers, and other ecclesiastical officers within their diocess, do their duties; and if some diocesses should be too large, the law allows suffragans.

2. "Concerning lay-chancellors, &c. we confess the bishops did depute part of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction to chancellors, commissaries, officials, &c. as men better skilled in the civil and canon laws; but as for matters of mere spiritual concernment, as excommunication, absolution, and other censures of the church, we conceive they belong properly to the bishop himself, or his surrogate, wherein, if any thing has been done amiss, we are willing it should be reformed.

3. "Whether bishops are a distinct order from presbyters, or not; or, whether they have the sole power of ordination, is not

* Kennet's Chron. p. 200. Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 242. † Baxter, p. 243.

now the question; but we affirm, that the bishops of this realm have constantly ordained with the assistance of presbyters, and the imposition of their hands together with the bishops, and for this purpose the colleges of deans and chapters are instituted.

4. "As to archbishop Usher's model of church-government, we decline it, as not consistent with his other learned discourses on the original of episcopacy, and of metropolitans; nor with the king's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical."

II. *Concerning Liturgy.*

"We esteem the liturgy of the church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by law established, to be such an one as is by them desired, according to the qualifications which they mention; the disuse of which has been the cause of the sad divisions of the church, and the restoring it may be, by God's blessing, a special means of making up the breach. Nor can the imposition of it be called rigorous, as long as clergymen have the liberty of using their gifts before and after sermon. Nevertheless we are not against revising the liturgy by such discreet persons as his majesty shall think fit to employ therein.

III. *Of Ceremonies.*

"Lawful authority has already determined the ceremonies in question to be decent and orderly, and for edification, and consequently to be agreeable to the general rules of the word. We allow the worship of God is in itself perfect in essentials, but still the church is at liberty to improve it with circumstantials for decency and order. Ceremonies were never esteemed to be sacraments, nor imposed as such; they are retained by most Protestant churches; and that they have been the subject of contention is owing to men's weakness, and their unwillingness to submit their private opinions to the public judgment of the church. We acknowledge, that these things are in their nature mutable, but we can by no means think it expedient to remove them. However, as we are no way against such a tender and religious compassion in things of this nature, as his majesty's piety and wisdom shall think fit to extend: so we cannot think that the satisfaction of some private persons is to be laid in the balance against the public peace and uniformity of the church.

"As for kneeling at the Lord's supper, it is a gesture of the greatest reverence and devotion, and so most agreeable to that holy service.

"Holy-days of human institution having been observed by the people of God in the Old Testament, and by our blessed Saviour himself in the gospel, and by all the churches of Christ in the primitive and following times, as apt means to preserve the memorials of the chief mysteries of the Christian religion: and such holy-days also being fit times for the honest recreation of the meaner sort of people; for these reasons we humbly desire they may be continued in the church.

“As for the three other ceremonies, the surplice, the cross after baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, though we see not any sufficient reason why they should be utterly abolished, nevertheless, how far forth, in regard of tender consciences, a liberty may be thought fit to be indulged to any, his majesty is best able to judge.”

They conclude thus: “We are so far from believing that his majesty’s condescending to the ministers’ demands will take away not only our differences, but the roots and causes of them, that we are confident it will prove the seminary of new differences, both by giving dissatisfaction to those that are well pleased with what is already established, who are much the greatest part of his majesty’s subjects: and by encouraging unquiet spirits, when these things shall be granted, to make farther demands; there being no assurance by them given, what will content all dissenters, than which nothing is more necessary for settling a firm peace in the church.”

About a week after, the Presbyterian divines sent the bishops a warm remonstrance, and defence of their proposals, drawn up chiefly by Mr. Baxter, to the following purpose:—

Concerning the preamble.

“We are not insensible of the danger of the church, through the doctrinal errors of those with whom we differ about points of government and worship; but we choose to say nothing of the party that we are agreed with in doctrinals, because we both subscribe the same Holy Scriptures, articles of religion, and books of homilies; and the contradictions to their own confessions, which too many are guilty of, we did not think just to charge upon the whole*.”

Concerning Church-government.

“Had you read Gerson, Bucer, Parker, Baynes, Salmasius, Blondel, &c. you would have seen just reason given for our dissent from the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as stated in England.”

Instances of things amiss.

“You would easily grant that diocesses are too great, if you had ever conscionably tried the task which Dr. Hammond describeth as the bishop’s work; or had ever believed Ignatius, and other ancient descriptions of a bishop’s church. You cannot be ignorant that our bishops have the sole government of pastors and people; that the whole power of the keys is in their hands, and that their presbyters are but cyphers.”

Concerning Ceremonies.

“These divines argue for leaving them indifferent for the peace of the church, as being not essential to the perfection of

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 205. Baxter, part 2. p. 248.

Christian worship, especially when so many looked upon them as sinful."

They conclude thus: "We perceive your counsels against peace are not likely to be frustrated. Your desires concerning us are likely to be accomplished. You are like to be gratified with our silence and ejection; and yet we will believe, that 'Blessed are the peace-makers;' and though we are prevented by you in our pursuits of peace, and are never like thus publicly to seek it more, yet are we resolved, as much as possible, to live peaceably with all men."

The eyes of the Presbyterians were now opened, and they began to discern their weakness in expecting an agreement with the bishops, who appeared to be exasperated, and determined to tie them down to the old establishment. The former severities began already to be revived, and the laws were put in execution against some who did not make use of the old liturgy. Many were suspended and turned out of their livings on this account; upon which the leading Presbyterians applied to the king, and humbly requested,

1. "That they might with all convenient speed, see his majesty's conclusions upon the proposals of mutual condescentions, before they pass into resolves.

2. "That his majesty would publicly declare his pleasure for the suspension of all proceedings upon the act of uniformity, against nonconformists to the liturgy and ceremonies, till they saw the issue of their hoped-for agreement.

3. "That until the said settlement, there may be no oath of canonical obedience, nor subscription to the liturgy and ceremonies required, nor renunciation of their ordination by mere presbyters, imposed as necessary to institution, induction, or confirmation.

4. "That his majesty would cause the broad seal to be revoked, where persons had been put into the possession of the livings of others not void by sequestration, but by the death of the former incumbents.

5. "That a remedy may be provided against the return of scandalous ministers, into the places from whence they had been ejected*.

His majesty gave them a civil audience, and told them he would put what he thought fit to grant them into the form of a declaration, which they should have the liberty of perusing before it was made public. A copy of this was accordingly delivered by the chancellor to Mr. Baxter, and other Presbyterian divines, September 4, with liberty to make exceptions, and give notice of what they disliked †. These divines petitioned for some farther amendments and alterations; upon which the king appointed a

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 241.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 246. Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 275, 276.

day to hear what could be said on both sides, and came to the chancellor's house, October 22, attended by the dukes of Albemarle and Ormond, the earls of Manchester, Anglesea, and lord Hollis.

On the part of the bishops were,

Dr. Sheldon,	bishop of London
Dr. Morley,	Worcester
Dr. Henchman,	Salisbury
Dr. Cosins,	Durham
Dr. Gauden,	Exeter
Dr. Hacket,	Litchfield and Coventry
Dr. Barwick,	dean of St. Paul's;—Dr. Gunning, &c.

On the side of the Presbyterians were,

Dr. Reynolds	Dr. Spurstow	Dr. Manton	Dr. Wallis.
Mr. Calamy	Mr. Ashe	Mr. Baxter	

As the chancellor read over the declaration, each party were to allege their exceptions, and the king to determine. The chief debates were on the high power of the bishops, and the necessity of reordination. Bishop Morley and Dr. Gunning spoke most on one side; and Mr. Calamy and Baxter on the other*. Upon hearing the whole, his majesty delivered his judgment as to what he thought proper should stand in the declaration; and appointed bishop Morley and Henchman, Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Calamy, to express it in proper words; and if they disagreed, the earl of Anglesea and lord Hollis to decide.

At length the declaration, with such amendments as the king would admit, was published under the following title:

“His maiesty's declaration to all his loving subjects of his kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, concerning ecclesiastical affairs. Given at our court at Whitehall, October 25, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.”

The declaration being long †, and to be met with in most of our historians, I shall give the reader only an abstract of it.

“CHARLES REX.

“In our letter from Breda we promised in due time to propose something to the world for the propagation of the Protestant religion; and we think ourself more competent to propose, and with God's assistance determine many things now in difference, from the experience we have had in most of the reformed churches abroad, where we have had frequent conferences with the most learned men, who have unanimously lamented the distempers and too notorious schisms in matters of religion in England.

“When we were in Holland we were attended by many grave and learned ministers from hence of the Presbyterian opinion,

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 278.

† This declaration was drawn up by lord-Chancellor Hyde: but many of the evasive clauses were suggested by some of the king's more secret advisers. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. v. 1. p. 93.—ED.

and to our great satisfaction we found them full of affection to us, no enemies to episcopacy or liturgy (as they have been reported to be), but modestly desiring such alterations as, without shattering foundations, might give ease to the tenderness of some men's consciences. For the doing of this we intended to have called a synod of divines, but observing the over-passionate and turbulent way of proceeding of some persons, and the impatience of others for a speedy determination of these matters, we have been prevailed with to invert the method we proposed, and to give some determination ourself to the matters in difference, till such a synod may be called as may, without passion or prejudice, give us such farther assistance towards a perfect union of affections, as well as submission to authority, as is necessary.

“We must, for the honour of all with whom we have conferred, declare, that the professions and desires of all for the advancement of piety and true godliness are the same; their professions of zeal for the peace of the church, and of affection and duty to us, the same; they all approve episcopacy and a liturgy, and disapprove of sacrilege, and the alienation of the revenues of the church*.”

His majesty then declares his esteem and affection for the church of England, and that his esteem of it is not lessened by his condescending to dispense with some particular ceremonies, and then proceeds to his concessions.

1. “We declare our purpose and resolution is, and shall be, to promote the power of godliness, to encourage the public and private exercises of religion, to take care of the due observation of the Lord's day; and that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous ministers be not permitted in the church. We shall take care to prefer none to the episcopal office and charge but men of learning, virtue, and piety; and we shall provide the best we can, that the bishops be frequent preachers, and that they do often preach in some church or other of their diocess.

2. “Because some diocesses may be of too large extent, we will appoint such a number of suffragans as shall be sufficient for the due performance of their work.

3. “No bishop shall ordain or exercise any part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the church, without advice and assistance of the presbyters. No chancellors, commissaries, or officials, shall excommunicate, absolve, or exercise, any act of spiritual jurisdiction, wherein any of the ministry are concerned with reference to their pastoral charge. Nor shall the archdeacon exercise any jurisdiction without the advice and assistance of six ministers of his archdeaconry; three to be nominated by the bishop, and three by the suffrage of the presbyters within the archdeaconry.

4. “We will take care, that the preferment of deans and chap-

* Comp. Hist. vol. 3. p. 246. Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 259. Kennet's Chron. p. 289.

ters shall be given to the most learned and pious presbyters of the diocess, and that an equal number (to those of the chapter) of the most learned and pious presbyters of the same diocess, annually chosen by the major vote of all the presbyters of that diocess present at such elections, shall be always advising and assisting, together with those of the chapter, in all ordinations, at all church-censures, and other important acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction wherein any of the ministry are concerned. Provided that at all such meetings, the number of ministers so elected, and those of the chapter present, be equal; and to make the numbers equal, the juniors of the exceeding number shall withdraw to make way for the more ancient. Nor shall any suffragan bishop ordain or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of a sufficient number of presbyters annually chosen as before. And our will is, that ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by the bishop and his aforesaid presbytery at the four set times appointed by the church for that purpose.

5. "Confirmation shall be rightly and solemnly performed, by the information and with the consent of the minister of the place, who shall admit none to the Lord's supper, till they have made a credible profession of their faith, and promised obedience to the will of God, according to the rubric before the catechism; and all diligence shall be used for the instruction and reformation of scandalous offenders, whom the minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's supper till they have openly declared their repentance, and resolutions of amendment; provided there be place for appeals to superior powers. Every rural dean (to be nominated by the bishop as heretofore) with three or four ministers of that deanery chosen by the major part of all the ministers within the same, shall meet once a month to receive complaints from the ministers or churchwardens of parishes, and to compose such differences as shall be referred to them for arbitration, and to reform such things as are amiss, by their pastoral reproofs and admonitions, and what they cannot reform are to be presented to the bishop. Moreover, the rural dean and his assistants are to take care of the catechising children and youth, and that they can give a good account of their faith before they are brought to the bishop to be confirmed.

6. "No bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power, or impose any thing upon his clergy or people, but according to the law of the land.

7. "We will appoint an equal number of divines of both persuasions to review the liturgy of the church of England, and to make such alterations as shall be thought necessary; and some additional forms in the Scripture phrase, as near as may be, suited to the nature of the several parts of worship, and that it be left to the minister's choice to use one or the other at his discretion. In the mean time, we desire that the ministers in their several churches will not wholly lay aside the use of the common

prayer, but will read those parts of it against which they have no exception; yet our will and pleasure is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it till it be reviewed and effectually reformed.

8. Lastly, "Concerning ceremonies, if any are practised contrary to law, the same shall cease. Every national church has a power to appoint ceremonies for its members, which, though before they were indifferent, yet cease to be so when established by law. We are therefore content to indulge tender consciences, so far as to dispense with their using such ceremonies as are an offence to them, but not to abolish them. We declare therefore, that none shall be compelled to receive the sacrament kneeling, nor to use the cross in baptism, nor to bow at the name of Jesus, nor to use the surplice, except in the royal chapel, and in cathedral and collegiate churches. Nor shall subscription, nor the oath of canonical obedience, be required at present, in order to ordination, institution, or induction, but only the taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; nor shall any lose their academical degrees, or forfeit a presentation, or be deprived of a benefice, for not declaring his assent to all the thirty-nine articles, provided he read and declare his assent to all the doctrinal articles, and to the sacraments. And we do again renew our declaration from Breda, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.

His majesty concludes, "with conjuring all his loving subjects, to acquiesce and submit to this declaration, concerning the differences that have so much disquieted the nation at home, and given offence to the Protestant churches abroad."

Though this declaration did not satisfy all the ministers, yet the greatest numbers were content; but because it proceeded upon the plan of diocesan episcopacy which they had covenanted against, others were extremely uneasy; some ventured upon a second address to the king, in which they renew their requests for archbishop Usher's scheme of primitive episcopacy, as most agreeable to Scripture; most conducive to good discipline, and as that which would save the nation from the violation of a solemn league and covenant, which, whether it were lawfully imposed or no, they conceive now to be binding.

Concerning the preamble of his majesty's declaration they tender these requests:

1. "That as they are persuaded it is not in his majesty's thoughts to intimate that they are guilty of the offences therein mentioned, they hope it will be a motive to hasten the union.

2. "Though they detest sacrilege, yet they will not determine, whether in some cases of superfluities of revenues, and the necessity of the church, there may not be an alienation, which is no sacrilege.

3. "His majesty having acknowledged their moderation, they

still hope they may be received into the settlement, and continue their stations in the church.

4. "Since his majesty has declared, that the essence of episcopacy may be preserved, though the extent of the jurisdiction be altered, they hope his majesty will consent to such an alteration as may satisfy their consciences."

They then renew their requests for promoting of piety; of a religious and diligent ministry; of the requisites of church-communion; and for the observation of the sabbath. They complain, that parish-discipline is not sufficiently granted in his majesty's declaration, that inferior synods are passed by, and that the bishop is not *episcopus præses*, but *episcopus princeps*, endued with sole power of ordination and jurisdiction. They therefore pray again, that archbishop Usher's form of church-government may be established, at least in these three points*:

1. "That the pastors of parishes may be allowed to preach, catechise, and deny the communion of the church to the impenitent, scandalous, or such as do not make a credible profession of faith and obedience to the commands of Christ.

2. "That the pastors of each rural deanery may meet once a month, to receive presentments and appeals, to admonish offenders, and after due patience to proceed to excommunication.

3. "That a diocesan synod of the delegates of rural synods may be called as often as need requires; that the bishop may not ordain or exercise spiritual censures without the consent of the majority; and that neither chancellors, archdeacons, commissaries, nor officials, may pass censures purely spiritual; but for the exercise of civil government coercively by mulcts, or corporal penalties, by power derived from your majesty, as supreme over all persons and things ecclesiastical, we presume not at all to interpose."

"As to the Liturgy.

"They rejoice that his majesty has declared, that none should suffer for not using the common prayer and ceremonies; but then it grieves us (say they) to hear that it is given in charge to the judges at the assizes, to indict men upon the act of uniformity for not using the common prayer. That it is not only some obsolete words and phrases that are offensive, but that other things need amendment; therefore we pray, that none may be punished for not using the book, till it be reformed by the consent of the divines of both patties."

"Concerning Ceremonies.

"They thank his majesty for his gracious concessions, but pray him to leave out of his declaration these words, 'that we do not believe the practice of the particular ceremonies excepted against unlawful,' because we are not all of that opinion; but we

* Hist. of the Noncon. p. 14. Baxter, part 2. p. 268.

desire, that there may be no law nor canon for or against them (being allowed by our opponents as indifferent), as there is no canon against any particular gesture in singing psalms, and yet there is an uninterrupted unity."

"For particular Ceremonies.

1. "We humbly crave, that there may be liberty to receive the Lord's supper either kneeling, standing, or sitting. 2. That the observation of holy-days of human institution may be left indifferent. 3. We thank your majesty for liberty as to the cross in baptism, the surplice, and bowing at the name of Jesus; but we pray, that this liberty may extend to colleges and cathedrals for the benefit of youth as well as elder persons, and that the canons which impose these ceremonies may be repealed.

"We thank your majesty for your gracious concession of the forbearance of subscription; though we do not dissent from the doctrinal articles of the church of England; nor do we scruple the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, nor would we have the door left open for Papists and heretics to come in.

"But we take the liberty to represent to your majesty, that, notwithstanding your gracious concessions, our ministers cannot procure institution without renouncing their ordination by presbyters, or being reordained, nor without subscription and the oaths of canonical obedience. And we are apprehensive that your majesty's indulgence does not extend to the abatement of reordination, or subscription, or the oath of canonical obedience. We therefore earnestly crave, that your majesty will declare your pleasure, 1. That ordination, and institution, and induction, may be conferred without the said subscription and oath. 2. That none may be urged to be reordained, or denied institution for want of ordination by prelates that have been ordained by presbyters. 3. That none may forfeit their presentation or benefice for not reading those articles of the thirty-nine that relate to government and ceremonies."

However, if the king's declaration, without any amendments, had passed into a law, it would have prevented in a great measure the separation that followed; but neither the court nor ministry intended it, if they could stand their ground upon the foot of the old establishment. A reverend prelate of the church of England confesses, "that this declaration has in it a spirit of true wisdom and charity above any one public confession that was ever made in matters of religion. It shews the admirable temper and prudence of the king and his council in that tender juncture of affairs; it proves the charity and moderation of the suffering bishops, in thinking such concessions just and reasonable for peace and unity; and it shews a disposition in the other party to have accepted the terms of union consistent with our episcopacy and liturgy. It condemns the unhappy ferment that soon after followed for want of this temper; and it may stand for a

pattern to posterity, whenever they are disposed, to restore the discipline and heal the breaches of the church." Another conformist writer adds, "If ever a divine sentence was in the mouth of any king, and his mouth erred not in judgment; I verily believe it was thus with our present majesty when he composed that admirable declaration, which next to the Holy Scriptures I adore, and think that the united judgment of the whole nation cannot frame a better or a more unexceptionable expedient, for a firm and lasting concord of these distracted churches."

The Presbyterians about London were so far pleased, that they drew up the following address of thanks, in the name of the city-ministers, and presented it to the king November 16, by the hands of the reverend Mr. Samuel Clarke.

"Most dread Sovereign!

"We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, ministers of the gospel in your city of London, having perused your majesty's late declaration, and finding it so full of indulgence and gracious condescension, we cannot but judge ourselves highly obliged first to render our unfeigned thanks to God, and next our most hearty and humble acknowledgments to your majesty, that we may testify to your royal self, and all the world, our just sentiments of your majesty's great goodness and clemency therein expressed*."

The address then recites the several condescensions of his majesty in the declaration, and concludes thus, "We crave leave to profess, that though all things in this frame of government be not exactly suited to our judgments, yet your majesty's moderation has so great an influence on us, that we shall to the utmost endeavour the healing of the breaches, and promoting the peace and union of the church.—We would beg of your majesty, with all humility upon our knees, that reordination, and the surplice in colleges, might not be imposed; and we hope God will incline your majesty's heart to gratify us in these our desires also."

Signed by

Samuel Clark	Jo. Rawlinson	Thomas Lye
William Cooper	Jo. Sheffield	John Jackson
Thomas Case	Thomas Gouge	John Meriton
Jo. Gibbon	Gab. Sanger	William Bates
William Whitaker	El. Pledger	With many others.
Thomas Jacomb	Matth. Pool	

The king having received the address, returned this answer †, "Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all satisfaction, and to make you as happy as myself ‡."

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 279, 284. Kennet's Chron. p. 311.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 315.

‡ December 11, 1729.—Waiting on Arthur Onslow, esq. speaker of the honourable house of commons, he was pleased to suffer me to peruse and afterward to transcribe a marginal note, which he had written with his own hand to pages 152,

Upon the terms of this declaration Dr. Reynolds accepted of the bishoprick of Norwich; Mr. Baxter was offered the bishoprick of Hereford, but refused upon other reasons; and Mr. Calamy declined the bishoprick of Litchfield and Coventry, till the king's declaration should be passed into a law. Dr. Manton, having been presented to the living of Covent-garden by the earl of Bedford, accepted it upon the terms of the declaration, and received episcopal institution from Dr. Sheldon bishop of London, January 10, 1660—61. Having first subscribed the doctrinal articles of the church of England only, and taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and of canonical obedience in all things lawful and honest. The doctor was also content that the Common Prayer should be read in his church. Dr. Bates was offered the deanery of Litchfield; Dr. Manton the deanery of Rochester; and Mr. Bowles that of York; but finding how things were going at court, after some time, refused.

The lords and commons, upon reading the king's declaration, agreed to wait upon his majesty in a body, and return him thanks; and the commons ordered a bill into their house to pass it into a law; but when the bill had been read the first time, the question being put for a second reading, it passed in the negative; one of the secretaries of state opposing it, which was a sufficient indication, says Dr. Bates, of the king and court's aversion to it*. Sir Matthew Hale, who was zealous for the declaration, at that very juncture was taken out of the house of commons, and made lord-chief-baron of the exchequer, that he might not oppose the resolutions of the ministry. Strange! that a house of commons, which on the 9th of November had given the king thanks for his declaration by their speaker *nem. contradicente*, should on the 28th

153, and 154, of the first volume of my Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, where the subject of which I was treating, was king Charles's celebrated declaration for ecclesiastical affairs, which bore date October 25, 1660.

I had said, that the concessions there made were so highly pleasing, that an address of thanks was drawn up and signed by many of the dissenting members in and about London, &c.

The marginal note before mentioned, was in the words following:

"Both houses of parliament did also severally present to the king an address of thanks for this declaration: and in the house of commons, November 6, 1660, a committee was appointed to bring in a bill to make the declaration effectual, and the person first named of the committee was serjeant Hale, who was therefore very probably the first mover of this bill. And as he was the next day (I think it was so soon) made chief lord baron, it is not unlikely that he was desirous to leave the house of commons with this mark of his moderation, as to the religious differences of that time, and what he thought would be the proper means to heal them. But his endeavours did not succeed; for on the 28th of November following, the bill being read the first time, and a question put that the bill be read a second time, it passed in the negative: the yeas one hundred and fifty-seven, the noes one hundred and eighty-three. The tellers for the yeas were sir Anthony Joby and sir George Booth; for the noes, sir Solomon Swale and Mr. Palmer."

Note. "Sir Solomon Swale was afterward discharged being a member of the house of commons, for being a Popish recusant convict."—Dr. Calamy's History of his own Life.

I here insert this for the use of posterity.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 358.

of the same month reject it before a second reading. This blasted all the expectations of the Presbyterian clergy at once. It was now apparent that the court did not design the declaration should be carried into execution, but only serve as a temporary expedient to keep them quiet, till the church should be in circumstances to bid them defiance. While the diocesan doctors were at Breda (says Mr. Baxter*) they did not dream that their way to the highest grandeur was so fair; then they would have been glad of the terms of the declaration of Breda; when they came in they proceeded by slow degrees, that they might feel the ground under them; for this purpose they proposed the declaration, which being but a temporary provision must give place to laws, but when they found the parliament and populace ripe for any thing they should propose, they dropped the declaration, and all farther thoughts of accommodation.

The court and bishops were now at ease, and went on briskly with restoring all things to the old standard; the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were revived; men of the highest principles, and most inveterate resentments, were preferred to bishopricks, by which they were more than compensated for their sufferings, by the large sums of money they raised on the renewal of leases†, which after so long an interval were almost expired; but what a sad use they made of their riches, I choose rather to relate in the words of bishop Burnet than my own. "What the bishops did with their great fines was a pattern to all their lower dignitaries, who generally took more care of themselves than of the church; the men of service were loaded with many livings, and many dignities. With this accession of wealth, there broke in upon the church a great deal of luxury and high living, on pretence of hospitality; and with this overset of wealth and pomp that came upon men in the decline of their age, they who were now growing into old age became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the church‡."

* Life, p. 287.

† The terms on which these leases were renewed, were high and oppressive, and the bishops incurred the severe censure of the Presbyterian ministers, and raised against themselves the clamour of the subordinate and dependent clergy. The fines raised by renewing the leases amounted to a million and half. In some sees they produced 40 or 50,000*l.* which were applied to the enriching the bishops' families. Secret History of the Court and Reign of King Charles II. vol. I. p. 350—354; and Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. I. p. 271, 12mo.—Ed.

‡ Dr. Grey endeavours to shew, that bishop Burnet's representation, quoted above, was founded in a mistake; and with this view, he states the benefactions and charities of some of the bishops, deans, and chapters. According to his authorities, besides the expenditures of bishop Duppa, which we have mentioned before, Dr. Juxon, archbishop of Canterbury, gave to various purposes and public works, 48,000*l.* and abated in fines 16,900*l.* Dr. Sheldon, while bishop of London, expended 40,000*l.*, and abated to his tenants 17,000*l.* Dr. Frewen, archbishop of York, disbursed in public payments, besides abatements to tenants, 15,000*l.* Dr. Cosins bishop of Durham's expenditures in building and repairing public edifices and in charities amounted to 44,000*l.* Dr. Warner, bishop of Rochester, though his fines were small, gave in royal presents, benevolences, and subsidies, and redeeming captives, 25,000*l.* The liberalities of various deans and chapters made the sum of 191,300*l.*

From this time, says bishop Kennet, the Presbyterians began to prepare for the cry of persecution, and not without reason, for March 23, Mr. Zach. Crofton, minister of Aldgate, was sent to the Tower for writing in favour of the covenant; where he lay a considerable time at great expense, and was at last turned out of his parish without any consideration, though he had a wife and seven children, and had been very zealous for the king's restoration*. Mr. Andrew Parsons, rector of Wem in Shropshire, a noted loyalist, was fetched from his house in the month of December by six soldiers, for seditious preaching, and nonconformity to the ceremonies; for which he was fined 200*l.* and to continue in prison till it was paid.

Spies were sent into all the congregations of Presbyterians throughout England, to observe and report their behaviour to the bishops; and if a minister lamented the degeneracy of the times, or expressed his concern for the ark of God, if he preached against perfidiousness, or glanced at the vices of the court, he was marked for an enemy to the king and government. Many eminent and loyal Presbyterians were sent to prison upon such informations, among whom was the learned and prudent Mr. John Howe, and when they came to their trials, the court was guarded with soldiers, and their friends not suffered to attend them. Many were sequestered from their livings, and cited into the ecclesiastical courts, for not using the surplice and other ceremonies, while the discipline of the church was under a kind of suspension. So eager were the spiritual courts to renew the exercise of the sword; and so fiercely was it brandished against the falling Presbyterians!

The convention-parliament passed sundry acts with relation to the late times, of which these following deserve to be remembered: An act for the confirming and restoring of ministers, which enacts, among other things, "that every sequestered minister, who has not justified the late king's murder, or declared against infant baptism, shall be restored to his living before the 25th of December next ensuing, and the present incumbent shall peaceably quit it, and be accountable for dilapidations, and all arrears of fifths not paid." By this act some hundreds of nonconformist ministers were dispossessed of their livings, before the act of uniformity was penned. Here was no distinction between

These expenditures bespeak munificence and generosity; and they appear to take off much of the edge of Bishop Burnet's censure. He allows, that "some few exceptions are to be made: but so few (he adds), that if a new set of men had not appeared of another stamp, the church had quite lost her esteem over the nation." The reader will also reflect, that the proportion not of the number of dignitaries only, who made a display of charity, or liberality, but of the sums they expended to the accession of wealth, is to be taken into the account. The above sums fall more than a million short of the amount of the fines that were raised: to these must be added the annual incomes of the ecclesiastical estates to which they were preferred. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 269—274. Burnet's History, vol. 1. p. 271.—ED.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 397. Conf. Plea, p. 34.

good or bad; but if the parson had been episcopally ordained, and in possession, he must be restored, though he had been ejected upon the strongest evidence of immorality or scandal.

The act for confirmation of marriages was very expedient for the peace of the kingdom, and the order and harmony of families. It enacts, "that all marriages since May 1, 1642, solemnized before a justice of peace, or reputed justice; and all marriages since the said time, had or solemnized according to the direction of any ordinance, or reputed act or ordinance of one or both houses of parliament, shall be adjudged and esteemed to be of the same force and effect, as if they had been solemnized according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England."

An act for the attainder of several persons guilty of the horrid murder of his late sacred majesty king Charles I. and for the perpetual observation of the 30th of January*. This was the subject of many conferences between the two houses, in one of which chancellor Hyde declared, that the king having sent him in embassy to the king of Spain, charged him to tell that monarch expressly, "that the horrible murder of his father ought not to be deemed as the act of the parliament, or people of England, but of a small crew of wretches and miscreants who had usurped the sovereign power, and rendered themselves masters of the kingdom†;" for which the commons sent a deputation with thanks to the king. After the preamble, the act goes on to attain the king's judges, dead or alive, except colonel Ingoldsby‡ and Thompson, who for their late good services were pardoned, but in their room were included colonel Lambert, sir Harry Vane, and Hugh Peters, who were not of the judges. On the 30th of January this year, the bodies of O. Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were taken out of their graves, and drawn upon hurdles to Tyburn, where they were hung up from ten in the morning till

* The service for this day, it has been remarked, was framed on the *jure divino* plan, consequently on principles inconsistent with those of the Revolution. It was drawn up by archbishop Sancroft, whose influence procured it to be adopted and published by the king's authority, though another of a more moderate strain was at first preferred to it. When Sancroft himself was laid aside for adopting or adhering to principles suitable to his style, what had we to do any longer with Sancroft's office? Letters and Essays in Favour of Public Liberty, vol. 1. p. 32.—ED.

† This plea, it has been observed by a late writer, would have been precluded, had the parliament of 1641 proceeded against the king by way of attainder, about the time that Strafford and Laud were impeached. For then they were constitutionally invested with the legislative and judicial powers of a national representative: and they had sufficient overt-acts before them to convict him of the blackest treason against the majesty of the people of England. Memoirs of Hollis, vol. 2. p. 591.—ED.

‡ Dr. Grey observes, on the authority of lord Clarendon, that the case of colonel Ingoldsby was singular. He was drawn into the army about the time when he came first of age by Cromwell, to whom he was nearly allied. Though appointed to it, he never sat with the judges of the king: and his signature to the warrant for the king's death was obtained by violence; Cromwell seized his hand, put the pen between his fingers, and with his own hand wrote Richard Ingoldsby, he making all the resistance he could. Clarendon's History, vol. 3. p. 763.

sunset of the next day, after which their heads were cut off, and their trunks buried altogether in one hole under the gallows*. Colonel Lambert was sent to the isle of Jersey, where he continued shut up a patient prisoner almost thirty years; nineteen made their escape beyond sea; seven were made objects of the king's clemency; nineteen others, who surrendered on the king's proclamation of June 6, had their lives saved after trial; but underwent other penalties, as imprisonment, banishment, and forfeiture of estates; so that ten only were executed in the month of October, after the new sheriffs were entered upon their office, viz. Col. Harrison, Mr. Carew, Cook, Hugh Peters, Mr. Scot, Clement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel †.

Bishop Burnet says ‡, "The trials and executions of the first that suffered, were attended by vast crowds of people. All men seemed pleased with the sight; but the firmness and show of piety of the sufferers, who went out of the world with a sort of triumph in the cause for which they suffered, turned the minds of the populace, insomuch that the king was advised to proceed no farther." The prisoners were rudely treated in court; the spectators with their noise and clamour endeavouring to put them out of countenance. None of them denied the fact, but all pleaded "Not guilty to the treason," because as they said they acted by authority of parliament; not considering, that the house of commons is no court of judicature; or if it was, that it was packed and purged before the king was brought to his trial. Those who guarded the scaffold pleaded, that they acted by command of their superior officers, who would have cashiered or put them to death, if they had not obeyed. They were not permitted to enter into the merits of the cause between the king and parliament, but were condemned upon the statute of the 25th Edward III. for compassing and imagining the king's death.

The behaviour of the regicides at their execution was bold and resolute; colonel Harrison declared at the gibbet, that he was fully persuaded that what he had done was the cause and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raise up again, how much soever it suffered at that time. He went through all the indignities and severities of his sufferings, with a calmness or rather cheerfulness, that astonished the spectators; he was turned off, and cut down alive; for after his body was opened, he raised himself up, and gave the executioner a box on the ear §. When Mr. solicitor Cook and Hugh Peters went into the sledge, the head of major-general Harrison was put upon it, with the face bare towards them; but notwithstanding this, Mr. Cook went out of the world with surprising resolution, blessing God that he had a clear conscience. Hugh Peters was more timid; but after he had seen the execution and quartering

* This was done, says Dr. Grey, upon a 30th of January; a circumstance which Mr. Neal might probably think below his notice.—Ed.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 367.

‡ Vol. 1. p. 234.

§ State Trials, p. 404.

of Mr. Cook, he resumed his courage at length (which some said was artificial,) and said to the sheriff, "Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of the Lord, and made me behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me; but God has made it an ordinance for my strengthening and encouragement*." Mr. Scot was not allowed to speak to the people, but said in his prayer, "that he had been engaged in a cause not to be repented of; I say, in a cause not to be repented of." Carew appeared very cheerful as he went to the gibbet, but said little of the cause for which he suffered. Clements also said nothing. Colonel Jones justified the king and court in their proceedings; but added, that they did not satisfy him in so great and deep a point. Colonel Scroop was drawn in the same sledge, whose grave and venerable countenance, accompanied with courage and cheerfulness, raised great compassion in some of the spectators, though the insults and rudeness of others were cruel and barbarous: he said he was born and bred a gentleman; and appealed to those who had known him for his behaviour; he forgave the instruments of his sufferings, and died for that which he judged to be the cause of Christ. Colonel Axtel and Hacker suffered last; the former behaved with great resolution, and holding the Bible in his hand said, "The very cause in which I was engaged is contained in this book of God; and having been fully convinced in my conscience of the justness of the war, I freely engaged in the parliament's service, which, as I do believe was the cause of the Lord, I ventured my life freely for it, and now die for it." Hacker read a paper to the same purpose; and after having expressed his charity towards his judges, jury, and witnesses, he said, "I have nothing lies upon my conscience as guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the sentence reversed."

Few, if any of these criminals, were friends of the protector Cromwell, but gave him all possible disturbance in favour of a commonwealth. Mr. H. Cromwell, in one of his letters from Ireland, 1657-8, says, "It is a sad case, when men, knowing the difficulties we labour under, seek occasions to quarrel and unsettle every thing again; I hear Harrison, Carew, and Okey, have done new feats. I hope God will infatuate them in their endeavours to disturb the peace of the nation; their folly shews them to be no better than abusers of religion, and such whose hypocrisy the Lord will avenge in due time."

The regicides certainly confounded the cause of the parliament, or the necessity of entering into a war to bring delinquents to justice, with the king's execution; whereas they fall under a very

* "It appears from this instance, and many others (observes Mr. Granger) that the presumption of an enthusiast is much greater than that of a saint. The one is always humble, and works out his own salvation with fear and trembling; the other is arrogant and assuming, and seems to demand it as his right." History of England, vol. 3. p. 339.—ED.

distinct consideration; the former might be necessary, when the latter had neither law nor equity to support it*: for admitting, with them, that the king is accountable to his parliament; the house of commons alone is not the parliament; and if it was, it could not be so, after it was under restraint, and one half of the members forcibly kept from their places by the military power. They had no precedent for their conduct, nor any measure of law to try and condemn their sovereign; though the Scripture says, "He that sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;" yet this is not a rule of duty for private persons, when there is a government subsisting. If the king had fallen in battle it had been a different case; but how criminal soever his majesty might be in their apprehensions, they had no warrant to sit as his judges, and therefore could have no right by their verdict or sentence to put him to death.

There was another act passed this session, for a perpetual anniversary-thanksgiving on the 29th of May, for his majesty's happy restoration; upon which occasion the bishops were commanded to draw up a suitable form of prayer; and Mr. Robinson, in the preface to his Review of the Case of Liturgies, says, that in their first form, which is since altered, there are these unwarrantable expressions, which I mention only to shew the spirit of the times. — "We beseech thee to give us grace, to remember, and provide for our latter end, by a careful and studious imitation of this thy blessed saint and martyr, and all other thy saints and martyrs that have gone before us; that we may be made worthy to receive the benefit by their prayers, which they, in communion with thy church catholic, offer up unto thee for that part of it here militant, and yet in sight with and danger from the flesh †."—

The books of the great Milton, and Mr. John Goodwin, published in defence of the sentence of death passed upon his late majesty, were called in by proclamation. And upon the 27th of August Milton's *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contra Salmasium*; and his answer to a book entitled, *The Portraiture of his*

* A distinguished writer, who now ranks a peer, delivers a different opinion from our author. "If a king deserves (says he) to be opposed by force of arms, he deserves death: if he reduces his subjects to that extremity, the blood spilled in the quarrel lies on him:—the executing him afterward is a mere formality." Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. 2. p. 69, as quoted by Dr. Harris, *Life of Charles II.* vol. 1. p. 262. A sentiment of this last writer, which carries truth and force in it, may be properly brought forward in this connexion. "The depriving of the people of their rights and liberties, or the arguing for the expediency and justice of so doing, is a crime of a higher nature than the murdering, or magnifying the murder, of the wisest and best prince under heaven. The loss of a good prince is greatly to be lamented; but it is a loss which may be repaired: whereas the loss of a people's liberties is seldom or ever to be recovered: consequently the foe to the latter is much more detestable than the foe to the former." *Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters*, p. 49, 50.—ED.

† Dr. Grey asks, "What is there blameable in all this? Here is no praying to saints; and nothing but what was thought warrantable by the fathers, long before Popery had a being."—ED.

sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings; were burnt by the hands of the common hangman; together with Mr. John Goodwin's book, entitled, *The Obstructors of Justice*; but the authors absconded till the storm was over. It was a surprise to all, that they had escaped prosecution. None but Goodwin and Peters had magnified the king's execution in their sermons; but Goodwin's being a strenuous Arminian procured him friends*. Milton had appeared so boldly, though with much wit, and so great purity and elegance of style, upon the argument of the king's death, that it was thought a strange omission not to except him out of the act of indemnity †; but he lived many years after, though blind, to acquire immortal renown by his celebrated poem of *Paradise Lost*.

The tide of joy which overflowed the nation at the king's restoration, brought with it the return of Popery, which had been at a very low ebb during the late commotions: great numbers of that religion came over with his majesty, and crowded about the court, magnifying their sufferings for the late king. A list of the lords, gentlemen, and other officers, who were killed in his service, was printed in red letters, by which it appeared that several noblemen, ten knights and baronets, fourteen colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, fourteen majors, sixty-six captains, eighteen lieutenants and cornets, and thirty-eight gentlemen, lost their lives in the civil war, besides great numbers who were wounded, and whose estates were sequestered. The queen-mother came from France, and resided at Somerset-house with her Catholic attendants, both religious and secular. Several Romish priests who had been confined in Newgate, Lancaster, and other jails, were by order of council set at liberty. Many Popish priests were sent over from Douay into England, as missionaries for propagating that religion; and their clergy appeared openly in defiance of the laws; they were busy about the court and city in dispersing Popish books of devotion; and the king gave open countenance and protection to such as had been serviceable to him abroad, and came over with him, or soon followed him, which, bishop Kennet says, his majesty could not avoid. Upon the whole, more Roman Catholics appeared openly this year than in all the twelve years of the interregnum.

In Ireland the Papists took possession of their estates, which had been forfeited by the rebellion and massacre, and turned out the purchasers; which occasioned such commotions in that king-

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 236, 237, 12mo edit.

† "And so indeed it was (says Dr. Grey), he being the most pestilent writer that appeared at that time in defence of the regicides, Peyton and John Goodwin excepted." Milton's safety, it is said, was owing to the powerful intercession and interest of secretary Morrice, sir Thomas Clarges, and Andrew Marvel: but principally to the influence and gratitude of Sir William Davenant, whose release Milton had procured when he was taken prisoner in 1650. Nor was Charles II. says Toland, such an enemy to the muses as to require his destruction. *British Biography*, vol. 5. p. 313, 314; and Dr. Grey's *Examination*, vol. 3. p. 298.—Ed.

dom, that the king was obliged to issue out a proclamation, commanding them to wait the determination of the ensuing parliament. The body of their clergy, by an instrument bearing date January 1, 1660, O. S. signed and sealed by the chief prelates and officials of their religion, ventured to depute a person of their own communion, to congratulate his majesty's restoration, and to present their humble supplications for the free exercise of their religion, pursuant to the articles of 1648, whom the king received very favourably, and encouraged to hope for an accomplishment of their requests in due time. Such amazing changes happened within nine months after the king's arrival at Whitehall.

The only persons who, under pretence of religion, attempted any thing against the government, were a small number of enthusiasts, who said they were for king Jesus: their leader was Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper, who, in his little conventicle in Coleman-street, warmed his admirers with passionate expectations of a fifth universal monarchy, under the personal reign of king Jesus upon earth, and that the saints were to take the kingdom to themselves. To introduce this imaginary kingdom, they marched out of their meeting-house towards St. Paul's church-yard, on Sunday January 6, to the number of about fifty men well armed, and with a resolution to subvert the present government, or die in the attempt. They published a declaration of the design of their rising, and placed sentinels at proper places. The lord-mayor sent the trained-bands to disperse them, whom they quickly routed, but in the evening retired to Cane-wood, between Highgate and Hampstead. On Wednesday morning they returned and dispersed a party of the king's soldiers in Threadneedle-street. In Wood-street they repelled the trained-bands, and some of the horse-guards; but Venner himself was knocked down, and some of his company slain; from hence the remainder retreated to Cripplegate, and took possession of a house, which they threatened to defend with a desperate resolution, but nobody appearing to countenance their frenzy, they surrendered after they had lost about half their number; Venner and one of his officers were hanged before their meeting-house door in Coleman-street, January 19, and a few days after, nine more were executed in divers parts of the city*.

* It plainly appeared, on the examination of these insurgents, that they had entered into no plot with any other conspirators. The whole transaction was the unquestionable effect of the religious frenzy of a few individuals. Yet it was the origin of a national burden and evil felt to this day. At the council, on the morning after the insurrection was quelled, the duke of York availed himself of the opportunity to push his arbitrary measures. On the pretext, that so extravagant an attempt could not have arisen from the rashness of one man, but was the result of a plot formed by all the sectaries and fanatics to overthrow the present government, he moved, "to suspend at such an alarming crisis, the disbanding of general Monk's regiment of foot;" which had the guard of Whitehall; and was by order of parliament to have been disbanded the next day. Through different causes, the motion was adopted, and a letter was sent to the king to request him to approve and confirm the resolution of the council, and to appoint the continu-

This mad insurrection gave the court a handle for breaking through the late declaration of indulgence, within three months after it was published; for January 2, there was an order of council against the meetings of sectaries in great numbers, and at unusual times; and on the 10th of January a proclamation was published, whereby his majesty forbids the Anabaptists, Quakers, and fifth-monarchy men, to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church or chapel, or in private houses by the persons there inhabiting*. All meetings in other places are declared to be unlawful and riotous. And his majesty commands all mayors, and other peace-officers, to search for such conventicles, and cause the persons therein to be bound over to the next sessions. Upon this the Independents, Baptists, and Quakers, who dissented from the establishment, thought fit publicly to disown and renounce the late insurrection.

The Independents, though not named in the proclamation, were obnoxious to the government, and suspected to concur in all designs that might change the constitution into a commonwealth: to wipe off this odium, there was published, "A renunciation and declaration of the congregational churches and public preachers of the said judgment, living in and about the city of London, against the late horrid insurrection and rebellion acted in the said city†." Dated January 1660. In this declaration they disown the principles of a fifth monarchy, or the personal reign of king Jesus on earth, as dishonourable to him, and prejudicial to his church; and abhor the propagating this or any other opinion by force or blood. They refer to their late meeting of messengers from one hundred and twenty churches of their way at the Savoy, in which they declare, (chap. 24. of their confession) that civil

ance of the regiment till farther order. To this the king consented; and as the rumours of fresh conspiracies were industriously kept up, those troops were continued and augmented, and a way was prepared for the gradual establishment of a standing army, under the name of guards. This should be a memento to future ages, how they credit reports of plots and conspiracies thrown out by a minister, unless the evidence of their existence be brought forward. The cry of conspiracies has been frequently nothing more than the chimera of fear, or the invention of a wicked policy to carry the schemes of ambition and despotism. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 346, 347.—Ed.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 357.

† "This proclamation (Mr. Gough well observes) appears to be drawn up with more art and fallacy, than sound judgment and equity: while it reaches all the different sects of dissenters, all who do not assemble for worship in some parochial church or chapel, as rioters, it distinguishes only those looked upon as the most insignificant, and least formidable for their numbers or abilities. The Presbyterians are passed over in silence, for they could not with any colour of decency be pointed at as foes to the government they had just before been conducive to establishing. The Independents are also unnoticed, probably for fear of awakening the exertion of that vigour and of those abilities, the effects whereof were yet recent in the memory of the present administration. The Anabaptists and Quakers, as new or weaker sects, are treated with less ceremony: and are ranked with the wild disturbers of the public peace: wherein justice, the characteristic virtue of good government, was designedly violated by involving the innocent with the guilty in one confused mass." History of the Quakers, vol. 1. p. 443, 444.—Ed.

magistrates are of divine appointment, and that it is the duty of all subjects to pray for them, to honour their persons, to pay them tribute, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority; and that infidelity, or indifference in religion, does not make void the magistrates' just and legal authority, nor free the people from their obedience. Accordingly they cease not to pray for all sorts of blessings, spiritual and temporal, upon the person and government of his majesty, and by the grace of God will continue to do so themselves, and persuade others thereunto. And with regard to the late impious and prodigiously-daring rebellion, they add, "Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: O my soul! come not thou into their secret, but let God divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel." Signed by

Jos. Caryl	Samuel Slater	William Greenhil
George Griffiths	George Cockyan	Matth. Barker
Richard Kenrick	Thomas Goodwin	Tho. Malory
Robert Bragge	Thomas Brooks	John Loder
Ralph Venning	Corn. Helme	John Yates
John Oxenbridge	John Hodges	Thomas Owen
Philip Nye	John Bachiler	Nath. Mather
John Rowe	Seth Wood	Will. Stoughton.
Thomas Weld		

The Baptists published an apology* in behalf of themselves and their brethren of the same judgment, with a protestation against the late wicked and most horrid treason and rebellion in this city of London; in which they avow their loyalty to the king, and promise that their practice shall be conformable; subscribed by William Kiffen, Henry Den, John Batty, Thomas Lamb, Thomas Cowper, and about twenty-nine or thirty other names. They also addressed the king, that the innocent might not suffer with the guilty; protesting in the most solemn manner, that they had not the least knowledge of the late insurrection, nor did, directly or indirectly, contrive, promote, assist, or approve of it. They offered to give security for their peaceable behaviour, and for their supporting his majesty's person and government. But notwithstanding this, their religious assemblies were disturbed in

* This was subscribed by thirty ministers and principal members of the Baptist congregations. It was accompanied by another paper, called also an "Apology," which had been presented to the king some months before Venner's insurrection; declaratory of their sentiments concerning magistracy, and of their readiness to obey the king and all in authority in all things lawful. Mr. Jessey, preaching soon after, declared to his congregation, that Venner should say, "that he believed there was not one Baptist among his adherents; and that if they succeeded, the Baptists should know, that infant-baptism was an ordinance of Jesus Christ." In farther vindication of this people, and to shew that they were unjustly charged with opposing magistracy and government, there was published about this time a small treatise entitled "Moderation: or arguments and motives tending thereto; humbly tendered to the honourable members of parliament." Copious extracts from this piece may be seen in Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 2. p. 42. 83.—ED.

all places, and their ministers imprisoned*; great numbers were crowded into Newgate, and other prisons, where they remained under close confinement till the king's coronation, when the general pardon published on that occasion set them at liberty.

The Quakers also addressed the king upon this occasion in the following words†:

“ Oh king Charles !

“ Our desire is, that thou mayest live for ever in the fear of God, and thy council. We beseech thee, and thy council, to read these following lines, in tender bowels, and compassion for our souls, and for our good.

“ And this consider ; we are about four hundred imprisoned in and about this city, of men and women from their families ; besides, in the country jails above ten hundred. We desire, that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocency may be cleared up.”—

“ London, 16th day eleventh month, 1660‡.”

On the 28th of the same month, they published the declaration referred to in their address, entitled, “ A declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and people

* Divers pious persons were haled out of their houses ; four hundred were committed to Newgate ; others to Wood-street Compter ; and many to other prisons. The first and most violent persecution was chiefly levelled against them. Amongst others, who suffered on this occasion, was Mr. Hanserd Knollys. Mr. Vavator Powel was, early in the morning, taken from his house by a company of soldiers, and carried to prison : from whence he was conducted to Salop, and committed with several others to the custody of a marshal : where they were detained nine weeks, till they were released by an order of the king and council. Mr. John Bunyan was apprehended at a meeting and committed to prison, though he offered bail, till the next sessions. He was then indicted for “ devilishly and perniciously abstaining from coming to church to hear divine service : and as a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord the king.” He frankly owned being at the meeting. The justices took this for a confession of the indictment ; and, because he refused to conform, sentenced him to perpetual banishment, on an act made by the then-parliament. Though the sentence of banishment was never executed upon him, he was kept in prison twelve years and a half, and suffered much under cruel and oppressive jailers. Above sixty dissenters were imprisoned with him : among whom were Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Dun, two eminent ministers well known in Bedfordshire. Mr. Bunyan was, at last, liberated on the importunity of Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 2. p. 91—93 ; Vavator Powel's Life, p. 129 ; and Robinson's Translation of Claude, vol. 2. p. 228.—ED.

† Mr. Neal, a respectable person of the society informs me, has given two short paragraphs only of an address containing seven quarto pages of close letter-press. It underwent, it seems, several editions, not fewer than eight or ten ; for being fraught with much pertinent, solid matter, as persecution continued, it was made very public. Mr. Neal, or his author Kennet, is charged with having mutilated the paragraphs which he quotes. For the second sentence stands in the original thus : “ We beseech thee and thy council to read these following lines ; and in tender bowels and compassion to read them over, for we write in love and compassion to your souls, and for your good.” And after families should be added, “ in close holes and prisons.”—ED.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 361.

in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings." Presented to the king the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1660*. Upon which his majesty promised them, on the word of a king, that they should not suffer for their opinions as long as they lived peaceably; but his promises were little regarded †.

The Presbyterian clergy were in some degree affected with these commotions, though envy itself could not charge them with guilt; but it was the wish and desire of the prelatical party, that they might discover their uneasiness in such a manner as might expose them to trouble; for their ruin was already determined, only some pretexts were wanting to cover the design, particularly such as affected the peace of the kingdom, and might not reflect on his majesty's declaration from Breda, which promised, that no person should be molested purely for religion ‡. But they were insulted by the mob in the streets; when their families were singing psalms in their houses they were frequently interrupted by blowing of horns, or throwing stones at the windows. The Presbyterian ministers made the best retreat they could, after they had unadvisedly delivered themselves up into the hands of their enemies; for while they were careful to maintain an inviolable loyalty to his majesty's person and government, they contended for their religious principles in the press; several new pamphlets were published, and a great many old ones reprinted, about the magistrates' right of imposing things indifferent in the worship of God.—Against bowing at the name of Jesus.—The unlawfulness of the ceremonies of the church of England.—The Common Prayer-book unmasked.—Grievances and corruptions in church-government, &c. most of which were answered by divines of the episcopal party.

But the most remarkable treatise that appeared about this time, and which, if it had taken place, must have prevented the mischiefs that followed §, was that of the reverend Dr. Edward Stil-

* Kennet's Chron. p. 366.

† Dr. Grey impeaches here the candour and fidelity of Mr. Neal, as an historian: and adds, "Sewel, a Quaker, speaks more favourably. This writer, as Dr. Grey quotes him, does say, that at this time the king shewed himself moderate, for at the solicitation of some he set at liberty about seven hundred of the people called Quakers: and that they were acquitted from any hand in Venner's plot, and that, being continually importuned, the king issued forth a declaration, that the Quakers should be set at liberty without paying fees." But though Sewel states these facts, Dr. Grey either overlooked, or forgot to inform his reader, that Mr. Neal, in charging the king with the breach of his promise, speaks on the authority of Sewel: who says, "the king seemed a good-natured prince, yet he was so misled that in process of time he seemed to have forgot what he so solemnly promised on the word of a king." History of the Quakers, p. 257.—ED.

‡ Rapin, vol. 2. p. 624, folio.

§ A conciliating and liberal design formed by two respectable men deserves to be mentioned here. "Soon after the Restoration, the honourable Mr. Boyle and sir Peter Pett were discoursing of the severities practised by the bishops towards the Puritans in the reign of Charles I. and of those which were returned on the episcopal divines during the following usurpations; and being apprehensive that the restored clergy might be tempted by their late sufferings to such a vindictive retaliation as would be contrary to the true measures of Christianity and politics,

lingfleet, rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire, and afterward the learned and worthy bishop of Worcester, who first made himself known to the world at this time by his *Irenicum*, or, *A Weapon Salve for the Church's Wounds*; printed 1661, in which he attempts to prove, that no form of church-government is of divine right, and that the church had no power to impose things indifferent. I shall beg the reader's attention to a few passages out of his preface. "The design of our Saviour (says he) was to ease men of their former burdens, and not to lay on more; the duties he required were no other but such as were necessary, and withal very just and reasonable; he that came to take away the insupportable yoke of Jewish ceremonies, certainly did never intend to gall the necks of his disciples with another instead of it; and it would be strange the church should require more than Christ himself did, and make other conditions of her communion than our Saviour did of discipleship. What possible reason can be assigned or given why such things should not be sufficient for communion with the church, which are sufficient for eternal salvation? And certainly those things are sufficient for that, which are laid down as the necessary duties of Christianity by our Lord and Saviour in his word. What ground can there be why Christians should not stand upon the same terms now, which they did in the time of Christ and his apostles! Was not religion sufficiently guarded and fenced in then? Was there ever more true and cordial reverence in the worship of God? What charter hath Christ given the church to bind men up to more than himself hath done? Or to exclude those from her society who may be admitted into heaven? Will Christ ever thank men at the great day, for keeping such out from communion with his church, who he will vouchsafe not only crowns of glory to, but it may be *aureolæ* too, if there be any such things there? The grand commission the apostles were sent out with, was only to teach what Christ had commanded them; not the least intimation of any power given them to impose or require any thing beyond what himself had spoken to them, or they were directed to by the immediate guidance of the Spirit of God. It is not, whether the

they came at last to an agreement, that it would tend to the public good, to have something written and published in defence of liberty of conscience. Sir Peter Pett engaged to write on the political part of the question. Mr. Boyle undertook to engage Dr. Thomas Barlow to treat of the theological part: and he also prevailed on Mr. John Drury, who had spent many years in his travels, and had taken an active part in a scheme for reconciling the Lutherans and Calvinists, to state the fact of the allowance of liberty of conscience in foreign parts. Sir Peter Pett's and Mr. Drury's tracts were printed in 1660. But for particular reasons, the publication of Dr. Barlow's piece did not take place: but it was published after his death.

"Dr. Barlow had given offence by writing, just before the Restoration, a letter to Mr. Tombs, and expressing in it some prejudice against the practice of infant baptism, and by refusing, even after the Restoration, to retract that letter. This refusal was a noble conduct: for the doctor was in danger by it of losing his station in the university of Oxford and all his hopes of future preferment." This shews how obnoxious was the sect of the Baptists. *Birch's Life of Boyle*, p. 299, 300.—ED.

things commanded and required be lawful or not? It is not, whether indifferences may be determined or no? It is not how far Christians are bound to submit to a restraint of their Christian liberty, which I now inquire after, but whether they consult the church's peace and unity who suspend it upon such things. We never read of the apostles making laws but of things necessary, as Acts xv. 19. It was not enough with them that the things would be necessary when they had required them; but they looked upon an antecedent necessity either absolute or for the present state, which was the only ground of their imposing these commands upon the Gentile Christians. But the Holy Ghost never thought those things fit to be made matters of law to which all parties should conform. All that the apostles required as to this was mutual forbearance and condescension towards each other in them. The apostles valued not indifferences at all; and those things they accounted as such which were of no concernment to their salvation. And what reason is there why men should be tied up so strictly to such things which they may do or let alone, and yet be very good Christians? Without all controversy, the main inlet of all the distractions, confusions, and divisions, of the Christian world, has been by adding other conditions of church-communion than Christ has done.—Would there ever be the less peace and unity in a church, if a diversity were allowed as to practices supposed indifferent? Yea, there would be so much more, as there was a mutual forbearance and condescension as to such things. The unity of the church is a unity of love and affection, and not a bare uniformity of practice and opinion.—There is nothing in the primitive church more deserving our imitation than that admirable temper, moderation, and condescension, which was used in it towards its members. It was never thought worth the while to make any standing laws for rites and customs that had no other original but tradition, much less to suspend men from her communion for not observing them*.—

The doctor's proposals for an accommodation were, "1. That nothing be imposed as necessary but what is clearly revealed in the word of God. 2. That nothing be required or determined but what is sufficiently known to be indifferent in its own nature. 3. That whatever is thus determined be in order only to a due performance of what is in general required in the word of God, and not to be looked upon as any part of divine worship or service. 4. That no sanctions be made, nor mulets or penalties be inflicted, on such who only dissent from the use of some things whose lawfulness they at present scruple, till sufficient time and means be used for their information of the nature and indifferency of these things. I am sure (says the doctor) it is contrary to the primitive practice, and the moderation then used, to suspend or deprive men of their ministerial function for not conforming in

* Irenicum, p. 8—10.

habits and gestures, or the like. Lastly, that religion be not clogged with ceremonies; for when they are multiplied too much, though lawful, they eat out the heart, heat, life, and vigour, of Christianity*.—” If the doctor had steadily adhered to those principles, he could hardly have subscribed the act of uniformity next year, much less have written so warmly against the dissenters, as he did twenty years afterward†. But all he could say or do at present availed nothing, the Presbyterians were in disgrace, and nothing could stem the torrent of popular fury that was now coming upon them.

[In the year 1660, April 25, died, when the king designed to advance him to the see of Worcester, the learned Dr. Henry Hammond. In addition to the short account given of him by Mr. Neal, in a former volume, some other particulars may be subjoined here. He was born 18th August, 1605, at Chertsey in Surrey; and was the youngest son of Dr. John Hammond, a physician. He received his grammar-learning at Eton-school, and in 1618 was sent to Magdalen-college in Oxford, of which he was elected fellow in July 1625, and entered into holy orders in 1629. The rectory of Peshurst was bestowed upon him by the earl of Leicester in 1633. In 1640, he was chosen one of the members of the convocation; in 1643 made archdeacon of Chichester, and the same year was named one of the assembly of divines, but never sat amongst them. He was distinguished in his youth for the sweetness of his carriage, and, at the times allowed for play, would steal, from his fellows, into places of privacy to pray:—omens of his future pacific temper and eminent devotion. When he was at the university he generally spent thirteen hours of the day in study. Charles I. said, “he was the most natural orator he had ever heard.” He was extremely liberal to the poor; and was used to say, that “it was a most unreasonable and unchristian thing to despise any one for his poverty, and it was one of the greatest sensualities in the world to give.” He gave it as a rule to his friends of estate and quality, “to treat their poor neighbours with such a cheerfulness, that they might be glad to have met with them.” The alms of lending had an eminent place in his practice. He was accustomed strongly to recommend to

* Irenicum, p. 66, 67.

† “If Mr. Neal (says Dr. Grey) would allow a man to retract his mistakes upon discovering them, he would not find fault with bishop Stillingfleet.” He then quotes the bishop’s apology for his conduct, from the preface to the Unreasonableness of Separation. “If any thing in the following treatise be found different from the sense of that book, I entreat them to allow me that, which I heartily wish to them, that in twenty years’ time, we may arrive to such maturity of thoughts, as to see reason to change our opinion of some things, and I wish I had not cause to add, of some persons.” But notwithstanding the force of the bishop’s plea, it will not, I conceive, be deemed a fortunate or honourable change, if a man’s views and spirit, instead of enlarging and becoming more liberal, are contracted and grow narrow and partial; if, instead of being the advocate for generous and conciliating measures, he should argue for oppression and intolerance.—Ed.

others, "to be always furnished with something to do," as the best expedient both for innocence and pleasure. Devoted as he was to his studies, he would never suffer any body to wait, that came to speak to him: and to the poor he came with peculiar alacrity. *British Biography*, vol. v. p. 219. 225.—Ed.]

The earl of Clarendon, lord-chancellor, was prime-minister, and at the head of the king's councils. The year [1661] began with new scenes of pleasure and diversion, occasioned by the king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal, which was consummated April 30. The match was promoted by general Monk and lord Clarendon, if, according to the Oxford historian, the latter was not the first mover of it*. And it was reckoned very strange, that a Protestant chancellor should advise the king to a Popish princess, when a Catholic king proposed at the same time a Protestant consort. But his lordship had farther views; for it was generally talked among the merchants, that the infanta could have no children, in which case the chancellor's daughter, who had been privately married to the king's brother, must succeed, and her issue by the duke of York become heirs to the throne; which happened accordingly in the persons of queen Mary II. and queen Anne. Such were the aspiring views of this great man, which, together with his haughty behaviour, in the end proved his ruin.

The convention-parliament being dissolved, a new one was elected, and summoned to meet May 8. The house of commons, by the interest of the court-party †, had a considerable majority of such as were zealous enemies of the Presbyterians, and abettors of the principles of archbishop Laud; many of whom, having impaired their fortunes in the late wars, became tools of the

* Dr. Grey observes, that Mr. Neal antedates this marriage somewhat above a year; the king met the infanta at Portsmouth the 21st of May, 1662, and was then privately married to her by Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London. The doctor, on the authority of Echard, endeavours to invalidate the imputation which lies on lord Clarendon of being the promoter, if not the first mover, of this marriage. Mr. Neal is supported in his representation of the affair by the testimony of sir John Resesby, who says, "It is well known, that the lord-chancellor had the blame of this unfruitful match." He adds, that the queen was said to have had a constant fluor upon her, which rendered her incapable of conception. Though, on this occasion (says sir John), every thing was gay, and splendid, and profusely joyful, it was easy to discern that the king was not excessively charmed with his new bride, who was a very little woman, with a pretty tolerable face. She neither in person or manners had any one article to stand in competition with the charms of the countess of Castlemain, afterward dutchess of Cleveland, the finest woman of her age." *Memoirs*, p. 9, 10.—Ed.

† There were only fifty-six members of the Presbyterian party returned, notwithstanding their great interest in almost all the corporations. But in the interval, between the two parliaments, the court-party had been active; and the hints given at the dissolution of the late parliament by the chancellor, had great weight. He recommended that "such persons should be returned as were not likely to oppose the king, but had already served him, and were likely to serve him with their whole heart, and to gratify him in all his desires."—*Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II.* vol. I. p. 171 and 406.—Had the people been alive to a just sense of the design of representation and the nature of the constitution, they would have received these hints with indignant contempt.—Ed.

ministry in all their arbitrary and violent measures. The court kept above one hundred of them in constant pay, who went by the name of the club of voters, and received large sums of money out of the exchequer, till they had almost subverted the constitution; and then, because they would not put the finishing hand to what they had unadvisedly begun, they were disbanded.

The king acquainted the houses at the opening of the session *, that "he valued himself much upon keeping his word, and upon making good whatsoever he had promised to his subjects †." But the chancellor, who commented upon the king's speech, spoke a different language, and told the house, "that there were a sort of patients in the kingdom that deserved their utmost severity, and none of their lenity; these were the seditious preachers, who could not be contented to be dispensed with for their full obedience to some laws established, without reproaching and inveighing against those laws, how established soever, who tell their auditories, that when the apostle bid them stand to their liberties he bid them stand to their arms, and who by repeating the very expressions and teaching the very doctrines they set on foot in the year 1640, sufficiently declare that they have no mind that twenty years should put an end to the miseries we have undergone. What good Christians can think, without horror, of these ministers of the gospel, who by their function should be messengers of peace, but are in their practice only the trumpets of war, and incendiaries towards rebellion?—And if the persons and place can aggravate their offence, so no doubt it does before God and man. Methinks the preaching rebellion and treason out of the pulpit, should be as much worse than advancing it in the market, as poisoning a man at a communion would be worse than killing him at a tavern."—His lordship concludes thus: "If you do not provide for the thorough quenching these firebrands; king, lords, and commons, shall be the meaner subjects, and the whole kingdom will be kindled in a general flame ‡." This was a home-thrust at the Presbyterians; the chancellor did not explain himself upon the authors of these seditious sermons, his design being not to accuse particular persons, but to obtain a general order which might suppress all teachers who were not of the church of England; and the parliament was prepared to run blindfold into all the court-measures; for in this session the militia was given absolutely to the king—the solemn league and covenant was declared void and illegal—the act for disabling persons in holy orders to exercise temporal jurisdiction was repealed—the bishops were restored to their seats in parliament—the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction was revived by the repeal of the 17th of

* The king went to the house of lords, to open the session, with almost as much pomp and splendour as had been displayed on the coronation-day; and, says my author, for the same reasons, to dazzle the mob, and to impress on the minds of the people very exalted notions of the dignity of regal government. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 407, note.—ED.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 434.

‡ Ibid. p. 510, 511.

Charles I. except the oath *ex officio*—and it was made a premunire to call the king a Papist*.

The storm was all this while gathering very black over the Presbyterians; for when the parliament met a second time, November 20, the king complimented the bishops, who appeared now again in their places among the peers, and observed in his speech, that it was a felicity he had much desired to see, as the only thing wanting to restore the old constitution. He then spoke the language of the chancellor, and told the commons, “that there were many wicked instruments who laboured night and day to disturb the public peace.—That it was worthy of their care to provide proper remedies for the diseases of that kind; that if they found new diseases they must find new remedies. That the difficulties which concerned religion were too hard for him, and therefore he recommended them to their care and deliberation who could best provide for them.” The tendency of this speech was to make way for breaking through the Breda declaration, and to furnish the parliament with a pretence for treating the Nonconformists with rigour, to which they were themselves too well inclined.

Lord Clarendon, in a conference between the two houses, affirmed positively, that there was a real conspiracy against the peace of the kingdom; and though it was disconcerted in the city, it was carried on in divers counties; a committee was therefore appointed to inquire into the truth of the report; but after all their examinations not one single person was convicted, or so much as prosecuted for it†. Great pains were taken to fasten some treasonable designs on the Presbyterians; letters were sent from unknown hands to the chiefs of the party in several parts of the kingdom, intimating the project of a general insurrection, in which their friends were concerned, and desiring them to communicate it to certain persons in their neighbourhood, whom they name in their letters, that they may be ready at time and place. A letter of this kind was directed to the reverend Mr. Sparry, in Worcestershire, desiring him and captain Yarrington to be ready with money; and to acquaint Mr. Oatland and Mr. Baxter with the design. This, with a packet of the same kind, was said to be left under a hedge by a Scots pedlar; and as soon as they were

* To Mr. Neal's detail of the acts of this session, it should be added, that the commons voted, that all their members should receive the sacrament according to the prescribed liturgy, before a certain day, under penalty of expulsion. This was intended as a test of their religious sincerity. Besides repealing the solemn league and covenant, they ordered it to be taken out of all the courts and places where it was recorded, and to be burnt by the common hangman. To the same sentence were doomed all acts, ordinances, or engagements, which had been dictated by a republican spirit during the late times. And they enervated the right of petitioning by various restrictions; limiting the number of signatures to twenty, unless with the sanction of three justices, or the major part of the grand jury; and of those who should present a petition to the king or either house of parliament to ten persons, under the penalty of a fine of 100*l.* and three months' imprisonment. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 412—414.—ED.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 602.

found, they were carried to sir J. Packington, who immediately committed Sparry, Oatland, and Yarrington, to prison. The militia of the county was raised, and the city of Worcester put into a posture of defence; but the sham was so notorious, that the earl of Bristol, though a Papist, was ashamed of it; and after some time the prisoners, for want of evidence, were released. The members for Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, and Staffordshire, informed the commons, that they had rumours of the like conspiracies in their counties. Bishop Burnet says, "that many were taken up, but none tried; that this was done to fasten an odium on the Presbyterians, and to help to carry the penal laws through the house; and there were appearances of foul dealing (says he) among the fiercer sort." Mr. Locke adds, that the reports of a general insurrection were spread over the whole nation, by the very persons who invented them; and though lord Clarendon could not but be acquainted with the farce, he kept it on foot to facilitate passing the severe laws that were now coming upon the carpet*. The government could not with decency attack the Nonconformists purely on account of their religion; the declaration from Breda was too express on that article; they were therefore to be charged with raising disturbances in the state. But supposing the fact to be true, that some few malecontents had been seditiously disposed, which yet was never made out, what reason can be assigned why it should be charged upon the principles of a whole body of men, who were unquestionably willing to be quiet?

It was nevertheless on this base and dishonourable suggestion, that the first penal law which passed against the Non-conformists this session was founded†, entitled,

"An act for the well-governing and regulating corporations;" which enacts, "that within the several cities, corporations, boroughs, cinque-ports, and other port-towns within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, all mayors, aldermen, recorders, bailiffs, town-clerks, common-council-men, and other persons bearing any office or offices of magistracy, or places, or trusts, or other employment, relating to or concerning the government of the said respective cities, corporations, and boroughs, and cinque-ports, and their members, and other port-towns, shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and this oath following:

"I, A. B., do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him‡."

* Rapin, vol. 2. p. 627.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 602.

‡ "One would suppose (it has been well remarked), that the parliament, who prescribed such an oath, must have been as near-sighted and as stupid as they were servile and corrupt. Such a maxim of nonresistance to the king, on any pretence,

“They shall also subscribe the following declaration:

“I, A. B., do declare, that there lies no obligation upon me from the solemn league and covenant, and that the same was an unlawful oath imposed on the subject against the laws and liberties of the kingdom.’

“Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall hereafter be elected or chosen into any of the offices or places aforesaid, that shall not have, within one year next before such election or choice, taken the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, according to the rites of the church of England; and that every person so elected shall take the aforesaid oaths, and subscribe the said declaration at the same time when the oath for the due execution of the said places and offices shall be respectively administered.”

Thus all Nonconformists were turned out of all the branches of magistracy at once, and rendered incapable of serving their country in the offices of a common-council-man, or a burgess or bailiff of the smallest corporation. The oath imposed in this act robbed them of their right as subjects. Mr. Eclard confesses that it seems at once to give up the whole constitution; and no wonder, says he, if many of the clergy as well as laity, on the account of this act, espoused a doctrine which, if rigidly taken, was hard to be reconciled to the great deliverance afterward. Mr. Rapin adds*, that to say that it is not lawful on any pretence whatever to resist the king, is, properly speaking, to deliver up the liberties of the nation into his hands. The high churchmen had then elevated ideas of the royal authority. But even this parliament did not think fit afterward to admit the dangerous consequences of their own maxims.

Commissioners were appointed, and employed during this and the following year, to visit the several corporations in England, and to turn out of office such as were in the least suspected; who executed their commissions with so much rigour, that the corporations had not one member left, who was not entirely devoted to the king and the church.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE CONFERENCE AT THE SAVOY, TO THE ACT OF
UNIFORMITY. 1661.

ACCORDING to his majesty’s declaration of October 25, 1660, concerning ecclesiastical affairs, twelve bishops† and nine assist-

was directly subversive of their own consequence as well as of civil and religious liberty. The extent to which this principle might be carried, was put to the proof by James II., but the people of England rent asunder the chains which had been forged for them by their perfidious representatives.” Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. I. p. 428, note.—ED.

* Vol. 2. p. 628.

† Dr. Nichols reckons twelve bishops, but has left out the bishop of Chichester,

ants were appointed on the part of the episcopal church of England, and as many ministers on the side of the Presbyterians, to assemble at the bishop of London's lodgings at the Savoy, "to review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing it with the most ancient and purest liturgies; and to take into their serious and grave considerations the several directions and rules, forms of prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same; and if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for giving satisfaction to tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under his majesty's government and direction." They were to continue four months from the 25th of March, 1661, and then present the result of their conferences to his majesty under their several hands.

The names of the episcopal divines on the side of the establishment at the Savoy conference were,

The Most Rev. Dr. Accepted Frewen, archbishop of York
 The Right Rev. Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, bishop of London
 Dr. John Cosins, bishop of Durham
 Dr. John Warner, bishop of Rochester
 Dr. Henry King, bishop of Chichester
 Dr. Humphrey Henchman, bishop of Sarum
 Dr. George Morley, bishop of Worcester
 Dr. Robert Saunderson, bishop of Lincoln
 Dr. Benjamin Laney, bishop of Peterborough
 Dr. Bryan Walton, bishop of Chester
 Dr. Richard Sterne, bishop of Carlisle
 Dr. John Gauden, bishop of Exeter.

Their Assistants.

John Earle, D.D. dean of Westminster	John Pearson, D.D.
Peter Heylin, D.D.	Thomas Pierce, D.D.
John Hacket, D.D.	Anthony Sparrow, D.D.
John Barwick, D.D.	Herbert Thorndike, B.D.
Peter Gunning, D.D.	

The names of the Presbyterian divines, or those who were for alterations in the hierarchy of the church at the Savoy conference, were,

The Right Rev. Edward Reynolds, bishop of Norwich
 The Rev. Anthony Tuckney, D.D.M. St. John's college, Cambridge
 John Conant, D.D. Reg. Prof. Oxon
 William Spurstow, D.D. vicar, Hackney
 John Wallis, D.D. Sav. Prof. Geom.
 Thomas Manton, D.D. master of Covent-garden
 Edmund Calamy, B.D. of Aldermanbury
 Mr. Richard Baxter, clerk, late of Kidderminster
 Mr. Arthur Jackson, clerk of St. Faith's
 Mr. Thomas Case, clerk, rector of St. Giles
 Mr. Samuel Clarke, clerk, of St. Bene't Fink.
 Mr. Matth. Newcomen, clerk, of Dedham.

and named Edward bishop of Norwich. Dr. Keunet names thirteen bishops, amongst whom are the bishops of Chichester and Norwich. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 308.—Ed.

Their Assistants.

The Rev. Thomas Horton, D.D.
 Thomas Jacomb, D.D.
 William Bates, D.D.
 William Cooper, D.D.
 John Lightfoot, D.D.

The Rev. John Collins, D.D.
 Benj. Woodbridge, B.D.
 Mr. John Rawlinson, clerk
 Mr. Wm Drake, clerk.

When the commissioners* were assembled the first time April 15, the Archbishop of York stood up and said, he knew little of the business they were met about, and therefore referred it to Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London, who gave it as his opinion, that the Presbyterians having desired this conference, they [the bishops] should neither say nor do any thing till the others had brought in all their exceptions and complaints against the liturgy in writing, with their additional forms and amendments†. The Presbyterians humbly moved for a conference according to the words of the commission, but the bishop of London insisting peremptorily upon his own method, the others consented to bring in their exceptions at one time, and their additions at another. For this purpose bishop Reynolds, Dr. Wallis, and the rest of the Presbyterian party, met from day to day to collect their exceptions‡; but the additions, or drawing up a new form, was intrusted with Mr. Baxter alone. "Bishop Sheldon saw well enough (says Burnet§) what the effect would be of obliging them to make all their demands at once, that the number would raise a mighty outcry against them as a people that could never be satisfied." On the other hand, the Presbyterians were divided in their sentiments; some were for insisting only on a few important things, reckoning that if they were gained, and a union followed, it might be easier to obtain others afterward. But the majority, by the influence of Mr. Baxter, were for extending their desires to the utmost, and thought themselves bound by the words of the commission to offer every thing they thought might conduce to the peace of the church, without considering what an aspect this would have with the world, or what influence their numerous demands might have upon the minds of those who were now their superiors in numbers and strength||,

* "Though the Baptists in England were at this time very numerous, and as famous men amongst them for learning and piety as most in the commission; yet no regard was had to their case, nor any one of that persuasion appointed to have any share in it. They did not design to reform so far; for if they could but bring the Presbyterian party in, which was the most numerous of the dissenters, that might be sufficient to secure their power; though, by the consequence of this proceeding, it seems probable there was no design of reformation; but only to quiet the minds of the people, till they could gain time." Crosby, vol. 2. p. 84, 85.—Ed.

† Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 305.

‡ Ibid. p. 306.

§ P. 262.

|| "This (observes a late writer) was precisely what the advocates for persecution desired: they could say, that the king had taken every step, which the best policy and the tenderest concern for the happiness of all his subjects could suggest, to gain over and compose the jarring sects into a system of perfect harmony, but that all his wise and benevolent endeavours were defeated by the wilful obstinacy and perverseness of the Nonconformists; and that he must therefore now pursue such measures as the safety both of the church and state required." Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 349, 350.—Ed.

but when they were put in mind that the king's commission gave them no power to alter the government of the church, nor to insist upon archbishop Usher's model, nor so much as to claim the concessions of his majesty's late declaration, they were quite heartless; for they were now convinced that all they were to expect was a few amendments in the liturgy and Common Prayer-book. This was concluded beforehand at court, and nothing more intended than to drop the Presbyterians with a show of decency.

The ministers were under this farther hardship, that they were to transact for a body of men from whom they had no power, and therefore could not be obliged to abide by their decisions; they told the king and the prime-minister, that they should be glad to consult their absent brethren, and receive from them a commission in form, but this was denied, and they were required to give in their own sense of things, to which they consented, provided the bishops at the same time would bring in their concessions; but these being content to abide by the liturgy as it then stood, had nothing to offer, nor would they admit of any alterations but what the Presbyterians should make appear to be necessary. With this dark and melancholy prospect the conference was opened*. It would interrupt the course of this history too much, to insert all the exceptions of the Presbyterians to the present liturgy, and the papers which passed between the commissioners, with the letter of the Presbyterian ministers to the archbishop and bishops, and the report they made of the whole to the king. I shall only take notice in this place, that, instead of drawing up a few supplemental forms, and making some amendments to the old liturgy, Mr. Baxter composed an entire new one in the language of Scripture, which he called the reformed liturgy; not with a design entirely to set aside the old one, but to give men liberty to use either as they approved. It was drawn up in a short compass of time, and after it had been examined, and approved by his brethren, was presented to the bishops in the conference, together with their exceptions to the old liturgy. This gave great offence, as presuming that a liturgy drawn up by a single hand in fourteen days, was to be preferred, or stand in competition with one which had been received in the church for a whole century. Besides, it was inconsistent with the commission and the bishops' declaration of varying no farther from the old standard than should appear to be necessary; and therefore the reformed liturgy, as it was called, was rejected at once without being examined.

When the Presbyterians brought in their exceptions to the liturgy, they presented at the same time a petition for peace,

* N. B. All the papers relating to the conference at the Savoy are collected in a book, entitled, "The History of the Nonconformity," as it was argued and stated by commissioners on both sides appointed by his majesty king Charles II. in the year 1661. Octavo, second edit. 1708.

beseeking the bishops to yield to their amendments; to free them from the subscriptions and oaths in his majesty's late declaration, and not to insist upon the reordination of those who had been ordained without a diocesan bishop, nor upon the surplice, the cross in baptism, and other indifferent ceremonies; for this purpose they make use of various motives and arguments, sufficient, in my judgment, to influence all who had any concern for the honour of God, and the salvation of souls. The bishops gave a particular answer to these exceptions; to which the Presbyterians made such a reply as, in the opinion of their adversaries, shewed them to be men of learning, and well versed in the practice of the ancient church; however, the bishops would indulge nothing to their prejudices; upon which they sent them a large expostulatory letter, wherein, after having repeated their objections, they lay the wounds of the church at their door.

The term for the treaty being almost spun out in a paper controversy*, about ten days before the commission expired, a disputation was agreed on, to argue the necessity of alterations in the present liturgy†. Three of each party were chosen to manage the argument; Dr. Pearson, Gunning, and Sparrow, on one side; and Dr. Bates, Jacomb, and Mr. Baxter, on the other. The rest were at liberty to withdraw if they pleased. Mr. Baxter was opponent, and began to prove the sinfulness of impositions; but through want of order, frequent interruptions, and personal reflections, the dispute issued in nothing; a number of young divines interrupting the Presbyterian ministers, and laughing them to scorn. At length bishop Cosins produced a paper‡, containing an expedient to shorten the debate, which was, to put the ministers on distinguishing between those things which they charged as sinful, and those which were only inexpedient. The three disputants on the ministers' side were desired to draw up an answer to this paper, which they did, and charged the rubric and injunctions of the church with eight things flatly sinful, and contrary to the word of God§.

1. That no minister be admitted to baptize without using the sign of the cross.

2. That no minister be admitted to officiate without wearing a surplice.

3. That none be admitted to the Lord's supper without [he receive it kneeling.

4. That ministers be obliged to pronounce all baptized persons

* In the course of this controversy many points, connected with the doctrine and manner of baptism, came into discussion; such as, the right of the children of Heathens, or of the excommunicated, to baptism; the efficacy of children's baptism; the qualifications for this ordinance; the use of godfathers and godmothers, and of the sign of the cross, and other questions: the debate on which, it is said, contributed much to encourage and promote what was called Anabaptism. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 2. p. 85, 86.—ED.

† Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 337.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 504.

§ Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 341.

regenerated by the Holy Ghost, whether they be the children of Christians or not.

5. That ministers be obliged to deliver the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ to the unfit both in health and sickness, and that, by personal application, putting it into their hands, even those who are forced to receive it against their wills, through consciousness of their impenitency.

6. That ministers are obliged to absolve the unfit, and that in absolute expressions.

7. That ministers are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury, as brethren whom God has taken to himself.

8. That none may be preachers who do not subscribe, that there is nothing in the Common Prayer-book, book of ordination, and the thirty-nine articles, contrary to the word of God.

After a great deal of loose discourse it was agreed to debate the third article, of denying the communion to such as could not kneel. The ministers proved their assertion thus, that it was denying the sacrament to such whom the Holy Ghost commanded us to receive; Rom. xiv. 1—3; "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations: one believes he may eat all things; another, that is weak, eateth herbs: let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God has received him." The episcopal divines would not understand this of the communion. They also distinguished between things lawful in themselves, and things both lawful in themselves and required by lawful authority. In the former case they admit a liberty, but the latter being enjoined by authority become necessary. The ministers replied, that things about which there is to be a forbearance ought not to be enjoined by authority, and made necessary; and for governors to reject men by this rule is to defeat the apostle's reasoning, and so contradict the law of God. But when Dr. Gunning had read certain citations* and authorities for the other side of the question, bishop Cosins the moderator called out to the rest of the bishops and doctors, and put the question, "All you that think Dr. Gunning has proved that Romans xiv. speaketh not of receiving the sacrament, say Aye." Upon which there was a general cry among the hearers, Aye, aye; the episcopal divines having great numbers of their party in the hall; whereas the ministers had not above two or three gentlemen and scholars who had the courage to appear with them. Nevertheless they maintained their point, and, as bishop Burnet observes, insisted upon it, that a "law which excludes all from the sacrament who dare not kneel, was unlawful, as it was a limitation in point of communion put upon the laws of Christ, which ought to be the only condition of those that have a right to it."

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 506.

At length the episcopal divines became opponents upon the same question, and argued thus: "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, is not sinful." Which Mr. Baxter denied. They then added, "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful." This also Mr. Baxter denied. They then advanced farther. "That command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby an unjust penalty is enjoined, or any circumstance whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be charged with enjoining an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty." This also was denied, because, though it does not command that which is sinful, it may restrain from that which is lawful, and it may be applied to undue subjects. Other reasons were assigned* ; but the dispute broke off with noise and confusion, and high reflections upon Mr. Baxter's dark and cloudy imagination, and his perplexed, scholastic, metaphysical manner of distinguishing, which tended rather to confound than to clear up that which was doubtful; and bishop Saunderson being then in the chair, pronounced that Dr. Gunning had the better of the argument.

Bishop Morley said, that Mr. Baxter's denying that plain proposition, was destructive of all authority human and divine; that it struck the church out of all its claims for making canons, and for settling order and discipline; nay, that it took away all legislative power from the king and parliament, and even from God himself; for no act can be so good in itself, but may lead to a sin by accident; and if to command such an act be a sin, then every command must be a sin.

Bishop Burnet adds†, "that Baxter and Gunning spent several days in logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who looked upon them as a couple of fencers engaged in a dispute that could not be brought to any end. The bishops insisted upon the laws being still in force; to which they would admit of no exception, unless it was proved that the matter of them was sinful. They charged the Presbyterians with making a schism for that which they could not prove to be sinful. They said there was no reason to gratify such men; that one demand granted would draw on many more; that all authority in church and state was struck at by the position they had insisted on, namely, that it was not lawful to impose things indifferent, since these seemed to be the only matters in which authority could interfere."—Thus ended the disputation.

From arguments the ministers descended to entreaties, and prayed the bishops to have compassion on scrupulous minds, and

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 505.

† Vol. 1. p. 264.

not despise their weaker brethren. If the Nonconformists should be ejected, they urged, that there would not be clergymen enough to fill the vacant pulpits; they put them in mind of their peaceable behaviour in the late times; what they had suffered for the royal cause, and the great share they had in restoring the king; they pleaded his majesty's late declaration, and the design of the present conference. To all which the bishops replied, that they were only commissioned to make such alterations in the liturgy as should be necessary, and such as should be agreed upon. The ministers replied, that the word necessary must refer to the satisfying tender consciences; but the bishops insisted, that they saw no alterations necessary, and therefore were not obliged to make any till they could prove them so. The ministers prayed them to consider the ill consequence that might follow upon a separation. But all was to no purpose, their lordships were in the saddle, and, if we may believe Mr. Baxter, would not abate the smallest ceremony, nor correct the grossest error, for the peace of the church. Thus the king's commission expired July 25, and the conferences ended without any prospect of accommodation.

It was agreed at the conclusion, that each party might represent to his majesty, that they were all agreed upon the ends of the conference, which were the church's welfare, unity, and peace, but still disagreed as to the means of procuring them. The bishops thought they had no occasion to represent their case in writing; but the Presbyterian commissioners met by themselves, and drew up an account of their proceedings, with a petition for that relief which they could not obtain from the bishops*. They presented it to the king by bishop Reynolds, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and Mr. Baxter†; but received no answer.

* Mr. Crosby says, "he had been informed, that when the Presbyterians were pleading hard for such concessions from his majesty as they thought would bring about a union, the lord-chancellor told them, his majesty had received petitions from the Anabaptists, who desired nothing more than to have liberty to worship God according to their consciences. At which they were all struck dumb, and remained in a long silence." Mr. Baxter places this matter in another light: that petitions having been received from the Independents and Anabaptists, the chancellor proposed to add a clause to the king's declaration, permitting others, besides the Presbyterians, to meet, if they did it peaceably, for religious worship, secure from molestation by any civil officer. On this the bishops and the Presbyterians, seeing it would operate in favour of the Papists, were silent: till Mr. Baxter, judging that consenting to it would bring on them the charge of speaking for the toleration of Papists and sectaries, and that opposing it would draw on them the resentment of all sects and parties as the causes of their sufferings, said "that as they humbly thanked his majesty for his indulgence to themselves, so they must distinguish the tolerable parties from the intolerable: that for the former they craved favour and lenity; but that they could not request the toleration of the latter, such as the Papists and Socinians, whom Dr. Gunning, speaking against the sects, had then named." To this his majesty said, "that there were laws enough against the Papists." Mr. Baxter replied, "they understood the question to be, whether those laws should be executed on them or not." And so his majesty broke up the meeting of that day. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 2. p. 87—89. Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 277.—Ed.

† Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 366.

Before we leave this famous conference at the Savoy, it will not be amiss to remark the behaviour of the commissioners on both sides, some of whom seldom or never appeared, as, Dr. King bishop of Chichester, Dr. Heylin, Barwick, and Earle*; Sheldon bishop of London came but seldom, though he, with Henchman and Morley, had the chief management of affairs†; others who were present, but did not much concern themselves in the debate, as, Dr. Frewen archbishop of York; Lucy of St. David's; Warner of Rochester; Saunderson of Lincoln; Laney of Peterborough; Walton of Chester; Sterne of Carlisle; Dr. Hacket and Dr. Sparrow. On the side of the Presbyterians, Dr. Horton never appeared, nor Dr. Drake, because of a misnomer in the commission; Dr. Lightfoot, Tuckney, and Mr. Woodbridge, were present only once or twice.

Among the bishops, Dr. Morley was the chief speaker; his manner was vehement, and he was against all abatements. He frequently interrupted Mr. Baxter‡; and when Dr. Bates said, "Pray, my lord, give him leave to speak," he could not obtain it.

Bishop Cosins was there constantly, and though he was inclined to moderate measures, said some very severe things. When the ministers prayed the bishops to have some compassion on their brethren, and not cast such great numbers unnecessarily out of the ministry, he replied, "What, do you threaten us with numbers? For my part, I think the king would do well to make you name them all." Again, when the ministers complained; that after so many years' calamity the bishops would not yield to that which their predecessors offered them before the war, bishop Cosins replied, "Do you threaten us then with a new war? It is time for the king to look to you."

Bishop Gauden often took part with the Presbyterian divines, and was the only moderator among the bishops, except bishop Reynolds, who spoke much the first day for abatements and moderation; but afterward, sitting among the bishops, he only spoke now and then a qualifying word, though he was heartily grieved for the fruitless issue of the conference.

Of the disputants, it is said, Dr. Pearson, afterward bishop of Chester, disputed accurately, soberly, and calmly. The Presbyterian ministers had a great regard for him, and believed, that if he had been an umpire in the controversy his concessions would have greatly relieved them.

Dr. Gunning was the most forward speaker, and stuck at nothing. Bishop Burnet says §, that all the arts of sophistry were used by him in as confident a manner as if they had been sound reasoning; that he was unweariedly active to very little purpose, and being very fond of the Popish rituals and ceremonies, he was very much set upon reconciling the church of England to Rome.

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 307.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 507.

‡ Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 363.

§ Page 263, 264.

On the side of the Presbyterians, Dr. Bates and Manton behaved with great modesty: the most active disputant was Mr. Baxter, who had a very metaphysical head and fertile invention, and was one of the most ready men of his time for an argument, but too eager and tenacious of his own opinions. Next to him was Mr. Calamy, who had a great interest among the Presbyterian ministers in city and country, and for his age and gravity was respected as their father.

Among the auditors, Mr. Baxter observes*, there was with the bishops a crowd of young divines who behaved indecently; but mentions only two or three scholars and laymen, who, as auditors, came in with the Presbyterians, as Mr. Miles, Mr. Tillotson, &c.

This Mr. Tillotson was afterward the most reverend and learned archbishop of Canterbury, one of the most celebrated divines and preachers of the age. We shall have frequent occasion to mention him hereafter, and therefore, I shall give a short account of him in this place. He was born in Yorkshire 1630, and received his first education among the Puritans; and though he had freer notions, he still stuck to the strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value and a due tenderness for men of that persuasion. He was admitted student of Clare-hall in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. David Clarkson, in the year 1647. He was bachelor of arts 1650, and within the compass of a year was elected fellow. He had then a sweetness of temper which he retained as long as he lived; and in those early years was respected as a person of very great parts and prudence†. In the year 1661, he continued a Nonconformist, and has a sermon in the morning exercises on Matt. vii. 12. He appeared with the Presbyterians at the Savoy disputation; and though he conformed upon the act of uniformity in 1662, he was always inclined to the Puritans, never fond of the ceremonies of the church, but would dispense sometimes with those who could not conscientiously submit to them. He owned the dissenters had some plausible objections against the common-prayer; and, in the opinion of some, persuaded men rather to bear with the church, than be zealous for it. In the year 1663, he was preferred to the rectory of Kedington in Suffolk, vacant by the nonsubscription of Mr. Samuel Fairclough. Next year he was chosen preacher to Lincoln's-inn, and lecturer of St. Lawrence's church in London, where his excellent sermons, delivered in a most graceful manner, drew the attention of great numbers of the quality, and most of the divines and gentlemen in the city. In 1669, he was made canon of Christ-church in Canterbury; and in 1672, dean of that church, and residentiary: but rose no higher till the revolution of king William and queen Mary, when he was first made clerk of the closet, and then advanced at once to the archbishopric of

* Baxter's Life, p. 337.

† Athen. Oxon. p. 968.

Canterbury, in the room of Dr. Sancroft a nonjuror. He was a divine of moderate principles to the last, and always disposed to promote a toleration, and if possible a comprehension of the dissenters within the church. Upon the whole, he was a second Cranmer, and one of the most valuable prelates that this, or it may be any other, church ever produced.

Various censures were passed within doors upon the Savoy conference; the Independents were disgusted, because none of them were consulted, though it does not appear to me what concern they could have in it, their views being only to a toleration, not a comprehension. Some blamed their brethren for yielding too much, and others thought they might have yielded more; but when they saw the fruitless end of the treaty, and the papers that were published, most of them were satisfied.—Bishop Burnet says*, the conference did rather hurt than good, it heightened the sharpness which was already on people's minds to such a degree, that it needed no addition to raise it higher.—Mr. Robinson says†, “It was notorious that the business of the episcopal party was not to consult the interest of religion, but to cover a political design, which was too bad to appear at first; nor did they mean to heal the church's wounds, so much as to revenge their own. When they knew what the Presbyterians scrupled, they said, now they knew their minds they would have matters so fixed that not one of that sort should be able to keep his living. They did not desire, but rather fear, their compliance.” Nay, so unacceptable was the publishing the papers relating to the conference, that bishop Saunderson and some of his brethren cautioned their clergy against reading them. From this time the Presbyterians were out of the question, and the settlement of the church referred entirely to the convocation and parliament.

It had been debated in council, whether there should be a convocation while the conference at the Savoy was depending; but at the intercession of Dr. Heylin and others, the court was prevailed with to consent that there should; and such care was taken in the choice of members, as bishop Burnet observes, that every thing went among them as was directed by bishop Sheldon and Morley. If a convocation had been holden with the convention-parliament, the majority would have been against the hierarchy; but it is not to be wondered they were otherwise now, when some hundreds of the Presbyterian clergy, who were in possession of sequestered livings, had been dispossessed; and the necessity of ordination by a bishop being urged upon those who had been ordained by presbyters only, great numbers were denied their votes in elections. Nevertheless, the Presbyterian interest carried it in London for Mr. Baxter and Calamy by three voices; but the bishop of London, having a power of choosing two out of four, or four out of six, within a certain circuit, left them both out; by

* Page 265.

† Answer to Bennet, of Liturgies, p. 382.

which means the city of London had no clerks in the convocation. The author of the Conformists' Plea * says, "that to frame a convocation to their mind great care and pains were used to keep out, and to get men in, by very undue proceedings; and that protestations were made against all incumbents not ordained by bishops.

The Savoy conference having ended without success, the king sent a letter to the convocation, November 20, commanding them to review the Book of Common Prayer, and make such additions and amendments † as they thought necessary. Letters to the same purpose were sent to the archbishop of York, to be communicated to the clergy of his province, who for the greater expedition sent proxies with procuratorial letters to those of Canterbury, and obliged themselves to abide by their votes under forfeiture of their goods and chattels.

"It is inconceivable, says Dr. Nichols, what difficulties the bishops had to contend with, about making these alterations; they were not only to conquer their own former resentments, and the unreasonable demands of Presbyterians, but they had the court to deal with, who pushed them on to all acts of severity ‡." Whereas on the contrary, the tide was strong on their side, the bishops pushed on the court, who were willing to give them the reins, that when the breach was made as wide as possible, a door might be opened for the toleration of Papists. The review of the Common Prayer-book engaged the convocation a whole month; and on the 20th of December it was signed, and approved by all the members of both houses.

The alterations were these §,

1. The rubric for singing of lessons||, &c. was omitted, the distinct reading of them being thought more proper.
2. Several collects for Sundays and holy-days complained of, were omitted, and others substituted in their room.

* Page 35.

† It was required, "that all proposed alterations should be exhibited and presented for his majesty's farther allowance and confirmation:" this was accordingly done. He was finally to pronounce on the propriety and truth of the proposed alterations. All the debates, investigations, and decisions, of the clergy and bishops, had no efficacy without the sanction of the king. They might be mistaken: but he could not. There is an absurdity in ascribing infallibility to any human being, necessarily liable to imperfect views, to prejudices, and to error. "But, if possible, the absurdity is greater in attributing it to the sceptred rather than to the mitred sovereign. The former is not educated to a religious profession; and his time, from the moment he fills the throne, that is, from the moment he becomes infallible, must be constantly employed in civil concerns: but yet, as the head of the church, to him all truth is known; to him all appeals from the ecclesiastical courts must be made." A Treatise on Heresy, p. 73, 74.—Ed.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 574.

§ Ibid. p. 585.

|| The rubric in king James's Review directed also the two lessons to be distinctly read, but added; "To the end the people may better hear, in such places where they do sing, there shall the lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading, and likewise the epistle and gospel." Grey's Examination, p. 308.—Ed.

3. Communicants at the Lord's supper were enjoined to signify their names to the curate some time the day before.

4. The preface to the ten commandments was restored*.

5. The exhortations to the holy communion were amended.

6. The general confession in the communion-office was appointed to be read by one of the ministers.

7. In the office for Christmas-day the words "this day" were changed for "as at this time."

8. In the prayer of consecration the priest is directed to break the bread.

9. The rubric for explaining the reason of kneeling at the sacrament was restored.

10. Private baptism is not to be administered but by a lawful minister.

11. The answer to the question in the catechism, "Why then are children baptized?" is thus amended, "Because they promise them both by their sureties; which promise, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform."

12. In the last rubric before the catechism these words are expunged, "And that no man shall think that any detriment shall come to children by deferring of their confirmation," &c.

13. It is appointed that the curate of every parish shall either bring or send in writing, with his hand subscribed thereunto, the names of all such persons within his parish, as he shall think fit to be presented to the bishop to be confirmed.

14. The rubric after confirmation was thus softened; "None shall be admitted to the communion till such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed."

15. In the form of matrimony, instead of, "till death us depart," it is, "till death us do part."

16. In the rubrics after the form of matrimony, it is thus altered. "After which, if there be no sermon declaring the duties of man and wife, the minister shall read as followeth:"—and instead of the second rubric, it is advised to be convenient, that the new-married persons should receive the communion at the time of marriage, or at the first opportunity afterward.

17. In the order for visitation of the sick it is thus amended: "Here the sick person shall be moved to make special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter; after which the priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it, after this sort."—

18. In the communion for the sick the minister is not enjoined to administer the sacrament to every sick person that shall desire it, but only as he shall judge expedient.

* "So indeed says bishop Kennet (remarks Dr. Grey); but they are both mistaken. The commandments were not in king Edward's first liturgy, but in king Edward's 1552, and in the Reviews of queen Elizabeth and king James." Grey's Examination, p. 309.—ED.

19. In the order for the burial of the dead it is thus altered: The priests and clerks meeting the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard, and going before it either into the church, or towards the grave, shall say or sing,—In the office itself, these words, “In sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life,” are thus altered, “in sure and certain hope of *the* resurrection to eternal life;” and to lessen the objection of “God’s taking to himself the soul of this our dear brother departed,” &c. the following rubric is added: “Here is to be noted, that the office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbaptized or excommunicate, or who have laid violent hands upon themselves.”

20. In the churching of women the new rubric directs, that the woman at the usual time after her delivery, shall come into the church decently apparelled, and there shall kneel down in some convenient place, as has been accustomed, or as the ordinary shall direct, and the hundred and sixteenth or hundred and seventeenth psalm shall be read.

Dr. Tenison, afterward archbishop of Canterbury, says,—“They made about six hundred small alterations or additions,” but then adds, “If there was reason for these changes, there was equal if not greater reason for some farther improvements. If they had foreseen what is since come to pass, I charitably believe they would not have done all they did, and just so much and no more; and yet I also believe, if they had offered to move much farther, ‘a stone would have been laid under their wheel, by a secret but powerful hand;’ for the mystery of Popery did even then work.”* Bishop Burnet confesses, that no alterations were made in favour of the Presbyterians, for it was resolved to gratify them in nothing.

But besides the alterations and amendments already mentioned, there were several additional forms of prayer,† as for the 30th of January and the 29th of May; forms of prayer to be used at sea; and a new office for the administration of baptism to grown persons.‡ Some corrections were made in the calendar. Some new holidays were added, as the conversion of St. Paul and St. Barnabas.§ More new lessons were taken out of the Apocrypha, as, the story of Bel and the Dragon, &c. But it was agreed,

* Compl. Hist. p. 252, in marg.

† Besides the new forms specified by Mr. Neal, there were also added, Dr. Grey says, the prayer for the high court of parliament, the prayer for all conditions of men, and the general thanksgiving. Examination, p. 310.—ED.

‡ This service was added, because on account of the spread of Baptistical sentiments, there were now many grown up too old to be baptized as infants, whose duty it was to make a profession of their own faith. Wall’s Hist. of Infant Baptism, vol. 2. p. 215.—ED.

§ These two holidays, though then first appointed by act of parliament, were not now added to the calendar; for they stand in the liturgy of Edward VI. by Whitchurch, 1549; in his Review, 1552; in queen Elizabeth’s Review, 4to. 1601 in king James’s Review, 1609; and in the Scotch liturgy at Edinburgh, folio, 1637. Grey’s Examination, p. 311. It may be added, they are, with suitable collects, in the liturgy printed by Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1629, *penes me*.—ED.

that no Apocryphal lessons should be read on Sundays. These were all the concessions the convocation would admit,* and this was all the fruit of the conference at the Savoy, by which, according to Mr. Baxter and bishop Burnet, the Common Prayer-book was rendered more exceptionable, and the terms of conformity much harder than before the civil war.

The Common Prayer-book thus altered and amended was sent up to the king and council, and from thence transmitted to the house of peers, February 24, with this message, That his majesty had duly considered of the alterations, and does with the advice of his council fully approve and allow the same; and doth recommend it to the house of peers, that "the said books of Common Prayer, and of the forms of ordination, and consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons, with those additions and alterations that have been made, and presented to his majesty by the convocation, be the book which in and by the intended act of uniformity shall be appointed to be used by all that officiate in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, &c. and in all parish-churches of England and Wales, under such sanctions or penalties as the parliament shall think fit."† When the lords had gone through the book, the lord-chancellor Hyde, by order of the house, gave the bishops thanks, March 15, for their care in this business,‡ and desired their lordships to give the like thanks to the lower house of convocation, and acquaint them, that their amendments were well received and approved, though some of them met with a considerable opposition. From the lords they were sent down to the commons, and inserted in the act of uniformity, as will be seen under the next year.

But before this famous act had passed either house the Presbyterians were reduced to the utmost distress. In the month of March, 1661—2,§ the grand jury at Exeter found above forty bills of indictment against some eminent Non-conformist ministers for not reading the common-prayer according to law. They likewise presented the travelling about of divers itinerant preachers, ejected out of sequestered livings, as dangerous to the peace of the nation. They complained of their teaching sedition and rebellion in private houses, and other congregations, tending to foment a new war. They also presented such as neglected their own parish-churches, and ran abroad to hear factious ministers; and such as walked in the churchyards, or other places, while divine service was reading; all which were the certain forerunners of a general persecution.

In Scotland the court carried their measures with a high hand; for having got a parliament to their mind,|| the earl of Middleton,

* There is one alteration not mentioned by Mr. Neal. In the second collect, in the visitation of the sick, these words are omitted: "Visite him, O Lord, as thou didst Peter's wife's mother, and the captain's servant:" which were in king Edward's, queen Elizabeth's and king James's Review. Id. p. 311.—ED.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 633.

‡ Id. p. 642, 643.

§ Id. p. 647.

|| Burnet, vol. 1. p. 161.

a most notorious debauchee, opened it, with presenting a letter of his majesty's to the house; after which they passed an act, declaring all leagues not made with the king's authority illegal. This struck at the root of the covenant made with England in 1643.* They passed another act rescinding all acts made since the late troubles, and another empowering the king to settle the government of the church as he should please. It was a mad, roaring time, says the bishop, and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk. The king hereupon directed that the church should be governed by synods, presbyters, and kirk-sessions, till he should appoint another government, which he did by a letter to his council of Scotland, bearing date August 14, 1661, in which he recites the inconveniences which had attended the Presbyterian government for the last twenty-three years, and its inconsistency with monarchy.—“Therefore (says he) from our respect to the glory of God, the good and interest of the Protestant religion, and the better harmony with the government of the church of England, we declare our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring the church of Scotland to its right government by bishops, as it was before the late troubles. And our will and pleasure is, that you take effectual care to restore the rents belonging to the several bishopricks; that you prohibit the assembling of ministers in their synodical meetings till our farther pleasure; and that you keep a watchful eye over those, who by discourse or preaching endeavour to alienate the affections of our people from us or our government.”—Pursuant to these directions the lords of the council ordered the heralds to make public proclamation at the market-cross in Edinburgh, September 6, of this his majesty's royal will and pleasure. In the month of December a commission was issued out to the bishops of London and Worcester† to ordain and consecrate according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, Mr. James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, Mr. Andrew Fairfoul, archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. Robert Leighton, bishop of Dunblain, and Mr. James Hamilton, bishop of Galloway. A very bad choice, says bishop Burnet. Sharp was one of the falsest and vilest dissemblers in the world. Fairfoul was next akin to a natural. Leighton was an excellent prelate; but Hamilton's life was scarce free from scandal.‡ He had sworn to the covenant, and when one objected to him, that it went against his conscience, he said, “Such medicines as could not be chewed must be swallowed whole.”§ The English bishops insisted upon their renouncing

* Burnet, p. 166.

† Ibid. p. 133, 134.

‡ Ibid. p. 191, 192.

§ It is here, as Dr. Grey remarks, that Mr. Neal has strangely confounded two characters: ascribing to bishop Hamilton what Bishop Burnet has applied to bishop Fairfoul. It is singular that Dr. Grey has, in the next paragraph, committed a similar mistake; for quoting Mr. Neal's account of the death of Mr. James Guthrie, who, on the authority of Burnet, he says, “spoke an hour before his execution with great composedness,” he admits the correctness of this passage:

their Presbyterian orders, which they consented to, and were, in one and the same day, ordained, first deacons, then priests, and last of all bishops, according to the rites of the church of England.

Bishop Burnet says, that though the king had a natural hatred to presbytery, he went very coldly into this design; nay, that he had a visible reluctancy against it, because of the temper of the Scots nation, and his unwillingness to involve his government in new troubles; but the Earl of Clarendon* pushed it forward with great zeal; and the duke of Ormond said, that episcopacy could not be established in Ireland, if presbytery continued in Scotland. The earls of Lauderdale and Crawford indeed opposed it, but the councils of Scotland not protesting, it was determined; but it was a large strain of the prerogative for a king by a royal proclamation to alter the government of a church established by law, without consent of parliament, convocation, or synod, of any kind whatsoever: for it was not until May the next year that this affair was decided in parliament.

Some of the Scots ministers preached boldly against this change of government; and among others, Mr. James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, for which, and some other things, he was convicted of sedition and treason. Bishop Burnet,† who saw him suffer, says that he expressed a contempt of death; that he spoke an hour upon the ladder with the composure of a man that was delivering a sermon rather than his last words; that he justified all he had done, exhorting all people to adhere to the covenant, which he magnified highly. He was executed June 14, 1661, and concluded his dying speech with these words,‡ “ I take God to record upon my soul, that I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God, who hath shewed mercy to such a wretch, and hath revealed his Son in me, and made me a minister of the everlasting gospel; and that he has designed, in the midst of much contradiction from Satan and the world, to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of this people, and especially in the congregation and presbytery of Stirling.” There was with him on the same scaffold, young Captain Govan, whose last words were these, “ I bear witness with my blood to the persecuted government of this church, by synods and presbyteries. I bear witness to the solemn league and covenant, and seal it with my blood. I likewise testify against all Popery, prelacy, idolatry, superstition, and the service-book, which is no better than a relic of the Romish idolatry.—”§ Soon after this the rights of patronages were restored, and all the

but adds, that Burnet, but two pages before, said, that Mr. Guthrie spoke for half an hour with great appearance of serenity; and observes, “ so consistent was this great man with himself in the compass of two pages.” Now the inconsistency is in Dr. Grey, and not bishop Burnet, who speaks in the first place not of Mr. Guthrie, but of the marquis of Argyle, vol 1. p. 179.—Ed.

* Hist. p. 130, 131. Kennet's Chron. p. 577. † Hist. of the Stuarts, p. 144.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 459. Burnet, p. 181. § Burnet, p. 152, 153.

Presbyterian ministers silenced, though the court had not a supply of men of any sort to fill up their vacancies.

The account that bishop Burnet gives of the old Scots Presbyterian ministers, who were possessed of the church-livings before the Restoration, is very remarkable, and deserves a place in this history. "They were (says he) a brave and solemn people; their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour, but they had an appearance that created respect; they visited their parishes much, and were so full of Scripture, and so ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practise sermons; for the custom in Scotland was, after dinner or supper, to read a chapter in the Bible, and when they happened to come in, if it was acceptable, they would on a sudden expound the chapter; by this means the people had such a vast degree of knowledge, that the poor cottagers could pray extempore. Their preachers went all in one track in their sermons, of doctrine, reason, and use; and this was so methodical, that the people could follow a sermon quite through every branch of it. It can hardly be imagined to what a degree these ministers were loved and revered by their people. They kept scandalous persons under severe discipline; for breach of the sabbath, for an oath, or drunkenness, they were cited before the kirk-sessions, and solemnly rebuked for it; for fornication they stood on the stool of repentance in the church, at the time of worship, for three days, receiving admonition, and making professions of repentance, which some did with many tears, and exhortations to others to take warning by them; for adultery they sat in the same place six months covered with sackcloth. But with all this (says the bishop) they had but a narrow compass of learning, were very affected in their deportment, and were apt in their sermons to make themselves popular, by preaching against the sins of princes and courts, which the people delighted to hear, because they had no share in them."*

The bishops and clergy, who succeeded the Presbyterians, were of a quite different stamp; most of them were very mean divines, vicious in their morals, idle and negligent of their cures; by which means they became obnoxious to the whole nation, and were hardly capable of supporting their authority through the reign of king Charles II. even with the assistance of the civil power. Bishop Burnet adds,† that they were mean and despicable in all respects; the worst preachers he ever heard; ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious; that they were a disgrace to their order, and to the sacred functions, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. The few who were above contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised.

In Ireland the hierarchy was restored after the same manner as in Scotland; the king by his letters patent, in right of his

* Burnet, p. 226, 227.

† Page 229.

power to appoint bishops to the vacant sees, issued his royal mandate to Dr. Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh, and Dr. Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor, by virtue of which they consecrated two archbishops and ten bishops in one day*. His grace insisted on the reordination of those who had been ordained in the late times without the hands of a bishop, but with this softening clause in their orders: “*Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos propriò judicio relinquimus: sed solummodo suppletentes quicquid prius defuit per canones ecclesia Anglicanæ requisitum*”—i. e. “Not annihilating his former orders (if he had any) nor determining concerning their validity or invalidity, much less condemning all the sacred ordinations of foreign churches whom we leave to their own judge, but only supplying what was wanting according to the canons of the church of England.—” Without such an explication as this, few of the clergy of Ireland would have kept their stations in the church†. On the 17th of May, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament assembled in Ireland, declared their opinion and high esteem of episcopal government, and of the Book of Common Prayer, according to the use of the church of England; and thus the old constitution, in church as well as state, was restored in the three kingdoms.

The French ministers, who had been tools to persuade the English Presbyterians to restore the king without a treaty, went along with the torrent, and complimented the church of England upon her re-establishment; they commended the liturgy, which they formerly treated with contemptuous language. Some few of them pretended to bemoan the want of episcopacy among themselves, and to wonder that any of the English Presbyterians should scruple conformity‡. The French church at the Savoy submitted to the rites and ceremonies of the English hierarchy; and M. Du Bose, minister of Caen, writes to the minister of the Savoy, that he was as dear to him under the surplice of England, as under the robe of France§. So complaisant were these mercenary divines towards those who disallowed their orders, disowned their churches and the validity of all their administrations.

Lord Clarendon and the bishops having got over the Savoy conference, and carried the service-book with the amendments through the convocation, were now improving the present temper of the parliament to procure it the sanction of the legislature; for this purpose the king, though a Papist, is made to speak the language of a zealous churchman. In his speech to the parliament, March 1st, he has these words: “Gentlemen, I hear you are zealous for the church, and very solicitous, and even jealous, that there is not expedition enough used in that affair. I thank

* Kennet's Chron. p. 440, 441. † Ibid. p. 449. ‡ Ibid. p. 462. § Ibid. p. 475.

you for it, since I presume it proceeds from a good root of piety and devotion; but I must tell you, that I have the worst luck in the world, if after all the reproaches of being a Papist, while I was abroad, I am suspected of being a Presbyterian now I am come home. I know you will not take it unkindly if I tell you, I am as zealous for the church of England as any of you can be, and am enough acquainted with the enemies of it on all sides. I am as much in love with the Book of Common Prayer as you can wish, and have prejudices enough against those who do not love it; who I hope, in time, will be better informed, and change their minds. And you may be confident, I do as much desire to see a uniformity settled as any among you; and pray trust me in that affair, I promise you to hasten the dispatch of it with all convenient speed; you may rely upon me in it. I have transmitted the Book of Common Prayer with the amendments to the house of lords—but when we have done all we can, the well-settling that affair will require great prudence and discretion, and the absence of all passion and precipitation.”*

The reason of the king's requiring discretion in the parliament, and the absence of passion, was not in favour of the Presbyterians, but the Papists, who went all the lengths of the prerogative, and published a remonstrance about this time, “wherein they acknowledge his majesty to be God's vicegerent upon earth in all temporal affairs; that they are bound to obey him under pain of sin, and that they renounce all foreign power and authority, as incapable of absolving them from this obligation.” It was given out, that they were to have forty chapels in and about the city of London, and much more was understood by them, says archbishop Tenison, who have penetrated into the designs of a certain paper, commonly called the Declaration of Somerset-house; but the design miscarried, partly by their divisions among themselves, and partly by the resoluteness of the prime-minister, who charged them with principles inconsistent with the peace of the kingdom †. Father Orleans says, “There were great debates in this parliament about liberty of conscience.—The Catholic party was supported by the earl of Bristol, a man in great repute; the Protestant party by chancellor Hyde, chief of an opposite faction, and a person of no less consideration, who, putting himself at the head of the prevailing church-of-England party in that parliament, declared not only against the Roman Catholics, but against the Presbyterians, and all those the church of England call Nonconformists. The king, who was no good Christian in his actions, but a Catholic in his heart, did all that could be expected from his easy temper, to maintain the common liberty, that so the Catholics might have a share in it; but the church of England and chancellor Hyde were so hot upon that point, that his majesty was obliged to yield rather to the chancellor's importunity than to

* Rapin, vol. 2. p. 628, folio.

† Compl. Hist. p. 252. Kennet's Chron. p. 482. 498.

his reason*." However, by the favour of the queen-mother, swarms of Papists came over into England, and settled about the court; they set up private seminaries for the education of youth; and though they could not obtain an open toleration, they multiplied exceedingly, and laid the foundation of all the dangers which threatened the constitution and Protestant religion in the latter part of this and in the next reign.

Towards the latter end of this year, the court and bishops, not content with their triumphs over the living Presbyterians, descended into the grave, and dug up the bodies of those who had been deposited in Westminster-abbey in the late times, lest their dust should one time or other mix with the loyalists; for besides the bodies of Cromwell, and others already mentioned, his majesty's warrant to the dean and chapter of Westminster was now obtained, to take up the bodies of such persons who had been unwarrantably buried in the chapel of king Henry VII. and in other chapels and places within the collegiate church of Westminster since the year 1641, and to inter them in the churchyard adjacent; by which warrant they might have taken up all the bodies that had been buried there for twenty years past. Pursuant to these orders, on the 12th and 14th of September they went to work, and took up about twenty †, among whom were,

The body of Eliz. Cromwell, mother of Oliver, daughter of sir Richard Stewart, who died November 18, 1654, and was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel.

The body of Eliz. Claypole, daughter of Oliver, who died

* Kennet's Chron. p. 498.

† Among the following names, the reader will find some who have not been noticed in the preceding history, or in the notes. The mother of Oliver Cromwell was by no means deserving of the malevolence and indignity with which her memory was treated. For, though she lavished the greatest fondness on her only son, she was averse to his protectorate, seldom troubled him with her advice, and with reluctance partook of the pageantry of sovereignty. She was an amiable and prudent woman: who, to make up the deficiency of a narrow income, undertook and managed the brewing trade on her own account, and from the profits of it provided fortunes for her daughters, sufficient to marry them into good families. Her anxiety for her son's safety kept her in such constant alarm, that she was discontented if she did not see him twice a day. The report of a gun was never heard by her, without her crying out, "My son is shot."—It ought to have softened the resentment of the royalists against Mrs. Claypole, though the daughter of Cromwell, that she had importunately interceded for the life of Dr. Hewett; and the denial of her suit had so afflicted her, that it was reported to have been one cause of her death, and was the subject of her exclamations to her father on her dying bed.—Thomas May, esq. whose name appears in the following list, was a polite and classical scholar, the intimate friend of the greatest wits of his time, and ranked in the first class of them. He was the author of several dramatic pieces; and of two historical poems of the reigns of Henry II. and Edward III. But his principal work was a "Translation of Lucan's Pharsalia," and a continuation of it.—Colonel, or Sir John Meldrum, a Scotsman, displayed his military prowess in the west, defeated the earl of Newcastle before Hull, with the assistance of sir Thomas Fairfax took the strong town of Gainsborough and the isle of Axholm, conquered the forces of the lords Byron and Molyneux, near Ormskirk, and took the town and castle of Scarborough. Biogr. Britan. vol. 4. p. 517. Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. p. 257. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 94, and vol. 2. p. 265.—Ed.

August 7, 1658, and was buried in a vault made for her in Henry VII.'s chapel.

The body of Robert Blake, the famous English admiral, who after his victorious fight at Santa Cruz, died in Plymouth-sound, August 7, 1657, and was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel:—a man, whose great services to the English nation will be an everlasting monument of his renown.

The body of the famous Mr. John Pym, a Cornish gentleman, and member of the long-parliament, who was buried in the year 1643, and attended to his grave by most of the lords and commons in parliament.

The body of Dr. Dorislaus, employed as an assistant in drawing up the charge against the king, for which he was murdered by the royalists, when he was ambassador to the states of Holland in 1649.

The body of sir William Constable, one of the king's judges, governor of Gloucester, and colonel of a regiment of foot, who died 1655.

The body of colonel Edward Popham, one of the admirals of the fleet, who died 1651.

The body of William Stroud, esq. one of the five members of parliament demanded by king Charles I.

The body of colonel Humphrey Mackworth, one of Oliver Cromwell's colonels, buried in Henry VII.'s chapel, 1654.

The body of Dennis Bond, esq. one of the council of state, who died August 8, 1658.

The body of Thomas May, esq. who compiled the history of the long-parliament with great integrity, and in a beautiful style. He died in the year 1650.

The body of colonel John Meldrum, a Scotsman, who died in the wars.

The body of colonel Boscawen, a Cornish man.

To these may be added, several eminent Presbyterian divines ; as,

The body of Dr. William Twisse, prolocutor of the assembly of divines, buried in the south cross of the Abbey-church, July 24, 1645.

The body of Mr. Stephen Marshal, buried in the south aisle, November 23, 1655.

The body of Mr. William Strong, preacher in the Abbey-church, and buried there July 4, 1654. These, with some others of lesser note, both men and women, were thrown together into one pit in St. Margaret's churchyard, near the back-door of one of the prebendaries; but the work was so indecent, and drew such a general odium on the government, that a stop was put to any farther proceedings.

Among others who were obnoxious to the ministry, were the

people called Quakers, who, having declared openly against the lawfulness of making use of carnal weapons, even in self-defence, had the courage to petition the house of lords for a toleration of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any disaffection to the government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an affirmation, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful; and that swearing, upon the most solemn occasions, was forbidden in the New Testament. The lords in a committee rejected their petition, and, instead of granting them relief, passed the following act* May 2, the preamble to which sets forth, "That whereas sundry persons have taken up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magistrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God. And whereas, under pretence of religious worship, the said persons do assemble in great numbers in several parts of the kingdom, separating themselves from the rest of his majesty's subjects, and from the public congregations, and usual places of divine worship; be it therefore enacted, that if any such persons after the 24th of March, 1661—2, shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade others to do it, or maintain, in writing or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an oath; or if they shall assemble for religious worship to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall for the first offence forfeit 5*l.*; for the second 10*l.*; and for the third shall abjure the realm, or be transported to the plantations: and the justices of peace at their open sessions may hear and finally determine in the affair." The act was passed by commission, and had a dreadful influence upon that people, though it was notorious they were far from sedition or disaffection to the government. G. Fox, in his address to the king, acquaints his majesty, that three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned since his majesty's restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot, till the blood gushed out, which gave rise to their meeting in the open streets. Another narrative was printed, signed by twelve witnesses, which says, that more than four thousand two hundred Quakers were

* Some of the society, getting early intelligence of this bill, interfered to stop its progress. Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead, attended the parliament to solicit against passing it into an act: and were admitted, but without success, to offer their reasons against it, at the bar of the house. "But political considerations, party animosity, and bigoted exasperated zeal for the church (so called), were the moving causes of action with the majority. Appeals to their reason and humanity were vain." It aggravated the injustice and severity of this act, that it was framed, notwithstanding a paper, containing the sentiments of the Quakers respecting oaths, had been lately presented to the king and council by Edward Burrough, entitled "A Just and Righteous Plea:" which stated their conscientious scruples, expressed in strong terms their loyalty, and declared, "that it had ever been with them an established principle, confirmed by a consonant practice, to enter into no plots, combinations, or rebellions, against government, nor to seek deliverance from injustice or oppression by any such means." Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 1. p. 499, &c.—ED.

imprisoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the suburbs; several of whom were dead in the jails.* But these were only the beginning of sorrows.

Religion, which had been in vogue in the late times, was now universally discountenanced; the name of it was hardly mentioned but with contempt, in a health or a play. Those who observed the sabbath, and scrupled profane swearing and drinking healths, were exposed under the opprobrious names of Puritans, Fanatics, Presbyterians, Republicans, seditious persons, &c. The Presbyterian ministers were every where suspended or deprived, for some unguarded expressions in their sermons or prayers. Lord Clarendon was at the head of all this madness, and declared in parliament, "that the king could distinguish between tenderness of conscience and pride of conscience; that he was a prince of so excellent a nature, and of so tender a conscience himself, that he had the highest compassion for all errors of that kind, and would never suffer the weak to undergo the punishment ordained for the wicked." Such was the deep penetration of the chancellor; and such the reward the Presbyterians received for their past services!

The profligate manners of the court, at the same time, spread over the whole land, and occasioned such a general licentiousness, that the king took notice of it in his speech at the end of this session of parliament. "I cannot but observe (says his majesty) that the whole nation seems to be a little corrupted in their excess of living; sure all men spend much more in their clothes, in their diet, and all other expenses, than they have been used to do; I hope it has been only the excess of joy after so long suffering, that has transported us to these other excesses, but let us take heed that the continuance of them does not indeed corrupt our natures. I do believe I have been faulty myself; I promise you I will reform, and if you will join with me in your several capacities, we shall, by our examples, do more good both in city and country, than any new laws would do." This was a frank acknowledgment and a good resolution, but it was not in the king's nature to retrench his expenses, or control his vices, for the public good. †

* Sewel, p. 346. Kennet's Chron. p. 651.

† Some were put into such noisome prisons, as were owned not fit for dogs. Some prisons so crowded that the prisoners had not room to sit down altogether. In Cheshire, sixty-eight persons were thus locked up in a small room. No age or sex found any commiseration. Men of sixty, seventy, or more years of age, were, without pity or remorse, subjected to all the rigours of such imprisonments under the infirmities of a natural decline; many times they were forced to lie on the cold ground, without being permitted the use of straw, and kept many days without victuals. No wonder that many grew sick and died by such barbarous imprisonments as these." Gough, vol. 1. p. 538.—ED.

† In the preceding year died, on the 22d of December, aged seventy-two years, Mr. Thomas Lushington, a scholar of eminence, and a favourer of the sentiments of Socinus; who translated into English and published, Crellius's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, and a commentary on that to the Hebrews from the Latin of the same author, or some other Unitarian writer. He

Though the revenues of the crown were augmented above double what they had been at any time since the Reformation; and though the king had a vast dowry with his queen, whom he married this spring, yet all was not sufficient to defray the extravagance of the court; for besides the king's own expenses, the queen-mother maintained a splendid court of Roman Catholics at Somerset-house, and might have done so as long as she had lived, if she could have kept within moderate bounds; but her conduct was so imprudent and profuse, that she was obliged to return to France, after three or four years, where she died in the year 1669. A lady of such bigotry in religion,* and intrigue in politics, that her alliance to this nation was little less than a judgment from heaven.

To procure more ready money for these extravagances, it was

published, among other works, two sermons on Matt. xxviii. 13, and Acts ii. 1, entitled, "The resurrection rescued from the Soldier's Calumnies." He was reckoned more ingenious than prudent, and was more apt to display his fancy than to proceed upon solid reason. At one time he personated in his sermon a Jewish Pharisee and persecutor of Christ, descanting on the whole life of our Saviour in a way suited to draw scorn and aversion on him and his attendants: he then changed his character, and speaking as a disciple of Christ he answered the cavils and invectives before thrown out with such dexterity, that his hearers broke into such loud and repeated applauses, as hindered him for a good space from proceeding in his sermon. He was a native of Sandwich, and matriculated at Broadgate's Hall, in Oxford, when he was seventeen, in 1606—7. He graduated, as master of arts, in Lincoln-college, in 1618. In 1631, bishop Corbet gave him the prebendal stall of Bemister Secunda in the church of Salisbury; and afterward bestowed on him the rectory of Burnham Westgate, in Norfolk. In the rebellion he lost his spiritualities, but on the return of Charles II. was restored to them. He died and was buried at Sittingbourne, near Milton, in Kent. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 71, 72.—Ed.

In the year 1661, or soon after the Restoration, died also Mr. Henry Denne, whom we have mentioned before, vol. 2. p. 387, note. He began his ministry in the church of England, and in 1641 drew great attention by a sermon which he preached at Baldock, in Hertfordshire; in this discourse he freely exposed the sin of persecution, and inveighed against the pride and covetousness of the clergy, their pluralities and nonresidences, and the corrupt practices of the spiritual courts. He was reckoned by one, who had a great hand in the public affairs of the age, "to be the ablest man in the kingdom for prayer, expounding, and preaching." When the government declared their design to reform religion, Mr. Denne and many others were led to extend their inquiries, after religious truth, to points which before they had only taken for granted: and, it appearing to him, in his researches, that the practice of baptizing children was without any foundation in Scripture, or the writings of the Christians for the two first ages, he publicly professed himself a Baptist, and was baptized by immersion at London in 1643. This exposed him to the resentment of those who sat at the helm of ecclesiastical affairs: but notwithstanding this he obtained the parish of Elsly in Cambridgeshire. Meeting with opposition and persecution, he quitted his living and went into the army, and gained reputation in the military line. In 1658, he held a public disputation, concerning infant baptism, with Dr. Gunning, in St. Clement's church, Temple-bar; in which he is said to have afforded strong proofs of his abilities and learning, as a good scholar and complete disputant. Mr. Edwards gives him the character of "a very affecting preacher." A clergyman put on his grave this epitaph:

"To tell his wisdom, learning, goodness, unto men,
I need say no more, but here lies Henry Denne."

Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 1. p. 297, &c.—Ed.

* It was the grand argument with the duke of York, for his adherence to the tenets of Popery, that his mother had, upon her last blessing, commanded him to be firm and steadfast thereto. Reresby's Memoirs, p. 16.

resolved to sell the town of Dunkirk to the French, for 500,000*l*. The lord-chancellor Clarendon was the projector of this vile bargain,* as appears by the letters of count D'Estrades, published since his death, in one of which his lordship acknowledges, that the thought came from himself.† Several mercenary pamphlets were dispersed to justify this sale; but the wars with France, in the reigns of king William and queen Anne, have sufficiently convinced us, that it was a fatal stab to our trade and commerce: inasmuch, that even the queen's last ministry durst not venture to make a peace with France, till the fortifications of it were demolished.

But to divert the people's eyes to other objects, it was resolved to go on with the prosecution of state-criminals, and with humbling and crushing the Nonconformists: Three of the late king's judges being apprehended in Holland, by the forward zeal of Sir G. Downing, viz. colonel Okey, Corbet, and Berkstead, were brought over to England by permission of the States, and executed on the act of attainder, April 19. They died with the same resolution and courage as the former had done, declaring they had no malice against the late king, but apprehended the authority of parliament sufficient to justify their conduct.

Before the parliament rose the house addressed the king to bring colonel Lambert and sir Henry Vane, prisoners in the Tower, to their trial; and accordingly, June 4, they were arraigned at the King's-Bench bar; the former for levying war against the king; and the latter for compassing his death. Lambert was convicted, but for his submissive behaviour was pardoned as to life, but confined in the isle of Guernsey, where he remained a patient prisoner till his death, which happened about thirty years after. Sir Henry Vane had such an interest in the convention-parliament, that both lords and commons petitioned for his life, which his majesty promised; and yet afterward, at the instigation of the present house of commons, he was tried and executed. Sir Harry made a brave defence; but it was determined

* Dr. Grey is much displeas'd with Mr. Neal for imputing the sale of Dunkirk to lord Clarendon: and remarks on it, that "had the count D'Estrades declared positively that the lord Clarendon had no concern therein, it is probable that his authority would have been rejected or passed over in silence. But lord Clarendon was a great friend to monarchy and episcopacy; and therefore lord Clarendon's character must at all adventures be run down." The reader will determine concerning the candour and fairness of this censure. The passages in which D'Estrades ascribes this transaction to lord Clarendon are to be seen in Rapin, and in Dr. Harris's *Life of Charles II.* vol. 2. p. 192—198. Dr. Grey, on the other hand, refers to Kennet and Roger Coke, esq. as acquitting his lordship from advising the sale of Dunkirk. Bishop Burnet, it may be added, says, on the information of his lordship's son, "that he kept himself out of that affair entirely." To reconcile the nation to the sale of Dunkirk, the king promised to lay up all the money in the Tower, and that it should not be touch'd but upon extraordinary occasions. But in violation of his word and of decency, it was immediately squandered away among the creatures of his mistress, Barbara Villiers. Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. 1. p. 251.—ED.

† Rapin, p. 630, 631.

to sacrifice him to the ghost of the earl of Strafford; and when his friends would have had him petition for his life, he refused, saying, if the king had not a greater regard for his word and honour than he had for his life, he might take it. Nevertheless bishop Burnet says,* “ He was naturally a fearful man, and had a head as dark in the notions of religion; but when he saw his death was determined, he composed himself to it with a resolution that surprised all who knew how little of that was natural to him. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, June 14, where a new and very indecent practice was begun; it was observed that the dying speeches of the regicides had left impressions on the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the government; and strains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, drummers were placed under the scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak to the public, upon a sign given, struck up with their drums. But this put him into no disorder; he desired they might be stopped, for he knew what was meant by it. Then he went to his devotion; and as he was taking leave of those about him, he happened to say something again with relation to the times, when the drums struck up a second time; so he gave over, saying, It was a sorry cause that would not bear the words of a dying man; and died with so much composedness, that it was generally thought the government lost more than it gained by his death.” The Oxford historian says, he appeared on the scaffold like an old Roman, and died without the least symptoms of concern or trouble.

But the grand affair that employed the parliament this spring, was the famous act of uniformity of public prayers, &c. designed for the enclosure of the church, and the only door of admission to all ecclesiastical preferments. The review of the Common Prayer had been in convocation three or four months,† and was brought into parliament, with their alterations and amendments, before Christmas‡; the bill was read the first time in the house of commons Jan. 14, and passed, after sundry debates, but by six voices, yeas 186, noes 180; but it met with greater obstacles among the lords, who offered several amendments, which occasioned conferences between the two houses. The lords would have exempted schoolmasters, tutors, and those who had the education of youth; and in the disabling clause, would have included only livings with cure §. But the commons being supported by the court, would abate nothing||, nor consent to any provision for

* Burnet, p. 237, 238.

† Dr. Grey is at a loss to understand how the act of uniformity could come into the convocation, and continue there for three or four months: for the two houses never send their bills thither for their perusal and approbation. He thinks, therefore, that Mr. Neal's mistake must be owing to their review of the Common Prayer. Examination, vol. 3. p. 320.—ED.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 604.

§ Ibid. p. 677.

|| The reason for extending it to schoolmasters was, we are told, to guard against the influence and force of education. Exam. p. 321.—ED.

such as should be ejected. They would indulge no latitude in the surplice or cross in baptism, for fear of establishing a schism, and weakening the authority of the church, as to her right of imposing indifferent rites and ceremonies*. And the court were willing to shut out as many as they could from the establishment, to make a general toleration more necessary. When the lords urged the king's declaration from Breda, the commons replied, that it would be strange to call a schismatical conscience a tender one; but suppose this had been meant (say they), his majesty can be guilty of no breach of promise, because the declaration had these two limitations, a reference to parliament,—and so far as was consistent with the peace of the kingdom. May 8, the result of the conference with the house of commons, being reported to the lords, the house laid aside their objections, and concurred with the commons, and the bill passed; but, as bishop Burnet observes, with no great majority. May 19, it received the royal assent, and was to take place from the 24th of August following. This act being prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer, and lying open to public view, I shall only give the reader an abstract of it. It is entitled,

“An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for establishing the forms of making, ordaining, and consecrating, bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of England.”

The preamble sets forth, “That from the first of queen Elizabeth, there had been one uniform order of common service and prayer enjoined to be used by act of parliament, which had been very comfortable to all good people, until a great number of people in divers parts of the realm, living without knowledge and the due fear of God, did wilfully and schismatically refuse to come to their parish-churches, upon Sundays, and other days appointed to be kept as holy days. And whereas, by the scandalous neglect of ministers in using the liturgy during the late unhappy troubles, many people have been led into factions and schisms, to the decay of religion, and the hazard of many souls; therefore, for preventing the like for time to come, the king had granted a commission, to review the Book of Common Prayer, to those bishops and divines, who met at the Savoy; and afterward his majesty required the clergy in convocation to revise it again; which alterations and amendments having been approved by his majesty, and both houses of parliament; therefore, for settling the peace of the nation, for the honour of religion, and to the intent that every person may know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship, it is enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, &c.

“That all and singular ministers shall be bound to say and use the morning prayer, evening prayer, and all other common prayers,

* Kennet's Chron. p. 679.

in such order and form as is mentioned in the book; and that every parson, vicar, or other minister whatsoever, shall before the feast of St. Bartholomew, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1662, openly and publicly, before the congregation assembled for religious worship, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things contained and prescribed in the said book, in these words, and no other:

“ I, A. B. do declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book, entitled, ‘ The book of common prayer and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according to the use of the church of England, together with the psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches;’ and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons*.”

The penalty for neglecting or refusing to make this declaration is deprivation, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions.

“ And it is farther enacted, that every dean, canon, and prebendary; all masters, heads, fellows, chaplains, and tutors, in any college, hall, house of learning, or hospital; all public professors, readers in either university, and in every college and elsewhere; and all parsons, vicars, curates, lecturers; and every schoolmaster keeping any public or private school; and every person instructing youth in any private family, shall before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, subscribe the following declaration, viz.

“ I, A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him; and that I will conform to the liturgy of the church of England, as it is now by law established. And I do hold, that there lies no obligation upon me, or on any other person, from the oath commonly called the solemn league and covenant, to endeavour any change or alteration of government, either in church or state, and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm, against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom.”

This declaration is to be subscribed by the persons above mentioned, before the archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese, on pain of deprivation, for those who were possessed of livings; and for schoolmasters or tutors, three months’ imprisonment for the first offence: and for every other offence, three months’ imprisonment, and the forfeiture of five pounds to his majesty. Provided, that after the 25th of March 1682, the renouncing of the solemn league and covenant shall be omitted.

“ It is farther enacted, that no person shall be capable of any benefice, or presume to consecrate and administer the holy sacra-

* This form of subscription and solemn declaration was inserted by the lords, with whom this act of uniformity began.—ED.

ment of the Lord's supper, before he be ordained a priest by episcopal ordination, on pain of forfeiting for every offence one hundred pounds*.

“No form, or order of common prayer, shall be used in any church, chapel, or other place of public worship, or in either of the universities, than is here prescribed and appointed.

“None shall be received as lecturers, or be permitted to preach, or read any sermon or lecture in any church or chapel, unless he be approved and licensed by the archbishop or bishop, and shall read the thirty-nine articles of religion, with a declaration of his unfeigned assent and consent to the same: and unless the first time he preaches any lecture or sermon, he shall openly read the Common Prayer, and declare his assent to it; and shall on the first lecture-day of every month afterward, before lecture or sermon, read the Common Prayer and service, under pain of being disabled to preach; and if he preach while so disabled, to suffer three months' imprisonment for every offence.

“The several laws and statutes formerly made for uniformity of prayer, &c. shall be in force for confirming the present Book of Common Prayer, and shall be applied for punishing all offences contrary to the said laws, with relation to the said book, and no other.

“A true printed copy of the said book is to be provided in every parish-church, chapel, college, and hall, at the cost and charge of the parishioners or society, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, on pain of forfeiting three pounds a month for so long as they shall be unprovided of it†.”

It was certainly unreasonable in the legislature to limit the time of subscription to so short a period‡, it being next to im-

* This clause was also inserted by the lords.—Ed.

† “The act of uniformity and the corporation-act (Mr. Gough observes) did not in themselves materially affect the Quakers, who aspired to no places of honour or profit, and who testified against preaching for hire, and sought for no more than a toleration and protection in their religious and civil rights, to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty; yet the corporation-act in its consequences did affect them, by filling the city and country with persecuting magistrates.” *Hist. of the Quakers*. vol. 1. p. 469.—Ed.

‡ Dr. Grey argues that this objection is taken off by a clause, exempting from the penalties of the act those who were prevented subscribing within the limited time by some lawful impediment allowed and approved by the ordinary of the place, and complying with its requisition within a month after such impediment was removed; and the doctor adds, that, in pursuance of this clause, Dr. Laney, the bishop of Peterborough, dispensed with the dean and chapter of that church. He farther alleges a public advertisement given in London, 6th of August, 1662, declaring that the Book of Common Prayer was then perfectly and exactly printed, and books in folio were provided for all churches and chapels in the kingdom; which left a space of eighteen days for conveying them through the country. But the doctor did not calculate, how many of these days would be run out before this notice had circulated through the nation, and had reached the remoter parts and country parishes lying at a distance from the great post-roads. Bishop Burnet says, “the vast number of copies, being many thousands, that were to be wrought off for all the parish-churches of England, made the impression go on so slowly, that there were few books set out to sale when the day came.” *Burnet*, vol. 1. p. 269. *Examination*, vol. 1. p. 420—423; and vol. 3. p. 322, 323.—Ed.

possible that the clergy in all parts of the kingdom should read and examine the alterations within that time. The dean and prebendaries of Peterborough declared, that they could not obtain copies before August 17, the Sunday immediately preceding the feast of St. Bartholomew; so that all the members of that cathedral did not and could not read the service in manner and form as the act directs, and therefore they were obliged to have recourse to the favour of their ordinary to dispense with their default; however, their preferments were then legally forfeited, as appears by the act of the 15th of Charles II. cap. 6, entitled, "An act for the relief of such as by sickness, or other impediments, were disabled from subscribing the declaration of the act of uniformity;" which says, that those who did not subscribe within the time limited were utterly disabled, and *ipso facto* deprived, and their benefices void, as if they were naturally dead. And if this was the case at Peterborough, what must be the condition of the clergy in the more northern counties? in fact, there was not one divine in ten, that lived at any considerable distance from London, who did peruse it within that time; but the matter was driven on with so much precipitancy, says bishop Burnet*, that it seems implied, that the clergy should subscribe implicitly to a book they had never seen; and this was done by too many, as by the bishops themselves confessed.

The terms of conformity now were,

(1.) Re-ordination, if they had not been episcopally ordained before.

(2.) A declaration of their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing prescribed and contained in "The book of common prayer, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, together with the psalter," and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating, of bishops, priests, and deacons.

(3.) To take the oath of canonical obedience.

(4.) To abjure the solemn league and covenant, which many conscientious ministers could not disentangle themselves from.

(5.) To abjure the lawfulness of taking arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever.

It appears from hence, that the terms of conformity were higher than before the civil wars; and the Common Prayer-book more exceptionable; for, instead of striking out the Apocryphal lessons, more were inserted, as the story of Bel and the Dragon; and some new holidays were added, as St. Barnabas, and the conversion of St. Paul; a few alterations and new collects were made by the bishops themselves, but care was taken, says Burnet†, that nothing should be altered, as was moved by the Presbyterians.—The validity of Presbyterian ordination was renounced, by which the ministrations of the foreign churches were disowned.—Lec-

* Page 269.

† Page 267.

turers and schoolmasters were put upon the same foot with incumbents as to oaths and subscriptions.—A new declaration was invented, which none who understood the constitution of England could safely subscribe—and to terrify the clergy into a compliance, no settled provision was made for those who should be deprived of their livings, but all were referred to the royal clemency*.—A severity, says bishop Burnet, neither practised by queen Elizabeth in enacting the liturgy, nor by Cromwell in ejecting the Royalists; in both which a fifth of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence.

Mr. Rapin has several remarks on this act: if we compare it with the king's declaration from Breda, says he†, it will easily be seen what care the ministers about the king, who were the real authors or promoters of this act, had for his honour and promise; though some therefore may look upon this act as the great support and bulwark of the church, others, no less attached to its interests, will perhaps look upon it as her disgrace and scandal.—His second remark is, for the reader to take notice of the amount of the promises made to the Presbyterians by the king's party, upon the assurance of which they had so cheerfully laboured for his restoration, and followed the directions transmitted by his friends.—His third remark is, that by an artifice, the most gross conspiracies were invented, which had no manner of reality; or supposing they had, could no ways be charged on the Presbyterians, who were not to answer for the crimes of other sects.

On the other hand, bishop Kennet says‡, “The world has reason to admire, not only the wisdom of this act, but even the moderation of it, as being effectually made for ministerial conformity alone, and leaving the people unable to complain of any imposition. And it would certainly have had the desired and most happy effect, of unity and peace (says his lordship), if the government had been in earnest in the execution of it.” Must the blessings of unity and peace then be built on the foundation of persecution, plunder, perfidy, and the wastes of conscience? If his Majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs breathed the spirit of true wisdom and charity, and ought to stand for a pattern to posterity, whenever they are disposed to heal the breaches of the church, as the bishop has elsewhere declared§, where could be the wisdom and moderation of this act, which turned out two thousand ministers into the world to beg their bread upon such severe terms? And whereas the bishop says, the

* This was done by a proviso, drawn up by the lords, “that such persons as have been put out of their livings, by virtue of the act of uniformity, may have such allowances out of their livings for their subsistence as his majesty shall think fit.” Grey's Examination, vol. 1. p. 423. A feeble, inefficient proviso, permitting the king to be kind, but leaving it to his option to be unjust and cruel; tantalizing distress, rather than relieving it.—ED.

† Vol. 2. p. 629, folio.

‡ The references are, I apprehend, to the bishop's Complete History. There is a passage correspondent to the first in the Chronicle, p. 712.—ED.

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 246.

people had no reason to complain of imposition, was it no hardship to be obliged to go to church, and join in a form of worship that went against their consciences? Does not the act revive and confirm all the penal laws of queen Elizabeth and king James, in these words, "Be it farther enacted, that the several good laws and statutes of this realm, which have been formerly made, and are now in force for the uniformity of prayers and administration of the sacraments within this realm of England and places aforesaid, shall stand in full force and strength to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and shall be applied, practised, and be put in use, for the punishing all offences contrary to the said law." Surely this must affect the laity! it is more to be admired, in my opinion, that the clergy of England, and all officers both civil and military, could subscribe a declaration which gave up the whole constitution into the hands of an arbitrary prince; for if the king had abolished the use of parliaments, and commanded his subjects to embrace the Popish religion, which way could they have relieved themselves, when they had sworn, that it was not lawful to take up arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever, on pain of high treason? It is hard to reconcile this doctrine with the revolution of king William and queen Mary. I shall only add, that many of the most learned and judicious divines of the church have wished, for their own sakes, that the act might be amended and altered.

Mr. Collyer, a nonjuring clergyman who suffered for his principles, speaks more like a gentleman and a Christian than the bishop: "The misfortune of the Presbyterians (says he) cannot be remembered without regret; those who quit their interest are certainly in earnest, and deserve a charitable construction. Mistakes in religion are to be tenderly used, and conscience ought to be pitied when it cannot be relieved."

It is fit the authors and promoters of this memorable act, which broke the peace of the church, and established a separation, should stand upon record. Among these the Earl of Clarendon deserves the first place, who was once for moderate measures, but afterward altered his conduct, says bishop Burnet,* out of respect to bishops. "The rhetoric and interest of this great minister (says Collyer†) might possibly make an impression upon both houses, and occasion the passing the act of uniformity in the condition it now stands." He entertained the Presbyterians with hopes, while he was cutting away the ground from under their feet. Strange! that one and the same hand could, consistently with conscience and honour, draw up the king's declaration from Breda, and his late declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, and this severe act of uniformity.

Next to chancellor Hyde was Dr. Sheldon, bishop of London, and afterward archbishop of Canterbury, of whom notice has been

* Page 270.

† Page 88.

already taken ; he was a facetious man, says Burnet*, but of no great religion. When the earl of Manchester told the king, he was afraid the terms of conformity were so hard that many ministers would not comply ; the bishop replied he was afraid they would, but now we know their minds, says he, we will make them all knaves if they conform. And when Dr. Allen said, " It is pity the door is so strait ;" he answered, " It is no pity at all ; if we had thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter †." And Mr. Baxter adds, that as far as he could perceive, it was by some designed it should be so.

Next to bishop Sheldon was bishop Morley, a pious man, says Burnet, but extremely passionate and very obstinate. Morley was thought the honester man, but Sheldon the abler statesman. To these may be added, Dr. Gunning bishop of Ely : Henchman of London ; Dolbert of Rochester ; Stern of York ; Dr. Pierce, Sparrow, and Barwick, all creatures of the court, and tools of the prerogative.

But neither the courtiers nor bishops could have accomplished their designs without tampering with the parliament. Care was therefore taken of the best speakers, and men of influence among the commons. The parliament was undoubtedly actuated by a spirit of revenge, says Rapin ‡, and being of principles directly opposite to the Presbyterians, who were for reducing the royal power within certain limits, they resolved to put it out of their power for ever to restrain the prerogative, or alter the government of the church ; and the king, being in continual want of money, was content to sacrifice the Presbyterians for a large supply of the nation's money, especially when he knew he was serving the cause of Popery at the same time, by making way for a general toleration.

The Presbyterian ministers had only three months to consider what to do with themselves, and their families. There were several consultations both in city and country to know each other's sentiments ; and it happened here, as it did afterward, about taking the oaths to king William and queen Mary ; some, who persuaded their brethren to dissent, complied themselves and got the others' livings. It is not to be supposed they had all the same

* Page 257.

† It reflects some honour on the name of bishop Saunderson that he spoke of this act in a milder strain. To a worthy clergyman, who was with him the evening after the king passed it, he said, " that more was imposed on ministers than he wished had been." On passing the act he sent to Mr. Matthew Sylvester, whose living was in his diocess, and treating him with great civility, earnestly pressed him not to quit his living, and patiently heard him state his difficulties : and when he found, that he could not obviate them to his satisfaction, he lamented it, and at last signified a concern, that some things were carried so high in the ecclesiastical settlement ; which, he said, should not have been if he could have prevented it. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. 2. p. 111. MS. ; and Church and Dissenters Compared, p. 81.—Ed.

‡ Page 632, &c.

scruples.—Bishop Kennet says*, that renouncing the covenant was the greatest obstacle of conformity to the Presbyterians. But his Lordship is mistaken; for if abjuring the covenant had been omitted, they could not have taken the corporation-oath. Some could not in conscience comply with the very form of the hierarchy. Great numbers scrupled the business of re-ordination, which implied a renouncing the validity of their former ministrations. But that which the dissenters of all denominations refused, was giving their assent and consent to all and every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer. This they apprehended to be more than was due to any human composure.

Mr Echard represents them as under great difficulties; “Some (says he) were positive against any compliance, but great numbers were doubtful and uncertain, and had great struggles between the attractions of conscience and honour, interest and humour. The act was strictly penned, and pressed hard upon late principles and practices. A continual intercourse of letters passed between those in the city, and the rest in the countries, how to proceed in this nice affair. Sometimes the chief of them were for compliance, as I have been assured (says he) by the best hands, and then upon farther consideration they changed their minds. They were under considerable temptations on both sides; on one side their livings and preferments were no small inducement towards their compliance; on the other side, besides their consciences, they were much encouraged by the greatness of their numbers, and were made to believe, that if they unanimously stood out, the church must come to them, since the people would never bear so shocking a change. Besides, they had great expectations from several friends at court, and particularly the Popish party, who gave them great encouragement, not only by a promise of pensions to some, but also by a toleration, and a suspension of the act itself, which not long after was partly made good. No doubt but the non-compliance of several proceeded purely from a tender conscience, and in that case ought not only to be pitied, but rather applauded than condemned.” Bishop Burnet adds, that the leaders of the Presbyterian party took great pains to have them all stick together: they said, that if great numbers stood out, it was more likely to produce new laws in their favour; so it was thought, says his lordship, that many went out in the crowd to keep their friends company.

It is possible some noblemen, and others who were in the interest of the Presbyterians, might advise them to adhere to each other; but it is hardly credible that men of abilities and good sense should throw up their livings, sacrifice their usefulness, and beggar their families, for the sake of good company.

Some of the Nonconformists quitted their stations in the church

before the 24th of August, as Mr. Baxter and others, with an intent to let all the ministers in England know their resolution beforehand*. Others about London preached their farewell sermons the Sunday before Bartholomew-day; several of which were afterward collected into a volume, and printed with their effigies in the title-page; as the reverend Dr. Manton, Bates, Jacomb, Calamy, Matth. Mead, and others. The like was done in several counties of England: and such a passionate zeal for the welfare of their people ran through their sermons as dissolved their audiences into tears.

At length the fatal St. Bartholomew came, when about two thousand relinquished their preferments in the church, or refused to accept of any upon the terms of the act of uniformity; an example hardly to be paralleled in the Christian world! It raised a grievous cry over the nation, for here were many men much valued, says bishop Burnet†, and distinguished by their abilities and zeal, now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by such spiteful usage, and cast upon those popular practices, which both their principles and their circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congregations, and of diverting men from the public worship. This begot esteem, and raised compassion, as having a fair appearance of suffering persecution for conscience. Mr. Locke calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines, who did not throw themselves out of service, but were forcibly ejected. Nor were they cast out because there was a supply of ministers to carry on the work of religion, for there was room for the employment of more hands, if they were to be found.

At the reformation from Popery by queen Elizabeth, there were not above two hundred deprived of their livings; besides, they were treated with great mildness, and had some allowances out of their livings; whereas these were treated with the utmost severity, and cast entirely upon Providence for a supply. They were driven from their houses, from the society of their friends; and, what was yet more affecting, from all their usefulness, though they had merited much from the king, and laboured indefatigably for his restoration. The former were men of another faith, and owned a foreign head of the church; whereas these were of the same faith with the established church, and differed only about rites and ceremonies. It had been said, that greater numbers were ejected in the late times upon the foot of the covenant‡; but if this were true, it

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 384.

† Page 270. 280.

‡ Dr. Grey asserts this: and there was a laboured attempt by Dr. Walker to prove, that the clergy, ejected or suffering in the civil wars, exceeded in numbers those whom the act of uniformity ejected or silenced; and that the sufferings of the former surpassed in nature and severity those of the latter. The publication, which endeavoured to establish these points, was a folio, in small print, entitled, "An attempt towards recovering an account of the numbers and sufferings of the clergy of the church of England, heads of colleges, fellows, scholars, &c. who were sequestered, harassed, &c. in the late times of the grand rebellion: occasioned by the

was in a time of war, when the civil and religious differences between the king and parliament were so intermixed that it was impossible to separate one from the other; the whole nation was in confusion, and those who suffered by the covenant, suffered more for their loyalty than their religion; for when the war was ended, the covenant was relaxed, and such as would live peaceably returned to their vacant cures, or were admitted to others.

Besides, the ingratitude of the high-churchmen upon this occasion ought to be taken notice of. "Who can answer for the violence and injustice of actions in a civil war?" says a divine of the church of England. "Those sufferings were in a time of general calamity, but these were ejected not only in a time of peace, but a time of joy to all the land, and after an act of oblivion, when all pretended to be reconciled and made friends, and to whose common rejoicings these suffering ministers had contributed their earnest prayers and great endeavours*." Another divine of the same church writes, "I must own, that in my judgment, however both sides have been excessively to blame, yet that the severities used by the church to the dissenters are less excusable than those used by the dissenters to the church. My reason is, that the former were used in times of peace and a settled government, whereas the latter were inflicted in a time of tumult and confusion; so that the plunderings and ravagings 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 allowing of the sequestered ministers a fifth part of their livings was a Christian act†, and what, I confess, I should have been glad to have seen imitated at the Restoration. But no mercy was to be shown to these un-

ninth chapter (now the second volume) of Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Baxter; together with an examination of that chapter." The public was at first amused with so large a work, but by degrees began to speak freely of it in conversation, where it had the fate of other performances. It received from the press two able replies: one by Mr. John Withers, a judicious and worthy dissenting minister in Exeter; the other by Dr. Calamy, in a tract entitled, "The Church and Dissenters Compared as to Persecution." On this subject we would refer the reader back to Mr. Neal, vol. 2. p. 262.—ED.

* Conf. Plea for Nonconformity, p. 12, 13.

† Dr. Grey quotes here, from Dr. Fuller, (Church Hist. book 11, p. 230.) a long detail of the evasions on which many of the sequestered clergy were refused their fifths. Dr. Walker has also complained, that scarcely one in ten ever had them without trouble, and to the full value. "This is a case in which (as Dr. Calamy observes) it is no easy thing to make calculation." Supposing it to have been paid ever so indifferently, it was certainly a better provision than was made by the act of uniformity for those who were ejected and silenced. It afforded the sufferers, to a degree, a legal remedy for their calamities: and would doubtless, in many instances, be efficient. Dr. Fuller speaks of it as an instance of "the pitiful and pious intentions of parliament; which, no doubt, desired to be like the best of beings, who as closely applyth his lenitive as corrosive plasters, and that his mercy may take as true effect as his justice." But this matter has been before stated by Mr. Neal, vol. 2. p. 266.—ED.

happy sufferers, though it was impossible on a sudden to fill up the gap that was made by their removal."

Bishop Burnet says, the old clergy, now much enriched, were despised, but the young clergy who came from the university did good service. But, though all the striplings in both universities were employed, a great many poor livings in the country had no incumbents for a considerable time. The author of *The Five Groans of the Church*, a very strict conformist, complains with great warmth of above three thousand ministers admitted into the church, who were unfit to teach because of their youth; of fifteen hundred debauched men ordained; of the ordination of many illiterate men; of one thousand three hundred forty-two factious ministers, a little before ordained; and that, of twelve thousand church livings, or thereabouts, three thousand or more being improper, and four thousand one hundred sixty-five sinecures, there was but a poor remainder left for a painful and honest ministry.

Such were the spoils of uniformity! and, though Mr. Echard says there was more sense and sound doctrine preached in one twelvemonth after the Presbyterian ministers were turned out, than in nigh twenty years before; yet another church-writer, who knew them better, calls the young clergy "florid and genteel preachers, of a more romantic than true majestic and divine style, who tickled and captivated people at first, but did little service to the souls of men, and in process of time had fewer admirers and friends than at first." He adds, that "in the late times they all spake the same things, and carried on the same work, which was the instruction, conversion, consolation, and edification of souls; not biting one another, nor grudging at one another. I never heard," says he, "in many hundreds of sermons, diversities of opinions either set up by some, or pulled down by others; we heard, indeed, that some were Independents, others Presbyterians, and others Episcopal, but we heard no such things from the pulpits.* Some men think that the preaching of those days was mere fanaticism, blessing the usurpation, railing against bishops, or deifying Calvin with an infallibility; but Calvin was preached no farther than Christ spake in him; 'Non Calvinum sed Christum prædicabant*.'"

The truth of this observation will appear farther, by mentioning the names of some of those ministers, whose learning and piety were universally acknowledged, and who were capable of preaching and writing as good sense, and to as good purpose, as most of their successors; as Dr. Gilpin, Bates, Manton, Jacomb, Owen, Goodwin, Collins, Conant, Grew, Burgess, and Annesly; Mr. Bowles, Baxter, Clarkson, Woodbridge, Newcomen, Calamy, Jackson, Pool, Caryl, Charnock, Gouge, Jenkins, Gale, Corbet, Cradock, Matth. Mead, Howe, Kentish, Alsop, Vincent,

* Conformist Plea, part I. in pref. and p. 53.

Greenhill, S. Clark, Flavel, Phil. Henry, and others of like character, "whom I have heard vilified, and represented according to the fancies, passions, or interests of men," says a learned conformist, but I dare not but be just to them, as to eminent professors of the Christian faith, and think that common Christianity has suffered much by their silencing and disparagement. A great part of the world is made to believe that the Nonconformists are not fit to be employed in the church, nor trusted by the state; but what they are God knows, and the world may know, if they please to consult their writings. They are not to them that know them, what they are reported by them that know them not. I know them sufficiently to make me bewail their condition, and the vast damage to thousands of souls by their exclusion, not only in the outskirts, but in the very heart of England, who are committed in many parts to them that neither can nor will promote their everlasting interests*." Upon the whole, though I do not pretend that all the ejected ministers were equally learned, pious †, and deserving, yet upon a calm and sedate view of things, I cannot help concluding, that in the main they were a body of as eminent confessors for truth and liberty as this or any other nation has produced.

Many complied with the terms of conformity, not because they approved them, but for the sake of their families, or because they were unwilling to be buried in silence, as bishop Reynolds, Wilkins, Hopkins, Fowler, &c. Several young students, who were designed for the pulpit, applied themselves to law or physic, or diverted to some secular employment. Bishop Kennet, in order to extenuate their calamities ‡, has taken pains to point out the favours the ejected ministers received from private persons §. Some (says he) found friends among the nobility and gentry, who relieved their necessities; some were taken as chaplains into good families, or officiated in hospitals, prisons, or chapels of ease; some became tutors, or schoolmasters; some who went beyond sea were well received in foreign parts; some became eminent physicians and lawyers; some had good estates of their own, and others married great fortunes: but how does this extenuate the guilt of the church or legislature, who would have deprived them of these retreats if it had been in their power?

* Conform. Plea. in pref. part 1.

† To suppose that more than two thousand men could be equal in worth and piety, would be to admit an impossibility; but it deserves notice, that bishop Kennet is so candid as to limit the charge of scandalous lives and characters, or of a conduct which was at least no credit to the cause for which they suffered, to some few only. Grey's Examination, p. 332.—ED.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 888, &c.

§ Dr. Grey has given this passage of bishop Kennet at length, which Mr. Neal has here noticed. But the amount of the bishop's statement, which runs out into thirty-one particulars, only shews, that some men were more equitable and kind than was the legislature; and that they who suffered under the operation of an iniquitous law, met with relief from the kind disposals of Divine Providence.—ED.

The bishop adds, "Therefore we do ill to charge the church with persecution, when the laws were made by the civil government with a view to the peace and safety of the state, rather than to any honour or interest of the church." It seems therefore the load of persecution must lie wholly upon the legislature: but had the bishops and clergy no hand in this affair? did they not push the civil government upon these extremities, and not only concur, but prosecute, the penal laws with unrelenting rigour throughout the greatest part of this reign? The church and state are said to be so incorporated as to make but one constitution, and the penal laws are shifted from one to the other till they are quite lost; the church cannot be charged with persecution, because it makes no laws; nor can the civil government be charged with it, because it makes them not against conscience, but with a view to the safety of the state; with such idle sophisms are men to be amused, when it is to cover a reproach!

Dr. Bates says, "they (the ministers) fell a sacrifice to the wrath and revenge of the old clergy, and to the servile compliance of the young gentry with the court, and their distaste of serious religion*." That this is no rash imputation upon the ruling clergy is evident (says the doctor), not only from their concurrence in passing these laws (for actions have a language as convincing as those of words), but from Dr. Sheldon, their great leader, who expressed his fears to the earl of Manchester, lest the Presbyterians should comply. The act was passed after the king had engaged his faith and honour in his declaration from Breda to preserve liberty of conscience inviolable; which promise opened the way for his restoration; and after the royalists had given public assurance, that all former animosities should be laid aside as rubbish, under the foundation of universal concord."

Sad were the calamities of far the greater part of these unhappy sufferers, who with their families must have perished, if private collections in London, and divers places in the country, had not been made for their subsistence †. Bishop Burnet says, they cast themselves on the providence of God, and the charity of friends. The reverend and pious Mr. Thomas Gouge, late of St. Sepulchre's, was their advocate, who, with two or three of his brethren, made frequent application to several worthy citizens, of whom they received considerable sums of money for some years, till that charity was diverted into another channel; but nevertheless "many hundreds of them (according to Mr. Baxter ‡) with their wives and children, had neither house nor bread §);

* Baxter, p. 101. † Kennet's Chron. p. 838. 192. ‡ Life, part 2. p. 385.

§ The observation made, not long before he died, by the excellent Mr. Philip Henry, who survived these times, deserves to be mentioned here. It was, that "though many of the ejected ministers were brought very low, had many children, were greatly harassed by persecution, and their friends generally poor and unable to support them; yet in all his acquaintance he never knew nor could remember to have heard of any Nonconformist minister in prison for debt." P. Henry's Life, p. 74, second edition.—Ed.

the people they left were not able to relieve them, nor durst they if they had been able, because it would have been called a maintenance of schism or faction. Many of the ministers, being afraid to lay down their ministry after they had been ordained to it, preached to such as would hear them, in fields and private houses, till they were apprehended and cast into jails, where many of them perished.—The people were no less divided, some conformed, and others were driven to a greater distance from the church, and resolved to abide by their faithful pastors at all events: they murmured at the government, and called the bishops and conforming clergy cruel persecutors; for which, and for their frequenting the private assemblies of their ministers, they were fined and imprisoned, till many families left their native country, and settled in the plantations.”

The Presbyterian ministers, though men of gravity, and far advanced in years, were rallied in the pulpits under the opprobrious names of Schismatics and Fanatics; they were exposed in the playhouse, and insulted by the mob, insomuch that they were obliged to lay aside their habits, and walk in disguise. “Such magistrates were put into commission as executed the penal laws with severity. Informers were encouraged and rewarded. It is impossible (says the Conformist Plea for the Nonconformist*) to relate the number of the sufferings both of ministers and people; the great trials, with hardships upon their persons, estates, and families, by uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements, and removes; disgraces, reproaches, imprisonments, chargeable journeys, expenses in law, tedious sicknesses, and incurable diseases ending in death; great disquietments and frights to the wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them. Their congregations had enough to do, besides a small maintenance, to help them out of prisons, or maintain them there. Though they were as frugal as possible they could hardly live: some lived on little more than brown bread and water; many had but 8*l.* or 10*l.* a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks’ time; their allowance could scarcely afford them bread and cheese. One went to plough six days and preached on the Lord’s day. Another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood. The zealous justices of peace knew the calamities of the ministers, when they issued out warrants upon some of the hearers, because of the poverty of the preachers. Out of respect to the worth and modesty of some of them (says my author†) I forbear their names.” Upon these foundations, and with these triumphs, was the present constitution of the church of England restored. I shall make no farther remarks upon it, but leave it to the censure of the reader.

Among the Presbyterian divines who died this year, was Mr. John Ley, M.A., born at Warwick, February 4, 1583, and edu-

* Part 4. p. 40.

† Conformist Plea, part 4. p. 43.

cated in Christ-church, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was presented to the living of Great Budworth in Cheshire. He was afterward prebendary of Chester, and sub-dean, and clerk of the convocation once or twice. In the year 1641, he took part with the parliament, was one of the assembly of divines, chairman of the committee for examination of ministers, and president of Sion-college. In the year 1645, he succeeded Dr. Hyde in the rich parsonage of Brightwell, Berks. In 1653, he was one of the triers, and at length obtained the rectory of Solyhull in Warwickshire, but having broken a vein by overstraining himself in speaking, he resigned his living, and retired to Sutton-Colfield, where he died, May 16, 1662, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was a very learned person, well read in the fathers and councils, a popular preacher, a pious and devout Christian, and one of the main pillars (says Mr. Wood*) of the Presbyterian cause.

Mr. Henry Jeanes, M.A., was born in Somersetshire about the year 1611, and educated in New-inn, and afterward in Hart-hall, Oxon, where he took the degrees in arts, and entered into holy orders. He was an admired preacher in the university, and was quickly preferred to the rectory of Beercrocomb, and the vicarage of Kingston in Somersetshire. In the year 1641, he closed with the parliament, and became rector of Chedsoy near Bridgwater. Here he took into his family several young persons, and instructed them in the liberal arts and sciences; he was a most excellent philosopher, a noted metaphysician, and well versed in polemical divinity. With all these qualifications (says Mr. Wood†) he was a contemner of the world, generous, free-hearted, jolly, witty, and facetious. He wrote many books, and died in the city of Wells a little before the fatal day of St. Bartholomew, and was buried in the cathedral church there, *ætatis* fifty-two.

Dr. Humphrey Chambers was born in Somersetshire, and educated in University college, Oxon. In the year 1623, he was made rector of Claverton in Somersetshire, but was afterward silenced by his diocesan, bishop Piers, for preaching up the morality of the sabbath, and imprisoned for two years. He was one of the assembly of divines. In the year 1648, he was created D.D., and had the rich rectory of Pewsey given him by the earl of Pembroke. After the king's restoration he kept his living till the very day the act of uniformity took place, when having preached his farewell sermon on Psal. cxxvi. 6, he went home, fell sick and died, and was buried in his church at Pewsey, September 8, without the service of the church, which had just then taken place‡.

Mr. Simeon Ash was educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge. His first station in the church was in Staffordshire, where he contracted an acquaintance with the most eminent Puritans. He

* Athen. Oxon. vol. 2, p. 190.

† Ibid. p. 195.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 754; or Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, vol. 2. p. 509.

was displaced from his living for refusing to read the book of sports, and not conforming to the ceremonies. After some time he got liberty to preach in an exempt church at Wroxhall, under the protection of sir John Burgoign; and elsewhere, under the lord Brook, in Warwickshire. Upon the breaking out of the civil war he became chaplain to the earl of Manchester, and had a considerable part in the Cambridge visitation. After the king's death he vigorously opposed the new commonwealth, and declaimed publicly against the engagement. He was concerned in all the designs for bringing in the king, and went with other London divines to congratulate his majesty at Breda. He was a Christian of primitive simplicity, and a Nonconformist of the old stamp, being eminently sincere, charitable, holy, and of a cheerful spirit. He had a good paternal estate, and was very hospitable, his house being much frequented by his brethren, by whom he was highly esteemed. He died in an advanced age on the very evening before Bartholomew-day, in a cheerful and firm expectation of a future happiness*.

Mr. Edward Bowles, M. A., born 1613, and educated in Katherine-hall, Cambridge, under Dr. Sibbes and Dr. Brownrigge. He was first chaplain to the earl of Manchester, and upon the reduction of York to the parliament settled in that city. He was a wise and prudent man, having a clear head and a warm heart; an excellent scholar, and a useful preacher. He attended lord Fairfax when general Monk passed through Yorkshire, and presented an address to the general for a free parliament. He was very zealous and active in promoting the king's restoration, and waited on his majesty with lord Fairfax at Breda. It is credibly reported that the deanery of York was offered to him, but not being satisfied with conformity, he was excluded the minster, though he continued preaching at Allhallows, and afterward at St. Martin's, as he had opportunity†. When the fatal Bartholomew-day approached he grew sick of the times, and died in the flower of his life, aged forty-nine, and was buried on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 1662.

[In the preceding year there passed an act for regulating the press, enacting "that no private person or persons should print, or cause to be printed, any book or pamphlet whatsoever, unless the same was first lawfully licensed and authorised to be printed by certain persons appointed by the act to license the same; viz. law-books by the lord-chancellor, or one of the chief-justices, or by the chief baron: books of history, or concerning state-affairs, by one of the principal secretaries of state; on heraldry, by the earl-marshal; and all other books, i. e. to say all novels, romances, and fairy tales, and all books about philosophy, mathematics, physic, divinity, or love, by the lord-archbishop of Canterbury, or the bishop of London for the time being." "The framers of

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 1; or, Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. 1. p. 85

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 779—782; or, *ibid.* vol. 2. p. 580.

this curious act (observes lord Stanhope), no doubt, supposing that these right reverend prelates were, of all men in the kingdom, most conversant with all these subjects." This act commenced in June 1662, and passed only for two years. It was continued by an act of the 16th of Charles II., and by another act of the 17th of the same reign; and in a few months afterward it expired. We may form some idea of the private instructions given to the licenser, as well as of his excessive caution and ignorant zeal, when we are assured, that on his taking exception to the following lines in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, that admirable poem had like to have been suppressed.

"As when the sun, new risen,
Looks through the horizontal misty air
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs."

Stanhope on the Rights of Juries, p. 64, &c. Secret History of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 441, note; and Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. 2. p. 263—274.—Ed.]

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY TO THE BANISHMENT OF THE
EARL OF CLARENDON IN THE YEAR 1667.

1662.

At this time, says bishop Burnet, the name of Puritans was changed into that of Protestant Nonconformists, who were subdivided into Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers; these being shut out of the establishment, had nothing now in view but a toleration, which the credulous Presbyterians said they had strong assurances of, before the act of uniformity passed into a law; but in this they were disappointed, as well as in every thing else; for which the Independents told them they might thank themselves, because their managers had protested against including the Papists; whereas the legislature and the bishops were concerned to prevent any mischief from that quarter, and to their care the Presbyterians should have left it*. Some observing how much the court and parliament were set against them, were for removing with their ministers to Holland; and others proposed New-England; but the Papists, at a meeting at the earl of Bristol's house, agreed to do whatever they could to keep the Nonconformists in England, and buoy them up with hopes of a toleration.

The king was a concealed Roman Catholic, and had swarms of that persuasion about his person and court, who had fought

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 282.

for his father in the wars, or been civil to him in his exile; their design was to introduce a toleration of their religion, by the royal indulgence, in common with other dissenters from the establishment; and the king was so far in their measures, that he declared openly he would give liberty to all or none. The court was therefore content that the act of uniformity should pass in the severest terms, on purpose to make the number of dissenters more considerable; and when this was objected, it was replied, the more dissenters the better, because it will make a toleration more needful, in which the Papists will be included*. The Papists had two maxims from which they never departed; one was, to keep themselves united, and promote a general toleration, or a general prosecution. The other, to divide the Protestants as much as possible among themselves. For this reason the sword was put into the hands of such magistrates as would inflame the differences, and exasperate their spirits one against the other. Nor were there wanting some hot-headed young clergymen, who ran greedily into the snare, and became the tools of Popery and arbitrary power, till the Protestant religion was expiring, and must inevitably have been lost, had it not been revived almost by a miracle. With a like view the laws against profaneness and immorality were relaxed, men's morals were neglected, interludes, masquerades, promiscuous dancing, profane swearing, drunkenness, and a universal dissolution of manners, were connived at, and the very name of godliness became a reproach.

The parliament, being made up of a set of pensioners and mercenaries, went into all the court measures, and enacted more penal laws for religion, than it may be all the parliaments put together since the Reformation. They pressed the act of uniformity with inflexible rigour, and enforced it with so many other penal laws, that under their wing Popery grew to such a height, as to threaten the extirpation of the northern heresy. At length many of the members being dead, and others grown fat with the spoils of the public, they would have retrieved their errors, and distinguished between Protestant Nonconformists and Popish recusants, but it was too late; and the king having found ways and means to subsist without parliaments, resolved to adhere by his standing maxim, to give ease to all dissenters or to none.

It is impossible to excuse the clergy from their share in the troubles of this reign. If the convocation of 1662, in their review of the liturgy, had made any amendments for the satisfaction of the Presbyterians, they would undoubtedly have passed both houses of parliament, and healed in some measure the divisions of the church; but they were actuated by a spirit of revenge, and not only promoted such laws as might deprive the Presbyterians

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 285.

of the power of hurting them for the future ; but assisted in putting them in execution. None had a greater share in inflaming the minds of the people, and in sounding the trumpet to persecution. But here the reader must distinguish between those zealots, who, from resentment, bigotry, or sinister views, set themselves to encourage and promote all the methods of oppression and tyranny ; and those, who, though they complied with the terms of conformity themselves, were disposed to an accommodation with the Protestant Nonconformists upon moderate terms.

The bishops were generally of the former sort ; they were old and exasperated, fond of their persecuting principles, and fearful of every thing that tended to relieve the Presbyterians. They went with zeal into all the slavish doctrines of the prerogative, and voted with the court in every thing they required. But even some of these bishops, who at first were very zealous to throw the Presbyterians out of the church, afterward grew more temperate. Dr. Laney, bishop of Peterborough, who made a great bustle in the Savoy conference, was willing at length to wipe his hands of the dirty work, and, to use his own expression, could look through his fingers and suffer a worthy Nonconformist to preach publicly near him for years together.—Bishop Saunderson had a roll of Nonconformist ministers under his angry eye, designed for discipline, but when he was near his end, he ordered the roll to be burnt, and said he would die in peace.—And most remarkable is the passage in the last will and testament of Dr. Cosins, bishop of Durham, a zealous enemy of the Presbyterians, and who had met with ill usage in the late times :—“ I take it to be my duty (says he), and that of all the bishops and ministers of the church, to do our utmost endeavour, that at last an end may be put to the differences of religion, or at least that they may be lessened.” Such was the different temper of this learned prelate in the vigour of life, and when he came to review things calmly on his dying bed. To these may be added bishop Gauden, Wilkins, Reynolds, and a few others, who were always moderate, and are said to carry the wounds of the church in their hearts to the grave ; but the far greater majority of the bench, especially those who frequented the court, were of different principles.

The like may be observed of the inferior clergy, who were divided, a few years after, into those of the court and the country ; the former were of an angry superstitious spirit, and far more strenuous for a few indifferent ceremonies, than for the peace of the church, or its more important articles ; their sermons were filled with reverence due to their holy mother, with the sacred dignity of their own indelible characters, with the slavish doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and with the most bitter raillery and invectives against the routed Presbyterians ; they encouraged the enacting severe laws, and carried them into execution as long as their superiors would permit, without any regard

to mercy or merit; but took comparatively little or no care, by their doctrine or example, of the morals of the people, which were shamefully neglected throughout the nation. The clergy of this character were by far the more numerous for twenty years after the Restoration; the tide of church-preferments running in this channel, and their doctrines being the most fashionable.

The country clergy were of a quite different spirit; they were determined Protestants and true churchmen, but more disposed to a coalition with Protestant dissenters than with Papists: among these were the Tillotsons, Stillingfleets, Whichcotes, Wilkins, Cudworths, &c. men of the first rank for learning, sobriety, and virtue; they were the most eminent preachers of the age, whose sermons and writings did honour to the church of England, and supported its character in the worst of times. They lamented the corruptions and vices of the people, and stood in the gap against an inundation of Popery and tyranny; but their numbers were small, because the road to preferment lay another way; and when the high-church clergy had betrayed the liberties of their country, and the cause of the Protestant religion, into the hands of the Papists, these appeared boldly in their defence, disarmed their adversaries, and saved the nation.

When therefore we speak of the furious proceedings of the bishops and clergy, it must not be understood of the whole body, but only of those who were tools of a corrupt court and ministry, and who, out of ignorance or other private and personal motives, went blindfold into all their destructive measures.

Bishop Burnet, in his book against the author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*, has the following remarkable passage: "It is well known, that those who were secretly Papists, and disguised their religion, as the king himself did, animated the chief men of the church to carry the points of uniformity as high as possible,—that there might be many Nonconformists, and great occasion for a toleration, under which Popery might creep in; for if the king's declaration from Breda had taken place, of two thousand ministers that were turned out, about seventeen hundred had stayed in; but the practice of the Papists had too great an influence on the churchmen, whose spirits were too much soured by their ill usage during the war; nor were they without success on the dissenters, who were secretly encouraged to stand out, and were told, that the king's temper and principles, and the consideration of trade, would certainly procure them a toleration. Thus they tampered with both parties; liberty of conscience was their profession; but when a session of parliament came, and the king wanted money, then a new severe law against the dissenters was offered to the angry men of the church-party as the price of it; and this seldom failed to have its effect: so that they were like the jewels of the crown, pawned when the king needed money, but redeemed at the next prorogation."

The same prelate observes in another performance, “ that the first spirit of severity was heightened by the practices of the Papists. That many churchmen, who understood not the principles of human society, and the rules of the English government, wrote several extravagant treatises about the measures of submission; that the dissenters were put to great hardships in many parts of England.” But concludes, that “ he must have the brow of a Jesuit that can cast this wholly upon the church of England, and free the court of it. Upon the whole matter (says his lordship) it is evident, that the passions and infirmities of some of the church of England being unhappily stirred up by the dissenters, they were fatally conducted by the Popish party to be the instruments of doing a great deal of mischief.”

But to go on with the history: three days after the act of uniformity took place, the silenced ministers presented a petition to his majesty for a toleration, by the hands of Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, and Mr. Calamy, to this effect; “ that having had former experience of his majesty’s clemency and indulgence, some of the London ministers, who are like to be deprived of all future usefulness by the late act of uniformity, humbly cast themselves at his majesty’s feet, desiring him of his princely wisdom to take some effectual course, that they may be continued in their ministry, to teach his people obedience to God and his majesty; and they doubt not, but by their dutiful and peaceable behaviour, they shall render themselves not altogether unworthy of so great a favour.”* The matter being debated next day in council, his majesty gave his opinion for an indulgence if it was feasible. Others were for conniving at the more eminent divines, and putting curates into their churches to read the service till they should die off: † this was the opinion of the Earl of Manchester, who urged it with a great deal of earnestness; but Lord Clarendon was for the strict execution of the law: “ Surely (says he) there cannot be too intent a care in kings and princes to preserve and maintain all decent forms and ceremonies both in church and state, which keeps up the reverence due to religion, as well as the duty and dignity due to the government and the majesty of kings ‡.” Bishop Sheldon was of the same side, and declared that, if the act was suspended, he could not maintain his episcopal authority: that this would render the legislature ridiculous, and be the occasion of endless distractions §. England is accustomed to obey laws (says he), so that while we stand on that ground we are safe; and, to answer all objections, he undertook to fill the vacant pulpits more to the people’s satisfaction. By such arguments, delivered with great earnestness and zeal, they prevailed with the council to let the law take place for the present.

Nevertheless, about four months after, his majesty published a declaration to all his loving subjects, by advice of his privy coun-

* Kennet’s Chron. p. 753.

† Ibid. p. 730. 742.

‡ Parker’s History, p. 29.

§ Burnet, vol. 1. p. 279.

cil, dated December 26, 1662, in which, after reciting those words of his declaration from Breda, relating to his giving liberty to tender consciences, and his readiness to consent to an act of parliament for that purpose, his majesty adds, "As all these things are fresh in our memory, so are we still firm in the resolution of performing them to the full. But it must not be wondered at, since that parliament to which those promises were made, never thought fit to offer us an act for that purpose, that we, being so zealous as we are (and by the grace of God shall ever be) for the maintenance of the true Protestant religion, should give its establishment the precedency before matters of indulgence to dissenters from it; but that being done, we are glad to renew to all our subjects concerned in those promises of indulgence, this assurance, That, as for what concerns the penalties upon those, who, living peaceably, do not conform to the church of England through scruple, or tenderness of misguided conscience, but modestly, and without scandal, perform their devotions in their own way, we shall make it our special care, as far as in us lies, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline their wisdom at the next approaching sessions, to concur with us in making some act for that purpose, as may enable us to exercise with a more universal satisfaction, that power of dispensing which we conceive to be inherent in us; nor can we doubt of their cheerful co-operating with us in a thing wherein we conceive ourselves so far engaged, both in honour, and in what we owe to the peace of our dominions, which we profess we can never think secure whilst there shall be a colour left to disaffected persons to inflame the minds of so many multitudes upon the score of conscience, with despair of ever obtaining any effect of our promises for their ease."

His majesty then proceeds to obviate the objection of his favouring Papists; and, after having avowed to the world the due sense he had of their having deserved well from his royal father, and from himself, and even from the Protestant religion, in adhering to them with their lives and fortunes, for the maintenance of their crown in the religion established, he declares, that "it is not in his intention to exclude them from all benefit from such an act of indulgence, but that they are not to expect an open toleration; but refers the manner to the approaching sessions of parliament, which he doubts not will concur with him in the performance of his promises." He concludes "with hoping that all his subjects, with minds happily composed by his clemency and indulgence (instead of taking up thoughts of deserting their professions, or transplanting), will apply themselves comfortably, and with redoubled industry, to their several vocations, in such manner as the private interest of every one in particular may encourage him to contribute cheerfully to the general prosperity.

"Given at our court at Whitehall, this 26th December, in the fourteenth year of our reign."

This declaration was thought to be framed at Somerset-house, where the queen-mother kept her court, without the knowledge of lord Clarendon or bishop Sheldon; and, according to Burnet, was the result of a council of Papists at the earl of Bristol's (who were under an oath of secrecy), and of the king himself*. It is modestly expressed; and, though it carries in it a claim of the dispensing power, and of good will to Popery, yet it refers all to the parliament. Accordingly his majesty, in his speech at the opening the next sessions, February 28, 1663, supported his declaration in the following words, "that though he was in his nature an enemy to all severity in religion, he would not have them infer from thence that he meant to favour Popery, though several of that profession, who had served him and his father well, might justly claim a share in that indulgence he would willingly afford to other dissenters; not that I intend them to hold any place in the government," says his majesty, "for I will not yield to any, no, not to the bishops themselves, in my zeal for the Protestant religion, and my liking the act of uniformity; and yet if the dissenters will behave themselves peaceably and modestly under the government, I could heartily wish I had such a power of indulgence to use upon all occasions, as might not needlessly force them out of the kingdom, or staying here, give them cause to conspire against the peace of it." This was the first open claim of a dispensing power, which the reader will observe did not propose a law for liberty of conscience, but that his majesty might have a legal power of indulgence vested in himself, which he might use or recall as he thought fit. This alarmed the house of commons, who voted the thanks of the house for his majesty's resolution to maintain the act of uniformity; but, that it was the opinion of the house that no indulgence be granted to dissenters from it; and an address was appointed to be drawn up, and presented to his majesty, with the following reasons:

"We have considered," say they, "your majesty's declaration from Breda, and are of opinion that it was not a promise, but a gracious declaration to comply with the advice of your parliament, whereas no such advice has been given †. They who pretend a right to the supposed promise, put the right into the hands of their representatives, who have passed the act of uniformity ‡. If any shall say, a right to the benefit of the declaration still remains, it tends to dissolve the very bond of government, and to suppose a disability in the whole legislature to make a law contrary to your majesty's declaration. We have also considered the nature of the indulgence proposed, and are of opinion, 1. That it will

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 282, 283.

† Rapin, vol. 2. p. 634.

‡ According to this curious mode of reasoning, the authority of a trust justifies the abuse of it, and persons elected for the general welfare are not accountable for acting contrary to the interest of their constituents. Such a position is just as absurd, to use the simile of a late writer, as to imagine "that physicians, chosen to superintend and cure the sick in hospitals, have a right to kill their patients if they please." Secret History of the Reign of Charles II. vol. 2. p. 7, note.—ED.

establish schism by a law, and make the censures of the church of no consideration. 2. That it is unbecoming the wisdom of parliament to pass a law in one session for uniformity, and in another session to pass a law to frustrate or weaken it, the reasons continuing the same. 3. That it will expose your majesty to the restless importunities of every sect who shall dissent from the established church. 4. That it will increase sectaries, which will weaken the Protestant profession, and be troublesome to the government; and in time some prevalent sect may contend for an establishment which may end in Popery. 5. That it is unprecedented, and may take away the means of convicting recusants. 6. That the indulgence proposed will not tend to the peace, but to the disturbance of the kingdom; the best way, therefore, to produce a settled peace is to press vigorously the act of uniformity."

The reader will judge of the force of these reasons, which, in my opinion, would justify the severest persecution in the world; however, the king was convinced with a sum of money, and therefore made no other reply, but that he had been ill understood. The house then addressed him to put the laws in execution against Papists; and a proclamation was issued out for that purpose, but little regarded. However, this opposition to the king and the Roman Catholics by lord Clarendon, and his friends in the house of commons, laid the foundation of his impeachment the next year, and of his ruin some time after. Bishop Kennet admits, that the king was inclined to a general indulgence *, "though whether it was from his good nature, or a secret inclination to introduce Popery, is not very decent to determine;" but both he and Echard are of opinion †, "that the king's clemency hardened the dissenters against the church; whereas, if they had lost all dependence on a court-interest, and had found the king and his ministry intent upon the strict execution of the act of uniformity, most of them," say they, "would at this juncture have conformed." A notorious mistake! the contrary to this being evident to a demonstration throughout the course of this reign. The conformity of honest men does not depend upon the will, but the understanding, and it is very ungenerous at this distance to impeach men's integrity, who underwent a long course of the severest trials to retain it.

Some of the ejected Presbyterians, who were men of piety and learning, complied as far as they could, and made a distinction between lay-conformity and ministerial: they practised the former, and went sometimes to their parish-churches before or after the exercise of their ministry in some private houses; and this they did, not for interest or advantage, but to all appearance to express their catholicism and brotherly love ‡. Here was the rise of occasional conformity, practised by Dr. Bates, Mr. Baxter, and others,

* Page 258.

† Echard, p. 806.

‡ Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 436. Compl. Hist. p. 267.

to their death; but this, instead of being well taken, was the occasion of bringing some of them into trouble; for Mr. Calamy, late minister of Aldermanbury, being at his parish-church December 28, the preacher happened to disappoint them; upon which, at the importunity of the parishioners, Mr. Calamy went up into the pulpit, and preached a sermon upon "Eli's concern for the ark of God;" a subject much upon their thoughts at that time: but this was so highly resented at court, that he was sent to Newgate next week for sedition, in breaking the king's laws*. It was done *in terrorem*, says my author, but there was such a clamour among the people, and such a resort of persons of distinction to visit the prisoner, that his majesty thought fit to release him in a few days; which not being done by due course of law, the commons resented it, and presented an address, that the laws for the future might have their free course. This disgusted the king, who was willing to assert his prerogative, and shew some favour to the Presbyterians, that he might cover the Papists; but lord Clarendon, who was their implacable enemy, and at the head of that party which meditated their ruin, opposed the court measures, and encouraged his friends in both houses to abide by the laws†.

The following summer [1663] there was a fresh discourse of liberty for the silenced ministers; and the court was so far in the design as to encourage them to petition for a general toleration, insinuating this to be the only way of relief, and that the legislature would go on to increase their burdens, and lay them in jails till they complied. The Independents went up to court to speak for themselves, but the Presbyterians refused; upon which Mr. Baxter says, the Independent brethren thought it owing to them that they missed of their intended liberty‡. The court being displeased, lord Clarendon and his friends took the opportunity to awaken their resentments, by fathering upon the Nonconformists some new plots against the government. There was said to be a conspiracy in the north among the Republicans and Separatists, to restore the long-parliament, and put Lambert and Ludlow at their head, though the former was shut up in prison in a remote island, and the other gone into banishment. There had been some unadvised and angry conversation among the meaner sort of people of republican principles, but it was not pretended that any gentleman of character, much less that the body of the English Nonconformists, were acquainted with it; however, about twenty were tried and condemned at York and Leeds, and several executed. Some very mean persons were indicted at the Old-Bailey for a branch of the same design, as, Tongue, Phillips, Stubbes, Hind, Sellars, and Gibbes: they were not tried separately, but set at the bar together, and condemned in the lump. It was pretended that the fifth-monarchy men, Anabaptists, Independents,

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 6.

† Rapin, p. 312, 313.

‡ Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 430. 433.

and some Quakers, were consenting to some desperate designs, but the authors were never discovered; however, four of these pretended conspirators were executed, who confessed, at the place of execution, that they had heard some treasonable expressions in company, but denied to the last that they were acquainted with any conspiracy against the king; and whoever reads their trials will be inclined to think, that it was a design of those who were at the head of affairs, to inflame the populace against the Non-conformists, in order to bring on them greater severities*.

An act was passed this summer "for the relief of such persons as by sickness, or other impediments, were disabled from subscribing the declaration in the act of uniformity, and explanation of the said act." The preamble sets forth, "that divers persons of eminent loyalty, and known affection to the liturgy of the church of England, were out of the kingdom; and others by reason of sickness, disability of body, or otherwise, could not subscribe within the time limited, and were therefore disabled, and *ipso facto* deprived of their prebendaries, or other livings, therefore farther time is given them to the feast of the Nativity of our Lord next ensuing; or if out of England, forty days after their return†:" which shews, that the time limited by the act of uniformity was not sufficient. The journal of the house of lords mentions a clause inserted by their lordships, explaining the subscription and declaration to relate only to practice and obedience to the law, which passed the upper house, though several temporal lords protested against it, as destructive to the church of England; however, when it came down to the commons, the clause was rejected, and the lords did not think fit to insist upon its being restored‡.

While the parliament were relieving the loyalists, they increased the burdens of the Nonconformists; for under colour of the late pretended plots, they passed an act for suppressing seditious conventicles; the preamble to which having set forth, that the sectaries, under pretence of tender consciences, at their meetings had contrived insurrections, the act declares the 35th of queen Elizabeth to be in full force, which condemns all persons refusing peremptorily to come to church, after conviction, to banishment, and in case of return to death, without benefit of clergy. It enacts farther§, "that if any person above the age of sixteen, after the first of July 1664, shall be present at any meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the church of England, where shall be five or more persons than the household, shall for the first offence suffer three months' imprisonment, upon

* Kennet's Chron. p. 840, 841. Calamy, vol. I. p. 305. Rapin, p. 635.

† 15 Car. II. cap. 6.

‡ "Thus it is the declared sense of the legislature, that the unfeigned assent and consent relates not only to the use, but to the inward and entire approbation of all and every thing as expressed in the subscription." Fowler's French Constitution, p. 352, note.

§ 16 Car. II. cap. 4.

record made upon oath under the hand and seal of a justice of peace, or pay a sum not exceeding five pounds; for the second offence six months' imprisonment, or ten pounds; and for the third offence the offender to be banished to some of the American plantations for seven years, excepting New-England and Virginia, or pay one hundred pounds; and in case they return, or make their escape, such persons are to be adjudged felons, and suffer death without benefit of clergy. Sheriffs, or justices of peace, or others commissioned by them, are empowered to dissolve, dissipate, and break up, all unlawful conventicles, and to take into custody such of their number as they think fit. They who suffer such conventicles in their houses or barns are liable to the same forfeitures as other offenders. The prosecution is to be within three months. Married women taken at conventicles are to be imprisoned for twelve months, unless their husbands pay forty shillings for their redemption. This act to continue in force for three years after the next session of parliament."

This was a terrible scourge over the laity, put into the hands of a single justice of peace, without the verdict of a jury, the oath of the informer being sufficient. The design of the parliament (says Rapin) was to drive them to despair, and to force them into real crimes against the government. By virtue of this act the jails in the several counties were quickly filled with dissenting Protestants, while the Papists had the good fortune to be covered under the wing of the prerogative. Some of the ministers who went to church in sermon-time, were disturbed for preaching to a few of their parishioners after the public service was over; their houses were broke open, and their hearers taken into custody; warrants were issued out for levying 20*l.* on the minister, 20*l.* upon the house, and 5*s.* upon each hearer. If the money was not immediately paid, there was a seizure of their effects, the goods and wares were taken out of the shops; and in the country, cattle were driven away and sold for half their value. If the seizure did not answer the fine, the minister and people were hurried to prison, and held under close confinement for three or six months. The trade of an informer began to be very gainful, by the encouragement of the spiritual courts. At every quarter-sessions several were fined for not coming to church, and others excommunicated: nay, some have been sentenced to abjure the realm, and fined in a sum much larger than all they were worth in the world.

Before the conventicle-act took place the laity were courageous*, and exhorted their ministers to preach till they went to prison; but when it came home to themselves, and they had been once in jail, they began to be more cautious, and consulted among themselves, how to avoid the edge of the law in the best manner they could; for this purpose their assemblies were frequently held at midnight, and in the most private places; and yet, notwith-

* Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 136.

standing all their caution, they were frequently disturbed; but it is remarkable, that under all their hardships they never made the least resistance, but went quietly along with the soldiers or officers, when they could not fly from them. The distress of so many families made some confine themselves within their own houses, some remove to the plantations, and others have recourse to occasional conformity, to avoid the penalty for not coming to church; but the Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers, declined the practice, for they said, If persecution was the mark of a false church, it must be absolutely unlawful to join with one that was so notoriously guilty.

Indeed the Quakers gloried in their sufferings, and were so resolute as to assemble openly at the Bull-and-Mouth near Aldersgate,* from whence the soldiers and other officers dragged them to prison, till Newgate was filled, and multitudes died by close confinement in the several jails. The account published about this time says, there were six hundred of them in prison, merely for religion's sake, of whom several were banished to the plantations. Sometimes the Quakers met and continued silent, upon which it was questioned, whether such an assembly was a conventicle for religious exercise; and when some were tried for it in order to banishment, they were acquitted of the banishment, and came off with a fine, which they seldom paid, and were therefore continued in prison.† In short the Quakers about London gave such full employment to the informers, that they had less leisure to attend the meetings of other dissenters.

So great was the severity of these times, and the arbitrary proceedings of the justices, that many were afraid to pray in their families, if above four of their acquaintance who came only to visit them were present. Some families scrupled asking a blessing on their meat, if five strangers were at table. In London, where the houses join, it was thought the law might be evaded if the people met in several houses, and heard the minister through a window or hole in the wall; but it seems this was overruled, the determination being (as has been observed) in the breast of a single mercenary justice of the peace. And while conscientious people were thus oppressed, the common people gave themselves up to drunkenness, profane swearing, gaming, lewdness, and all kinds of debauchery, which brought down the judgments of Heaven upon the nation.

The first general calamity that befel the kingdom, was a war with the Dutch, which the king entered into this winter by the instigation of the young French monarch Lewis XIV., who, being grown rich by a long peace, sought for an opportunity to make new conquests in the Spanish Flanders; for this purpose he engaged the maritime powers in a war, that by weakening each other's hands they might not be at leisure to assist the

* Sewel, p. 445.

† Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 136.

Spaniards whom he intended to attack. The English made complaints of the encroachments of the Dutch upon their trade, and indignities offered to his majesty's subjects in India, Africa, and elsewhere; the French promoted these misunderstandings, and promised to supply the king with what sums of money he wanted; till at length war was proclaimed February 22, 1664—5, in the course of which sundry bloody engagements happened at sea; the two nations were drained of their blood and their treasure, and the Protestant interest almost ruined, while the French were little more than spectators. The war continued about two years and a half, and then ended with no manner of advantage to either nation.

[In the year 1663 there was obtained, by the interest of Mr. Baxter and Mr. Ashurst with the lord-chancellor Hyde, a charter for the incorporating "A society or company for propagation of the gospel in New-England, and the parts adjacent in America." Such a society had been formed under the sanction of an act of parliament in 1646: and, by a collection made in all the parishes in England, there had been raised a sum sufficient to purchase an estate in land of between 500 and 600*l.* a year. Upon the restoration of king Charles II. the charter became void, and colonel Beddingfield, a Roman-Catholic officer in the army, of whom a considerable part of the land was bought, seized it for his own use; pretending he had sold it under the value, in hopes of recovering it upon the king's return. The society, being re-established, at great trouble and expense, were again put in possession of the estate by a decree of chancery, which the honourable Mr. Boyle was very instrumental in obtaining. He was appointed the first governor of the company*.

On the 4th of June this year died, aged eighty-one, Dr. William Juxon, archbishop of Canterbury, whose elevation to the post of lord-high-treasurer of England and other early preferments have been mentioned before, vol. I. p. 588. He was born in Chichester, received his grammar-learning at Merchant Tailors'-school, became fellow of St. John's college Oxford in 1598, and bachelor of the civil-law in 1603, being about that time a student in Grey's-inn. Soon after he entered into holy orders, and in 1609 was made vicar of St. Giles, Oxford. In 1626 he executed the office of vice-chancellor. After the death of Charles I. he retired to his paternal manor of Little-Compton in Gloucestershire, and devoted himself to liberal studies. On the Restoration, he was advanced, September 4, 1660, to the see of Canterbury. He was buried with great funeral pomp in St. John's college, Oxon. He is said to have acted, at a very critical time, with a prudence, moderation, and integrity, which enmity could not impeach in his arduous office as high-treasurer. He left many monuments of his munificence and liberality. "The mild-

* Neal's History of New-England, vol. I. p. 262.

ness of his temper, the gentleness of his manners, and the integrity of his life (says Mr. Granger) gained him universal esteem; and even the haters of prelacy could never hate Juxon*.”

Mr. Henry Jessey, an eminent divine among the Puritans, died also on the 4th of September this year. He was born on the 3d of September 1601, at West-Rowton, near Cleveland in Yorkshire, where his father was minister. At seventeen years of age he was sent to St. John's college in Cambridge; he continued six years at the university, where he commenced first bachelor, then master of arts. In 1623 died his father, who had hitherto supplied him according to his ability; which event left him in such strait circumstances, that he had not above three-pence a day for his maintenance, yet he so economically managed this small pittance, as to spare some of it for hiring books. He pursued his studies with diligence, and, not contenting himself with the *ipse dixit* of authority, he investigated science freely. He left the university well versed in the Hebrew and the writings of the rabbies, with a knowledge of Syriac and Chaldee. During this period his mind imbibed a strong sense of religion, and he determined to devote himself to the ministry. He spent nine years, after leaving the university, as chaplain in the family of Mr. Brampton Gurdon, at Assington in Suffolk, improving his time, and, among other studies, giving his attention to physic. In 1627 he received episcopal ordination, but could not be prevailed upon to accept any promotion until 1633, when the living of Aughton, in Yorkshire, was given to him. But he was removed the very next year for not using the ceremonies, and for taking down a crucifix. On this he was received into the family of sir Matthew Bointon in the same county, and preached frequently at two parishes in the neighbourhood. In 1635, accompanying his patron to London, he was invited to be pastor of the congregation formed in 1616 by Mr. Henry Jacob; this his modesty led him to decline for some time, but, after many prayers and much consideration, he accepted the invitation, and continued in this post until his death. Soon after, the sentiments of the Baptists were embraced by many of this society. This put him upon studying the controversy; and the result was, that after great deliberation, many prayers, and frequent conferences with pious and learned friends, he altered his sentiments, first concerning the mode, and then the subjects, of baptism. But he maintained the same temper of friendship and charity towards other Christians, not only as to conversation, but church-communication. When he visited the churches in the north and west of England, he laboured to promote the spirit of love and union among them, and was a principal person in setting up and maintaining, for some time, a meeting of some eminent men of each denomination in London. He divided his labours according to

* Granger's History of England. vol. 2. p. 109. 154. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 662, 663: and Richardson de Præsulibus, p. 162.

the liberality of his temper. In the afternoon of every Lord's day he was among his own people. In the morning he usually preached at St. George's church, Southwark, and once in the week at Ely-house, and at the Savoy to the maimed soldiers. The master study of his life was a new translation of the Bible; in this design he engaged the assistance of many persons of note. It was almost completed, when the great turn given to public affairs at the Restoration rendered it abortive. The benevolence of his exertions formed a most distinguishing trait in his character. He chose a single life, that he might be more at liberty for such labours. Besides his own alms, he was a constant solicitor and agent for the poor, and carried about with him a list and description of the most peculiar objects of charity which he knew. Thirty families had all their subsistence from him. But his charity was not limited to his own congregation: and where he thought it no charity to give, he would often lend without interest or security. One of the most remarkable instances of his charity which had scarcely a precedent, was what he shewed to the poor Jews at Jerusalem, who by a war between the Swedes and Poles, which cut off their subsistence from their rich brethren in other countries, were reduced to great extremities. Mr. Jessey collected for them 300*l.* and sent with it letters with a view to their conversion to Christianity. In the year 1650 he had written a treatise to remove their prejudices, and convince them of the Messialship of Jesus, recommended by several of the assembly of divines, and afterward translated into Hebrew to be dispersed among the Jews of all nations. He was exposed to a great number of visitors; which occasioned him to have it written over his study-door—

AMICE, QUISQUIS HUC ADES;
AUT *AGITO PAUCIS, AUT ABI,
AUT ME LABORANTEM ADJUVA.

WHATEVER FRIEND COMES HITHER,
DISPATCH IN BRIEF, OR GO,
OR HELP ME BUSIED TOO. H. J.

When he went long journeys, he laid down rules to regulate the conversation for his fellow-travellers, which were enforced by small pecuniary mulcts on the violation of them. He was meek and humble, and very plain in speech, dress, and demeanour. He was so great a scripturist, that if one began to rehearse any passage, he could go on with it, and name the book, chapter, and verse, where it might be found. The original languages of the Old and New Testament were as familiar to him as his mother-tongue. He was several times apprehended at meetings for religious worship. Upon the Restoration he was ejected from his living at St. George's, silenced from his ministry, and committed to prison. About five or six months after his last release, he died full of peace and joy; lamented by persons of different persua-

sions, several thousands of whom attended his funeral. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 1. p. 307—321. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 108—113. The Life and Death of Mr. Jessey, 1671; where are the letters written to the Jews, remarks on our translation of the Bible, and rules for a new version.—Ed.]

The next judgment which befel the nation was the most dreadful plague that had been known within the memory of man. This was preceded by an unusual drought; the meadows were parched and burnt up like the highways, insomuch that there was no food for the cattle, which occasioned first a murrain among them, and then a general contagion among the human species, which increased in the city and suburbs of London until eight or ten thousand died in a week*. The richer inhabitants fled into the remoter counties; but the calamities of those who stayed behind, and of the poorer sort, are not to be expressed. Trade was at a full stand; all commerce between London and the country was entirely cut off, lest the infection should be propagated thereby. Nay, the country house-keepers and farmers durst not entertain their city friends or relations till they had performed quarantine in the fields or out-houses. If a stranger passed through the neighbourhood, they fled from him as an enemy. In London the shops and houses were quite shut up, and many of them marked with a red cross, and an inscription over the door, Lord, have mercy upon us! Grass grew in the streets; and every night the bellman went his rounds with a cart, crying, Bring out your dead. From London the plague spread into the neighbouring towns and villages, and continued near three quarters of a year, till it had swept away almost one hundred thousand of the inhabitants.

Some of the established clergy, with a commendable zeal, ventured to continue in their stations, and preach to their parishioners throughout the course of the plague, as Dr. Walker, Dr. Horton, Dr. Meriton, and a few others†; but most of them fled, and deserted their parishes at a time when their assistance was most wanted; upon this some of the ejected ministers ventured to preach in the vacant pulpits, imagining that so extraordinary a case would justify their disregard to the laws. The ministers who embarked in this service were, the reverend Mr. Thomas

* Dr. Grey has introduced here a full and affecting narrative of the progress of this calamity, and of the mortality it produced; drawn up by the pen of Mr. Vincent, one who charitably gave his assistance at that time, as copied by Dr. Calamy, in his Continuation, p. 33. It was usual for people, as they went about their business, to drop down in the street. A bagpiper, who, excessively overcome with liquor, had fallen down and lay asleep in the street, was taken up, and thrown into a cart, and betimes the next morning carried away with some dead bodies. At day-break he awoke, and rising began to play a tune: which so surprised those who drove the cart, and could see nothing distinctly, that in a fright they betook them to their heels, and would have it they had taken up the devil in the disguise of a dead man. Sir John Resesby's Memoirs, p. 10, 11.—Ed.

† Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 2.

Vincent, Mr. Chester, Mr. Janeway, Mr. Turner, Grimes, Franklin, and others. The face of death, and the arrows that fled among the people in darkness at noon-day, awakened both preachers and hearers: many who were at church one day were thrown into their graves the next; the cry of great numbers was, "What shall we do to be saved?" A more awful time England had never seen.

But it will amaze all posterity, that in a time both of war and pestilence, and when the Nonconformist ministers were hazarding their lives in the service of the souls of the distressed and dying citizens of London, that the prime-minister and his creatures*, instead of mourning for the nation's sins, and meditating a reformation of manners, should pour out all their vengeance upon the Nonconformists, in order to make their condition more insupportable. One would have thought such a judgment from Heaven, and such a generous compassion in the ejected ministers, should have softened the hearts of their most cruel enemies; but the Presbyterians must be crushed, in defiance of the rebukes of Providence. Bishop Kennet and Mr. Echard would excuse the ministry, by alleging, that some of the old Oliverian officers were enlisted in the Dutch service†; which, if true, was nothing to the body of the Presbyterians, though lord Clarendon did what he could to incense the parliament, and make them believe they were in confederacy with the enemies of the government. In his harangue to the house, he says, "their countenances were more erect, and more insolent, since the beginning of the war than before; that they were ready, if any misfortune had befallen the king's fleet, to have brought the war into our fields and houses. The horrid murderers of our late royal master have been received into the most sacred councils in Holland; and other infamous persons of our nation are admitted to a share in the conduct of their affairs, with liberal pensions. Too many of his majesty's subjects have been enlisted in their service for a maintenance. Their friends at home made no doubt of doing the business themselves, if they could pitch upon a lucky day to begin the work. If you carefully provide for suppressing your enemies at home, you will find your enemies abroad more inclined to peace—" Is it possible that such a speech could proceed from the lips of a wise and faithful counsellor, who was to ask for money to carry on the war? Could the chancellor think, that the way to conquer abroad was to divide and harass the king's subjects at home, in the midst of the distress of a terrible plague? He confessed afterward, that he was most averse to this war, and abhorred it from his very soul; and yet he makes a handle of it to rain down vengeance on the Presbyterians, who had no concern in it; but it happened to them as in Popish countries; when any general calamity befalls the people, it is imputed

* Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 3.

† Echard, p. 824.

to too great an indulgence to heretics, and the vengeance is returned upon their heads*. Bishop Burnet is of opinion that the Oxford act was rather owing to the liberty the Nonconformists took in their sermons to complain of their own hardships, and to lament the vices of the court, as the causes of the present calamities. And supposing this to be true, their complaints were not without reason.

However, the load was to lie on the dissenting ministers, and therefore an act was brought into the house to banish them from their friends, which had the royal assent, October 31, 1665. It was entitled, "An act to restrain Nonconformists from inhabiting corporations;" the preamble to which sets forth, "that divers parsons, and others in holy orders, not having subscribed the act of uniformity, have taken upon them to preach in unlawful assemblies, and to instil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion into the hearts of his majesty's subjects, to the great danger of the church and kingdom. Be it therefore enacted, that all such Nonconformist ministers shall take the following oath: I, A. B., do swear, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king†; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in church or state. And all such Nonconformist ministers shall not after the 24th of March, 1665, unless in passing the road, come, or be within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough, that sends burgesses to parliament; or within five miles of any parish, town, or place, wherein they have since the act of oblivion been parson, vicar, or lecturer, &c. or where they have preached in any conventicle on any pretence whatsoever, before they have taken and subscribed the aforesaid oath before the justices of peace at their quarter-sessions for the county, in open court; upon forfeiture for every such offence of the sum of forty pounds, one third to the king, another third to the poor, and a third to him that shall sue for it. And it is further enacted, that such as shall refuse the oath aforesaid shall be incapable of teaching any public or private schools, or of taking any boarders‡ or tablers to be taught or instructed, under pain of forty pounds, to be distributed as above. Any two justices of peace, upon oath made before them of any offence committed against this act, are

* Echard, p. 846.

† A project was formed of imposing this clause on the whole nation, by requiring this oath of every subject. The point was so near carried, that the bill brought in for the purpose was rejected by three voices only. Secret History of the Reign of Charles II. vol. 2. p. 172, note.—Ed.

‡ "This act seemed (it is justly observed) to be the last step in the climax of intolerance; for to deprive men of the means of subsistence implies more deliberate cruelty, though it does not excite so much horror as fire and fagots." Secret History of the Reign of Charles II. vol. 2. p. 171, note.—Ed.

empowered to commit the offender to prison for six months, without bail or mainprize."

The earl of Southampton, lord Wharton, Ashley, Dr. Earl, bishop of Salisbury, and others, vehemently opposed this bill, out of compassion to the Nonconformists, and as it enforced an unlawful and unjustifiable oath, which (as the earl of Southampton observed) no honest man could take; but the madness of the times prevailed against all reason and humanity*. The promoters of the act were, lord chancellor Clarendon, archbishop Sheldon, Ward, the new bishop of Salisbury, and their creatures, with all that were secret favourers of Popery, says bishop Burnet. It was moved that the word *legally* might be inserted in the oath, before the word "commissioned;" and that before the words "endeavoured to change the government," might be inserted the word *unlawfully*; but all amendments were rejected †; however, Bridgman, chief-justice of the common-pleas, declaring that the oath must be so understood, Dr. Bates and about twenty others took it, to avoid the imputation of sedition; but they had such a lecture afterward from the bench for their scruples, that they repented of what they had done before they went out of court. Mr. Howe, and about twelve in Devonshire, and a few in Dorsetshire, took the oath, with a declaration in what sense and with what limitations they understood it ‡.

But the body of the Nonconformist ministers refused the oath, choosing rather to forsake their habitations, their relations, and friends, and all visible support, than destroy the peace of their consciences. Those ministers who had some little estate or substance of their own, retired to some remote and obscure villages, or such little market-towns as were not corporations, and more than five miles from the places where they had preached; but in many counties it was difficult to find such places of retirement; for either there were no houses untenanted, or they were annexed to farms which the ministers were not capable of using; or the people were afraid to admit the ministers into their houses, lest they should be suspected as favourers of nonconformity§. Some took advantage of the ministers' necessities, and raised their rents beyond what they could afford to give. Great numbers were thus buried in obscurity, while others, who had neither money nor friends, went on preaching as they could, till they were sent to prison, thinking it more eligible to perish in a jail than to starve out of one; especially when by this means they had some occasional relief from their hearers, and hopes that their wives and children might be supported after their death ||. Many who lay concealed in distant places from their flocks in the day-time, rode thirty or forty miles to preach to them in the night, and retired again before day-light. These hardships tempted

* Baxter, part 3. p. 3. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 329.

† Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 15.

‡ Howe's Life, p. 41.

§ Baxter, part 3. p. 4. Burnet, p. 331.

|| Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 15.

some few to conform (says Mr. Baxter), contrary to their former judgments; but the body of dissenters remained steadfast to their principles, and the church gained neither reputation nor numbers. The informers were very diligent in hunting after their game; and the soldiers and officers behaved with great rudeness and violence. When they missed of the ministers, they went into the barns and out-houses, and sometimes thrust their swords up to the hilts in the hay and straw, where they supposed they might lie concealed; they made havoc of their goods, and terrified the women and children almost out of their lives. These methods of cruelty reduced many ministers, with their families, to the necessity of living upon brown rye-bread and water; but few were reduced to public beggary, says Mr. Baxter*, the providence of God appearing wonderfully for their relief, in their greatest extremities.

And as if the judgments of Heaven upon this nation were not heavy enough, nor the legislature sufficiently severe, the bishops must throw their weight into the scale; for in the very midst of the plague, July 7, 1665, archbishop Sheldon sent orders to the several bishops of his province to return the names of all ejected Nonconformist ministers, with their places of abode, and manner of life; and the returns of the several bishops are still preserved in the Lambeth library†. The design of this inquiry was to gird the laws closer upon the dissenters, and to know by what means they earned their bread; and if this tender-hearted archbishop could have had his will, they must have starved, or sought a livelihood in foreign countries.

This year put an end to the life of Dr. Cornelius Burgess, a divine of the Puritan stamp‡, educated at Oxford, and chaplain

* Page 4.

† Comp. Hist. vol. 3. p. 279.

‡ "If all the Puritans (says Dr. Grey) had been of his rebellious stamp, they had certainly been a wicked crew, but there was a great difference in Puritans, some very good, and some very bad, as is justly observed by Mr. Fuller." In his first volume also, p. 268, the doctor impeaches the character of this divine, in the words of Echard; who calls him "the seditious Dr. Burgess, and one of the greatest boufeus of the whole party, being the perpetual trumpeter to the most violent proceedings, a great instrument in bringing on the miseries of the nation; who died in great want and poverty, tormented and eaten up by a cancer in his neck and cheek—a fearful instance of rebellion and sacrilege." To these and other invectives of the archdeacon Echard against Dr. Burgess, Dr. Calamy replied; but the reply goes chiefly to shew the archdeacon's partiality, by inveighing in this manner against Burgess, when the characters of some on the other side were open to similar charges. The fact, which seems to bear hard on the name of this divine, is that though he declared it "by no means lawful to alienate the bishops' lands from public and pious uses, or to convert them to any private person's property;" yet he gained so much as to grow rich by the purchase of them. After the Restoration he lost all. This, Dr. Calamy thinks, might be allowed a sufficient punishment without branding his memory. What inconsistency or faults soever might be chargeable on Dr. Burgess, the interpretation which the archdeacon puts on his death deserves severe censure, as "rash and presuming." This method gives a particular and invidious construction to events that arise from general laws, and equally befall the righteous and the wicked: and it shews, how they who use it would direct, if it were in their power, the evils and calamities of life. It indicates as much a want of candour and generosity as of sound judgment.—It appears from a MS. history drawn up by Dr. Henry Sampson, a noted physician, that Dr. Burgess was

to king Charles I. He suffered much by the high-commission court; but, taking part with the parliament, was chosen one of the pacific divines, who met at the Jerusalem-chamber, to accommodate differences in the church: he often preached before the house of commons, and was one of the assembly of divines, but refused to take the covenant till he was suspended. He was ejected at the Restoration from St. Andrew's, in the city of Wells, in Somersetshire, and having laid out all his money in the purchase of bishops' lands, he was reduced to absolute poverty*. He appeared at the head of the London divines, against bringing the king to his trial, and was esteemed a very learned and able divine. He died at his house at Watford, June, 1665.

We have already remembered Dr. Cheynel among the Oxford professors, a man of great abilities, and a member of the assembly of divines. He quitted his preferments in the university for refusing to take the engagement, and was ejected from the living of Petworth at the Restoration, without having enriched himself by any of his preferments†. It is reported that he was sometimes disordered in his head, but he was perfectly recovered some years before his death, which happened at his house near Brighthelmstone, in Sussex, September, 1665‡.

[There died in prison this year, Mr. Samuel Fisher, a man of great parts and literature, of eminent piety and virtue, who reflected honour on each denomination of Christians, with which, through the change of his sentiments, he became successively connected. His father was a haberdasher of hats, and mayor of Northampton. In 1623, at the age of eighteen, he became a student in Trinity-college, Oxford; where he took the degree of master of arts, and then removed to New-Inn. At the university, he distinguished himself, by his application and proficiency gained an accurate knowledge of Greek and Roman antiquities, and was

deemed a man of solid parts and great learning; that no temptations could induce him to return to the episcopal side; that in the year 1648, he preached a sermon fuller of loyalty than the boldest at that time would dare to express; that he was against imposing the covenant, and refused to take it till he was suspended. He was excellently skilled in the liturgical controversies, and those of church government: and was possessed of all the books of Common Prayer that were ever printed in England, and bestowed them upon Oxford library. Dr. Calamy's Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard, p. 107—111.—ED.

* Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 235; Calamy, vol. 2. p. 586; or Palmer's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. 2. p. 384.

† For he was remarkable throughout his life for hospitality and contempt of money. Dr. Johnson published an account of this extraordinary man, that appeared first in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March and April 1775; which, Mr. Palmer remarks, is a satire both upon Dr. Cheynel and the times. Dr. Cheynel, this narrative says, "had an intrepidity which was never to be shaken by any danger, and a spirit of enterprise not to be discouraged by difficulty; which were supported by an unusual degree of bodily strength. Whatever he believed he thought himself obliged to profess, and what he professed he was ready to defend."—ED.

‡ Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 245; Calamy, vol. 2. p. 675; and Palmer's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. 2. p. 467.

particularly given to the study of rhetoric and poetry. When he had finished his academic course, he became chaplain to Sir Arthur Haslerigge. In 1632, he was presented to the vicarage of Lidd in Kent, a living of 500*l.* a-year. Here he had the character of a very powerful preacher, united with humility and affability of carriage. While in this situation, in consequence of frequent conversation with a Baptist minister, he was led into an examination of the questions concerning baptism, which ended in his embracing the opinions of the Baptists, being baptized by immersion, and taking the pastoral care of a congregation of that people, having freely resigned his living and returned his diploma to the bishop; which those who differ from him must applaud as a singular instance of sincerity and self-denial. On this he rented a farm and commenced grazier; "by which he procured a decent competency, enhanced (says Mr. Gough) by the consolation of solid content, and the internal testimony of an approving heart." During his connexion with the Baptists, he baptized some hundreds, and was frequently engaged in public disputes in vindication of their sentiments, to the number of nine, in the course of three years, with several noted ministers, sometimes in the presence of two thousand auditors, and once with Dr. Cheynel. He published also a treatise, entitled "Baby-baptism mere babism;" which is represented as containing the whole state of the controversy as it was then managed. He was deemed an ornament to the sect, and was one of the chief defenders of their doctrine. In 1665, he embraced the principles of the Quakers, and became an active and laborious minister among them. He preached at Dunkirk against the idolatry of the priests and friars: and, in company with another friend, travelled on foot over the Alps to Rome; where they testified against the superstitions of the place, and distributed some books among the ecclesiastics: and left it without molestation. After his return, he suffered among Protestants the persecution he escaped among the Romanists. The great part of the four last years of his life was spent in prison; and, after two years' confinement in the White-Lion prison in Southwark, he died "in perfect peace with God; in good esteem both with his friends and many others, on account of the eminence of his natural parts and acquired abilities as a scholar, and of his exemplary humility, social virtues, and circumspect conversation as a Christian; in meekness instructing those who opposed him, and labouring incessantly, by his discourses and by his writings, to propagate and promote true Christian practice and piety." Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2, p. 243. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 1, p. 361, &c. and Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 1, p. 163; and vol. 2, p. 141.—Ed.]

The vices of the nation not being sufficiently punished by pestilence and war, it pleased Almighty God this year to suffer the city of London to be laid in ashes by a dreadful conflagration, which broke out in Pudding-lane behind the Monument, Septem-

ber 2, 1666, and within three or four days consumed thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, eighty-nine churches, among which was the cathedral of St. Paul's; many public structures, schools, libraries, and stately edifices. Multitudes lost their goods and merchandise, and the greatest part of their substance, and some few their lives; the king, the duke of York, and many of the nobility, were spectators of the desolation, but had not the power to stop its progress, till at length it ceased almost as wonderfully as it began. Moorfields was filled with household goods, and the people were forced to lodge in huts and tents: many families who were last week in prosperity, were now reduced to beggary, and obliged to begin the world again. The authors of this fire were said to be the Papists, as appears by the inscription upon the Monument. The parliament being of this opinion, petitioned the king to issue out a proclamation, requiring all Popish priests and Jesuits to depart the kingdom within a month, and appointed a committee who received evidence of some Papists who were seen to throw fire-balls into houses, and of others who had materials for it in their pockets; but the men were fled, and none suffered but one Hubert, a Frenchman, by his own confession.*

In this general confusion, the churches being burnt, and many of the parish-ministers withdrawn for want of habitations or places of worship, the Nonconformists resolved again to supply the necessities of the people, depending upon it, that in such an extremity, they should escape persecution. Some churches were erected of boards, which they called tabernacles, and the dissenters fitted up large rooms with pulpits, seats and galleries, for the reception of all who would come. Dr. Manton had his rooms full in Covent-Garden; Mr. Tho. Vincent, Mr. Doolittle, Dr. Turner, Mr. Grimes, Mr. Jenkyns, Mr. Nath. Vincent, Dr. Jacomb, Mr. Watson, had their separate meetings in other places. The Independents also, as, Dr. Owen, Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Griffiths, Brooks, Caryl, Barker, Nye, and others, began the same practice; many citizens frequented the meetings, where the liturgy was not read; though the few parish-pulpits that remained were filled with very able preachers; as, Dr. Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, White, Gifford, Whichcote, Horton, Meriton, &c. But none of these calamities had any farther influence upon the court prelates, than that they durst not prosecute the preachers so severely for the present.†

Among the Nonconformist ministers who died this year, were the reverend Mr. Edward Calamy, B. D.‡ the ejected minister

* Hubert was a French Huguenot, of Rouen in Normandy. Though he confessed the fact, yet according to Echard, he suffered unjustly; for he was a sort of lunatic, and had not landed in England till two days after the fire, as appeared by the evidence of the master of the ship who had him on board. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 439.—ED.

† Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 19.

‡ Calamy's Abridg. vol. 2. p. 4.]

of Aldermanbury, born in London 1600, and bred in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge; he was first chaplain to Dr. Felton, bishop of Ely; and afterward settled at St. Edmundsbury, from whence, after ten years, he with thirty other ministers, were driven out of the diocess by bishop Wren's visitation-articles and the book of sports. Upon the death of Dr. Stoughton, 1639, he was chosen to Aldermanbury, where he soon gained a vast reputation. He was one of the divines who met in the Jerusalem-chamber for accommodating ecclesiastical matters in the year 1641. He was afterward a member of the assembly at Wesminster, and an active man in all their proceedings. He was one of the most popular preachers in the city*, and had a great hand in the king's restoration, but soon repented having done it without a previous treaty. He refused a bishoprick, because he could not have it upon the terms of the king's declaration; and soon after the Bartholomew-act, was imprisoned in Newgate for preaching an occasional sermon to his parishioners†. He afterward lived pretty much retired till this year, when being driven in a coach through the ruins of the city of London, it so affected him, that he went home and never came out of his chamber more, dying within a month, in the sixty-seventh year of his age‡.

Mr. Arthur Jackson, M. A., the ejected minister of St. Faith's, was born about the year 1593, and educated in Cambridge. He became minister of St. Michael's Wood-street, in the year 1625, when the pestilence raged in the city; and continued with his

* His week-day lecture was constantly attended for twenty years together by persons of the greatest quality, there being seldom so few as twenty coaches. He was president in meetings of the city-ministers, and qualified, by natural and acquired abilities, to be the leader of the Presbyterians. He dared to censure the conduct of Cromwell to his face, and was never known to be intimidated, where he thought his duty was concerned; of which his grandson gives a remarkable proof¶. He was one of the writers against the liturgy. The title of one of the answers to him and his brethren is a curious specimen of the taste and spirit of the times. It was called "A Throat Hapse for the Frogs and Toads that crept abroad croaking against the Common Prayer-book." Granger's History of England, vol. 2. p. 184, octavo, and note.—ED.

† This confinement made no small noise; Mr. Calamy was a man so generally beloved and respected. Dr. Wilde published a copy of verses on the occasion, which was spread through all parts of the kingdom. And the passage through Newgate-street was obstructed by the coaches of those who visited him in his imprisonment. A Popish lady, who had been stopped by them, finding what alarm and disturbance this proceeding against Mr. Calamy had produced, took the first opportunity to wait upon the king at Whitehall, and communicate the whole matter to him, expressing her fear, that if such steps as these were taken, he would lose the affections of the city, which might be of very ill consequence. On this remonstrance, and for some other reasons, Mr. Calamy was in a little time discharged by the express order of his majesty. Memoirs of Dr. Edmund Calamy, MS.—ED.

‡ Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 73.

¶ Preaching before general Monk, soon after the Restoration, having occasion to speak of filthy lucre, he said, "Some men will betray three kingdoms for filthy lucre's sake:" and immediately threw his handkerchief, which he usually waved up and down while he was preaching, towards the general's pew. Palmer and Granger, *ut supra*.—ED.

parish throughout the whole course of the distemper*. He was fined 500*l.* for refusing to give evidence against Mr. Love, and committed prisoner to the Fleet, where he remained seventeen weeks. At the Restoration he was chosen, by the provincial assembly of London, to present a Bible to the king at his public entrance†. He was afterward one of the commissioners of the Savoy; and when the uniformity-act took place, being old, he retired to a private life, and died with great satisfaction in his nonconformity, August 5, 1665, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Dr. William Spurstow, the ejected minister of Hackney, was sometime master of Katherine-hall, Cambridge, but ejected for refusing the engagement. He was one of the authors of *Smectymnuus*, a member of the assembly of divines, and afterward one of the commissioners of the Savoy; a man of great learning, humility, and charity, and of a cheerful conversation: he lived through the sickness-year, but died the following in an advanced age‡.

This year was memorable for the fall of the great earl of Clarendon, lord-high-chancellor of England, who attended the king in his exile, and upon his majesty's restoration, was created a peer, and advanced to the high dignity of chancellor of England. He governed with a sovereign and absolute sway as prime-minister for about two years; but in the year 1663, he was impeached of high-treason by the earl of Bristol; and though the impeachment was dropped for want of form, his interest at court declined from that time, and after the Oxford parliament of 1665, his lordship was out of all credit. This summer the king took the seals from him, and on the 12th of November sir Edward Seymour impeached him of high-treason, at the bar of the house of peers, in the name of all the commons of England, for sundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings contrary to law, by which he had acquired a greater estate than could be honestly gotten in that time.—For procuring grants of the king's lands to his relations, contrary to law—for corresponding with Cromwell in his exile§—for advising and effecting the sale of Dunkirk—for issuing out *quo warrantos* to obtain great sums of money from the corporations—for deter-

* Calamy's *Abridgment*, vol. 2. p. 3; or, *Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. 1. p. 104.

† "There was (Mr. Granger observes) a particular propriety in assigning this office to him, as he had written a commentary on several parts of the Bible." He was a man of prodigious application; at the university he studied fourteen or sixteen hours a day, and to the day of his death constantly rose, summer and winter, at three or four o'clock in the morning. *Granger's History of England*, vol. 3. p. 43, octavo.—ED.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 471; or, *Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. 2. p. 173.

§ Dr. Grey supposes that Mr. Neal could not but know that lord Clarendon had cleared himself from this charge to the king's satisfaction during his exile; who declared "that he was sorry that he was not in a condition to do him more justice than to declare him innocent, which he did, and commanded the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for his justification: which his majesty himself would sign."—ED.

mining people's title to their lands at the council-table, and stopping proceedings at law, &c. The earl had made himself obnoxious at court by his magisterial carriage to the king,* and was grown very unpopular by his superb and magnificent palace at St. James's, erected in the time of war and pestilence, which cost him 50,000l.† Some called it Dunkirk-house, as being built with his share of the price of that fortress; and others Holland-house, as if he had received money from the king's enemies in time of war. The king's second marriage, which proved barren, was laid to his charge, and said to be contrived for the advancement of his grandchildren by the duchess of York, who was the earl's daughter. When his majesty inclined to part with his queen, and if possible to legitimate his addresses to Miss Steward, the chancellor got her married privately to the duke of Richmond, without the king's knowledge, which his majesty was told was to secure the succession of the crown to his own family. This intriguing, together with his high opposition to the Roman Catholics, and to all who were not of his principles, procured him many enemies, and struck him quite out of the king's favour. The earl did not think fit to abide the storm, but withdrew to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he denies almost every article of his charge;‡ but the parliament voted his defence scandalous, and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. December 18, his lordship was banished the king's dominions for life by act of parliament; he spent the remaining seven years of his life at Rouen in Normandy, among Papists and Presbyterians, whom he would hardly suffer to live in his own country, and employed the chief of his time in writing the History of the Grand Rebellion §, which is in every one's hands.

* Burnet, p. 365. 369, 370.

† Mr. Echard says, that this palace was built in the absence of the chancellor, principally at the expense of the Vintner's company; and that when he came to see the case of it, he rather submitted than consented, and with a sigh said, "This house will one day be my ruin." Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 352, note. The doctor fills two pages here, with quoting lord Clarendon's vindication of himself.

—ED.

‡ The articles of the charge stated by Mr. Neal were, if you credit Dr. Welwood, the ostensible causes only of the chancellor's fall. The true reason why he was abandoned to his enemies was, that he secretly opposed the design of the parliament to settle such a revenue upon the king during life as would place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except on some extraordinary occasion: and he drew the earl of Southampton into his views, urging that he knew the king so well, that if such a revenue were once settled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther use; and there would be no probability of seeing many more sessions of parliament during that reign. This came to the king's ears. Memoirs, p. 109, 110, sixth edition. Lord Cornbury, in a letter to the Duke of Ormond preserved by Carte, said that his father never stirred as long as he saw any probability of being brought to his trial in parliament, though all his friends persuaded him to leave the kingdom, fearing that his innocence would not protect him against the malice of his enemies. When he found that there was a design to prorogue the parliament on purpose to try him by a jury of peers, by which means he might fall into the hands of the protesting lords, he resolved to avail himself of an opportunity of going over to Calais. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 355, 356.

—ED.

§ He also read over Livy and Tacitus, and almost all Tully's works; and "was

The earl of Clarendon was a Protestant of Laudean principles in church and state, and at the head of all the penal laws against the Nonconformists to this time. Bishop Burnet says*, "He was a good chancellor†, but a little too rough; that he meddled too much in foreign affairs, which he never understood well: that he had too much levity in his wit, and did not observe the decorum of his post." Mr. Rapin adds‡, "that from him came all the blows aimed at the Nonconformists since the beginning of this reign. His immoderate passion against Presbyterianism was this great man's foible. He gloried in his hatred of that people; and, perhaps, contributed more than any other person to that excess of animosity which subsists against them at this day among the followers of his maxims and principles." Mr. Echard says, "His removal was a great satisfaction to the dissenters (directly contrary to Mr. Baxter); who observes a remarkable providence of God, that he who had dealt so cruelly by the Nonconformists should be banished by his own friends, while the others, whom he had persecuted, were most moderate in his case, and many of them for him. It was a great ease that befel good men by his fall (says he), for his way was to decoy men into conspiracies, or pretended plots, and upon those rumours innocent people were laid in prison, so that no man knew when he was safe; whereas since his time, though the laws have been made more severe, yet men are more safe§." His lordship was undoubtedly a person of very considerable abilities, which have been sufficiently celebrated by his admirers, but I have not been able to discover any great or generous exploits for the service of the public; and how far his conduct with regard to the Nonconformists was consistent with humanity, religion, or honour, must be left with the reader.

a much greater, perhaps a happier, man alone and in exile (says Mr. Granger), than Charles II. upon his throne." History of England, vol. 3. p. 360; and vol. 4. p. 64, note.—Ed.

* Page 33.

Dr. Grey gives bishop Burnet's character of the lord-chancellor more at length; and prefixes another character of his lordship drawn by the pen of Mr. Carte, to "obviate (as he expresses himself) the ill-natured reflection cast upon him by Mr. Neal; because he adhered to the interest of his king and country, and would not give up the church established into the hands of unreasonable fanatics."—Ed.

† A domestic incident, related by bishop Burnet, is supposed to have fixed and heightened the chancellor's zeal for the constitutional liberties of his country, in civil matters. On a visit which he paid to his father, a gentleman of Wiltshire, when he began to grow eminent in his profession, as they were walking one day in a field, his father observed to him, "that men of his profession did often stretch law and prerogative to the prejudice of the liberty of the subject, to recommend and advance themselves;" and charged him, that he should "never sacrifice the laws and liberties of his country to his own interest, or to the will of a prince." He repeated this twice; and immediately fell into a fit of apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours. Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. 1. p. 231.

‡ Vol. 2. p. 650, folio ed.

§ Baxter, part 3. p. 20, 21.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE BANISHMENT OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO THE KING'S DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE IN THE YEAR 1672.

1667.

UPON the fall of the earl of Clarendon, the discourse of a toleration began to revive: the king in his speech to his parliament, February 10, has this passage: "One thing more I hold myself obliged to recommend to you at this present, that is, that you would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of my Protestant subjects in matters of religion, whereby they may be induced not only to submit quietly to the government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it*." Sundry pamphlets were published upon this head; and the duke of Buckingham being now prime-minister, the Nonconformists about London were connived at, and people went openly and boldly to their meetings.

But the house of commons, who were yet influenced by the pernicious maxims of the late chancellor, petitioned the king to issue out his proclamation, for enforcing the laws against conventicles, and for preserving the peace of the kingdom, against unlawful assemblies of Papists and Nonconformists. Accordingly, his majesty issued out his proclamation, that "upon consideration of the late petition, and upon information that divers persons in several parts of the realm (abusing his clemency, even while it was under consideration to find out a way for the better union of his Protestant subjects), have of late frequently and openly, in great numbers, and to the great disturbance of the peace, held unlawful assemblies and conventicles, his majesty declares, that he will not suffer such notorious contempt of the laws to go unpunished, but requires, charges, and commaunds, all officers to be circumspect and vigilant in their several jurisdictions, to enforce and put the laws in execution against unlawful conventicles, commanding them to take particular care to preserve the peace."

The sufferings of the dissenters began to excite compassion in the minds of the people, insomuch that their numbers visibly increased, partly through the indulgence of the court, and the want of churches since the fire of London, and partly through the poverty of the common people, who having little to lose, ventured to go publicly to meetings in defiance of the laws. The indolence of the established clergy, and the diligence of the Nonconformist ministers, contributed very much to the increase of Nonconformists. Bishop Burnet says †, "The king was highly offended at the behaviour of most of the bishops; archbishop Sheldon and Morley, who kept close by lord Clarendon, the great patron of

* Calamy's Abridgment, vol. 1. p. 316.

† Vol. 1. p. 371. 379.

persecuting power, lost the king's favour; the former never recovered it, and the latter was sent from court into his diocess. When complaint was made of some disorders and conventicles, the king said the clergy were chiefly to blame, for if they had lived well, and gone about their parishes, and taken pains to convince the Nonconformists, the nation might have been well settled, but they thought of nothing but to get good benefices, and keep a good table." In another conversation with the bishop, about the ill state of the church *, his majesty said, " If the clergy had done their parts, it had been easy to run down the Nonconformists, but they will do nothing (says the king), and will have me do every thing; and most of them do worse than if they did nothing. I have a very honest chaplain (says he), to whom I have given a living in Suffolk, but he is a very great blockhead, and yet has brought all his parish to church; I cannot imagine what he could say to them, for he is a very silly fellow; but he has been about from house to house, and I suppose his nonsense has suited their nonsense; and in reward of his diligence I have given him a bishoprick in Ireland." About this time Ralph Wallis, a cobbler of Gloucester, published an account of a great number of scandalous Conformist ministers, and enumerated their scandals, to the great displeasure of the clergy; and I fear, says Mr. Baxter †, to the temptation of many Nonconformists, who might be glad of any thing to humble the Prelatists.

The learned Dr. Lazarus Seaman, the ejected minister of All-hallows, Bread-street, died this year, of whom we have given some account among the Cambridge professors; he was educated in Emanuel-college, and by his indefatigable industry rose to high reputation in the learned world for his exact acquaintance with the oriental languages; he was an able divine, an active member of the assembly at Westminster, and was taken notice of by king Charles I. at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, for his singular abilities in the debates about church-government ‡. He was also master of Peter-house, Cambridge, but lost all at the Restoration; he underwent strong pains with admirable patience, and at length died in peace in the month of September 1667 §.

Mr. George Hughes, B. D. the ejected minister of Plymouth, born in Southwark ||, and educated in Corpus-Christi college, in Cambridge. He was called to a lecture in London, but was silenced for nonconformity by archbishop Laud. After some time he went to Tavistock, and last of all settled at Plymouth, having institution and induction from Dr. Brownrigge, bishop of Exeter, in the year 1644. Here he continued till the year 1662, whence

* Page 380.

† Life, part 3. p. 23.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 17; and Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 76.

§ He left a very valuable library, which yielded 700*l.* and was the first sold by auction in England.—ED.

|| In 1603, when his mother, who had never had a child before, though she was now married to her fourth husband, was fifty-two years of age. She lived to her ninety-sixth year.—ED.

he was ejected a week before the act of uniformity took place. He was afterward imprisoned in St. Nicholas island, where he contracted an incurable scurvy and dropsy, which at length put an end to his life. He was well read in the fathers, an acute disputant, a most faithful pastor to a large flock under his care, and a most holy, pious, and exemplary Christian. He had the greatest interest and influence of any minister in the west country, and refused a rich bishoprick at the Restoration. He was both charitable and hospitable when it was in his power, and died at length in a most heavenly manner, in the month of July 1667, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age. The reverend Mr. John Howe, his son-in-law, composed a Latin epitaph for him, which is inscribed on his tomb*.

The kingdom was at this time full of factions and discontents, arising from the late calamities of fire and plague, as well as the burden of the Dutch war; trade was at a stand, and great numbers of his majesty's subjects were both dispirited and impoverished by the penal laws; but that which struck all considerate men with a panic, was the danger of the Protestant interest, and the liberties of Europe, from the formidable progress of the French armies, which this very summer overrun the Spanish Flanders, and took the strong towns of Charleroy, Bergues, Ath, Donay, Tournay, Audenard, Lisle, Courtray, Furnes, &c. which, with their dependencies, were yielded in full sovereignty to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The English court seemed unconcerned at the French conquests, till they were awakened by the clamours of the whole nation; upon this sir William Temple was sent into Holland, who in a few weeks concluded a triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, which strengthened the Protestant interest while it subsisted; but the French mistresses and money could dissolve the strongest bonds.

In this critical situation of affairs abroad, some attempts were made to quiet the minds of his majesty's Protestant subjects at home, for men began to think it high time for Protestants to put a stop to the pulling down their neighbours' houses, when the common enemy was threatening the destruction of them all; therefore lord-keeper Bridgman, lord-chief-justice Hales, bishop Wilkins, Reynolds, Dr. Burton, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and others, set on foot a comprehension of such as could be brought into the church by some abatements, and a toleration for the rest. But the project was blasted by the court-bishops, and lord Clarendon's friends, who took the alarm, and raised a mighty outcry of the danger of the church†. Nobody (say they) knows where the demands of the Presbyterians will end; the cause of the hierarchy will be given up, if any of those points are yielded which have been so much contested; besides, it is unworthy of the church to

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 222; or Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 387.

† Burnet, vol. 1. p. 380, &c.

court or even treat with her enemies, when there is so little reason to apprehend that we should gain any considerable numbers thereby. But to this it was replied, that the prodigious increase of Popery and infidelity was a loud call of Providence, to attempt every thing that could be done without sin for healing our divisions. That though the Nonconformists could not legally meet together to bring in their concessions in the name of the body, it was well enough known what they scrupled, and what would bring most of them into the church. That a compliance in some lesser matters of indifference would be no reproach, but an honour to the church, how superior soever she might be in argument or power*.

The proposals were drawn up by bishop Wilkins and Dr. Burton, and communicated by the lord-keeper to Dr. Bates, Manton, and Baxter, and by them to their brethren, under the following particulars :

1. That such ministers who in the late times had been ordained only by presbyters, should have the imposition of the hands of a bishop, with this form of words: "Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments in any congregation of the church of England, when thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto."

2. That instead of all former subscriptions, after the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, they subscribe the following declaration: I A. B. do hereby profess and declare, that I approve the doctrine, worship, 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 doctrine contrary to that which is so established. And I do hereby promise, that I will continue in the communion of the church of England, and will not do any thing to disturb the peace thereof.

3. That the gesture of kneeling at the sacrament, the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, be left indifferent, or taken away.

4. That if the liturgy and canons be altered in favour of dissenters, then every preacher upon his institution shall declare his assent to the lawfulness of the use of it, and promise, that it shall be constantly used at the time and place accustomed.

The alterations proposed to be made in the liturgy, were these :

To read the psalms in the new translation.

To appoint lessons out of the canonical Scripture instead of the Apocrypha.

Not to enjoin godfathers and godmothers, when either of the parents are ready to answer for the child in baptism. To omit that expression in the prayer, "By spiritual regeneration." To

* Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 25.

change the question, "Wilt thou be baptized?" into, "Wilt thou have this child baptized?" To omit those words in the thanksgiving, "To regenerate this infant by the Holy Spirit, and to receive him for thy child by adoption." And the first rubric after baptism, "It is certain by God's word," &c. In the exhortation after baptism, instead of, "regenerate and grafted into the body," to say, "received into the church of Christ." No part of the office of baptism to be repeated in public when the child has been lawfully baptized in private.

To omit this passage in the office of confirmation: "After the example of thy holy apostles, and to certify them by this sign of thy favour and gracious goodness towards them." And instead of, "Vouchsafe to regenerate," read, "Vouchsafe to receive into thy church by baptism."

To omit the expressions in matrimony, "With my body I thee worship;" and that in the collect, "Thou hast consecrated," &c.

In the visitation of the sick, ministers to be allowed to make use of such prayers as they judge expedient.*

In the burial of the dead, instead of, "Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself," &c. read, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this world the soul," &c. Instead of, "in sure and certain hope," to read, "in a full assurance of the resurrection by our Lord Jesus Christ." To omit the following words, "We give thee hearty thanks, for that it has pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world;" and these other, "As our hope is this our brother doth."

In the communion-service to change, "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body," into, "our sinful souls and bodies may be cleansed by his precious body and blood."

The commination not to be enjoined.

The liturgy to be abbreviated, especially as to the morning service, by omitting all the responsal prayers, from, "O Lord, open thou," &c. to the litany; and the litany, and all the prayers, from, "Son of God, we beseech thee," &c. to, "We humbly beseech thee, O Father."

The Lord's prayer not to be enjoined more than once, viz. after the absolution, except after the minister's prayer before sermon.

The *Gloria Patri* to be used but once, after reading the Psalms.

The *Venite exultemus* to be omitted, unless it be thought fit to put any or all of the first seven among the sentences at the beginning.

The communion-service to be omitted when there are no communion-days, except the ten commandments, which may be read

* Baxter's Life, p. 34.

after the creed; and enjoining the prayer, "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep these laws," only once, at the end.

The collects, epistles, and gospels, to be omitted, except on particular holy days.

The prayers for the parliament to be inserted immediately after the prayer for the royal family, in this or the like form: "That it may please thee to direct and prosper all the consultations of the high court of parliament, to the advantage of thy glory, the good of the church, the safety, honour, and welfare, of our sovereign and his kingdoms."

To omit the two hymns in the consecration of bishops, and ordination of priests.

In the catechism, after the first question, "What is thy name?" It may follow, "When was this name given thee?" After that, "What was promised for you in baptism?" Answ. "Three things were promised for me." In the question before the commandments, it may be altered thus, "You said it was promised for you." To the fourteenth question, "How many sacraments hath Christ ordained?" the answer may be, "Two only, baptism and the Lord's supper."

Mr. Baxter proposed farther, that the subscription might be only to the doctrinal articles of the church. That the power of bishops, and their courts, to suspend and silence men, might be limited. That the baptismal covenant might be explicitly owned by all who come to the sacrament. But it was replied, that more than what was above mentioned would not pass with the parliament.

The proposals for a toleration were communicated by Mr. Baxter to the Presbyterians, to the Independents by Dr. Owen, and were to the following effect:

1. That such Protestants who could not accept of the proposals for a comprehension, might have liberty for the exercise of their religion in public, and to build or to procure places for their public worship at their own charges, either within or near towns, as shall be thought most expedient.

2. That the names of all such persons who are to have this liberty to be registered, together with the congregations to which they belong; and the names of their teachers.

3. That every one admitted to this liberty be disabled from bearing any public office, but shall fine for offices of burden.

4. Upon shewing a certificate of being listed among those that are indulged, they shall be freed from such legal penalties as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent their parish-churches.

5. Such persons so indulged shall not for their meeting in conventicles be punished by confiscation of estates.

6. Provided they pay all public duties to the parish where they inhabit, under penalty of ————.

7. This indulgence to continue three years.*

According to these heads of agreement a bill was prepared for the parliament by lord-chief-justice Hales; but bishop Wilkins, an honest and opened-hearted man, having disclosed the affair to bishop Ward, in hopes of his assistance, alarmed the bishops, who, instead of promoting the design, concerted measures to defeat it; for as soon as the parliament met, notice was taken that there were rumours without doors of an act to be offered for comprehension and indulgence, upon which a vote was passed, that no man should bring such an act into the house. And, to crush the Nonconformists more effectually, archbishop Sheldon wrote a circular letter to the bishops of his province, dated June 8, to send him a particular account of the conventicles in their several diocesses, and of the numbers that frequented them; and whether they thought they might be easily suppressed by the civil magistrate†. When he was provided with this information he went to the king, and obtained a proclamation to put the laws in execution against the Nonconformists, and particularly against the preachers, according to the statute of 17th king Charles II. which forbids their inhabiting corporations.

Thus the persecution was renewed; and the parliament still bent on severities, appointed a committee to inquire into the behaviour of the Nonconformists, who reported to the house that divers conventicles, and other seditious meetings, were held in their very neighbourhood, in defiance of the laws, and to the danger of the peace of the kingdom‡. General Monk, who was near his end, and sunk almost into contempt, was employed to disperse them, and received the thanks of the house for his zeal in that important service, wherein he was sure to meet with no opposition. They also returned his majesty thanks for his proclamation for suppressing conventicles, desiring him to take the same care for the future. By this means the private meetings of the dissenters, which had been held by connivance, were broken up again. Mr. Baxter was committed to Clerkenwell-prison, for preaching to his neighbours in his own house at Acton, and for refusing the Oxford oath; but upon demanding an habeas corpus, his mittimus was declared invalid for want of naming the witnesses§. The justices would have mended their mittimus and sent him to Newgate, but Mr. Baxter, being released, wisely kept out of the way. Mr. Taverner of Uxbridge was sentenced to Newgate, for teaching a few children at Brentford. Mr. Button, late university-orator, was sent to prison for teaching two knight's sons in his own house; and multitudes in many counties had the like usage, suffering imprisonment for six months||.

But this was contrary to the king's inclinations, who was only for playing the dissenters against the parliament for a sum of money; when the house therefore was up, his majesty ordered

* Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 25.

† Burnet, vol. 1. p. 382.

‡ Ibid. p. 139.

§ Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 49.

|| Baxter's Life, p. 36.

some of the Nonconformists to be told, that he was desirous to make them easy, and that if they would petition for relief they should be favourably heard*. Sir J. Barber, secretary of state, acquainted Dr. Manton with the king's intention, upon which an address was drawn up and presented to his majesty at the earl of Arlington's lodgings by Dr. Jacomb, Manton, and Bates; the king received them jealously, and promised to do his utmost to get them comprehended within the establishment. He wished there had been no bars at all, but that he was forced to comply for peace' sake, and that he would endeavour to remove them, though it was a work of difficulty. He complained of the umbrage that their numerous assemblies gave to clamorous people, and advised them to use their liberty with more discretion hereafter. When the ministers promised obedience, and assured his majesty of their steady loyalty, and constant prayers for the prosperity of his person and government, he dismissed them with a smile, and told them, that he was against persecution, and hoped ere long to be able to stand upon his own legs. But his majesty's promises were always to be bought off by a sum of money to support his pleasures.

The controversy of the reasonableness of toleration was now warmly debated without doors; many ill-natured books were written to expose the doctrine of the Presbyterians, as leading to antinomianism and licentiousness of manners†. Others exposed their characters and manner of preaching. Among these must be reckoned the Friendly Debate, which, though written by a good man, says bishop Burnet‡, had an ill effect in sharpening people's spirits too much against the dissenters: the author was Dr. Simon Patrick, afterward bishop of Ely, but now in the heat of his youth; who, by aggravating some weak and unguarded expressions, endeavoured to expose the whole body of Nonconformist ministers to contempt. But I must do this prelate so much justice as to inform the reader, that in his advanced age he expressed his dissatisfaction with this part of his conduct; and, in a debate in the house of lords about the occasional bill, declared, "he had been known to write against the dissenters with some warmth in his younger years, but that he had lived long enough to see reason to alter his opinion of that people, and that way of writing." A rare instance of ingenuity and candour! We shall have occasion to mention Sir Roger L'Estrange hereafter.

But one of the most virulent writers of his time, under the form of a clergyman, was Samuel Parker, afterward bishop of Oxford, a man of considerable learning and great smartness, but of no judgment, and as little virtue; and as to religion, says bishop Burnet§, rather impious than otherwise. At length Andrew Marvel, the liveliest wit of the age, attacked him in a

* Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 37. 87.

† Vol. 1. p. 382.

‡ Ibid. part 3. p. 39

§ Page 582.

burlesque strain, and with so peculiar and entertaining an address, that from the king down to the tradesman, his books were read with the highest pleasure. He had all the men of wit on his side, and not only humbled Parker more than the serious and grave writings of Dr. Owen, but silenced the whole party; one of whom concludes his letter to Mr. Marvel with these words: "If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against Dr. Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat." Subscribed J. G.

All sober men were of opinion, that it was ungenerous and cruel to treat a number of peaceable men, whom the laws had put almost out of their protection, in so ludicrous a manner*." Religion itself suffered by it. I remember, says lord-chief-justice Hales, that when Ben Jonson, in his play of the Alchymist, introduced Anartus in derision of the Puritans, with many of their phrases taken out of Scripture, in order to render that people ridiculous, the play was detested and abhorred, because it seemed to reproach religion itself; but now, when the Presbyterians were brought upon the stage in their peculiar habits, and with their distinguishing phrases of Scripture, exposed to the laughter of spectators, it met with approbation and applause.

But such was the complexion of the court, that they bid defiance to virtue, and even to decency, giving countenance to all manner of licentiousness. The play-houses were become nests of prostitution, says Burnet†, and the stage was defiled beyond example; the king, queen, and courtiers, went about in masks, and came into citizens' houses unknown, where they danced with a great deal of wild frolic, and committed indecencies not to be mentioned. They were carried about in hackney-chairs, and none could distinguish them except those who were in the secret. Once the queen's chairman, not knowing who she was, left her to come home in a hackney-coach, some say in a cart. Buckingham, who gloried in his debaucheries, and Wilmot earl of Rochester, the greatest wit and libertine of his age, were the principal favourites. To support these extravagances the house of commons supplied the king with what money he wanted, and were themselves so mercenary, that the purchase of every man's vote was known; for as a man rose in credit in the house, he advanced his price and expected to be treated accordingly.

The university was no less corrupt; there was a general licentiousness of manners among the students: the sermons of the younger divines were filled with encomiums upon the church, and satires against the nonconformists; the evangelical doctrines of repentance, faith, charity, and practical religion were unfashionable. The speeches and panegyrics pronounced by the orators and *terre filii*, on public occasions, were scurrilous, and little less than blasphemous; as appears by the letter in the mar-

* Rapin, p. 406.

† Burnet, p. 267. 386. Rapin, p. 652.

gin from Mr. Wallis, to the honourable Robert Boyle, Esq.*, of the proceedings at the opening of archbishop Sheldon's theatre, which is copied verbatim from the original under his own hand.

About this time died the reverend Mr. Matthew Newcomen, M.A., the ejected minister of Dedham, in Essex; he was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, and succeeded the famous Mr. John Rogers. He was a most accomplished scholar and Christian, a member of the assembly of divines, and, together

* A Letter from Mr. John Wallis to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq. dated from Oxford, July 17, 1669.

SIR,

After my humble thanks for the honour of yours of July 3, I thought it not unfit to give you some account of our late proceedings here. Friday, July 9, was the dedication of our new theatre. In the morning was held a convocation in it, for entering upon the possession of it; wherein was read, first the archbishop's instrument of donation (sealed with his archiepiscopal seal) of the theatre, with all its furniture, to the end that St. Mary's-church may not be farther profaned by holding the act in it. Next a letter of his, declaring his intention to lay out 2,000*l.* for a purchase to endow it. Then a letter of thanks to be sent from the university to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both our creator and redeemer, for having not only built a theatre for the act, but, which is more, delivered the Blessed Virgins from being so profaned for the future: he doth, as the words of the letter are, "non tantum condere, hoc est creare, sed etiam redimere." These words, I confess, stopped my mouth from giving a placet to that letter when it was put to the vote. I have since desired Mr. Vice-chancellor to consider, whether they were not liable to a just exception. He did at first excuse it; but, upon farther thoughts, I suppose he will think fit to alter them, before the letter be sent and registered. After the voting of this letter, Dr. South, as university-orator, made a long oration; the first part of which consisted of satirical invectives against Cromwell, fanatics, the Royal Society, and new philosophy. The next, of encomiastics; in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, the vice-chancellor, the architect, and the painter. The last, of execrations; against fanatics, conventicles, comprehension, and new philosophy; damning them, *ad inferos ad gehennam*. The oration being ended, some honorary degrees were conferred, and the convocation dissolved. The afternoon was spent in panegyric orations, and reciting of poems in several sorts of verse, composed in praise of the archbishop, the theatre, &c. and crying down fanatics. The whole action began and ended with a noise of trumpets; and twice was interposed variety of music, vocal and instrumental; purposely composed for this occasion. On Saturday and Monday, those exercises appertaining to the act and vespers, which were wont to be performed in St. Mary's church, were had in the theatre. In which, beside the number of proceeding doctors (nine in divinity, four in law, five in physic, and one in music), there was little extraordinary; but only that the *terre filii* for both days were abominably scurrilous; and so suffered to proceed without the least check or interruption from vice-chancellor, pro-vice-chancellors, proctors, curators, or any of those who were to govern the exercises; which gave so general offence to all honest spectators, that I believe the university hath thereby lost more reputation than they have gained by all the rest; all or most of the heads of houses, and eminent persons in the university, with their relations, being represented as a company of whoremasters, whores, and dunces. And, among the rest, the excellent lady, which your letter mentions, was, in the broadest language, represented as guilty of those crimes, of which (if there were occasion) you might not stick to be her compurgator; and (if it had been so) she might (yet) have been called whore in much more civil language. During this solemnity (and for some days before and since) have been constantly acted (by the vice-chancellor's allowance) two stage-plays in a day (by those of the duke of York's house) at a theatre erected for that purpose at the town-hall; which (for aught I hear) was much the more innocent theatre of the two. It hath been here a common fame for divers weeks (before, at, and since the act) that the vice-chancellor had given 300*l.* bond (some say 500*l.* bond) to the *terre filii*, to save them harmless, whatever they should say, provided it were neither blasphemy nor treason. But this I take to be a slander. A less encouragement would serve the turn with such persons. Since

with Dr. Arrowsmith and Tuckney, drew up their catechism*. He was one of the commissioners of the Savoy, and had many offers of preferment in the late times, but would not desert his church at Dedham, till he was displaced by the act of uniformity; after which he retired to Holland, and became pastor of the English church at Leyden, where he died about this time, universally lamented by the professors, for his humble and pleasant conversation, as well as his universal learning and piety†.

Mr. Joseph Allein, the ejected minister‡ of Taunton, and author of the *Call to the Unconverted*, was born at Devizes, in Wiltshire, and educated in Lincoln-college, Oxon. He was public preacher in the church of Taunton about seven years, and was universally beloved for his great piety and devotion. After his ejection, he preached as he had opportunity six or seven times a week. May 26, 1663, he was committed to Ilchester jail, for singing psalms in his own house, and preaching to his family, others being present: here he continued a year, but upon his enlargement he returned again to his work, which he followed with unwearied diligence. July 10, 1665, he was committed a second time to jail, with several other ministers, and forty private persons; where he contracted such distempers and weaknesses as brought him to his grave before he was thirty-six years of age§. He was an awakening, lively preacher; zealous and successful in his Master's work, and withal of a peaceable and quiet spirit. He died in the year 1668 or 1669.

The tide in the house of commons still run very strong on the side of persecution, as appears by two extraordinary clauses added to the conventicle act, which, having expired some time since, was now revived by the parliament which met October 19. The court went into it with a view of reducing the Presbyterians to the necessity of petitioning for a general toleration. "If we would have opened the door to let in Popery (says M. Baxter||), that their toleration might have been charged upon us, as done for our sakes, and by our procurement, we might in all likelihood have had our part in it; but I never shall be one of them who, by any new pressures, shall consent to petition for the Papists' liberty; no craft of Jesuits or prelates shall make me believe that it is necessary for the non-conformists to take this odium upon

the act (to satisfy the common clamour) the vice-chancellor hath imprisoned both of them: and it is said he means to expel them. I am, Sir,

Your honour's very humble and affectionate servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

* I have by me a copy of Mr. Neal's History, which was formerly the property of the Rev. John Waldron, a dissenting minister in Exeter, who has written in the margin, here, this note, "I have been assured by Mr. Edward Parr, an ejected minister, who lived with Dr. Gouge, that he drew up the catechism. J. W."—ED.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 594. Palmer's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, vol. 1. p. 503.

‡ To speak with accuracy, Mr. Allein was only assistant to Mr. George Newton, the minister of Taunton. Dr. Grey.—ED.

§ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 574. Palmer, vol. 2. p. 377.

|| Part 3. p. 36.

themselves*." The court-bishops were for the bill, but the moderate clergy were against it. Bishop Wilkins spoke against it in the house; and, when the king desired him in private to be quiet, he replied, that he thought it an ill thing both in conscience and policy; therefore, as he was an Englishman, and a bishop, he was bound to oppose it: and, since by the laws and constitution of England, and by his majesty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor ashamed to own his opinion in that matter. However, the bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent April 11, 1670†. It was to the following effect: "That if any persons upwards of sixteen years shall be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, where there are five persons or more present, besides those of the said household, in such cases the offender shall pay five shillings for the first offence, and ten shillings for the second. And the preachers or teachers in any such meetings shall forfeit twenty pounds for the first and forty for the second offence. And lastly, those who knowingly suffer any such conventicles in their houses, barns, yards, &c. shall forfeit twenty pounds. Any justice of peace, on the oath of two witnesses, or any other sufficient proof, may record the offence under his hand and seal, which record shall be taken in law for a full and perfect conviction, and shall be certified at the next quarter sessions. The fines above mentioned may be levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels; and, in case of the poverty of such offender, upon the goods and chattels of any other person or persons, that shall be convicted of having been present at the said conventicle, at the discretion of the justice of peace, so as the sum to be levied on any one person, in case of the poverty of others, do not amount to above ten pounds for any one meeting: the constables, headboroughs, &c. are to levy the same by warrant from the justice, and to be divided, one third for the use of the king, another third for the poor, and the other third to the informer or his assistants, regard being had to their diligence and industry in discovering, dispersing, and punishing the said conventicles. The fines upon ministers for preaching are to be levied also by distress; and, in case of poverty, upon the goods and chattels of any other present; and the like upon the house where the conventicle is held, and the money to be divided as above.

"And it is farther enacted, that the justice or justices of peace, constables, headboroughs, &c. may by warrant, with what aid, force, and assistance they shall think necessary, break open, and enter into, any house or place where they shall be informed of the conventicle, and take the persons into custody.—And the lieutenants, or other commissioned officers of the militia, may get

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 400.

† Rapin, p. 655.

together such force and assistance as they think necessary, to dissolve, dissipate, and disperse such unlawful meetings, and take the persons into custody." Then follow two extraordinary clauses: "That if any justice of peace refuse to do his duty in the execution of this act, he shall forfeit five pounds.

"And be it farther enacted, that all clauses in this act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof. No warrant or mittimus shall be made void, or reversed, for any default in the form; and if a person fly from one county or corporation to another, his goods and chattels shall be seizable wherever they are found. If the party offending be a wife cohabiting with her husband, the fine shall be levied on the goods and chattels of the husband, provided the prosecution be within three months."

The wit of man could hardly invent anything, short of capital punishment, more cruel and inhuman*. One would have thought a prince of so much clemency as Charles II., who had often declared against persecution, should not have consented to it, and that no Christian bishop should have concurred in the passing it. Men's houses are to be plundered, their persons imprisoned, their goods and chattels carried away, and sold to those who would bid for them. Encouragement is given to a vile set of informers, and others, to live upon the labour and industry of their conscientious neighbours†. Multitudes of these infamous wretches spent their profits in ill houses, and upon lewd women, and then went about the streets again to hunt for farther prey. The law is to be construed in their favour, and the power to be lodged in the hand of every individual justice of peace, who is to be fined 5*l.* if he refuses his warrant. Upon this, many honest men, who would not be the instruments of such severities, quitted the bench. Mr. Echard, being ashamed to ascribe these cruelties to the influence of the bishop, says, "that this and all the penal laws made against the dissenters were the acts of parliament, and not of the church, and were made more on a civil and political, than upon a moral or religious account; and always upon some fresh provocation in reality or appearance." This is the language by which the patrons of high-church cruelty endeavour to excuse themselves from the guilt of persecution; but it must fall somewhere; and that it may not fall too heavy

* This iniquitous law, by the power with which it invested a single justice, destroyed the bulwark of English liberty, the trial by jury. It punished the innocent for the guilty, by subjecting the husband to a penalty for the conduct of the wife, and the goods of any person present to fines, which other offenders were incompetent to discharge. The mode of conviction was clandestine. Its natural tendency was to influence magistrates to partiality in judgment, and to reverse the scriptural qualification for magistracy to the encouragement of evil-doers, and the punishment of those who do well; by the fines it imposed on justices and on officers, and by the sanction it gave to informers. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 2. p. 298, 299.—Ed.

† Burnet, p. 398.

upon the church, it is artfully, and with great good manners, cast entirely upon the legislature, and put upon the score of sedition, whereas it was well known the dissenters behaved peaceably, and were very far from disturbing the state. Nor does the preamble to the act charge them with disloyalty, but only says, "that for the providing speedy remedies against the practice of seditious sectaries, and others, who under pretence of tender consciences have or may at their meetings contrive insurrections*, be it enacted," &c. as if it was possible to do this in the company of women and servants, who were always present in their assemblies. It is therefore evident, that the act was levelled purely against liberty of conscience, and was so severely executed, that as sir Harry Capel observes, there was hardly a conventicle to be heard of all over England. The two houses, says our church historian †, were express for the execution of these laws; the bishops and clergy were sincerely zealous in it, and the honest justices and magistrates, as he calls them, bore the more hard upon them, because they saw them so bold in despising and evading the justice of the nation.

Great numbers were prosecuted on this act, and many industrious families reduced to poverty. Many ministers were confined in jails and close prisons; and warrants were issued out against them and their hearers, whereby great sums of money were levied. In the diocese of Salisbury the persecution was hottest, by the instigation of bishop Ward; many hundreds being pursued with great industry, and driven from their families and trades ‡. The act was executed with such severity in Starling's mayoralty, that many of the trading men in the city were removing with their effects to Holland, till the king put a stop to it §. Informers were everywhere at work, and having crept into religious assemblies in disguise, levied great sums of money upon ministers and people. Soldiers broke into the houses of honest farmers, under pretence of searching for conventicles, and, where ready money was wanting, they plundered their goods, drove away their cattle, and sold them for half-price. Many were plundered of their household furniture; the sick had their beds taken from under them, and themselves laid on the floor. Should I sum up all the particulars, and the accounts I have

* "These words, as late experience has shewn, were slyly omitted," says Dr. Grey, who adds, "Here he (Mr. Neal) injuriously lays the blame upon the bishops, as if the king and the two houses were wholly under their direction and influence; and treats Mr. Archdeacon Echard not over-civilly for being of a contrary opinion." The first censure in this paragraph is not very civil in Dr. Grey; nor does it appear well grounded, since Mr. Neal has inserted so much of the paragraph as charges the sectaries with having contrived insurrections. Nor does Mr. Neal lay the whole blame upon the bishops, for he says, "the two houses were for the execution of these laws;" though, it is true, indeed, he is not willing that the guilt should be cast entirely upon the legislature; for "the bishops and clergy were sincerely zealous in this business of persecution."—ED.

† Page 286.

‡ Calamy's Abridgment, vol. 1, p. 332.

§ Burnet, p. 398.

received, says Mr. Sewel *, it would make a volume of itself. These vile creatures were not only encouraged, but pushed on vehemently by their spiritual guides: for this purpose archbishop Sheldon sent another circular letter to all the bishops in his province, dated May 7, 1670, in which he directs all ecclesiastical judges and officers, “to take notice of all Nonconformists, holders, frequenters, maintainers, and abettors, of conventicles, especially of the preachers or teachers in them, and of the places wherein they are held; ever keeping a more watchful eye over the cities and greater towns, from whence the mischief is for the most part derived unto the lesser villages and hamlets. And wheresoever they find such wilful offenders, that then with a hearty affection to the worship of God, the honour of the king and his laws, and the peace of the king and his laws, and the peace of the church and kingdom, they do address themselves to the civil magistrate, justices, and others concerned, imploring their help and assistance for preventing and suppressing the same, according to the late act in that behalf made and set forth.—And now, my lord, what the success will be we must leave to God Almighty; yet, my lord, I have this confidence under God, that if we do our parts now at first seriously, by God’s help, and the assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and provision the act contains for our advantage, we shall in a few months see so great an alteration in the distraction of these times, as that the seduced people returning from their seditious and self-seeking teachers to the unity of the church, and uniformity of God’s worship, it will be to the glory of God, the welfare of the church, the praise of his majesty and government, and the happiness of the whole kingdom.” Can this be the language of a Christian and Protestant bishop; or is it not more like a father of the Inquisition, or the dragooning commission of Lewis XIV. when he revoked the edict of Nantz †?

Copies of this letter were sent by the archdeacons to the officers of the several parishes within their jurisdictions, earnestly exhorting them to take especial care, to perform whatsoever is therein required, and to give an account at the next visitation. Many of the bishops chose to lie behind the curtain, and throw off the odium from themselves to the civil magistrate; but some of the more zealous could not forbear appearing in person, as bishop Ward, already mentioned, and bishop Gunning ‡, who

* Sewel, p. 493.

† Calamy’s Abridg. vol. 1. p. 328.

‡ Henshaw, the bishop of Peterborough, declared publicly in the church at Rowel, after he had commanded the officers to put this act in execution, “Against all fanatics it hath done its business, except the Quakers: but when the parliament sits again, a stronger law will be made, not only to take away their lands and goods, but also to sell them for bondslaves.” On this Mr. Gough properly asks, “Who can acquit the church so called of their share in the persecution, when the rulers thereof were so intemperately warm and active in it, and still insatiate with all these severities, inhumanly planning more and greater.” History, vol. 2. p. 303.
—ED.

often disturbed the meetings in person: once finding the doors shut, he ordered the constable to break them open with a sledge; another time he sat upon the bench at the quarter-sessions, upon which the chairman desired his lordship to give the charge, which he refusing received a very handsome rebuke; it being hardly consistent with one that is an ambassador of the Prince of peace, to sit in judgment upon the consciences of his poor countrymen and neighbours, in order to plunder and tear them to pieces*. The bishop was so zealous in the cause, that he sunk his character by giving a public challenge to the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers, and appointed three days for the disputation; on the first of which his lordship went into the pulpit in the church, where was a considerable congregation, and charged the former with sedition and rebellion out of their books, but would hear no reply †. When the day came to dispute with the Quakers, they summoned their friends, and when the bishop railed, they paid him in his own coin; and followed him to his very house with repeated shouts, "The hireling flieth."

The Nonconformist ministers did what they could to keep themselves within the compass of the law; they preached frequently twice a day in large families, with only four strangers, and as many under the age of sixteen as would come; and at other times, in places where people might hear in several adjoining houses; but after all, infinite mischiefs ensued, families were impoverished and divided; friendship between neighbours was interrupted; there was a general distrust and jealousy of each other; and sometimes upon little quarrels, servants would betray their masters, and throw their affairs into distraction. Among others that suffered at this time was Dr. Manton, who was apprehended on a Lord's day in the afternoon, just as he had done sermon; the door being opened to let a gentleman out, the justice and his attendants rushed in, and went up stairs; they staid till the doctor had ended his prayer, and then wrote down the names of the principal persons present, and took the doctor's promise to come to them at a house in the piazzas of Covent-Garden, where they tendered him the Oxford oath, upon his refusal of which, he was committed prisoner to the Gate-house; where he continued till he was released by the indulgence. At another time his meeting-house in White-Hart Yard was broken up; the place was fined 40*l.* and the minister 20*l.*, which was paid by lord Wharton, who was then present; they also took down the names of the hearers, for the benefit of the justices of peace and spiritual courts.

The behaviour of the Quakers was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the spirit of martyrdom ‡. They met at the same place and hour as in times of liberty, and

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 692.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 334.

‡ Burnet, p. 398.

when the officers came to seize them, none of them would stir; they went all together to prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison fees. When they were discharged, they went to their meeting-house again, as before; and when the doors were shut up by order, they assembled in great numbers in the street before the doors, saying, they would not be ashamed nor afraid to disown their meeting together in a peaceable manner to worship God; but in imitation of the prophet Daniel, they would do it more publicly, because they were forbid. Some called this obstinacy, others firmness, but by it they carried their point, the government being weary of contending against so much perverseness*.

On the 1st of September, 1670, two of their principal speakers, Wm. Penn and Wm. Mead, were tried at the Old-Bailey, for an unlawful and tumultuous assembly in the open street, wherein they spake or preached to the people, who were assembled in Gracechurch-street, to the number of three or four hundred, in contempt of the king's laws, and to the disturbance of the peace. The prisoners pleaded Not Guilty, but met with some of the severest usage that has been known in an English court of justice. They were fined forty marks apiece for coming into court with their hats on, though it was not done out of contempt, but from a principle of their religion. It appeared by the witnesses, that there was an assembly in Gracechurch-street, but there was neither riot, nor tumult, nor force of arms. Mr. Penn confessed they were so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling themselves to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that they declared to all the world, they believed it to be their duty, and that all the powers on earth should not be able to divert them from it. When it was said, they were not arraigned for worshipping God, but for breaking the law, William Penn affirmed he had broken no law, and challenged the recorder to tell him upon what law he was prosecuted. The recorder answered, upon the common law, but could not tell where that common law was to be found. Penn insisted upon his producing the law, but the court overruled him, and called him a troublesome fellow. Penn replied, "I design no affront to the court, but if you deny to acquaint me with the law you say I have broken, you deny me the right that is due to every Englishman,

* A respectable member of the society of Quakers has remarked, with propriety and force, on this language of bishop Burnet, "that had he concluded with the word perseverance instead of perverseness, his description had been less objectionable, as being nearer the truth. The prejudice discovered by that dignified prelate against this people tarnished his reputation as a faithful historian and as a man; as a true son of the church, it is not much to be wondered, when it is considered that they, rejecting its honours and its revenues, struck at the root of the hierarchy: whilst other dissenters, in general, contending chiefly about rites and ceremonies, manifested little or no objection to that grand support, pecuniary emolument; as their practice in common, particularly during the interregnum, incontestably proved." A Letter to the Editor.—Ed.

and evidence to the whole world that your designs are arbitrary." Upon which he was haled from the bar into the bail-dock. As he was going out, he said to the jury, "If these fundamental laws which relate to liberty and property must not be indispensably maintained, who can say he has a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly then our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, and our estates led away in triumph, by every sturdy beggar and malicious informer, as their trophies."

William Mead, being left alone at the bar, said, "You men of the jury, I am accused of meeting by force of arms, in a tumultuous manner.—Time was when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I feared no man; but now I fear the living God and dare not make use thereof nor hurt any man. I am a peaceable man, and therefore demand to know upon what law my indictment is founded; if the recorder will not tell what makes a riot, Coke will tell him, that it is when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's lands to cut his grass or wood, or break down his pales." Upon this the recorder, having lost all patience, pulled off his hat, and said, I thank you, sir, for telling me what the law is. Mead replied, Thou mayest put on thy hat, I have no fee for thee now. The mayor Starling told him, he deserved to have his tongue cut out, and ordered him likewise to be carried to the bail-dock.

When the prisoners were gone, the recorder gave the jury their charge, upon which William Penn stood up, and with a loud voice said, "I appeal to the jury, and this great assembly, whether it be not contrary to the undoubted right of every Englishman, to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners?" The recorder answered with a sneer, Ye are present, ye do hear, do ye not? Penn answered, "No thanks to the court; I have ten or twelve material points to offer in order to invalidate the indictment, but am not heard." The recorder said, "Pull him down; pull the fellow down." Mead replied, these were barbarous and unjust proceedings; and then they were both thrust into the hole.

After the jury had withdrawn an hour and half, the prisoners were brought to the bar to hear their verdict; eight of them came down agreed, but four remained above, to whom they used many unworthy threats, and in particular to Mr. Bushel, whom they charged with being the cause of the disagreement. At length, after withdrawing a second time, they agreed to bring them in guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street; which the court would not accept for a verdict, but after many menaces told them they should be locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco; nay, they should starve, unless they brought in a proper verdict. William Penn being at the bar, said, "My jury ought not to be thus threatened. We were by force of arms kept out of our meeting-house, and met as near it as the soldiers would give us

leave. We are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man." And looking upon the jury, he said, "You are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right." To which some of them answered, "Nor will we ever do it." Upon this they were shut up all night without victuals or fire, or so much as a chamber-pot, though desired. Next morning they brought in the same verdict; upon which they were threatened the utmost resentments. The mayor said, he would cut Bushe's throat as soon as he could. The recorder said, he never knew the benefit of an inquisition till now; and that the next sessions of parliament a law would be made wherein those that would not conform should not have the benefits of the law*. The court having obliged the jury to withdraw again, they were kept without meat and drink till next morning, when they brought in the prisoners not guilty; for which they were fined forty marks a man, and to be imprisoned till paid. The prisoners were also remanded to Newgate for their fines in not pulling off their hats †. The jury, after some time, were discharged by habeas corpus returnable in the common-pleas, where their commitment was judged illegal. This was a noble stand for the liberty of the subject in very dangerous times, when neither law nor equity availed any thing. The conventicle-act was made to encourage prosecutions; and a narrative was published next year, of the oppressions of many honest people in Devonshire, and other parts, by the informers and justices; but the courts of justice outran the law itself.

Hitherto the king and parliament had agreed pretty well by means of the large supplies of money the parliament had given to support his majesty's pleasures; but now having assurances of large remittances from France, his majesty resolved to govern by

* The speech of the recorder, it appears by a quotation from the "State Trials" in a late publication, was fuller and stronger than Mr. Neal's abridged form represents it. "Till now (said this advocate for arbitrary power), I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them, and certainly it will never be well with us till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England." Stuart's Peace and Reform against War and Corruption, p. 63, note; and Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 2. p. 336.—*Ed.*

† The prisoners excepted to this fine, as being arbitrarily imposed, in violation of the great charter of England, which saith, "No man ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage." The name of the judge, before whom the case of the jury was solemnly argued in the court of common-pleas, and by whom it was judged illegal, was Sir John Vaughan, then chief-justice: a name which deserves to be mentioned in this connexion with peculiar respect, and to be perpetuated by Englishmen with gratitude; for this adjudication confirmed in the strongest manner the rights of juries, and secured them from the attack of arbitrary and unprincipled judges. Sir John Vaughan was a man of excellent parts, and not only versed in all the knowledge requisite to make a figure in his profession, but he was also a very considerable master of the politer kinds of learning. He was the intimate friend of the great Selden, and was buried in the Temple-church, as near as possible to his remains. He died in 1674. His son published his Reports, in which is the above case. Gough, vol. 2. p. 336. British Biography, vol. 7. p. 130, 131; and Grainger's History, vol. 3. p. 369.—*Ed.*

the prerogative, and stand upon his own legs*. His prime counsellors were, lord Clifford, Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterward lord Shaftesbury, the duke of Buckingham, earl of Arlington, and duke Lauderdale, who from the initial letters of their names were called the CABAL. Lord Clifford was an open Papist, and the earl of Arlington a concealed one. Buckingham was a debauchee, and reputed a downright Atheist; he was a man of great wit and parts, and of sounder principles in the interests of humanity, says Mr. Baxter, than the rest of the court. Shaftesbury had a vast genius, but, according to Burnet, at best was a Deist; he had great knowledge of men and things, but would often change sides as his interest directed. Lauderdale was a man of learning, and from an almost republican was become a perfect tool of the prerogative, and would offer at the most desperate councils. He had scarcely any traces of religion remaining, though he called himself a Presbyterian, and had an aversion to king Charles I. to the last. By these five ministers of state the king and duke of York drove on their designs of introducing Popery and arbitrary power; in order to which, a secret treaty was concluded with France; the triple alliance was broken, and a new war declared with the Dutch to destroy their commonwealth, as will be seen presently. By this means the king had a plausible pretence to keep up a standing army, which might secure him in the exercise of an absolute authority over his subjects, to set aside the use of parliaments, and settle the Roman-Catholic religion in the three kingdoms. These were the maxims the court pursued throughout the remaining part of this reign.

In the beginning of this year died Dr. Anthony Tuckney †, born in September 1599, and educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge. He was afterward vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire, where he continued till he was called to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster. In the year 1645, he was made master of his college, and in the year 1648, being chosen vice-chancellor, he removed to Cambridge with his family. He was afterward master

* Echard, p. 864. Rapin, p. 655.

† To what is said concerning Dr. Tuckney by Mr. Neal, and before in the note to p. 255, vol. 2, it is proper to add two facts which are much to his honour. One is, that in his elections at St. John's, when the president, according to the language and spirit of the times, would call upon him to have regard to the godly, his answer was, "No one should have a greater regard to the truly godly than himself; but he was determined to choose none but scholars:" adding very wisely, "They may deceive me in their godliness; they cannot in their scholarship." The other fact is, that though he is said to have had a great hand in composing the confession and catechisms of the assembly at Westminster, and in particular drew up the exposition of the commandments in the larger catechism; yet he voted against subscribing or swearing to the confession, &c. set out by authority. This conduct the more deserves notice and commendation, because the instances of a consistent adherence to the principles of religious liberty among those who were struggling for liberty, were so few and rare in that age. In the year 1753, Dr. Samuel Salter, prebendary of Norwich, published a correspondence between Dr. Tuckney and Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, on several very interesting subjects. See Whichcote's Moral and Religious Aphorisms, preface the second, p. 15.—Ed.

of St. John's and regius professor, which he held to the Restoration, when the king sent him a letter, desiring him to resign his professorship, which if he did, his majesty, in consideration of the great pains and diligence of the said doctor in the discharge of his duty, would oblige his successor to give him sufficient security in law, to pay him 100*l.* a year during his natural life. Upon this notice the doctor immediately resigned, and had his annuity paid him by Dr. Gunning, who succeeded him. After the coming out of the five-mile act he shifted about in several counties, and at last died in Spittle-yard, London, February 1669, in the seventy-first year of his age, leaving behind him the character of an eminently learned and pious man, an indefatigable student, a candid disputant, and an earnest promoter of truth and godliness*.

About the same time died Mr. William Bridge, M. A. the ejected minister of Yarmouth; he was student in Cambridge thirteen years, and fellow of Emanuel-college. He afterward settled in Norwich, where he was silenced by bishop Wren for nonconformity, 1637. He was afterwards excommunicated; and when the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* came out against him he withdrew to Holland, and became pastor to the English church at Rotterdam, where Mr. Jer. Burroughs was preacher. In 1642, he returned to England, and was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly of divines. He was chosen after some time minister of Great Yarmouth, where he continued his labours till the Bartholomew act ejected him with his brethren †. He was a good scholar, and had a well-furnished library, was a hard student, and rose every morning winter and summer at four of the clock. He was also a good preacher, a candid and charitable man, and did much good by his ministry ‡. He died at Yarmouth, March 12, 1670, *ætat.* seventy.

While the Protestant dissenters were harassed in all parts of the kingdom, the Roman Catholics were at ease under the wing of the prerogative; there were few or no processes against them, for they had the liberty of resorting to mass at the houses of foreign ambassadors, and other chapels, both in town and country: nor did the bishops complain of them in the house of lords, by which means they began in a few years to rival the Protestants both in strength and numbers. The commons represented the causes of this misfortune in an address to the king, together with

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 77; or, Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 205.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 478. Palmer, vol. 2. p. 208.

‡ In Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* is a letter of William Bridge to Henry Scobel, Esq., clerk of the council, about augmenting the income of preachers, with the names of the Independent ministers of prime note in the county of Norfolk. This shews that he was a leading man among the Independents. Granger's *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 44. Dr. Grey imputes to Mr. Bridge a republican spirit, because, in a sermon before the commons, he said, "The king must not only command according to God's law, but man's laws; and if he don't so command, resistance is not resistance of power but of will. To say, that such resistance must only be defensive, is nonsense; for so a man may be ever resisting, and never resist." Grey, vol. 1. p. 187.

the remedies, which if the reader will carefully consider, he will easily discover the different usage of Protestant Nonconformists and Popish recusants*.

The causes of the increase of Popery were, 1. The great number of Jesuits who were all over the kingdom. 2. The chapels in great towns for saying mass, besides ambassadors' houses, whither great numbers of his majesty's subjects resorted without control. 3. The fraternities or convents of priests and Jesuits at St. James's, and in several parts of the kingdom, besides their schools for the educating youth. 4. The public sale of Popish catechisms, &c. 5. The general remissness of magistrates, and other officers, in not convicting Papists according to law. 6. Suspected recusants enjoying offices by themselves or their deputies. 7. Presentations to livings by Popish recusants, or by others as they direct. 8. Sending youth beyond sea under tutors, to be educated in the Popish religion. 9. The few exchequer processes that have been issued forth, though many have been certified thither. 10. The great insolence of Papists in Ireland, where archbishops and bishops of the pope's creation appear publicly, mass being said openly in Dublin, and other parts of the kingdom.

The remedies which the house proposed against these growing mischiefs were,

1. That a proclamation be issued out to banish all Popish priests and Jesuits out of the realm, except such as attend the queen and foreign ambassadors. 2. That the king's subjects be forbid going to hear mass and other exercises of the Romish religion. 3. That no office or employment of public authority be put into the hands of Popish recusants. 4. That all fraternities, convents, and Popish schools, be abolished, and the Jesuits, priests, friars, and schoolmasters, punished. 5. That his majesty require all the officers of the exchequer, to issue out processes against Popish recusants convict, certified thither. 6. That Plunket the pretended primate of Ireland, and Talbot archbishop of Dublin, be sent for into England, to answer such matters as should be objected against them.

The king promised to consider the address, but hoped they would allow him to distinguish between new converts, and those who had been bred up in the Popish religion, and served him and his father in the late wars. After some time a proclamation was issued, in which his majesty declares, that he had always adhered to the true religion established in this kingdom against all temptations whatsoever; and that he would employ his utmost care and zeal in its defence. But the magistrates, knowing his majesty's inclinations, took no care of the execution of it. Nay, the duke of York, the king's brother, having lately lost his duchess, lord Clarendon's daughter, who died a Papist †, made a formal

* Rapin, vol. 2. p. 658.

† This Dr. Grey is unwilling to admit, though he owns that Monsieur Mainboourg published, in French, her declaration for renouncing the Protestant religion,

abjuration of the Protestant religion at this time before father Simon, an English Jesuit, publicly declaring himself a Roman Catholic; the reason of which was, that the present queen having no children, the Papists gave the duke to understand, that they were capable to effect his majesty's divorce, and to set aside his succession, by providing him with another queen, which they would certainly attempt, unless he would make an open profession of the Roman-Catholic religion, which he did accordingly.

The house of commons was very lavish of the nation's money this session, for though there was no danger of an invasion from abroad, they voted the king 2,500,000*l.* with which his majesty maintained a standing army, and called the parliament no more together for almost two years. After the houses were up, the Cabal began to prosecute their scheme of making the king absolute; in order to which, beside the 2,500,000*l.* granted by parliament, they received from France the sum of 700,000*l.* in two years, which not being sufficient to embark in a war with the Dutch, the king declared in council, by the advice of Clifford, that he was resolved to shut up the exchequer, wherein the bankers of London (who had furnished the king with money on all occasions at great interest) had lodged vast sums of other people's cash deposited in their hands. By this means the bankers were obliged to make a stop, which interrupted the course of trade, and raised a great clamour over the whole kingdom. The king endeavoured to soften the bankers, by telling them it should be only for a year, and that he would pay the arrears out of the next subsidies of parliament; but he was worse than his word; so that great numbers of families and orphans were reduced to beggary, while the king gained about 1,400,000*l.*

A second advance of the Cabal towards arbitrary power, was to destroy the Dutch commonwealth; for this purpose the triple alliance was to be broken, and pretences to be found out for quarrelling with that trading people. The earl of Shaftesbury used this expression in his speech to the parliament for justifying the war, *Delenda est Carthago*, that is, "The Dutch commonwealth must be destroyed:" but an occasion was wanting to justify it to the world. There had been a few scurrilous prints and medals struck in Holland, reflecting on the king's amours, below the notice of the English court, which the Dutch however caused to be destroyed. Complaints were also revived of the insolence of the Dutch in the East-Indies, and of the neglect of striking the

and he quotes largely from Dr. Richard Watson, a celebrated English divine, who published an answer to it. The amount of his defence of the duchess, as it appears in this quotation, is, that when on account of her illness the worship of her oratory had been deserted, it was renewed again by her order, and the doors of her chamber, which was adjoining to it, were opened that she might hear the prayers; and that the bishop of Oxford was sent for to administer the sacrament to her. In opposition to this, which rises to presumptive evidence only, and in support of Mr. Neal, it may be added, that sir John Resesby says, that she died with her last breath declaring herself a Papist." *Memoirs*, p. 19.—ED.

flag in the narrow seas to the king's yacht, passing by the Dutch fleet. The cabal managed these complaints like men who were afraid of receiving satisfaction, or of giving the adversary any umbrage to prepare for the storm. The Dutch therefore, relying on the faith of treaties, pursued their traffic without fear; but when their rich Smyrna fleet, of merchantmen, consisting of seventy-two sail under convoy of six men-of-war, passed by the Isle of Wight, the English fleet fell upon them and took several of their ships, without any previous declaration of war; a breach of faith (says Burnet) which Mahometans and pirates would have been ashamed of.*

Two days after the attempt upon the Smyrna fleet, the cabal made the third advance towards Popery and absolute power, by advising the king to suspend the penal laws against all sorts of Nonconformists. It was now resolved to set the dissenters against the church, and to offer them the protection of the crown to make way for a general toleration. Lord Shaftesbury first proposed it in council, which the majority readily complied with, provided the Roman Catholics might be included; but when the declaration was prepared, the lord-keeper Bridgman refused to put the seal to it, as judging it contrary to law, for which he was dismissed, and the seals given to the Earl of Shaftesbury, who maintained, that the indulgence was for the service of the church of England†. “As for the church (says his lordship), I conceive the declaration is extremely for their interest; for the narrow bottom they have placed themselves upon, and the measures they have proceeded by, so contrary to the properties and liberties of the nation, must needs in a short time prove fatal to them; whereas this leads them into another way, to live peaceably with the dissenting and different Protestants, both at home and abroad;” which was true if both had not been undermined by the Papists‡. Archbishop Sheldon, Morley, and the rest of their party, exclaimed loudly against the indulgence, and alarmed the whole nation, insomuch that many sober and good men, who had long feared the growth of Popery, began to think their eyes were open, and that they were in good earnest; but it appeared afterward that their chief concern was for the spiritual power; for though they murmured against the dispensing power, they fell in with all their other proceedings; which, if Providence had not miraculously interposed, must have been fatal to the Protestant religion and the liberties of Europe.

At length the declaration having been communicated to the French king, and received his approbation, was published, bearing date March 15, 1671—2, to the following effect§ :

* Vol. 2. p. 16, 12mo.

† History of the Stuarts, p. 566.

‡ Des Maiz. Col. p. 677, &c.

§ The bishops took the alarm at this declaration: and charged their clergy to preach against Popery. The pulpits were full of a new strain: it was every where preached against, and the authority of the laws was magnified. The king complained

“ CHARLES REX.

“ Our care and endeavours for the preservation of the rights and interests of the church, have been sufficiently manifested to the world, by the whole course of our government since our happy restoration, and by the many and frequent ways of coercion that we have used for reducing all erring or dissenting persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found among our subjects upon our return; but it being evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all these forcible courses, we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognised to be so, by several statutes and acts of parliament; and therefore we do now accordingly issue this our declaration, as well for the quieting of our good subjects in these points, as for inviting strangers in this conjuncture to come and live under us; and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings, from whence we hope, by the blessing of God, to have many good and happy advantages to our government; as also for preventing for the future the danger that might otherwise arise from private meetings and seditious conventicles.

“ And in the first place, we declare our express resolution, meaning, and intention, to be, that the church of England be preserved, and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline, and government, as now it stands established by law; and that this be taken to be, as it is, the basis, rule, and standard, of the general and public worship of God, and that the orthodox conformable clergy do receive and enjoy the revenues belonging thereunto, and that no person, though of a different opinion and persuasion, shall be exempt from paying his tithes, or other dues whatsoever. And farther we declare, that no person shall be capable of holding any benefice, living, or ecclesiastical dignity or preferment of any kind, in this our kingdom of England, who is not exactly conformable.

“ We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of Nonconformists or recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are hereby suspended; and all judges, judges of assize, and jail-delivery, sheriffs, justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other officers whatsoever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereto.

“ And that there may be no pretence for any of our subjects to

to Sheldon, that controversy was preached, as if on purpose to inflame the people, and alienate them from him and his government; and Sheldon, apprehensive that the king might again press him on this subject, convened some of the clergy, to consult with them what answer to make to his majesty. Dr. Tillotson suggested this reply: “ That since the king himself professed the Protestant religion, it would be a thing without a precedent, that he should forbid his clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he himself said he was of it.” Burnet's History, vol. 2. p. 17. 12mo. ed. and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 41.—Ed.

continue their illegal meetings and conventicles, we do declare, that we shall from time to time allow a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, to meet and assemble in order to their public worship and devotion, which places shall be open and free to all persons.

“But to prevent such disorders and inconveniences as may happen by this our indulgence, if not duly regulated; and that they may be the better protected by the civil magistrate; our express will and pleasure is, that none of our subjects do presume to meet in any place, until such places be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved, by us.

“And lest any should apprehend that this restriction should make our said allowance and approbation difficult to be obtained, we do farther declare, that this our indulgence, as to the allowance of the public places of worship, and approbation of the preachers, shall extend to all sorts of Nonconformists and recusants except the recusants of the Roman-Catholic religion, to whom we shall in nowise allow public places of worship, but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only.

“And if, after this our clemency and indulgence, any of our subjects shall pretend to abuse this liberty, and shall preach seditiously, or to the derogation of the doctrine, discipline, or government, of the established church, or shall meet in places not allowed by us, we do hereby give them warning, and declare we will proceed against them with all imaginable severity. And we will let them see we can be as severe to punish such offenders when so justly provoked, as we are indulgent to truly tender consciences.

“Given at our court at Whitehall, this 15th day of March, in the four-and-twentieth year of our reign.”

The Protestant Nonconformists had no opinion of the dispensing power, and were not forward to accept of liberty in this way; they were sensible the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer than it would serve the interest of Popery. “The beginning of the ‘Dutch war,’” says one of their writers, “made the court think it necessary to grant them an indulgence, that there might be peace at home while there was war abroad, though much to the dissatisfaction of those who had a hand in framing all the severe laws against them*.” Many pamphlets were written for and against the dissenters accepting it, because it was grafted on the dispensing power. Some maintained that it was setting up altar against altar, and that they should accept of nothing but a comprehension. Others endeavoured to prove, that it was the duty of the Presbyterians to make use of the liberty granted them by the

* Baxter, part 3. p. 99. Welwood's Mem. p. 190.

king, because it was their natural right, which no legislative power upon earth had a right to deprive them of, as long as they remained dutiful subjects; that meeting in separate congregations, distinct from the parochial assemblies, in the present circumstances was neither schismatical nor sinful*. Accordingly most of the ministers, both in London and in the country, took out licences, a copy of which I have transcribed from under the king's own hand and seal in the margin†. Great numbers of people attended the meetings, and a cautious and moderate address of thanks was presented to the king for their liberty, but all were afraid of the consequences.

It was reported farther, that the court encouraged the Nonconformists, by some small pensions of 50 and 100*l.* to the chief of their party; that Mr. Baxter returned the money, but that Mr. Pool acknowledged he had received 50*l.* for two years, and that the rest accepted it‡. This was reported to the disadvantage of the dissenters by Dr. Stillingfleet and others, with an insinuation that it was to bribe them to be silent, and join interest with the Papists; but Dr. Owen, in answer to this part of the charge, in his preface to a book entitled, *An Inquiry, &c. against Dr. Stillingfleet*, declares, that "it is such a frontless malicious lie as impudence itself would blush at; that, however the dissenters may be traduced, they are ready to give the highest security that can be of their stability in the Protestant cause; and for myself," says he, "never any person in authority, dignity, or power in the nation, nor any from them, Papist or Protestant, did ever speak or advise with me about any indulgence or toleration to be granted to Papists, and I challenge the whole world to prove the contrary. From this indulgence Dr. Stillingfleet dates the beginning of the Presbyterian separation.

This year died Dr. Edmund Staunton, the ejected minister of Kingston-upon-Thames, one of the assembly of divines, and some time president of Corpus-Christi-college in Oxford. He was son of sir Francis Staunton, born at Woburn, in Bedfordshire, 1601, and educated in Wadham-college, of which he was a fellow§.

* Baxter, part 3. p. 99. Welwood's Mem. p. 102.¶

† CHARLES REX.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all mayors, bailiffs, constables, and others our officers and ministers, civil and military, whom it may concern, greeting. In pursuance of our declaration of the 15th of March 1671—2, we do hereby permit and license G. S. ——— of the Congregational persuasion, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us, in a room or rooms of his house in ——— for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, who are of that persuasion commonly called Congregational, with farther licence and permission to him the said G. S. ——— to teach in any place licensed and allowed by us, according to our said declaration.

Given at our court at Whitehall the second day of May, in the twenty-fourth year of our reign, 1672. By his majesty's command, ARLINGTON.

‡ Burnet, vol. 2. p. 16, 17.

§ Dr. Staunton in 1615 became a commoner of Wadham-college; on the 4th of

¶ The editor cannot meet with these passages in Welwood's Memoirs, 6th edition.

Upon his taking orders, he became minister of Bushy, in Hertfordshire, but changed it afterward for Kingston-upon-Thames. In 1634, he took the degrees in divinity, and in 1648 was made president of Corpus-Christi-college, which he kept till he was silenced for nonconformity. He then retired to Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, and afterward to a village in that county called Bovingden, where he preached as often as he had opportunity. He was a learned, pious, and peaceable divine. In his last sickness he said he neither feared death nor desired life, but was willing to be at God's disposal. He died July 14, 1671, and was buried in the church belonging to the parish*.

Mr. Vavasor Powell was born in Radnorshire, and educated in Jesus-college, Oxon. When he left the university, he preached up and down in Wales, till, being driven from thence for want of presbyterial ordination, which he scrupled, he came to London, and soon after settled at Dartford, in Kent. In the year 1646, he obtained a testimonial of his religious and blameless conversation, and of his abilities for the work of the ministry, signed by Mr. Herle and seventeen of the assembly of divines. Furnished with these testimonials, he returned to Wales, and became a most indefatigable and active instrument of propagating the gospel in those parts. There were few, if any, of the churches or chapels in Wales in which he did not preach; yea, very often he preached to the poor Welch in the mountains, at fairs, and in market-places; for which he had no more than a stipend of 100*l.* per annum, besides the advantage of some sequestered livings in North Wales (says my author), which, in those times of confusion, turned but to a very poor account. Mr. Powell was a bold man, and of republican principles, preaching against the protectorship of Cromwell, and wrote letters to him, for which he was imprisoned, to prevent his spreading disaffection in the state. At the dawn of the Restoration, being known to be a fifth-monarchy man, he was secured first at Shrewsbury, afterward in Wales, and at last in the Fleet. In the year 1662, he was shut up in South-sea-castle, near Portsmouth, where he continued five years. In 1667 he was released, but venturing to preach again in his own country, he was imprisoned at Cardiff, and in the year 1669 sent up to London, and confined a prisoner in the Fleet, where he died, and was buried in Bunhill-fields, in the presence of an innumerable crowd of dissenters, who attended him to his grave. He was of an unconquerable resolution, and of a mind unshaken under all his troubles. The inscription on his tomb calls him "a successful teacher of the past, a sincere witness of the present, and a useful example to the future age; who, in the defection of many, found mercy to be faithful, for which, being called to many

October, in the same year, was admitted scholar of Corpus-Christi-college: and afterward fellow, and M. A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 352; and Dr. Grey.

—ED.

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. 2. p. 63. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 173.

prisons, he was there tried, and would not accept deliverance, expecting a better resurrection." He died October 27, 1671, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the eleventh year of his imprisonment.*

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE KING'S DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE TO THE POPIISH PLOT IN THE YEAR 1678.

1672.

THE French king having prevailed with the English court to break the triple alliance, and make war with the Dutch, published a declaration at Paris, signifying that he could not, without diminution of his glory, any longer dissemble the indignation raised in him, by the unhandsome carriage of the states-general of the United Provinces, and therefore proclaimed war against them both by sea and land. In the beginning of May, he drew together an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, with which he took the principal places in Flanders, and with a rapid fury overran the greatest part of the Netherlands. In the beginning of July he took possession of Utrecht, a city in the heart of the United Provinces, where he held his court, and threatened to besiege Amsterdam itself. In this extremity the Dutch opened their sluices, and laid a great part of their country under water; the populace rose, and having obliged the states to elect the

* To Mr. Neal's account of Mr. Vavasor Powell it may be added, that he was born in 1617, and descended from an ancient and honourable stock: on his father's side, from the Powells of Knocklas in Radnorshire; and on his mother's, from the Vavasors, a family of great antiquity, that came out of Yorkshire into Wales, and was related to the principal gentry in North Wales. So active and laborious was he in the duties of the ministry, that he frequently preached in two or three places in a day, and was seldom two days in the week, throughout the year, out of the pulpit. He would sometimes ride a hundred miles in the week, and preach in every place where he could gain admittance, either by night or day. He would often alight from his horse, and set on it any aged person whom he met with on the road on foot, and walk by the side for miles together. He was exceedingly hospitable and generous, and would not only entertain and lodge, but clothe the poor and aged. He was a man of great humility, very conscientious and exemplary in all relative duties, and very punctual to his word. He was a scholar, and his general deportment was that of a gentleman. His sentiments were those of a Sabbatarian Baptist. In 1642, when he left Wales, there was not then above one or two gathered churches; but before the Restoration, there were above twenty distinct societies, consisting of from two to five hundred members, chiefly planted and formed by his care and industry, in the principles of the Baptists. They were also for the ordination of elders, singing of psalms and hymns in public worship; laying on of hands on the newly baptized, and anointing the sick with oil, and did not limit their communion to an agreement with them in their sentiments on baptism. He bore his last illness with great patience, and under the acutest pains would bless God, and say, "he would not entertain one hard thought of God for all the world," and could scarcely be restrained from acts of devotion, and from expressing his sentiments of zeal and piety.—Dr. Grey, after Wood, has vilified Mr. Powell by retailing the falsehoods of a piece entitled, *Strena Vavasoriensis*. Crosby's History, vol. 1. p. 373, &c. Life and Death of Vavasor Powell.—Ed.

young prince of Orange stadtholder, they fell upon the two brothers Cornelius and John de Wit, their late pensionary, and tore them to pieces in a barbarous manner. The young prince, who was then but twenty-two years old, used all imaginable vigilance and activity to save the remainder of his country; and like a true patriot declared, he would die in the last dike rather than become tributary to any foreign power. At length their allies came to their assistance, when the young prince, like another Scipio, abandoning his own country, besieged and took the important town of Bonn, which opened a passage for the Germans into Flanders, and struck such a surprise into the French, whose enemies were now behind them, that they abandoned all their conquests in Holland, except Maestricht and Grave, with as much precipitance as they had made them.

These rapid conquests of the French opened people's mouths against the court, and raised such discontents in England, that his majesty was obliged to issue out his proclamation, to suppress all unlawful and undutiful conversation, threatening a severe prosecution of such who should spread false news, or intermeddle with affairs of state, or promote scandal against his majesty's counsellors, by their common discourse in coffee-houses, or places of public resort. He was obliged also to continue the exchequer shut up, contrary to his royal promise, and to prorogue his parliament till next year, which he foresaw would be in a flame at their meeting.

During this interval of parliament, the declaration of indulgence continued in force, and the dissenters had rest; when the Presbyterians and Independents, to shew their agreement among themselves, as well as to support the doctrines of the Reformation against the prevailing errors of Popery, Socinianism, and infidelity, set up a weekly lecture at Pinners'-hall, in Broad-street, on Tuesday mornings, under the encouragement of the principal merchants and tradesmen of their persuasion in the city. Four Presbyterians were joined by two Independents to preach by turns, and, to give it the greater reputation, the principal ministers for learning and popularity were chosen as lecturers; as Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Owen, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Collins, Jenkins, Mead, and afterward Mr. Alsop, Howe, Cole, and others; and though there were some little misunderstandings at their first setting out, about some high points of Calvinism, occasioned by one of Mr. Baxter's first sermons, yet the lecture continued in this form till the year 1695, when it split upon the same rock, occasioned by the reprinting Dr. Crisp's works. The four Presbyterians removed to Salters'-hall, and set up a lecture on the same day and hour. The two Independents remained at Pinners'-hall, and when there was no prospect of an accommodation, each party filled up their numbers out of their respective denominations, and they are both subsisting to this day.

Among the Puritan divines who died this year, bishop Wilkins

deserves the first place; he was born at Fawsley in Northamptonshire, in the house of his mother's father, Mr. J. Dod the decalogist, in the year 1614, and educated in Magdalen-hall under Mr. Tombes.* He was some time warden of Wadham-college, Oxford, and afterward master of Trinity-college, Cambridge, of which he was deprived at the Restoration, though he conformed. He married a sister of the protector's, Oliver Cromwell, and complied with all the changes of the late times, being, as Wood observes, always puritanically affected: but for his admirable abilities, and extraordinary genius, he had scarce his equal. He was made bishop of Chester 1668; and surely, says Mr. Echard, the court could not have found out a man of greater ingenuity and capacity, or of more universal knowledge and understanding in all parts of polite learning. Archbishop Tillotson, and bishop Burnet, who were his intimates, give him the highest encomium; as, that he was a pious Christian, an admirable preacher, a rare mathematician, and mechanical philosopher; and a man of as great a mind, as true judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as great a soul, as any they ever knew. He was a person of universal charity, and moderation of spirit; and was concerned in all attempts for a comprehension with the dissenters. He died of the stone in Dr. Tillotson's house in Chancery-lane, November 19, 1672, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Mr. Joseph Caryl, M. A. the ejected minister of St. Magnus, London-bridge, was born of genteel parents in London, 1602, educated in Exeter-college, and afterward preacher of Lincoln's-inn; he was a member of the assembly of divines, and afterward one of the triers for approbation of ministers; in all which stations he appeared a man of great learning, piety, and modesty. He was sent by the parliament to attend the king at Holmby-house, and was one of their commissioners in the treaty of the Isle of Wight. After his ejection in 1662, he lived privately in London, and preached to his congregation as the times would permit; he was a moderate Independent, and distinguished himself by his learned exposition upon the book of Job.† He died universally lamented by all his acquaintance February 7, 1672—3, and in the seventy-first year of his age‡.

Mr. Philip Nye, M. A. was a divine of a warmer spirit: he was born of a genteel family 1596, and was educated in Magdalen-college§, Oxford, where he took the degrees. In 1630 he

* Athen. Oxon. p. 505.

† This work was printed in two volumes folio, consisting of upwards of six hundred sheets: and there was also an edition in twelve volumes 4to. "One just remark (says Mr. Granger) has been made on its utility, that it is a very sufficient exercise for the virtue of patience, which it was chiefly intended to inculcate and improve." Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 313. 8vo. note.—ED.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 7. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 121.

§ Mr. Nye was entered a commoner of Brazen-nose, July 1615, aged about nineteen years; but making no long stay there, he removed to Magdalen-hall, not Magdalen-college. Dr. Grey; and Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 368.—ED.

was curate of St. Michael's, Cornhill, and three years after fled from bishop Laud's persecution into Holland, but returned about the beginning of the long-parliament, and became minister of Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire. He was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, one of the triers in the protector's time, and a principal manager of the meeting of the Congregational messengers at the Savoy. He was a great politician, insomuch that it was debated in council, after the Restoration, whether he should not be excepted for life; and it was concluded, that if he should accept or exercise any office ecclesiastical or civil, he should, to all intents and purposes in law, stand as if he had been totally excepted. He was ejected from St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange, and preached privately, as opportunity offered, to a congregation of dissenters till the present year, when he died in the month of September, about seventy-six years old, and lies buried in the church of St. Michael's Cornhill, leaving behind him the character of a man of uncommon depth, and of one who was seldom if ever outreached*.

When the king met his parliament February 4, 1673, after a recess of a year and nine months, he acquainted them with the reasonableness and necessity of the war with the Dutch, and having asked a supply, told them, "he had found the good effect of his indulgence to dissenters, but that it was a mistake in those who said, more liberty was given to Papists than others, because they had only freedom in their own houses, and no public assemblies; he should therefore take it ill to receive contradiction in what he had done; and to deal plainly with you (said his majesty), I am resolved to stick to my declaration." Lord-chancellor Shaftesbury seconded the king's speech, and having vindicated the indulgence, magnified the king's zeal for the church of England and the Protestant religion. But the house of commons declared against the dispensing power, and argued that though the king had a power to pardon offenders, he had not a right to authorize men to break the laws, for this would infer a power to alter the government; and if the king could secure offenders by indemnifying them beforehand, it was in vain to make any laws at all, because, according to this maxim, they had no force but at the king's discretion.—But it was objected on the other side, that a difference was to be made between penal laws in spiritual matters and others; that the king's supremacy gave him a peculiar authority over these, as was evident by his tolerating the Jews, and the churches of foreign Protestants.—To which it was replied, that the intent of the law in asserting the supremacy was only to exclude all foreign jurisdiction, and to lodge the whole authority with the king; but that was still bounded and regulated by law; the Jews were still at mercy, and only connived at, but the foreign churches were excepted by a

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 29. Palmer, vol. 1. p. 86.

particular clause in the act of uniformity; and therefore, upon the whole, they came to this resolution February 10, "That penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament; that no such power had ever been claimed by any of his majesty's predecessors, and therefore his majesty's indulgence was contrary to law, and tended to subvert the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to reside in the king and his two houses of parliament." Pursuant to this resolution, they addressed the king February 19, to recall his declaration. The king answered, that he was sorry they should question his power in ecclesiastics, which had not been done in the reigns of his ancestors; that he did not pretend to suspend laws, wherein the properties, rights, or liberties, of his subjects were concerned, nor to alter any thing in the established religion, but only to take off the penalties inflicted on dissenters, which he believed they themselves would not wish executed according to the rigour of the law.* The commons, perceiving his majesty was not inclined to desist from his declaration, stopped the money-bill,† and presented a second address, insisting upon a full and satisfactory assurance, that his majesty's conduct in this affair might not be drawn into example for the future, which at length they obtained.

The parliament was now first disposed to distinguish between Protestant dissenters and Popish recusants, and to give ease to the former without including the latter, especially when the dissenters in the house disavowed the dispensing power, though it had been exercised in their favour. Alderman Love, member for the city of London, stood up, and in a handsome speech declared, "that he had rather go without his own desired liberty, than have it in a way so destructive of the liberties of his country and the Protestant interest; and that this was the sense of the main body of dissenters:" which surprised the whole house, and gave a turn to those very men, who for ten years together had been loading the Nonconformists with one penal law after another: but things were now at a crisis; Popery and slavery were at the door; the triple alliance broken; the Protestant powers

* Echard, p. 889. Burnet, vol. 2. p. 72, 73.

† The remarks of Mr. Gough here are just and weighty: "The conduct of the commons in this case hath procured the general voice of our historians in their favour; and it must be acknowledged that they acted consistently with their duty in opposing the infringement of the constitution.—Yet as the king's apparent inclination to have the dissenters exempted from penal laws would have merited praise, if it had been sincere, and attempted in a legal way, so the opposition of the parliament would have been entitled to the claim of greater merit, if it had not originated, with many of them, in an aversion to the principles of the declaration (impunity to the Nonconformists) as much as the grounds upon which it was published; and if they had not laid the foundations for this contest in the various penal laws, which, under the influence of party pique, they had universally enacted and received; and on all occasions manifested a determined enmity to all dissenters from the established religion; for if they had not an aversion to the principles of the declaration, they had now a fair opportunity of legalizing it, by converting it into an act of parliament." History of the Quakers, vol. 2. p. 374.—ED.

ravaging one another; the exchequer shut up; the heir-presumptive of the crown an open Papist; and an army encamped near London under Popish officers ready to be transported into Holland to complete their ruin. When the dissenters, at such a time, laid aside their resentments against their persecutors, and renounced their own liberty for the safety of the Protestant religion, and the liberties of their country; all sober men began to think, it was high time to put a mark of distinction between them and the Roman Catholics.

But the king was of another mind; yet being in want of money, he was easily persuaded by his mistresses to give up his indulgence, contrary to the advice of the cabal, who told him, if he would make a bold stand for his prerogative, all would be well. But he came to the house March 8, and having pressed the commons to dispatch the money-bill, he added,—“If there be any scruple yet remaining with you, touching the suspension of the penal laws, I here faithfully promise you, that what has been done in that particular shall not for the future be drawn into example and consequence; and as I daily expect from you a bill for my supply, so I assure you I shall as willingly receive and pass any other you shall offer me, that may tend to the giving you satisfaction in all your just grievances.” Accordingly he called for the declaration, and broke the seal with his own hands, by which means all the licences for meeting-houses were called in. Our historians* observe, that this proceeding of the king made a surprising alteration in lord Shaftesbury, who had been the soul of the cabal, and the master-builder of the scheme for making the king absolute; but that when his majesty was so unsteady as to desert him in the project of an indulgence after he had promised to stand by him, he concluded the king was not to be trusted, and appeared afterward at the head of the country party.

The Nonconformists were now in some hopes of a legal toleration by parliament, for the commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that a bill be brought in for the ease of his majesty's Protestant subjects, who are dissenters in matters of religion from the church of England. The substance of the bill was,

“1. That ease be given to his majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting in matters of religion, who shall subscribe the articles of the doctrine of the church of England, and shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy †. 2. That the said Protestant subjects be eased from all pains and penalties for not coming to church. 3. That the clause in the late act of uniformity, for declaring the assent and consent, be taken away by this bill. 4. That the said Protestant subjects be eased from all pains and penalties, for meeting together for performance of any religious exercises. 5. That every teacher shall give notice of the place where he intends to hold such his meetings to the quarter-sessions,

* Echard, p. 891. Burnet, vol. 2. p. 75.

† Echard, p. 889.

where in open court he shall first make such subscription, and take such oaths as aforesaid, and receive from thence a certificate thereof, where all such proceedings shall remain upon record. 6. That any such teacher may exercise as aforesaid, until the next respective quarter-sessions, and no longer, in case he shall not first take the oaths, and make such subscription before two of the neighbouring justices of the peace, and shall first give them notice of the place of his intended meeting, and take a certificate thereof under the said justices' hands, a duplicate whereof they are to return into the next quarter-sessions. 7. The doors and passages of all houses and places where the said dissenters do meet shall be always open and free during the time of such exercise. 8. If any dissenter refuses to take the churchwardens' oaths, he shall then find another fit person, who is not a dissenter, to execute that office, and shall pay him for it." But though all agreed in bringing in a bill, there was neither time nor unanimity enough in the house this sessions to agree upon particulars; for according to bishop Burnet, it went no farther than a second reading. Mr. Echard says, it was dropped in the house of lords on account of some amendments, till the parliament was prorogued; but Mr. Coke says, more truly, that it was because the dead weight of bishops joined with the king and the caballing party against it*.

While this was depending the commons addressed the king against Papists and Jesuits, expressing their great concern to see such persons admitted into employments and places of great trust and profit, and especially into military commands, and therefore pray, that the laws against them may be put in execution. Upon which a proclamation was issued, though to very little purpose, enjoining all Popish priests and Jesuits to depart the realm, and the laws to be put in execution against all Popish recusants.

But his majesty making no mention of removing them from places of profit and trust, the commons, knowing where their strength lay, suspended their money-bill, and ordered a bill to be brought in, to confine all places of profit and trust to those only who are of the communion of the church of England: this is commonly called the test act, and was levelled against the duke of York and the present ministry, who were chiefly of his persuasion. When it was brought into the house, the court opposed it with all their might, and endeavoured to divide the church-party, by proposing, that some regard might be had to Protestant dissenters, hoping by this means to clog the bill, and throw it out of the house; upon which alderman Love, a dissenter, and representative for the city, stood up again and said, he hoped the clause in favour of Protestant dissenters would occasion no intemperate heats; and moved, that since it was likely to prove so considerable a barrier against Popery, the bill might pass without any alteration, and that nothing might interpose till it was finished; and

* Detect. p. 490.

then (says the alderman), we [dissenters] will try if the parliament will not distinguish us from Popish recusants, by some marks of their favour; but we are willing to lie under the severity of the laws for a time, rather than clog a more necessary work with our concerns. These being the sentiments of the leading dissenters both in the house and without doors, the bill passed the commons with little opposition; but when it came to be debated in the house of peers, in the king's presence, March 15, the whole court was against it, except the earl of Bristol; and maintained that it was his majesty's prerogative to employ whom he pleased in his service. Some were for having the king stand his ground against the parliament. The duke of Buckingham and lord Berkley* proposed bringing the army to town, and taking out of both houses the members who made opposition. Lauderdale offered to bring an army from Scotland; and lord Clifford told the king, that the people now saw through his designs, and therefore he must resolve to make himself master at once, or be for ever subject to much jealousy and contempt. But the earl of Shaftesbury, having changed sides, pressed the king to give the parliament full content, and then they would undertake to procure him the supply he wanted. This suited the king's easy temper, who, not being willing to risk a second civil war, went into these measures, and out of mere necessity for money, gave up the Papists, in hopes that he might afterward recover what in the present extremity he was forced to resign. This effectually broke the cabal, and put the Roman Catholics upon pursuing other measures to introduce their religion, which was the making way for a Popish successor of more resolute principles; and from hence we may date the beginning of the Popish plot, which did not break out till 1678, as appears by Mr. Coleman's letters. The bill received the royal assent March 25, together with the money-bill of 1,200,000*l.*, and then the parliament was prorogued to October 20, after a short session of seven weeks.

The test act is entitled, An act to prevent dangers which happen from Popish recusants. It requires, "that all persons bearing any office of trust or profit shall take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance in public and open court, and shall also receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the church of England, in some parish church, on some Lord's day, immediately after divine service and sermon, and deliver a certificate of having so received the sacrament, under the hands of the respective ministers and churchwardens, proved by two credible witnesses upon oath, and upon record in court. And that all persons taking the said oaths of supremacy and allegiance shall likewise make and subscribe this following declaration: 'I, A. B., do declare, that I believe there is no transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in

* Burnet, vol. 2. p. 75, 76.

the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever.' The penalty of breaking through this act, is a disability of suing in any court of law or equity, being guardian of any child, executor or administrator to any person, or of taking any legacy, or deed of gift, or of bearing any public office: besides a fine of five hundred pounds."

Mr. Echard observes well, that this act was principally, if not solely, levelled at the Roman Catholics, as appears from the title; and this is farther evident from the disposition of the house of commons at this time, to ease the Protestant dissenters of some of their burdens. If the dissenters had fallen in with the court-measures, they might have prevented the bill's passing. But they left their own liberties in a state of uncertainty, to secure those of the nation. However, though the intention was good, the act itself is, in my opinion, very unjustifiable, because it founds dominion in grace. A man cannot be an exciseman, a customhouse officer, a lieutenant in the army or navy, no not so much as a tide-waiter, without putting on the most distinguishing badge of Christianity, according to the usage of the church of England. Is not this a strong temptation to profanation and hypocrisy? Does it not pervert one of the most solemn institutions of religion, to purposes for which it was never intended? And is it not easy to find securities of a civil nature, sufficient for the preservation both of church and state? When the act took place, the duke of York lord high-admiral of England, lord Clifford lord high-treasurer, and a great many other Popish officers, resigned their preferments; but not one Protestant dissenter, there not being one such in the administration: however, as the church party shewed a noble zeal for their religion, bishop Burnet observes, that the dissenters got great reputation by their silent deportment; though the king and the court-bishops resolved to stick in their skirts*.

This being the last penal law made against the Nonconformists in this reign, it may not be improper to put them all together, that the reader may have a full view of their distressed circumstances: for besides the penal laws of queen Elizabeth, which were confirmed by this parliament; one of which was no less than banishment; and another a mulct on every one for not coming to church;

There were in force,

1st. An act for well governing and regulating corporations, 13 Car. II. c. 1. Whereby all who bear office in any city, corporation, town, or borough, are required to take the oaths and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the church of England. This effectually turned the dissenters out of the government of all corporations.

2d. The act of uniformity, 14 Car. II. c. 4. Whereby all parsons, vicars, and ministers, who enjoyed any preferment in the church, were obliged to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, &c. or be *ipso facto* deprived: and all schoolmasters and tutors are prohibited from teaching youth without licence from the archbishop or bishop, under pain of three months' imprisonment.

3d. An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles, 16 Car. II. c. 4. Whereby it is declared unlawful to be present at any meeting for religious worship, except according to the usage of the church of England, where five besides the family should be assembled; in which case the first and second offences are made subject to a certain fine, or three months' imprisonment, on conviction before a justice of the peace on the oath of a single witness; and the third offence, on conviction at the sessions, or before the justices of assize, is punishable by transportation for seven years.

4th. An act for restraining Nonconformists from inhabiting in corporations, 17 Car. II. c. 2. Whereby all dissenting ministers, who would not take an oath therein specified against the lawfulness of taking up arms against the king on any pretence whatsoever, and that they would never attempt any alteration of government in church and state; are banished five miles from all corporation towns, and subject to a fine of 40*l.* in case they should preach in any conventicle.

5th. Another act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles, 22 Car. II. c. 5. Whereby any persons who teach in such conventicles, are subject to a penalty of 20*l.* for the first, and 40*l.* for every subsequent offence; and any person who permits such a conventicle to be held in their house, is liable to a fine of 20*l.*; and justices of peace are empowered to break open doors where they are informed such conventicles are held, and take the offenders into custody.

6th. An act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants, commonly called the test act, whereby (as afore-mentioned) every person is incapacitated from holding a place of trust under the government, without taking the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England.

By the rigorous execution of these laws, the Nonconformist ministers were separated from their congregations, from their maintenance, from their houses and families, and their people reduced to distress and misery, or obliged to worship God in a manner contrary to the dictates of their consciences, on a penalty of heavy fines, or of being shut up in a prison among thieves and robbers. Great numbers retired to the plantations; but Dr. Owen, who was shipping off his effects for New England, was forbid to leave the kingdom by express orders from king Charles himself. If there had been treason or rebellion in the

case, it had been justifiable; but when it was purely for non-conformity to certain rites and ceremonies, and a form of church-government, it can deserve no better name than that of persecution.

The house of commons, from their apprehensions of the growth of Popery and of a Popish successor to the crown, petitioned the king against the duke's second marriage with the princess of Modena, an Italian Papist, but his majesty told them they were too late. Upon which the commons stopped their money-bill, voted the standing army a grievance, and were proceeding to other vigorous resolutions, when the king sent for them to the house of peers, and with a short speech prorogued them to January 7, after they had sat only nine days. In the mean time the duke's marriage was consummated, with the consent of the French king, which raised the expectation of the Roman Catholics higher than ever.

This induced the more zealous Protestants to think of a firmer union with the dissenters; accordingly Mr. Baxter, at the request of the earl of Orrery, drew up some proposals for a comprehension, agreeably to those already mentioned*. "He proposed that the meeting-houses of dissenters should be allowed as chapels, till there were vacancies for them in the churches—and that those who had no meeting-houses should be schoolmasters or lecturers till such time—that none should be obliged to read the Apocrypha—that parents might have liberty to dedicate their own children in baptism—that ministers might preach where somebody else who had the room might read the common-prayer—that ministers be not obliged to give the sacrament to such as are guilty of scandalous immoralities, nor to refuse it to those who scruple kneeling—that persons excommunicated may not be imprisoned and ruined—and that toleration be given to all conscientious dissenters."—These proposals being communicated to the earl of Orrery, were put into the hands of bishop Morley†, who returned them without yielding to any thing of importance. The motion was also revived in the house of commons; but the shortness of the sessions put a stop to its progress. Besides, the court-bishops seemed altogether indisposed to any concessions‡.

This year put an end to the lives of two considerable Nonconformist divines; Mr. William Whitaker, the ejected minister of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, son of Mr. Jer. Whitaker, a divine of great learning in the oriental languages. He was an elegant preacher, and a good man from his youth. While he was at Emanuel-college, he was universally beloved; and when he came to London, generally esteemed for his sweet disposition. He was first preacher at Hornchurch, and then at the place from whence he was ejected. He afterward preached to a sepa-

* Baxter, part 3. p. 110.

† Page 109.

‡ Baxter, part 3. p. 140.

rate congregation as the times would permit, and died in the year 1673*.

Mr. James Janeway, M. A. was born in Hertfordshire, and a student of Christ-church, Oxford. He was afterward tutor in the house of Mr. Stringer at Windsor: but not being satisfied with conformity, he opened a separate meeting at Rotherhithe, where he preached to a numerous congregation with great success †. He was a zealous preacher, and fervent in prayer, but being weakly, his indefatigable labours broke his constitution, so that he died of a consumption March 16, 1673—4, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

The revocation of the indulgence, and the displeasure of the court against the dissenters for deserting them in their designs to prevent the passing the test-act, let loose the whole tribe of informers. The Papists being excluded from places of trust, the court had no tenderness for Protestant Nonconformists; the judges therefore had orders to quicken the execution of the laws against them. The estates of those of the best quality in each county were ordered to be seized. The mouths of the high-church pulpiteers were encouraged to open as loud as possible; one, in his sermon before the house of commons, told them, that the Nonconformists ought not to be tolerated, but to be cured by vengeance. He urged them to set fire to the fagot, and to teach them by scourges or scorpions, and open their eyes with gall. The king himself issued out a proclamation for putting the penal laws in full execution; which had its effect ‡.

Mr. Baxter was one of the first upon whom the storm fell, being apprehended as he was preaching his Thursday lecture at Mr. Turner's. He went with a constable and Keting the informer to sir William Pulteney's, who demanding the warrant, found it signed by Henry Montague, Esq. bailiff of Westminster. Sir William told the constable, that none but a city justice could give a warrant to apprehend a man for preaching in the city, whereupon he was dismissed §. Endeavours were used to surprise Dr. Manton, and send him to prison upon the Oxford or five-mile act, but Mr. Bedford preaching for him was accidentally apprehended in his stead; and though he had taken the oath in the five-mile act, was fined 20*l.* and the place 40*l.* which was paid by the hearers||.

The like ravages were made in most parts of England; Mr. Joseph Swaffield of Salisbury was seized preaching in his own house, and bound over to the assizes, and imprisoned in the county jail almost a year. Twenty-five persons, men and women, were indicted for a riot, that is, for a conventicle, and

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 25. Palmer, vol. 1. p. 127.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 838. Palmer, p. 684.

‡ State Tracts, vol. 3. p. 42. Baxter, part 3. p. 153.

§ State Tracts, part 3. p. 155. || Conf. Plea, part 4. p. 75.

suffered the penalty of the law*. The informers were Roman Catholics, one of whom was executed for treason in the Popish plot.—At East Salcomb, in Devonshire, lived one Joan Boston, an old blind widow, who, for a supposed conventicle held at her house, was fined 12*l.* and for nonpayment of it threatened with a jail. After some weeks the officers broke open her doors, and carried away her goods to above the value of the fine. They sold as many goods as were worth 13*l.* for 50*s.*; six hogsheads valued at 40*s.* for 9*s.*; and pewter, feather-beds, &c. for 20*s.*, besides the rent which they demanded of her tenants.—Mr. John Thompson, minister in Bristol, was apprehended, and refusing to take the Oxford oath was committed to prison, where he was seized with a fever through the noisomeness of the place: a physician being sent for, advised his removal; and a bond of 500*l.* was offered the sheriff for his security: application was also made to the bishop without success: so he died in prison March 4, declaring, that if he had known when he came to prison that he should die there, he would have done no otherwise than he did. Numberless examples of the like kind might be produced during the recess of the parliament. But the king's want of money, and the discontents of his people, obliged him to put an end to the war with the Dutch, with no other advantage than a sum of 2 or 3000*l.* for his expenses.

His majesty was unwilling to meet his parliament, who were now full of zeal against Popery, and began to consider the Non-conformists as auxiliaries to the Protestant cause; but necessity obliged him to convene them; and as soon as they met January 7, 1674, they addressed his majesty to banish all Papists, who were not housekeepers nor menial servants to peers, ten miles from London; and to appoint a fast for the calamities of the nation. They attacked the remaining members of the Cabal, and voted an address for removing them from his majesty's council; upon which the king prorogued them for above a year, after they had sat six weeks, without giving any money, or passing one single act: which was an indication of ill blood between the king and parliament, and a certain forerunner of vengeance upon the dissenters. But to stifle the clamours of the people, his majesty republished his proclamation †, forbidding their meddling in state-affairs, or talking seditiously in coffee-houses; and then commanded an order to be made public, "that effectual care be taken for the suppressing of conventicles: and whereas, divers pretend old licences from his majesty, and would support themselves by that pretence, his majesty declares, that all his licences were long since recalled, and that no conventicle has any authority, allowance, or encouragement from him ‡."

This year put an end to the life of that great man John Milton, born in London, and educated in Christ-college, Cambridge,

* Conf. Plea, part 4. p. 75.

† Gazette, no. 883.

‡ Ibid. no. 962. 965.

where he discovered an uncommon genius, which was very much improved by his travels. He was Latin secretary to the long-parliament, and wrote in defence of the murder of king Charles I. against Salmasius and others, with great spirit, and in a pure and elegant Latin style. He was afterward secretary to the protector Cromwell, and lost the sight of both his eyes by hard study. At the Restoration some of his books were burnt, and himself in danger; but he was happily included in the act of indemnity, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement. He was a man of an unequalled genius, and acquired immortal fame by his incomparable poem of *Paradise Lost*; in which he manifested such a sublimity of thought, and such elegance of diction, as perhaps were never exceeded in any age or nation of the world. His daughters read to him, after he was blind, the Greek poets, though they understood not the language. He died in mean circumstances, at Bunhill-row, London, in the sixty-seventh year of his age*.

Though the Protestant religion stood in need of the united strength of all its professors against the advances of Popery, and the parliament had moved for a toleration of Protestant dissenters, yet the bishops continued to prosecute them in common with the Papists. Archbishop Sheldon directed circular letters to the bishops of his province, enjoining them to give directions to their archdeacons and commissaries to procure particular information from the churchwardens of their several parishes on the following inquiries, and transmit them to him after the next visitation: 1. What number of persons are there, by common estimation, inhabiting within each parish subject to your jurisdiction? 2. What number of Popish recusants, or persons suspected of recusancy, are resident among the inhabitants aforesaid? 3. What number of other dissenters are there in each parish, of what sect soever, which either obstinately refuse or wholly absent themselves from

* It is but a piece of justice to the memory and virtues of some of the most distinguished characters of the Conformists and Nonconformists of this period, to record here their pious exertions for the religious instruction of the Welsh. A subscription was opened, and an association was formed, for the distribution of Bibles, Testaments, and practical treatises, and for opening schools, in the principality of Wales. At the head of this institution was Dr. Tillotson, then dean of Canterbury. The gentlemen who were the chief contributors to this design were, Whichcote, Ford, Bates, Outram, Patrick, Durham, Stillingfleet, Meriton, Burton, Baxter, Gouge, Poole, Fowler, Newman, Reading, Griffith, Short, Gape, and the beneficent Firmin. From Midsummer 1674 to Lady-day 1675, they had distributed thirty-two Welsh Bibles, which were all that could be procured in Wales or London; two hundred and forty New Testaments, and five hundred Whole Duty of Man, in Welsh. In the preceding year eight hundred and twelve poor children had, by the charity of others, been put to school in fifty-one of the chief towns in Wales. The distribution of these books provoked others to that charitable work, so that the children placed at schools by these gentlemen, and others, from their own purse, amounted to one thousand eight hundred and fifty. It appears as if this undertaking gave birth to an edition of the Bible and liturgy in the Welsh tongue, in which Mr. Gouge had a principal concern, and to which Dr. Tillotson gave 50*l*. The impression extended to eight thousand copies. Life of Mr. James Owen, p. 10—12; and Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, p. 50.—Ed.

the communion of the church of England, at such times as by law they are required?—Some of the clergy were grieved at these proceedings, and Dr. Tillotson and Stillingfleet met privately with Dr. Manton, Bates, Pool, and Baxter, to consider of terms of accommodation, which when they had agreed upon and communicated to the bishops, they were disallowed; so that when Tillotson saw how things were going, he cautiously withdrew from the odium, and wrote the following letter to Mr. Baxter, April 11, 1675: “That he was unwilling his name should be made public in the affair, since it was come to nothing: not but that I do heartily desire an accommodation (says he), and shall always endeavour it: but I am sure it will be a prejudice to me, and signify nothing to the effecting the thing which, as circumstances are, cannot pass in either house without the concurrence of a considerable part of the bishops, and the countenance of his majesty, which at present I see little reason to expect*.”

But the bishops' conduct made them unpopular, and drew on them many mortifications. People's compassion began to move towards their dissenting brethren, whom they frequently saw carried in great numbers to prison, and spoiled of their goods, for no other crime than a tender conscience. The very name of an informer became as odious as their behaviour was infamous. The aldermen of London often went out of the way when they heard of their coming; and some denied them their warrants, though by the act they forfeited 100*l*. Alderman Forth bound over an informer to his good behaviour, for breaking into his chamber without leave†. When twelve or thirteen bishops came into the city to dine with sir Nathaniel Herne, one of the sheriffs of London, and exhorted him to put the laws in execution against the Nonconformists, he told them plainly, they could not trade with their fellow-citizens one day, and put them in prison the next.

The moderate churchmen shewing a disposition to unite with the Nonconformists against Popery, the court resolved to take in the old ranting cavaliers, to strengthen the opposition; for this purpose Morley and some other bishops were sent for to court, and told, it was a great misfortune that the church party and dissenters were so disposed to unite, and run into one; the court was therefore willing to make the church easy, and to secure to the king the allegiance of all his subjects at the same time; for this purpose a bill was brought into the house of lords, entitled, “An act to prevent the dangers that may arise from persons disaffected to the government;” by which all such as enjoyed any beneficial office or employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military; all who voted in elections of parliament men; all privy-counsellors, and members of parliament themselves; were under a penalty to take the following oath, being the same as was required by the five-mile act: “I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any

* Baxter, part 3. p. 157, 158.

† Compl. History, p. 338.

pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the king: and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him in pursuance of such commission. And I do swear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or state. So help me God." The design of the bill was to enable the ministry to prosecute their destructive schemes against the constitution and the Protestant religion, without fear of opposition even from the parliament itself*. The chief speakers for the bill were, the lord-treasurer and the lord-keeper, lord Danby and Finch, with bishop Morley and Ward; but the earl of Shaftesbury, duke of Buckingham, lord Hollis, and Halifax, laid open the mischievous designs and consequences of it: it was considered as disinheriting men of their birthright, to shut them out from the right of election by an insnaring oath, as well as destructive of the privilege of parliament, which was to vote freely in all cases without any previous obligation; that the peace of the nation would be best secured by making good laws; and that oaths and tests without these would be no real security; scrupulous men might be fettered by them, but that the bulk of mankind would boldly take any test, and as easily break through it, as had appeared in the late times. The bill was committed, and debated paragraph by paragraph, but the heats occasioned by it were so violent, that the king came unexpectedly to the house June 9, and prorogued the parliament†; so the bill was dropped; but the debates of the lords upon the intended oath being made public, were ordered to be burnt. Two proclamations were republished on this occasion; one to prevent seditious discourses in coffee-houses, the other to put a stop to the publishing seditious libels.

The court had reason to desire the passing this bill, because the oath had been already imposed upon the Nonconformists; and the court-clergy had been preaching in their churches, for several years, that passive obedience and non-resistance were the received doctrines of the church of England; the bishops had possessed the king and his brother with the belief of it, and if it had now passed into a law, the whole nation had been bound in chains, and the court might have done as they pleased. But the parliament saw through the design; and Dr. Burnet says‡, he opened the reserve to the duke of York, by telling him, "that there

* Baxter's Life, part 3. p. 167. Burnet, vol. 2. p. 130—134.

† The immediate occasion of the king's breaking up the sessions, was a dispute concerning privilege between the two houses, to which another question gave birth, while the bill for the new test was pending. Of this bill it was justly said, "No conveyancer could have drawn up a dissettlement of the whole birthright of England in more compendious terms." The debate on it lasted five several days, in the house of lords, before the bill was committed to a committee of the whole house, and eleven or twelve days afterward: and the house sat many days till eight or nine at night, and sometimes till midnight. But, through the interruption given to it, by the matter just mentioned, the bill was never reported from the committee to the house; a most happy escape! Burnet's History, vol. 2. p. 133; and Dr. Calamy's Historical Account of his own Life, MS. p. 63.—Ed.

‡ Page 91.

was no trusting to disputable opinions, that there were distinctions and reserves in those who had maintained these points; and that when men saw a visible danger of being first undone, and then burnt, they would be inclined to the shortest way of arguing, and save themselves the best way they could; interest and self-preservation being powerful motives." This might be wholesome advice to the duke, but implies such a secret reserve as may cover the most wicked designs, and is not fit for the lips of a Protestant divine, nor even of an honest man.

The daring insolence of the Papists, who had their regular clergy in every corner of the town, was so great, that they not only challenged the Protestant divines to disputations, but threatened to assassinate such as preached openly against their tenets; which confirmed the lords and commons in their persuasion, of the absolute necessity of entering into more moderate and healing measures with Protestant dissenters, notwithstanding the inflexible steadiness of the bishops against it. Upon this occasion the duke of Buckingham, lately commenced patriot, made the following speech in the house of lords, which is inserted in the commons' journal. "My lords, there is a thing called liberty, which, whatsoever some men may think, is that the people of England are fondest of, it is that they will never part with, and is that his majesty in his speech has promised to take particular care of. This, my lords, in my opinion, can never be done without giving an indulgence to all Protestant dissenters. It is certainly a very uneasy kind of life to any man, that has either Christian charity, humanity, or good-nature, to see his fellow-subjects daily abused, divested of their liberty and birthrights, and miserably thrown out of their possessions and freeholds, only because they cannot agree with others in some opinions and niceties of religion, which their consciences will not give them leave to consent to, and which, even by the confession of those who would impose them, are no ways necessary to salvation.

"But, my lords, besides this, and all that may be said upon it, in order to the improvement of our trade and increase of the wealth, strength, and greatness, of this nation, (which, with your leave, I shall presume to discourse of some other time,) there is, methinks, in this notion of persecution, a very gross mistake both as to the point of government and the point of religion: there is so as to the point of government, because it makes every man's safety depend upon the wrong place, not upon the governors, or man's living well towards the civil government established by law, but upon his being transported with zeal for every opinion that is held by those that have power in the church that is in fashion; and I conceive it is a mistake in religion, because it is positively against the express doctrine and example of Jesus Christ. Nay, my lords, as to our Protestant religion, there is something in it yet worse; for we Protestants maintain, that none of those opinions which Christians differ about are infallible, and therefore in us it is somewhat an inexcusable conception, that men

ought to be deprived of their inheritance, and all the certain conveniences and advantages of life, because they will not agree with us in our uncertain opinions of religion.

“My humble motion therefore to your lordships is, that you will give leave to bring in a bill of indulgence to all Protestant dissenters. I know very well, that every peer in this realm has a right to bring into parliament any bill he conceives to be useful to his nation; but I thought it more respectful to your lordships to ask your leave before; and I cannot think the doing it will be any prejudice to the bill, because I am confident the reason, the prudence, and the charitableness, of it, will be able to justify it to this house, and to the whole world.” Accordingly the house gave his grace leave to bring in a bill to this purpose; but this and some others were lost by the warm debates which arose in the house upon the impeachment of the earl of Danby, and which occasioned the sudden prorogation of the parliament June 9, without having passed one public bill; after which his majesty, upon farther discontent, prorogued them for fifteen months, which gave occasion to a question in the ensuing session, whether they were not legally dissolved.

From this time to the discovery of the Popish plot, parliaments were called and adjourned, says Mr. Coke, by order from France to French ministers and pensioners, to carry on the design of promoting the Catholic cause in masquerade*. The king himself was a known pensioner of Lewis XIV., who had appropriated a fund of twenty millions of livres for the service of these kingdoms, out of which the duke of York, and the prime ministers and leaders of parties, received the wages of their commission, according as the French ambassador represented their merit. The pensioners made it their business to raise the cry of the church's danger, and of the return of forty-one. This was spread over the whole nation in a variety of pamphlets and newspapers, &c. written by their own hirelings; and if they met with opposition from the friends of the country, the authors and printers were sure to be fined and imprisoned. A reward of 50*l.* was offered for the printer of a pamphlet, supposed to be written by Andrew Marvel, entitled, “An account of the growth of power, and a seasonable argument to all grand juries;” and 100*l.* for the persons who conveyed it to the press. No man could publish any thing on the side of liberty and the Protestant religion, but with the hazard of a prison, and a considerable fine; nor is this to be wondered at, considering that Sir Roger L'Estrange was the sole licencer of the press.

This gentleman was a pensioner of the court, and a champion for the prerogative; he was a younger son of sir Hammond L'Estrange of Norfolk, who, having conceived hopes of surprising the town of Lynn for his majesty in the year 1644, obtained

* Detect. p. 500.

a commission from the king for that purpose, but being apprehended and tried by a court-martial, for coming into the parliament's quarters as a spy, he was condemned, and ordered to be executed in Smithfield January 2, 1644—5; but by the intercession of some powerful friends he was reprieved, and kept in Newgate several years. His sufferings made such an impression on his spirit, that on the king's restoration, he was resolved to make reprisals on the whole party. He was master of a fine English style, and of a great deal of keen wit, which he employed, without any regard to truth or candour, in the service of Popery and arbitrary power, and in vilifying the best and most undoubted patriots. Never did man fight so, to force the dissenters into the church, says Coke; and when he had got them there, branded them for trimmers, and would turn them out again. He was a most mercenary writer, and had a pen at the service of those who would pay him best. *Forty-one* was his retreat against all who durst contend against him and the prerogative. Sir Roger observed no measures with his adversaries in his *Weekly Observators*, *Citt and Bumpkin*, *Foxes and Firebrands**, and other pamphlets; and when the falseness of his reasoning and insolence of his sarcasm were exposed, like a second Don Quixote, he called aloud to the civil magistrate to come in to his aid. He represented the religion of the dissenters, as a medley of folly and enthusiasm; their principles and tempers as turbulent, seditious, and utterly inconsistent with the peace of the state; their pretences as frivolous and often hypocritical. He excited the government to use the utmost severities to extirpate them out of the kingdom†. He furnished the clergy with pulpit materials to rail at them, which they improved with equal eagerness and indiscretion; so that Popery was forgot, and nothing so common in their mouths as *forty-one*. L'Estrange published some of the incautious expressions of some of the dissenters in the late times, which he picked out of their writings, to excite the populace against the whole party, as if it had not been easy to make reprisals from the ranting expressions of the

* Dr. Grey says, that sir Roger L'Estrange was not the author of this work; that the first part was written by Dr. Nalson, and the other parts, if he mistook not, by Mr. Ware, the son of sir James Ware, the great antiquarian. The most valuable of sir Roger L'Estrange's publications is reckoned to be his translation of Josephus. His style, which Mr. Neal commends, has been severely censured by other writers. Mr. Gordon says, that "his productions are not fit to be read by any who have taste and good-breeding: they are full of technical terms, of phrases picked up in the streets, from apprentices and porters, and nothing can be more low and nauseous." Mr. Granger observes, that L'Estrange was one of the great corrupters of our language, by excluding vowels and other letters commonly pronounced, and introducing "pert and affected phrases." He was licenser of the press to Charles and James II., and died 11th of December, 1704, ætat. eighty-eight. Queen Mary, we are told, made this anagram on his name:

Roger L'Estrange,
"Lying Strange Roger."

British Biography, vol. 6. p. 317. Granger's History of England, vol. 4. p. 70.—
ED.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 252. Rapin.

torics of this reign: for these exploits he was maintained by the court, and knighted: and yet when the tide turned in the reign of king James II. he forgot his raillery against the principles of the Nonconformists, and wrote as zealously for liberty of conscience, on the foot of the dispensing power, as any man in the kingdom.

But in answer to the invectives of this venal tribe, a pamphlet was published with the approbation of several ministers, entitled, *The Principles and Practices of several Nonconformists, shewing that their religion is no other than what is professed in the church of England.* The authors declare*, that they heartily own the Protestant reformation in doctrine, as contained in the articles of the church of England—that they are willing to embrace bishop Usher's model of church-government, which king Charles I. admitted—they hold it unlawful, by the constitution and laws of this kingdom, for subjects to take arms against the king, his office, authority, or person, or those legally commissioned and authorized by him; nor will they endeavour any alteration in church or state by any other means than by prayer to God, and by petitioning their superiors—they acknowledge the king's supremacy over all persons, &c. within his dominions—they declare that their doctrine tends to no unquietness or confusion, any more than the doctrine of the church of England. And they think it not fair dealing in their adversaries, to repeat and aggravate all intemperate passages vented in the late times, when impetuous actings hurried men into extremities; and they apprehend it would not tend to the advantage of the conforming clergy, if collections should be published of all their imprudences and weaknesses, as has been done on the other side—they abhor seditious conventicles, and affirm, that insurrections were never contrived in their meetings, nor in any whereof they are conscious. Experience, say they, hath witnessed our peaceableness, and that disloyalty or sedition is not to be found among us, by the most inquisitive of our adversaries. They desire the church of England to take notice, that they have no mind to promote Popish designs; that they are aware of the advantage that Papists make of the divisions of Protestants—that the invectives thrown out against them are made up only of big and swelling words, or of the indiscretions of the few, with which they are not chargeable—they do not pretend to be courtiers or philosophers, but they teach their people to fear God and honour the king; to love the brotherhood, to bridle their tongues, to be meek and lowly, and do their own work with quietness †.

* To discredit Mr. Corbet's piece, Dr. Grey refers to Anthony Wood's character of him, as a preacher of sedition, and a vilifier of the king and his party. But with such writers every sentiment that does not breathe the spirit of passive obedience is seditious. Besides, Mr. Corbet's vindication turned on notorious facts.—ED.

† On the 15th of January, 1675—6, died Dorothy the wife of Richard Cromwell, in the forty-ninth year of her age; who, it is thought, never saw her husband after he retired into France. She was the daughter of Richard Major, esq. of Hursly in Hampshire, where she was married on the 1st of May 1649. The cha-

Though the persecution continued very fierce, the Nonconformists ventured to assemble in private, and several pamphlets were published about this time [1676] in their defence; as, "The peaceable design; or, an account of the Nonconformist meetings:" by some London ministers: designed, says Dr. Stillingfleet, to be presented to parliament. "Reasons which prevailed with the dissenters in Bristol to continue their meetings, however prosecuted or disturbed"—"Separation no schism"—"A rebuke to informers; with a plea for the ministers of the gospel called Nonconformists, and their meetings; with advice to those to whom the informers apply for assistance in their undertaking."

Informers were now become the terror of the Nonconformists, and the reproach of a civilized nation*. They went about in disguise, and, like wandering strollers, lived upon the plunder of industrious families. They are a select company (says the Conformists' Plea for the Nonconformists) whom the long-suffering of God permits for a time; they are of no good reputation; they do not so much as know the names or persons in the country whom they molest, but go by report of their under-servants and accomplices. They come from two or three counties off, to set up this new trade; whether they are Papists or nominal Protestants, who can tell? They never go to their parish-churches, nor any other, but lie in wait and ambush for their prey; their estate is invisible, their country unknown to many, and their morals are as bad as the very dregs of the age: these are the men who direct and rule many of the magistrates; who live upon the spoil of better Christians and subjects than themselves, and go away with honest men's goods honestly gotten †.—They are generally poor, says another writer, as are many of the justices, so that they shared the booty belonging to the king as well as the poor among themselves: by which means the king and the poor got but little ‡.

Their practice was to insinuate themselves into an acquaintance with some under-servants, or lodgers in a Nonconformist's family, under the cloak of religion, in order to discover the place of their meeting. They walked the streets on the Lord's day, to observe which way any suspected persons went. They frequently sat down in coffee-houses, and places of public resort, to listen to conversation. They could turn themselves into any shape, and counterfeit any principles, to obtain their ends. When they had

racter given of her is, "that she was a prudent, godly, practical Christian." So far, it is observed, this lady has been happy that, amongst the illiberal things that have been levelled against the protectoral house of Cromwell, her character is almost the only one that scandal has left untouched." *Biographia Britan.*, second edition, vol. 4. p. 538.

* Conform. Plea, part 3. p. 8—10.

† Sewel, p. 493.

‡ Dr. Grey is angry with Mr. Neal for not quoting the remainder of the paragraph from Sewel: in which that writer owns that some honest justices discouraged the practices of the informers, and availed themselves of any defect or failure in their evidence, to clear those against whom they informed.—ED.

discovered a conventicle, they immediately got a warrant from some who were called confiding justices, to break open the house. If the minister was in the midst of his sermon or prayer, they commanded him in the king's name to come down from his pulpit; and if he did not immediately obey, a file of musketeers was usually sent up to pull him down by force, and to take him into custody; the congregation was broke up, and the people guarded along the street to a magistrate, and from him to a prison, unless they immediately paid their fines: the goods of the house were rifled, and frequently carried off, as a security for the large fine set upon it.

This was a new way of raising contributions, but it seldom or never prospered; that which was ill gotten was as ill spent, upon lewd women, or in taverns and alehouses, in gaming, or some kind of debauchery. An informer was but one degree above a beggar; there was a remarkable blast of Providence upon their persons and substance: most of them died in poverty and extreme misery; and as they lived in disgrace, they seemed to die by a remarkable hand of God. Stroud and Marshal, with all their plunder, could not keep out of prison: and when Keting, another informer, was confined for debt, he wrote to Mr. Baxter to endeavour his deliverance, confessing he believed God had sent that calamity upon him, for giving him so much trouble. Another died in the Compter for debt; and great numbers by their vices came to miserable and untimely ends.

But as some died off others succeeded, who by the instigation of the court disturbed all the meetings they could find. The king commanded the judges and justices of London to put the penal laws in strict execution; and sir Jos. Sheldon, lord-mayor, and kinsman to the archbishop, did not fail to do his part. Sir Tho. Davies issued a warrant to distrain on Mr. Baxter for 50*l.* on account of his lecture in New-street; and when he had built a little chapel in Oxenden-street, the doors were shut up after he had preached in it once. In April this year [1676] he was disturbed by a company of constables and officers, as he was preaching in Swallow-street, who beat drums under the windows, to interrupt the service, because they had not a warrant to break open the house.

The court-bishops, as has been observed more than once, pushed on the informers to do all the mischief they could to the Nonconformists; "The prelates will not suffer them to be quiet in their families* (says a considerable writer of these times,) though they have given large and ample testimonies, that they are willing to live quietly by their church neighbours——" The dissenting Protestants have been reputed the only enemies of the nation, and therefore only persecuted, says a noble writer, while the Papists remain undisturbed, being by the court thought loyal, and

* State Tracts, vol. 2. p. 54, 55; vol. 3. p. 42, &c.

by our great bishops not dangerous. Mr. Locke, bishop Burnet, and others, have set a mark upon the names of archbishop Sheldon, bishop Morley, Gunning, Henchman, Ward, &c. which will not be easily erased; but I mention no more, because there were others of a better spirit, who resided in their diocesses, and had no concern with the court.

Among these we may reckon Dr. Edward Reynolds, bishop of Norwich, born in Southampton 1599, and educated in Merton-college, Oxford; he was preacher to the society of Lincoln's-inn, and reckoned one of the most eloquent preachers of his age, though he had some hoarseness in his voice*. In the time of the civil wars he took part with the parliament, and was one of the assembly of divines. In the year 1646, he was appointed one of the preachers to the university of Oxford, and afterward a visitor. Upon the reform of the university, he was made dean of Christ-church, and vice-chancellor. After the king's death, he lost his deanery for refusing the engagement, but complied with all the other changes till the king's restoration, when he appeared with the Presbyterians, but was prevailed with to accept a bishoprick on the terms of the king's declaration, which never took place. He was a person of singular affability, meekness, and humility, and a frequent preacher†. He was a constant resident in his diocess, and a good old Puritan, who never concerned himself with the politics of the court. He died at Norwich January 16, 1676, *ætatis* seventy-six.

[On May the 22nd, 1676, died, aged seventy-three, the pious and learned Mr. John Tombes, B. D. ejected from the living of Leominster in Herefordshire. He was born in 1603 at Bewdley in Worcestershire. At fifteen years of age, having made a good proficiency in grammar-learning, he was sent to Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he studied under the celebrated Mr. William Pemble, upon whose decease he was chosen, though but twenty-one years of age, such was the reputation of his parts and learning, to succeed him in the catechetical lecture in that hall. He held this lecture about seven years, and then removed first to Worcester, and then to Leominster; in both places he had the name of a very popular preacher; and of the latter living he was, soon after, possessed; and as the emolument of it was small, lord viscount Scudamore, out of respect to Mr. Tombes, made an addition to it. In 1641 he was, through the spirit of the church-party, obliged to leave this town, and fled to Bristol, where general Fiennes gave him the living of All-Saints. The city being taken by the king's party, his wife and children being plundered, and a special warrant being out to apprehend him, he escaped with

* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 420.

† "He was universally allowed (says Mr. Granger) to be a man of extraordinary parts, and discovers in his writings a richness of fancy as well as a solidity of judgment." He was buried in the new chapel belonging to his palace, which he built at his own expense. History of England, vol. 3. p. 241.

difficulty, and got to London with his family, September 22, 1643. Here he was some time minister of Fenchurch, till his stipend was taken away for not practising the baptism of infants. He was then chosen preacher to the honourable societies at the Temple, on condition that he would not touch on the controversy about it in the pulpit. Here he continued four years, and was then dismissed for having published a treatise on the subject. He was, after this, chosen minister in the town of his nativity, and had also the parsonage of Ross given him, but he gave up his interest in the latter, to accept the mastership of the hospital at Ledbury. When the affections of the people at Bewdley were alienated from him, on account of his sentiments on baptism, he was restored to his living at Leominster. In 1653, he was appointed a trier for candidates for the ministry. After the Restoration he quitted his places, and laid down the ministry, and went to reside at Salisbury; from whence he had not long before married a rich widow, and conformed to the church as a lay-communicant. He was held in great respect by lord-chancellor Hyde, bishop Sanderson, bishop Barlow, and Dr. Ward, bishop of Salisbury, whom, during his residence in the city, he often visited. Mr. Wood says, "that there were few better disputants in his age than he was." Mr. Wall speaks of him as "a man of the best parts in our nation, and perhaps in any." Dr. Calamy represents him as one, "whom all the world must own to have been a very considerable man and an excellent scholar." And it perpetuates his memory with honour, that the lords, in their conference with the commons, in 1702, on the bill to prevent occasional conformity, supported their argument, that receiving the sacrament in church did not necessarily import an entire conformity, by an appeal to his example: "There was a very learned and famous man (they said) that lived at Salisbury, Mr. Tombes, who was a very zealous conformist in all points but in one, infant baptism." Mr. Tombes was one of the first of his day, who attempted a reformation in the church, and to remove all human inventions in the worship of God: with this view he preached a sermon, which he was commanded by the house of commons to print. So early as the year 1627, being led in the course of his lectures to discuss the subject of baptism, he was brought into doubts concerning the authority for that of infants, which for some years he continued to practise only on the ground of the apostle's words, 1 Cor. vii. 14. But the answer he received to that argument from an ingenious Baptist at Bristol put him to stand as to that text. When he was in London, he consulted some of the learned ministers there on the question, and at a particular conference debated the matters with them; but it broke up without obviating his objections. He afterward laid his reasons for doubting the lawfulness of the common practice in Latin before the Westminster assembly: after waiting many months, though he had been informed that a committee was to be appointed to consider the point, he could obtain

no answer, nor hear that it was so much as admitted to a debate; but his papers were tossed up and down from one to another to expose him. On being dismissed from the Temple, he printed his Apology; of which Mr. Batchiler says, "Having perused this mild Apology, I conceive that the ingenuity, learning, and piety, therein contained, deserve the press." He repeatedly took up his pen in this controversy, of which he was judged to be a perfect master, and he was often drawn into public disputations on it, particularly with Mr. Baxter, at Bewdley. "The victory, as usual (says Mr. Nelson), was claimed on both sides: but some of the learned, who were far from approving his cause, yielded the advantage both of learning and argument to Mr. Tombes*. He wrote more books on the subject than any one man in England; and, continuing minister of the parish of Bewdley, he gathered a separate church of those of his own persuasion; which, though not large, consisted of some members distinguished for their piety and solid judgment; and three, who were afterward eminent ministers of that persuasion, were trained up in it, viz. Mr. Richard Adams, Mr. John Eccles, and captain Boylston. It continued till about the time of the king's restoration. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 1. p. 278—293. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 33—37; and Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 249—253.—ED.]

The murmurs of the people against the government, increased rather than diminished. When the parliament met, they addressed the king to enter into an alliance with the Dutch, and other confederates, for preserving the Spanish Netherlands, as the only means to save Great Britain from Popery and slavery †. But his majesty declared, he would not suffer his prerogative of making war and peace to be invaded, nor be prescribed to as to his alliances. However, he consented to a separate peace with the Dutch, and then prorogued the parliament to the middle of July, by which time the French had almost completed their conquests of the Spanish Flanders. The chief thing the parliament could obtain, was the repeal of the Popish act *de hæretico comburendo* ‡.

* Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 251.

† Notwithstanding this alarm, on a calculation that was made, in the preceding year, the Nonconformists of all sorts, and Papists included, were found to be in proportion to the members of the church of England, as one to twenty; "which was a number (says bishop Sherlock) too small to hurt the constitution." His Test Act vindicated, as quoted by Dr. Calamy: Own Life, p. 63. MS.—ED.

‡ This writ was taken away, on the principle of the wisdom of prevention, under the apprehension of Popery, "to preclude the risk of being burnt themselves, not to exempt others from the possibility of being burnt." The conduct of administration, in this instance, "was the effect of fear, not of general and enlarged principles." Hobhouse's Treatise on Heresy, p. 29, note.

Another modern writer observes, that "though the state, in this instance, shewed some moderation, neither then, nor at any subsequent time, has any alteration been made in the constitution of the church." It still assumes exclusively to itself all truth, and may persecute some sectaries as heretics, and punish them by "excommunication, degradation, and other ecclesiastical censures, not extending

But when the campaign was over, his majesty did one of the most popular actions of his reign, which was marrying the princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York, to the prince of Orange. The king imagined he could oblige the Dutch, by this family alliance, to submit to a disadvantageous peace with the French; but when the prince declared roundly that he would not sacrifice his honour, nor the liberties of Europe for a wife, his majesty said he was an honest man, and gave him the princess without any conditions, to the great joy of all the true friends of their country, who had now a Protestant heir to the crown in view, though at some distance. The nuptials were solemnized November 4, 1677, and the royal pair soon after embarked privately for Holland.

This year died archbishop Sheldon, one of the most inveterate enemies of the Nonconformists, a man of persecuting principles and a tool of the prerogative, who made a jest of religion, any farther than it was a political engine of state *. He was succeeded by Dr. Soncroft, who was deprived for jacobitism at the Revolution †. Dr. Compton was promoted to the see of London, in the room of Dr. Henchman, a man of weak but arbitrary principles,

to death." It is not clear, that ecclesiastical judges may not, even now, doom them to the flames, though the civil power will not execute the sentence. High-church Politics, p. 64.—ED.

* "I scarce believe (says Dr. Grey), that the moderate, the impartial, the peaceable Mr. Neal, could write down so many untruths, in one paragraph, without blushing." The doctor expresses himself in another place, vol. 2. p. 320, displeased with Mr. Neal for saying, that Dr. Sheldon "never gave any great specimens of his piety or learning to the world," vol. 3. p. 388. In reply to this he quotes bishop Burnet, who allows that Sheldon "was esteemed a learned man before the wars." Here the doctor refers to bishop Kennet, who says that Sheldon "withdrew from all state-affairs some years before his death; and to Echard, who extols his learning and piety, as well as his munificent benefactions, which we have specified, vol. 3. p. 388, note. Dr. Samuel Parker, who had been his chaplain, says, "he was a man of undoubted piety; but though he was very assiduous at prayers, yet he did not set so great a value upon them as others did, nor regarded so much worship as the use of worship, placing the chief point of religion in the practice of a good life." Mr. Granger represents him as "meriting, by his benevolent heart, public spirit, prudent conduct, and exemplary piety, the highest and most conspicuous station in the church." These characters of his grace appear to contradict Mr. Neal. On the other hand, he is supported by the testimony of bishop Burnet, who says, "He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all, and spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy;" and the facts adduced above, shew his intolerant spirit. But all agree in describing him as a man whose generous and munificent deeds displayed a benevolent and liberal mind, and whose pleasantness and affability of manner were truly ingratiating. "His conversation (as Dr. Parker draws his character) was easy; he never sent any man away discontented; among his domestics he was both pleasant and grave, and governed his family with authority and courtesy." His advice to young noblemen and gentlemen, who, by the order of their parents, daily resorted to him, deserves to be mentioned. It was always this: "Let it be your principal care to become honest men, and afterward be as devout and religious as you will. No piety will be of any advantage to yourselves or any body else, unless you are honest and moral men." Granger, vol. 3. p. 230. British Biography, vol. 5. p. 25, 26, note; and Burnet, vol. 1. p. 257.—ED.

† "The bare mention of this is sufficient to expose Mr. Neal's sneer upon one of the greatest, the best, and most conscientious prelates." Dr. Grey, vol. 3. p. 376.—ED.

till it came to his turn to be a sufferer *. Many of the bishops waited on the king this summer, for his commands to put the penal laws into execution, which they did with so much diligence that Mr. Baxter says he was so weary of keeping his doors shut against persons who came to distrain his goods for preaching, that he was forced to leave his house, to sell his goods, and part with his very books †. About twelve years, says he, I have been driven one hundred miles from them, and when I had paid dear for the carriage, after two or three years I was forced to sell them. This was the case of many others, who, being separated from their families and friends, and having no way of subsistence, were forced to sell their books and household furniture, to keep them from starving.

This year [1677] died the Rev. Dr. Tho. Manton, ejected from Covent-garden: he was born in Somersetsshire 1620, educated at Tiverton-school, and from thence placed at Wadham-college, Oxon. He was ordained by Dr. Hall, bishop of Exeter, when he was not more than twenty years of age: his first settlement was at Stoke-Newington, near London, where he continued seven years, being generally esteemed an excellent preacher, and a learned expositor of Scripture. Upon the death or resignation of Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, he was presented to the living of Covent-garden by the Duke of Bedford, and preached to a numerous congregation. The doctor was appointed one of the protector's chaplains, and one of the triers of persons' qualifications for the ministry; which service he constantly attended. In the year 1660, he was very forward, in concert with the Presbyterian ministers, to accomplish the king's restoration, and was one of the commissioners at the Savoy conference; he was then created doctor of divinity, and offered the deanery of Rochester, but declined it. After he was turned out of his living in 1662, he held a private meeting in his own house, but was imprisoned, and met with several disturbances in his ministerial work. He was consulted in all the treaties for a comprehension with the established church, and was high in the esteem of the duke of Bedford, earl of Manchester, and other noble persons. At length, finding his constitution breaking, he resigned himself to God's wise disposal,

* Dr. Grey affects to doubt, whether Mr. Neal designed this character for bishop Henchman or bishop Compton; though Henchman is the immediate antecedent whose character more properly follows the mention of his death. The doctor appeals from Mr. Neal to Mr. Echard, who commends bishop Henchman's wisdom and prudence, and his admirable management of the king's escape after the battle of Worcester. Mr. Neal, in speaking of his arbitrary principles, till he was pinched, undoubtedly refers to his conduct, when the declaration for liberty of conscience was published. On this occasion he was much alarmed, and strictly enjoined his clergy to preach against Popery, though it offended the king. This prelate was lord-almoner, and he was the editor of Gentleman's Calling, supposed to be written by the author of the "Whole Duty of Man." Granger, vol. 3. p. 233. Bishop Compton's character will appear in the succeeding part of this history.—Ed.

† Baxter, part 3. p. 171, 172.

and being seized with a kind of lethargy, he died October 18, 1677, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of Stoke-Newington. Dr. Bates, in his funeral sermon, says, he was a divine of a rich fancy, a strong memory, and happy elocution, improved by diligent study. He was an excellent Christian, a fervent preacher, and every way a blessing to the church of God*. His practical works were published in five volumes in folio, at several times after his death, and are in great esteem among the dissenters to this day†.

About the same time died Mr. John Rowe, M.A., born in the year 1626, and educated for some time at Cambridge, but translated to Oxford about the time of the visitation in the year 1648. Here he was admitted M.A. and fellow of Corpus-Christi-college. He was first lecturer at Witney, in Oxfordshire; afterward preacher at Tiverton, in Devonshire, and one of the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and insufficient ministers in that county. Upon the death of Mr. William Strong, in the year 1654, he was called to succeed him in the abbey-church of Westminster; at which place, as in all others, his sermons were very much attended to by persons of all persuasions‡. On the 14th of March, 1659, he was appointed one of the approvers of ministers by act of parliament; but on the king's restoration he gave way to the change of the times, and was silenced with his brethren by the act of uniformity. He was a divine of great gravity and piety; his sermons were judicious and well studied, fit for the audience of men of the best quality in those times. After the Bartholomew act, he continued with his people, and preached to them in Bartholomew-close, and elsewhere, as the times would permit, till his death, which happened October 12, 1677, in the fifty-second year of his age. He lies buried in Bunhill-fields, under an altar

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 42; and Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 138.

† Dr. Manton was also in great estimation for his activity and address in the management of public affairs, and was generally in the chair in meetings of the dissenting ministers in the city. Dr. Grey questions the truth of Mr. Neal's assertion, that he was ordained at the age of twenty years, especially as he gives no authority for it. "Bishop Hall (he says) was too canonical a man to admit any person into deacon's orders at that age." If the fact be mis-stated, he must be destitute of all candour who can impute this to a wilful falsification. Archbishop Usher used to call Dr. Manton a voluminous preacher, meaning, that he had the art of reducing the substance of volumes of divinity into a narrow compass. But it was true, in the literal sense, he was voluminous as an author: for his sermons run into several folios, one of which contains one hundred and ninety sermons on the one hundred and nineteenth psalm. The task of reading these, when he was a youth, to his aunt, had an unhappy effect on the mind of lord Bolingbroke. In a letter to Dr. Swift, he writes, "My next shall be as long as one of Dr. Manton's sermons, who taught my youth to yawn, and prepared me to be a high churchman, that I might never hear him read, nor read him more." Granger's History, vol. 3. p. 304, note.—ED.

‡ Mr. Rowe was a good scholar, and well read in the fathers; and had such a knowledge of Greek, that he began very young to keep a diary in that language; which he continued till his death; but he burnt most of it in his last illness. Palmer.—ED.

monument of a brick foundation*. The words with which he concluded his last sermon were these: "We should not desire to continue longer in this world than to glorify God, to finish our work, and to be ready to say, Farewell, time; welcome, blessed eternity; even so; come, Lord Jesus!"

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE POPISH PLOT TO THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES II.
IN THE YEAR 1684—5.

1678.

THE king having concluded a peace with the Dutch, became mediator between the French and the confederates, at the treaty of Nimeguen; where the former managed the English court so dexterously, that the emperor and Spaniards were obliged to buy their peace, at the expense of the best part of Flanders.

From this time to the end of the king's reign, we meet with little else but domestic quarrels between the king and his parliament; sham plots, and furious sallies of rage and revenge, between the court and country parties. The Nonconformists were very great sufferers by these contests; the penal laws being in full force, and the execution of them in the hands of their avowed enemies.

No sooner was the nation at peace abroad, but a formidable plot broke out at home, to take away the king's life, to subvert the constitution, to introduce Popery, and to extirpate the Protestant religion root and branch. It was called the Popish plot, from the nature of the design, and the quality of the conspirators, who were no less than pope Innocent XI., cardinal Howard his legate, and the generals of the Jesuits in Spain and at Rome †. When the king was taken off, the duke of York was to receive the crown as a gift from the pope, and hold it in fee. If there happened any disturbance, the city of London was to be fired, and the infamy of the whole affair to be laid upon the Presbyterians and fanatics, in hopes that the churchmen, in the heat of their fury would cut them in pieces, which would make way for the more easy subversion of the Protestant religion. Thus an insurrection, and perhaps a second massacre of the Protestants was intended; for this purpose they had great numbers of Popish officers in pay, and some thousands of men secretly listed to appear as occasion required; as was deposed by the oaths of Bedloe, Tongue, Dr. Oates, and others.

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 39. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 142.

† Echard, p. 934.

The discovery of this plot spread a prodigious alarm over the nation, and awakened the fears of those who had been lulled into a fatal security. The king's life was the more valuable, as the Popish successor was willing to run all risks for the introducing of his religion. The murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey* at this juncture, a zealous and active Protestant justice of peace, increased men's suspicions of a plot, and the depositions upon oath of the above-mentioned witnesses, seemed to put it beyond all doubt; for upon their impeachment, sir G. Wakeman the queen's physician, Mr. Ed. Coleman the duke of York's secretary, Mr. Richard Langhorne, and eight other Romish priests and Jesuits, were apprehended and secured. When the parliament met, they voted that there was a damnable and hellish plot contrived and carried on by Popish recusants against the life of the king and the Protestant religion. Five Popish lords were ordered into custody, viz. lord Stafford, Powis, Arundel, Petre, and Bellasys. A proclamation was issued against Papists; and the king was addressed to remove the duke of York from his person and councils.

Though the king gave himself no credit to the plot, yet finding it impracticable to stem the tide of the people's zeal, he consented to the execution of the law upon several of the condemned criminals: Mr. Coleman, and five of the Jesuits, were executed at Tyburn, who protested their innocence to the last; and a year

* The death of this gentleman, an able magistrate and of a fair character, was deemed a much stronger evidence of the reality of the plot, than the oath of Oates. The foolish circumstance of his name being anagramatized to "I find murdered by rogues," helped to confirm the opinion of his being murdered by Papists. His funeral was celebrated with the most solemn pomp. Seventy-two clergymen preceded the corpse, which was followed by a thousand persons, most of whom were of eminence and rank. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 400. 8vo.

This shews the interest which the public took in this event. So great was the alarm this plot raised, that posts and chains were put up in all parts of the city, and a considerable number of the trained-bands drawn out night after night, well-armed, and watching with as much care as if a great insurrection were expected before the morning. The general topics of conversation were designed massacres, to be perpetrated by assassins ready for the purpose, and by recruits from abroad. A sudden darkness at eleven o'clock, on the Sunday after the murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey, so that the ministers could not read their notes in the pulpit without candles, was looked upon as awfully ominous. The minds of people were kept in agitation and terror by dismal stories and frequent executions. Young and old quaked with fear. Not a house was unprovided with arms. No one went to rest at night without the apprehension of some tragical event to happen before the morning. This state of alarm and terror lasted not for a few weeks only, but months. The pageantry of mock-processions, employed on this occasion, heightened the aversion to Popery, and inflamed resentment against the conspirators. In one of these, amidst a vast crowd of spectators, who filled the air with their acclamations, and expressed great satisfaction in the show, there were carried on men's shoulders, through the principal streets, the effigies of the pope and the representative of the devil behind him, whispering in his ear and caressing him (though he afterward deserted him, before he was committed to the flames), together with the likeness of the dead body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, carried before him by a man on horseback, to remind the people of his execrable murder. A great number of dignitaries in their copes, with crosses of monks, friars, Jesuits, and Popish bishops with their mitres, trinkets, and appurtenances, formed the rest of the procession. Dr. Calamy's own Life, MSS. p. 67, 68.—Ed.

or two forward lord Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill. But the court party turned the plot into ridicule; the king told lord Halifax, "that it was not probable that the Papists should conspire to kill him, for have I not been kind enough to them?" says his majesty. "Yes (says his lordship), you have been too kind indeed to them; but they know you will only trot, and they want a prince that will gallop." The court employed their tool sir Roger L'Estrange*, to write a weekly paper against the plot; and the country party encouraged Mr. Car to write a weekly packet of advice from Rome, discovering the frauds and superstitions of that court; for which he was arraigned, convicted, and fined in the court of King's-bench, and his papers forbid to be printed. An admirable order for a Protestant court of judicature!

But it was impossible to allay the fears of the parliament, who had a quick sense of the dangers of Popery, and therefore passed a bill, to disable all persons of that religion from sitting in either house of parliament, which is still in force, being excepted out of the act of toleration†. The act requires all members of parliament to renounce by oath the doctrine of transubstantiation, and to declare the worship of the Virgin Mary, and of the saints, practised in the church of Rome, to be idolatrous. Bishop Gunning argued against charging the church of Rome with idolatry; but the house paid him little regard; and when the bill was passed, he took the oath in common with the rest.

The duke of York got himself excepted out of the bill‡, but the fears of his accession to the crown were so great, that there was a loud talk of bringing a bill into the house, to exclude him from the succession as a Papist; upon which the king came to the house November 9, and assured them, that he would consent to any bills for securing the Protestant religion, provided they did not impeach the right of succession, nor the descent of the crown in the true line, nor the just rights of any Protestant successor. But this not giving satisfaction, his majesty, towards the end of December, first prorogued, and then dissolved the parliament, after they had been chosen almost eighteen years.

It may be proper to observe concerning the Popish plot§, that

* This person, of whom we have already spoken, formerly called "Oliver's Fiddler," was now the admired "Buffoon of High-church." He called the shows, mentioned in our last note, "hobby-horsing processions." Calamy's MSS. p. 67.—ED.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 211.

‡ This point was carried in favour of the duke by no more than two votes. Had it been negatived, he would, in the next place, have been voted away from the king's presence. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 72.—ED.

§ It was a happy effect of the discovery of this plot, that while it raised in the whole body of the English Protestants alarming apprehensions of the dangers to which their civil and religious liberties were exposed, it united them against their common enemy. Mutual prejudices were softened; animosities subsided: the

though the king's life might not be immediately struck at, yet there was such strong evidence to prove the reality of a plot to subvert the constitution and introduce Popery, that no disinterested person can doubt it. Mr. Rapin, who had carefully considered the evidence, concludes that there was a meditated design, supported by the king and the duke of York, to render the king absolute, and introduce the Popish religion; for this is precisely what was meant by the plot: the design of killing the king was only an appendage to it, and an effect of the zeal of some private persons, who thought the plot would be crowned with the surer success, by speedily setting the duke of York upon the throne. Bishop Burnet adds*, that though the king and he agreed in private conversation, that the greatest part of the evidence was a contrivance, yet he confesses it appeared by Coleman's letters, that the design of converting the nation, and of rooting out the northern heresy, was very near being executed†. To which I beg leave to add, that though the design of killing the king did not take place at this time, his majesty felt the effects of it, in his violent death, four or five years afterward.

This year died Mr. Thomas Vincent, M. A. the ejected minister of Milk-street, born at Hertford May 1634, and educated in Christ-church, Oxford‡. He was chaplain to Robert earl of Leicester, and afterward minister of Milk-street, London, till the act of uniformity took place. He was an humble and a zealous preacher, of moderate principles, and an unspotted life. He continued in the city throughout the whole plague, the awfulness of which gave him a peculiar fervency and zeal in his ministerial work. On this occasion he published some very awakening treatises; as, "A spiritual antidote for a dying soul;" and, "God's terrible voice in the city§." He not only preached in public, but visited all the sick who sent for him in their

dissenters were regarded as the true friends of their country, and their assemblies began to be more public and numerous. At this time an evening lecture was set up in a large room of a coffee-house, in Exchange-alley: it was conducted by Mr. John Shower, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Dorrington, and Mr. Thomas Goodwin; and it was supported and attended by some of the principal merchants, and by several who afterward filled the most eminent posts in the city of London. *Tong's Life of Shower*, p. 17, 18.—ED.

* This corresponds with his declarations to sir John Resesby; whom at one time he told, in the presence of the lord-treasurer, at the duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, "he took it to be some artifice, and that he did not believe one word of the whole story." At another time his majesty said to him, "Bedloe was a rogue, and that he was satisfied he had given some false evidence concerning the death of sir Edmundbury Godfrey." *Memoirs*, p. 67. 72.

Dr. Grey refers to Echard and bishop Burnet, as fully discrediting Mr. Neal's account of this plot; and with this view gives a long passage from Carte's History of the Duke of Ormond, vol. 2. p. 517.

The reader may see the evidence both for and against it fully and fairly stated by Dr. Harris, *Life of Charles II.* vol. 2. p. 137—157.—ED.

† Page 198—214.

‡ *Cal. cont.* p. 30.

§ *Calamy*, vol. 2. p. 32. *Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. 1. p. 125.

infected houses, being void of all fear of death. He continued in health during the whole of that dreadful calamity, and was afterward useful, as the times would permit, to a numerous congregation, being generally respected by men of all persuasions; but his excessive labours put an end to his life October 15, 1678, in the forty-fifth year of his age*.

Mr. Theophilus Gale, M. A. and fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, was ejected from Winchester, where he had been stated preacher for some time; after which he travelled abroad as tutor to the son of Philip lord Wharton. Upon his return, he settled with Mr. John Rowe as an assistant, in which station he died. The Oxford historian allows, that he was a man of great reading, an exact philologist and philosopher, a learned and industrious divine, as appears by his *Court of the Gentiles*, and the *Vanity of Pagan Philosophy*. He kept a little academy, for the instruction of youth, and was well versed in the fathers, being at the same time a good metaphysician and school divine†. He died of a consumption this year [1678], in the forty-ninth year of his age‡.

The king having summoned a new parliament to meet in March, all parties exerted themselves in the elections; the Non-conformists appeared generally for those who were for prosecuting the Popish plot, and securing a Protestant succession: these being esteemed patriots and friends of liberty, in opposition to those who made a loud cry for the church, and favoured the arbitrary measures of the court, and the personal interest of the duke of York. The elections in many places were the occasion of great heat, but were carried almost every where against the court. Mr. Rapin says, that the Presbyterians, though long oppressed, were still numerous in corporations. The semi-conformists, as Mr. Echard calls the moderate churchmen, and the dissenters were on one side, and the high churchmen and Papists on the other. Before the parliament assembled, the duke of York was sent out of the way to Flanders, but with this positive assurance, that his majesty would consent to nothing in

* Mr. Thomas Vincent had the whole New Testament and Psalms by heart. He took this pains, as he often said, "not knowing but they who took from him his pulpit, might in time demand his Bible also." Calamy. Besides his publications enumerated by this writer, Mr. Vincent, on occasion of an eruption of mount *Ætna*, published a book, entitled, "Fire and Brimstone: 1. From heaven in the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly. 2. From earth, in the burning of Mount *Ætna* lately. 3. From hell, in burning of the wicked eternally." 1670, 8vo. Granger's History, vol. 3. p. 329, note.—ED.

† Mr. Gale was a frequent preacher in the university and a considerable tutor: bishop Hopkins was one of his pupils. He left all his real and personal estate for the education and benefit of poor students, and his library to the college in New-England, except the philosophical part, which he reserved for the use of students in England. The world had like to have lost his great and learned work, *The Court of the Gentiles*, in the fire of London. A friend, to whose care he left his desk while he was travelling, threw it into the cart merely to make the load, when he was removing his own goods. Palmer, p. 190. British Biography, vol. 5. p. 182—186.—ED.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 64. Palmer, vol. 1. p. 189.

prejudice of his right of succession. And farther to ingratiate himself with the people, and make a show of moderation, a new privy-council was chosen out of the low church party; but this not satisfying as long as the duke's succession was in view, the commons, soon after the opening the sessions, ordered in a bill to disable the duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of England, and carried it through the house with a high hand. Upon which his majesty came to the house, and dissolved them, before they had sat three months. This threw the nation into new convulsions, and produced a great number of pamphlets against the government, the act for restraining the press being lately expired.

The Popish plot having fixed a brand of infamy and ingratitude on the whole body of Roman Catholics, the courtiers attempted to relieve them, by setting on foot a sham Protestant plot, and fathering it upon the Presbyterians*: for this purpose spies and other mercenaries were employed, to bring news from all parts of the town, which was then full of cabals. At length a plot was formed by one Dangerfield, a subtle and dangerous Papist, but a very villain, who had been lately got out of jail by the assistance of one Mrs. Cellier, a midwife, a lewd woman, who carried him to the countess of Powis, whose husband was in the Tower for the Popish plot; with her he formed his scheme, and having got a list of the names of the chief Protestant nobility and gentry, he wrote treasonable letters to them, to be left at the houses of the Nonconformists and other active Protestants in several parts of England, that search being made upon some other pretences, when the letters were found, they might be apprehended for treason. At the same time, he intruded into the company of some of the most zealous enemies of Popery about town, and informed the king and the duke of York, that he had been invited to accept of a commission; that a new form of government was to be set up; and that the king and royal family were to be banished. The story was received with pleasure, and Dangerfield had a present, and a pension of 3*l.* a week, to carry on his correspondence. Having got some little acquaintance with colonel Mansel in Westminster, he made up a bundle of seditious letters, with the assistance of Mrs. Cellier, and having laid them in a dark corner of Mansel's room behind the bed, he sent for officers from the custom-house, to search for prohibited goods while he was out of town; but none were found, except the bundle of letters, which, upon examination of the parties concerned, before the king and council, were proved to be counterfeit; upon which the court disowned the plot, and having taken away Dangerfield's pension, sent him to Newgate. Search being made into Mrs. Cellier's house, there was found a little book in a meal-tub, written very fair, and tied

* Burnet, vol. 2, p. 272. Rapin, vol. 2, p. 741.

up with ribands, which contained the whole scheme of the fiction. It was dictated by lady Powis, and proved by her maid to be laid there by her order, from whence it obtained the name of the Meal-tub plot. Dangerfield, who was a notorious liar, finding himself undone if he persisted in what he could not support, made an ample confession, and published a narrative, wherein he declared that he was employed by the Popish party; and chiefly by the Popish lords in the Tower, with the countess of Powis, to invent the Meal-tub plot, which was to have thrown the Popish plot wholly upon the Presbyterians. It was printed by order of the house of commons in the year 1680. Dangerfield being pardoned, went out of the way into Flanders; but returning to England in king James's reign, he was tried for it, and sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail from Newgate to Tyburn; in his return from whence he was murdered by one Frances in the coach. Mrs. Cellier was tried June 11, 1680, before lord-chief-justice Scroggs, and acquitted for want of evidence. But the discovery, instead of relieving the Papists from the charge of the Popish plot, turned very much to their disadvantage; for when the next parliament met, the house of commons resolved, that sir Robert Car be expelled the house, and sent to the Tower, for declaring publicly in the city of Bristol, that there was no Popish but a Presbyterian plot*. Sir Robert Yeomans was sent into custody on the same account; and Mr. Richard Thompson, a clergyman, was impeached for decrying the Popish plot in his sermon, January 30, 1679, and for turning the same upon the Protestants; for which, and for preaching against the liberty and property of the subject, and the privileges of parliament, the house declared him a scandal and reproach to his profession.

This year [1679] died the reverend and learned Mr. Matt. Pool, M. A. the ejected minister of St. Michael's Querne: he was born in the city of York, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, a divine of great piety, charity, and literature. He was indefatigable in his labours, and left behind him (says the Oxford historian) the character of a most celebrated critic and casuist. After ten years' close application, he published his *Synopsis Criticorum*†, in five folios. He afterward entered on

* State Tracts, vol. 2, p. 217.

† "The plan of this work (says Mr. Granger) was judicious, and the execution more free from errors than seems consistent with so great a work, finished in so short a time, by one man." It includes not only an abridgment of the "*Critici Sacri*," and other expositors, but extracts from a great number of treatises and pamphlets, that would have been otherwise lost. It was undertaken by the advice of the learned bishop Lloyd; it was encouraged and patronized by Tillotson, and the king granted a patent for the privilege of printing it. Mr. Pool formed and completed a scheme for maintaining young men of eminent parts at the university of Cambridge, for the study of divinity: and by his solicitations, in a short time raised 900*l.* a year for that purpose. The scheme sunk at the Restoration; but to it the world is said, in some measure, to owe Dr. Sherlock, afterwards dean of St. Paul's. While he was drawing up his *Synopsis*, it was his custom to rise at three

a commentary upon the whole Bible, but proceeded no farther than the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah: however, the design, being valuable, was carried on, and completed by other hands. Mr. Pool published several excellent treatises, as *The Nullity of the Romish Faith, &c.* for which he was threatened to be assassinated*; his name being in Dr. Oates's list: he therefore retired to Holland, but died, as it is thought, by poison at Amsterdam, in the month of October, 1679, ætat. fifty-six.

Dr. Thomas Goodwin, born at Rolisby in Norfolk, and educated in Catherine-hall, Cambridge. He was a great admirer of Dr. Preston, and afterward himself a famous preacher in Cambridge. In 1634, he left the university, being dissatisfied with the terms of conformity. In 1639, he went into Holland, and became pastor of an Independent congregation at Arnheim. He returned to London about the beginning of the long-parliament, and was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly of divines. After the king's death, he was made president of Magdalen-college, and one of the triers of ministers. He was in high esteem with Oliver Cromwell, and attended him on his death-bed †. In the common register of the university he is said to be, "in scriptis theologicis quam plurimis orbi notus," i. e. well known to the world by many theological writings. After the Restoration he resigned his presidentship, and retired to London, where he continued the exercise of his ministry till his death, which happened February 23, 1679—80, in the eightieth year of his age.

or four o'clock, and take a raw egg about eight or nine, and another about twelve; then to continue his studies till the afternoon was far advanced. He spent the evening at some friend's house, particularly alderman Ashurst's, and would be exceedingly but innocently merry: when it was nearly time to go home, he would give the conversation a serious turn, saying, "Let us now call for a reckoning." His "Annotations" were completed by other hands; the fifty-ninth and sixtieth chapters of Isaiah by Mr. Jackson of Moulsey. Dr. Collinges wrote the notes on the remainder of that prophet, on Jeremiah, Lamentations, the four Evangelists, the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians, to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, and on the book of Revelations. The annotations on Ezekiel, and the minor prophets were drawn up by Mr. Hurst, and on Daniel, by Mr. William Cooper. Mr. Vinke commented on the Acts, Mr. Mayo on the Romans. The notes on the Ephesians, and the Epistles of James, Peter and Jude, were composed by Mr. Viel; on Philipians and Colossians, by Mr. Thomas Adams; on the Thessalonians by Mr. Barker; on the Hebrews by Mr. Obad. Hughes. Mr. Howe undertook the three Epistles of John. Calamy and Palmer, ut supra. Granger's History, vol. 3. p. 311; and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 36.—Ed.

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 14. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 133.

† On which occasion he was overheard by Dr. Tillotson to express himself, boldly and enthusiastically confident of the protector's recovery; and when he found himself mistaken, to exclaim, in a subsequent address to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." He was a man much addicted to retirement and deep contemplation, which dispose the mind to enthusiastical confidence. He and Dr. Owen are called by Wood, "the two Atlases and Patriarchs of Independency." In the fire of London he lost half of his library, to the value of 500*l.* but he was thankful that the loss fell on the books of human learning only, those on divinity being preserved. He is supposed to be the Independent minister and head of a college described by the "Spectator," no. 494. Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 16. Grey, vol. 1. p. 185. Granger, vol. 3. p. 303.—Ed.

He was a good scholar, an eminent divine and textuary. His works are since printed in five folios*.

The last parliament being dissolved abruptly, a new one was convened for October 17, 1680, in which the elections went pretty much as in the last, the cry of the people being, No Popery, no pensioners, no arbitrary government. But the king prorogued them from time to time for above a twelvemonth, without permitting them to finish any business. His majesty falling sick in the summer, the duke of York returned immediately to court without the king's leave†, which alarmed the people, and made them eager for the sitting of the parliament to regulate the succession‡. This gave rise to sundry petitions,§ signed by a great number of hands both in city and country, which the king received with the utmost displeasure, telling the petitioners, that he was sole judge of what was fit to be done: "You would not take it well (says he) if I should meddle with your affairs, and I desire you will not meddle with mine." After this the king issued out his proclamation, declaring them to be illegal, and forbidding his subjects to promote any subscriptions, or to join in any petitions of this kind, upon peril of the utmost rigour of the law. Warrants were issued against several of the petitioners, and indictments preferred against others. But at the next sessions of the common-council of London, January 21, the court agreed that no such petition should be presented from them; and the king returned them thanks for it||. Upon which addresses were procured from divers parts of the nation, expressing their detestation and abhorrence of the seditious practice of the late petitioners, and referring the sitting of the parliament absolutely to the king's sovereign pleasure, from whence they obtained the name of abhorrrers. In these addresses, they offer their lives and fortunes for the preservation of his majesty's person and government, and for the succession of the duke of York. They renounce the right of the subject's petitioning, or intermeddling in affairs of state, and lay their liberties at the feet of the prerogative, promising to stand by it, and to be obedient

* Calamy's Account, vol. 2. p. 61. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 1. p. 183.

† If we may credit sir John Reresby, who says he had the whole story from Feversham, to whose intervention the revocation of the duke was principally owing; the king's illness was pretended, and the duke was sent for with his privacy, though not above four persons knew any thing of the matter. The duke of Mounmouth, who thought he had the king to himself, knew nothing of it, till his highness actually arrived at Windsor: "So close and reserved (says sir John), could the king be, when he conceived it to be necessary." *Memoirs*, p. 97, 98.—*Ed.*

‡ Echard, p. 982. 987.

§ Dr. Grey, by a quotation from Hornby's "Caveat against the Whigs," brings a charge against these petitions, that the signatures were obtained by bribes and impositions. Such practices, if truly stated in this instance, have not been confined to that occasion, or those times; but it is not easy to conceive, that a man of integrity, in any party, can have recourse to them. The proposal of adopting them ought to be rejected with contempt and indignation.—*Ed.*

|| Burnet, vol. 2. p. 276.

without reserve to his majesty's commands ; which addresses were printed in the Gazettes, and dispersed over the kingdom. These proceedings threw the people into a ferment ; several of the privy-council deserted their stations, and desired to be excused their attendance at council ; some in the admiralty resigned, and because they might not petition, an association was formed by sundry persons, and copied after the example of that in queen Elizabeth's time, for the defence of his majesty's person, and the security of the Protestant religion, and to revenge his majesty's death upon the Papists, if he should come to any violent death. A model of which was said to be found among the earl of Shaftesbury's papers. This was resented very highly at court, as done without the royal authority, and produced the next year another set of ranting addresses from all parts of the kingdom, in which their lives and fortunes were given up to the king, and the associations branded with the names of damnable, cursed, execrable, traitorous, seditious, and a bond of rebellion, which they detest and abhor from their very souls ; in most of which the Nonconformists are marked as enemies of the king and his government, and their conventicles as the encouragement and life of the associations. They promise to stand by the duke's succession, and to choose such members for the next parliament as shall do the king's business according to his mind. But notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the court, the near approach of a Popish successor awakened men's fears, and kept them upon their guard.

The petitioners for the sitting of the parliament, and their adversaries, the abhorers of such petitions, gave rise to the two grand parties which have since divided the nation, under the distinguishing names of Whig and Tory.

The whigs or low churchmen were the more zealous Protestants, declared enemies of Popery, and willing to remove to a farther distance from their superstitions ; they were firm to the constitution and liberties of their country ; and for a union, or at least a toleration, of dissenting Protestants. The clergy of this persuasion were generally men of larger principles, and therefore were distinguished by the name of Latitudinarian divines ; their laity were remarkable for their zeal in promoting the bill of exclusion, as the only expedient to secure the Protestant establishment in this kingdom. They were for confining the royal prerogative within the limits of the law, for which reason their adversaries charged them with republican principles, and gave them the reproachful name of whigs, or sour milk, a name first given to the most rigid Scots covenanters.

The tories or high churchmen stood on the side of the prerogative, and were for advancing the king above law ; they went into all the arbitrary court-measures, and adopted into our religion, says Dr. Welwood*, a Mahometan principle, under the

* Memoirs, p. 125.

names of passive obedience and nonresistance, which, since the times of that impostor who first broached it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the world. These gentlemen leaned more to a coalition with the Papists, than with the Presbyterians*. They cried up the name and authority of the church, were for forcing the dissenters to conformity, by all kinds of coercive methods: but with all their zeal, they were many of them persons of lax and dissolute morals, and would risk the whole Protestant religion rather than go into any measures of exclusion, or limitation of a Popish successor. Most of the clergy, says a member of parliament, are infected with the Laudian principles of raising money without parliament; one or two bishops give measures to the rest, and they to their clergy, so that all derive their politics from one or two, and are under the influence of an overawing power. No men did more to enslave the nation, and introduce Popery into the establishment, than they: their adversaries therefore gave them the name of Tories, a title first given to Irish robbers, who lived upon plunder, and were prepared for any daring or villanous enterprise.

The Nonconformists fell in unanimously with the whigs or low churchmen, in all points relating to liberty and the civil constitution, as they must always do if they are consistent with themselves; but these with their allies were not a sufficient balance for the Tories, the road to preferment lying through the territories of power; but they were kept in heart with some secret hopes, that by a steady adherence to the constitution they should one time or other obtain a legal toleration. But the superior influence of the Tories above the whigs, was the occasion of the severities which befel the Nonconformists in the latter part of this reign.

When parliament met October 21, 1680, the commons were very warm in maintaining the Protestant religion and the privileges of parliament †. They asserted the rights of the people to petition for the sitting of parliaments, and voted the abhorers betrayers of the liberties of the nation. Among other grievances they complained, that the edge of the penal laws was turned against Protestant dissenters, while the Papists remained in a manner untouched.— That the test-act had little effect, because the Papists, either by dispensation obtained from Rome, submitted to those tests, and held their offices themselves; or those put in their places were so favourable to the same interest, that Popery itself had rather gained than lost ground by that act. They declared for that very association, to revenge the king's death upon the Papists, if his majesty should happen to be assassinated, which the Tories had abhorred: and in the month of November revived the bill to disable the duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of these realms. It was introduced by lord Russel, and passed the commons by a great majority, but was thrown out of the house of lords

* Burnet, Collect. Debates, p. 163. † Rapin, vol. 2. p. 714. Echard, p. 995.

by a majority of thirty voices*, noes 63, yeas 33, the bench of bishops being in the negative, and the king present during the whole debate. It has been said, king Charles came into the bill at first, the favourite mistress having prevailed with him to abandon his brother, for a large sum of money, and for an act of parliament to enable him to dispose of the crown by will, under certain restrictions; but a foreign Popish court offering more money, he opposed it to the last†.

The parliament being inclined to relieve the Nonconformists, appointed a committee November 18, who agreed upon a comprehension with the dissenters, upon much the same terms with those already mentioned; they were to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church; the surplice was to be omitted, except in cathedrals and the king's chapel; the ceremonies to be left indifferent. And as for such Protestants as could not be comprehended within these terms, they were to have a toleration, and freedom from the penal statutes, upon condition of subscribing a declaration of allegiance, &c. and of assembling with open doors. Bishop Burnet says, the bill for a comprehension was offered by the episcopal party in the house of commons, but that the friends of the dissenters did not seem forward to promote it, because, as Mr. Baxter observes, they found the bill would not go; or if it had passed the commons, it would have been thrown out by the bishops in the house of lords; the clergy, says Kennet, being no farther in earnest than as they apprehended the knife of the Papists at their throats.

When the above-mentioned bill was brought into the house December 21, entitled, An act for uniting his majesty's Protestant subjects, the first gentleman of the court party who spoke against it observed, "that there were a sort of men who would neither be advised nor overruled, but under the pretence of conscience break violently through all laws whatsoever, to the great disturbance both of church and state; therefore he thought it more convenient to have a law for forcing the dissenters to yield to the church, and not to force the church to yield to them—." Another said, "he was afraid, that if once the government should begin to yield to the dissenters, it would be as in *forty-one*, nothing would serve but an utter subversion: the receiving of one thing would give occasion for demanding more; and it would be impossible to give them any satisfaction, without laying all open, and running into

* Lord Halifax, a man of the clearest head, finest wit, and fairest eloquence, who was in judgment against the bill, appeared as leader in opposition to it, and made so powerful a defence, that he alone, by the confession of all, influenced the house, and persuaded them to throw out the bill. "One would have thought (says sir John Reresby), that so signal a piece of service had been of a degree and nature never to be forgotten." But when the duke afterward came to be king, he removed lord Halifax from the privy seal to the presidency of the council, purely to make room for another, and in the end quite laid him aside. *Memoirs*, p. 104, 105.—
ED.

+ Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 127.

confusion*.” This was the common language of the tories. And there has been a loud cry against the dissenters, for their obstinacy and perverseness, though not a single concession had been offered since the Restoration, to let the world see how far they would yield; or by receiving a denial, to get an opportunity to reproach them with greater advantage. But in favour of the bill it was urged by others, “that it was intended for the preservation of the church, and the best bill that could be made in order thereto, all circumstances considered—If we are to deal with a stubborn sort of people, who in many things prefer their humour before reason, or their own safety, or the public good, this is a very good time to see whether they will be drawn by the cords of love or no. The bill will be very agreeable to the Christian charity which our church professes; and it may be hoped, that in the time of this imminent danger, they will consider their own safety, and the safety of the Protestant religion, and no longer keep afoot the unhappy divisions among us, on which the Papists ground their hopes; but when they see the church so far condescend, as to dispense with the surplice, and those other things they scruple, that they will submit to the rest which are enjoined by law, that so we may unite against the common enemy. But if this bill should not have the desired effect, but on the contrary, the dissenters should continue their animosities and disobedience to the church, I think still the church will gain very much hereby, and leave the party without excuse—.” This seems agreeable to reason.

Although the bill for a comprehension was committed, it did not pass the house, being changed for another, entitled, “An act to exempt his majesty’s Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties imposed upon the Papists by the act of 35th Eliz.†” By which act Nonconformists were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, or obliged to abjure, that is, depart the realm never to return. This terrible law had lain dormant almost eighty years, but was now revived, and threatened to be put in execution by the tories. The repeal passed the house of commons with a high hand, but went heavily through the house of lords; the bishops apprehending that the terror of the law might be of some use; but when it should have been offered to the king for the royal assent at the close of the session, it was missing, and never heard of any more, the clerk of the crown having withdrawn it from the table by the king’s particular order. The king (says Burnet‡) had no mind openly to deny the bill, but less mind to pass it; and therefore this illegal method was taken, which was a high offence in the officer of the house, and would have been severely punished in the next session, if the parliament had not been abruptly dissolved. Thus the Nonconformists were sawn to pieces between the king, the bishops, and

* Echard, p. 999.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 300.

‡ Ibid.

the parliament; when one party was willing to give them relief, the other always stood in the way. The parliament was their enemy for about twelve years, and now they are softened, the king and the court-bishops are inflexible; and his majesty will rather sacrifice the constitution to his despotic will, than exempt them from an old law, which subjected them to banishment and death.

However, the morning before the house was prorogued, January 10, two votes were passed of a very extraordinary nature, "1. Resolved *nemine contradicente*, That it is the opinion of this house, that the acts of parliament made in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James against Popish recusants ought not to be extended against Protestant dissenters. 2. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this house, that the prosecution of Protestant dissenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom." Bishop Burnet* says, these resolutions were thought an invasion of the legislature, when one house pretended to suspend the execution of the laws, which was to act like dictators in the state. But with all due submission I should think that this cannot be construed a suspension of those laws, and that a house of commons, which is not suffered to sit and repeal laws, or when they have repealed them have their bills withdrawn illegally by the crown, may have liberty to declare their judgment that the continuance of those laws is burdensome to the state. They must do so, says Mr. Coke†, in order to a repeal. If the bill for the repeal of the old Popish act *de hæretico comburendo*, for burning heretics, which the parliament were afraid might be revived in a Popish reign, had been lost in this manner, might not the parliament have declared the execution of that law a weakening to the Protestant interest, or dangerous to the peace of the kingdom?

While the parliament was endeavouring to relieve the dissenters, and charging the miseries of the kingdom upon the Papists, many of the bishops and clergy of the church of England were pleased to see the court inclined to prosecute the Nonconformists. The clergy in general, says Rapin‡, were attached to the court; men of doubtful religion were promoted, and there was reason to charge them with leaning to Popery. Even some able champions against Popery went so far into the court-measures as to impute the calamities of the times to the Nonconformists, and to raise the cry of the populace against them. Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, who had written an *Irenicum* in favour of liberty, and against impositions, in his sermon before the lord-mayor, May 2, this year, entitled, "The mischief of separation," condemned all the dissenters as schismatics; and very gravely advised them not to complain of persecution. When the sermon was published it brought upon the doctor several learned adversaries, as, Mr.

* Burnet, vol. 2. p. 301.

† Page 561.

‡ Page 711.

Baxter, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Howe, Mr. Barret, and Dr. Owen; from which last divine, who wrote with great temper and seriousness, I will venture to transcribe the following passage, without entering into the argument*: “After so many of the Nonconformists have died in common jails (says the doctor), so many have endured long imprisonments, not a few being at this day in the same durance; so many driven from their habitations into a wandering condition, to preserve for a while the liberty of their persons; so many have been reduced to want and penury, by the taking away their goods, and from some the very instruments of their livelihood. After the prosecution that has been against them in all courts of justice in this nation, on informations, indictments, and suits, to the great charge of all who have been so persecuted, and the ruin of some. After so many ministers and their families have been brought into the utmost outward straits which nature can subsist under; after all their perpetual fears and dangers wherewith they have been exercised and disquieted, they think it hard to be censured for complaining, by them who are at ease.” The doctor endeavoured to support his charge by the suffrage of the French Presbyterians; and Compton, bishop of London, applied to Monsieur Le Moyne, and several others†, for their opinions; as if truth were to be determined by numbers; or as if the English Presbyterians could pay a vast deference to their judgments, who had so deceived them at the Restoration. The ministers, bred up in French complaisance and under French slavery, after high strains of compliment to the English bishops, declared, that they were of opinion, their brethren might comply‡; and that they were not for pushing things to extremity only for a different form of government. Which the doctor and his friends interpreted as a decision in their favour. But did not the bishops exasperate the spirits of their dissenting brethren, by enforcing the sanguinary laws? Were these Protestant methods of conversion, or likely to bring them to temper? The French ministers complained sufficiently of this about five years after, at the

* Page 53, 54.

† Collyer, p. 900.

‡ Mr. Neal, it seems, has fallen into a mistake, by supposing that the French Presbyterians favoured English episcopacy. Their answers were complaisant, but wary. Yet Stillingfleet published their letters as suffrages for episcopacy, and annexed them to his Treatise on Schism. Mr. Claude, one of those written to, complained of this treatment: but the letters which contained these complaints were concealed till his death, when his son printed them. In one of them to bishop Compton, April 1681, he freely told him, that the bishops were blamed for their eagerness to persecute others by penal laws, for their arbitrary and despotic government; for their rigid attachment to offensive ceremonies; for requiring foreign Protestant ministers to be reordained; and for not admitting any to the ministry without making an oath that episcopacy is of divine right, which Mr. Claude called a cruel rack for conscience. He solemnly called on the bishops, in the name of God, to remove these grounds of complaint, to give no cause, no pretext, for separation, to do all in their power to prevent it, and instead of chafing and irritating people's minds, by all gentle methods to conciliate them. This was excellent advice: but the public were not informed, that it had been given by those to whom it was addressed. Robinson's *Life of Claude*, prefixed to his translation of an *Essay on the Composition of Sermons*, p. 65—67.—ED.

revocation of the edict of Nantz. Bishop Burnet remarks of Dr. Stillingfleet on this occasion *, that he not only retracted his *Irenicum*, but went into the humours of the high sort of people beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own sense of things.

This year [1680] died Mr. Stephen Charnock, B. D. first of Emanuel-college, Cambridge; and afterward fellow of New-college, Oxford. He was chaplain to Henry Cromwell, lieutenant of Ireland, and was much respected by persons of the best quality in the city of Dublin for his polite behaviour. After the Restoration he returned into England, and became pastor of a separate congregation in London, where he was admired by the more judicious part of his hearers, though not popular, because of his disadvantageous way of reading with a glass: he was an eminent divine, and had a good judgment, a curious imagination, and a strong manner of reasoning, as appears by his works printed since his death in two volumes folio, which were no other than his common sermons transcribed from his notes †; his style is manly and lofty, and his thoughts sublime: his love and charity were very extensive, and there was no part of learning to which he was a stranger ‡. He died July 26, 1680, aged fifty-two.

[On December 26, 1680, died at London, where he came to be cut for the stone, with which he was many years afflicted, Mr. John Corbet, ejected from Bramshot in Hants; a man every way great. He was a native of the city of Gloucester, and a student in Magdalen-hall, Oxon. He began his ministry in the place of his nativity, and lived many years there, and during the civil wars, of which he was a spectator. He wrote the history of the siege of the city, and is thought to have given as good an insight into the rise and springs of the civil war, as can be met with in so narrow a compass. He removed from thence to Chichester, and then to the living from which he was ejected. After this he lived privately in and about London, till king Charles's indulgence in 1671, when part of his flock invited him to return to Chichester, where he continued his ministrations with great assiduity and success. It was during his residence there that bishop Gunning gave a public challenge to the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers. (See Chapter VIII. Part IV.) Mr. Corbet accepted it on behalf of the first; but, after the bishop had fired his own volley of invectives, Mr. Corbet was not permitted to enter into a defence; nor, though he proposed to do it at any other time and waited on the bishop at his palace, could he afterward obtain a hearing. He was a man of great moderation, a lover of peace, an advocate for catholic communion and

* Vol. 1. p. 276.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 56. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 1. p. 159.

‡ Mr. Johnson, who preached his funeral sermon, says, "he never knew a man in all his life, who had attained near to that skill Mr. Charnock had, in the originals of the Old and New Testament, except Mr. Thomas Cawton." Granger, vol. 3. p. 308.—ED.

union of saints, and of blameless conversation. He saw some things to approve and some things to dislike in all parties, and valued not the interest of a party or faction. True to his conscience, he had no worldly designs to carry on, but was eminent in self-denial, and managed his ministry with faithfulness and prudence. He was tender of the reputation of his brethren, and rejoiced in the success of their labours as well as of his own. Nor was he apt to speak against those by whom he suffered. He was very free in acknowledging by whom he profited, and preferring others before himself. He was much in the study of his own heart, had the comfort of sensible improvements in faith and holiness, humility and heavenly mindedness, and died at last in great serenity and peace. He had a considerable hand in compiling Mr. Rushworth's first volume of Collections, which is reckoned by good judges a masterpiece of the kind. His *Self-employment in Secret*, an excellent small piece, recommended lately by Mr. Bulkley in his *Christian Minister*, has gone through various editions. Mr. Howe wrote a preface to it. Dr. Wright reprinted it in 1741, and the Rev. William Unwin, rector of Stock cum Ramsden-Belhouse, Essex, published it again in 1773, with the encomiums of a celebrated minister of the church of England upon it, as "the best manual he knew for a Christian or a minister, furnishing excellent materials for addressing conscience, and directing men to judge of their spiritual state." Calamy, vol. 2. p. 333. Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. 2. p. 4.—ED.]

The king having parted with his last parliament in displeasure, without being able to obtain any money, resolved once more to try a new *; and apprehending that the malecontents were encouraged by the neighbourhood of the city of London, he summoned them to meet at Oxford: the same representatives being rechosen for London, had a paper put into their hands by four merchants, in the name of all the citizens then assembled in the common-hall, containing a return of their most hearty thanks for their faithful and unwearied endeavours in the two last parliaments, to search into the depth of the Popish plot, to preserve the Protestant religion, to promote a union among his majesty's Protestant subjects, to repeal the 35th of Eliz. and the corporation-act, and to promote the bill of exclusion, and to request their continuance of the same. The members being afraid of violence, were attended to Oxford with a numerous body of horse, having ribands in their hats with this motto, "No Popery; no slavery;" the citizens having promised to stand by them with their lives and fortunes. Many other papers of the like nature were presented to the members in the several counties. The king, in his speech at the opening the session, March 21, reflected severely on the last parliament, and said, He was resolved to maintain the succession of the crown in the right line, and for quieting people's

* Echard, p. 1002. Rapin, vol. 2. p. 720.

fears, he was willing to put the administration into the hands of a Protestant regent; but the commons rejected the proposal, to the inexpressible joy of the duke's party, and ordered the bill of exclusion to be brought in again. In the mean time a motion was made to consider of the loss of the bill in favour of the dissenters last parliament. Sir William Jones said, "The bill was of great moment and service to the country, and might be to their lives, in the time of a Popish successor; but be the bill what it will, the precedent was of the highest consequence; the king has a negative to all bills, but surely the clerk of the parliament has not.—If this way be found out, that bills shall be thrown by, it may hereafter be said, they were forgot and laid by, and so we shall never know whether the king passed them or no: if this be suffered, 'tis in vain to spend time here."—In conclusion, this affair was referred to a conference with the house of lords, which was frustrated by the hasty dissolution of the parliament.

The next went upon the libel of one Fitz-Harris, an Irish Papist, which was a second meal-tub plot, promoted in the name of the Nonconformists*; the libel was to be sent by penny-post letters to the lords, who had protested in favour of the bill of exclusion, and to the leading men in the house of commons, who were immediately to be apprehended and searched. Everard, who was Fitz-Harris's confidant, and betrayed the secret, affirmed that the king himself was privy to it, as Fitz-Harris's wife averred to a person of worth many years after; that his majesty had given Fitz-Harris money, and promised him more if it met with success. The libel was, to traduce the king and the royal family as Papists, and arbitrarily affected from the beginning; and says, that king Charles I. had a hand in the Irish rebellion; that the act forbidding to call the king a Papist was only to stop men's mouths, and that it was as much in the power of the people to depose a Popish possessor as a Popish successor. It was entitled, *The True Englishman speaking plain English*; and adds, "If James be conscious and guilty, Charles is so too; believe me, these two brothers in iniquity are in confederacy with the Pope and the French, to introduce Popery and arbitrary government, and to cast off parliaments, magna charta, and the liberty of the subject, as heavy yokes, and to be as arbitrary as the king of France—Let the English move and rise as one man to self-defence; blow the trumpet, stand on your guard, and withstand them as bears and tigers—Trust to your swords in defence of your lives, liberties, and religion, like the stout earl of old, who told his king, if he could not be defended by magna charta, he would be relieved by *longa spada*." He goes on to reproach the king with the breach of his Scots oaths, Breda promises, Protestant profession, liberty of conscience; as designed only to delude Protestants; and puts him in mind of all

* Burnet, p. 303, 304.

his political and moral vices, as intended to debauch the nation, to promote the Popish religion and arbitrary government, &c. Thus were the Nonconformists to be exposed again to the resentments of the nation; but when the sham was discovered to the house of commons by sir William Waller, he received the thanks of the house, and Fitz-Harris, though impeached in parliament, was tried by a jury, and executed with Dr. Plunket, the titular primate of Ireland. The whigs would have saved Fitz-Harris, though a Papist, in hopes of his being an evidence in the Popish plot; but the court was resolved to dispatch him out of the way, that he might tell no more tales.

His majesty, hearing that the bill of exclusion was to be brought into the house again, went suddenly, and not very decently, says Burnet*, to the house of lords in a sedan, with the crown between his feet, and having put on his robes in haste, called up the commons, and dissolved his fifth and last parliament, after they had sat only seven days. As soon as his majesty got out of the house, he posted away in all haste to Windsor, as one that was glad he had got rid of his parliament, which was the last that he ever convened, though he lived three or four years after. And here was an end of the constitution and liberties of England for the present; all that followed, to the king's death, was no more than the convulsions and struggles of a dying man. The king raised what money he wanted without parliaments; he took away all the charters of England, and governed absolutely by dint of prerogative. April the 8th, the king published a declaration † to all his loving subjects, touching the causes and reasons that moved him to dissolve the two last parliaments; and ordered it to be read in all the churches and chapels throughout England. It contains a recital of his majesty's condescensions for the security of the Protestant religion, as far as was consistent with the succession of the crown in the lineal descent: and a large rehearsal of the unsuitable returns of the commons. But notwithstanding all this, says his majesty, let not those men who are labouring to poison our people with commonwealth principles, persuade any of our subjects that we intend to lay aside the use of parliaments, for we still declare, that no irregularities in parliaments shall make us out of love with them; and we are resolved, by the blessing of God, to have frequent parliaments:" although he never called another. Several anonymous remarks were made upon this declaration, to weaken its influence. But the court used all its interest among the people to support its credit: addresses were sent from all parts, thanking his majesty for his declaration, promising

* Burnet, p. 306.

† It was observed, Dr. Calamy says, that "this declaration was known by M. Barillon, the French ambassador, and by the the dutchess of Mazarine, sooner than by the king's council, and that it was evidenced to be of French extraction by the Gallicisms in it; and withal it had no broad seal to it, and was signed only by a clerk of the council." *Own Life*, MS. p. 74.—Ed.

to support his person and government with their lives and fortunes. Most of them declared against the bill of exclusion, and for the duke's succession*, as has been observed. Some ventured to arraign the late parliament as guilty of sedition and treason, and to pray his majesty to put in execution the statute of 35 Eliz. against the Nonconformists. The grand juries, the justices at their sessions, divers boroughs and corporations, the companies in towns, and at last the very apprentices, sent up addresses. Those who presented or procured them were well treated at court, and some of them knighted. Many zealous healths were drank, and in their cups the swaggerings of the old cavaliers seemed to be revived. One of the most celebrated addresses was from the university of Cambridge, presented by Dr. Gower, master of St. John's, which I shall give the reader as a specimen of the rest. It begins thus: "Sacred sir! We your majesty's most faithful and obedient subjects have long, with the greatest and sincerest joy, beheld the generous emulation of our fellow-subjects, contending who should best express their duty to their sovereign at this time, when the seditious endeavours of unreasonable men have made it necessary to assert the ancient loyalty of the English nation.—It is at present the great honour of this your university, not only to be steadfast and constant in our duty, but to be eminently so, and to suffer for it as much as the calumnies and reproaches of factious and malicious men can inflict upon us. And that they have not proceeded to sequestration and plunder, as heretofore, next to the overruling providence of Almighty God, is only due to the royal care and prudence of your most sacred majesty, who gave so seasonable a check to their arbitrary and insolent undertakings.—We still believe and maintain, that our kings derive not their power from the people but from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it belongs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental, hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault or forfeiture, can alter or diminish; nor will we abate of our well instructed zeal for the church of England as by law established.—Thus we have learned our own, and thus we teach others their duty to God and the king."—His majesty discovered an unusual satisfaction on this occasion; and, having returned them thanks, was pleased to add, that no other church in the world taught and practised loyalty so conscientiously as they did.

As such abject and servile flattery could not fail of pleasing the king, it must necessarily draw down vengeance on the Nonconformists, who joined in none of their addresses, but were doomed to suffer under a double character, as whigs and as dissenters. "This," says bishop Burnet†, "was set on by the Papists, and it was wisely done of them, for they knew how much

* Burnet, vol. 2. p. 308, 309.

† Page 306.

the Nonconformists were set against them. They made use, also, of the indiscreet zeal of the high-church clergymen to ruin them, which they knew would render the clergy odious, and give the Papist great advantage when opportunity offered." The times were boisterous and stormy; sham plots were contrived, and warrants issued against the leaders of the whig party for seditious language; Shaftesbury, now called the Protestant earl, was sent to the Tower, and Stephen Colledge, the Protestant joiner, was carried to Oxford, and hanged, after the grand jury in London had brought in a bill of indictment against him *ignoramus*. Witnesses were imported from Ireland, and employed to swear away men's lives. "The court intended to set them to swear against all the hot party, which was plainly murder in them who believed them false witnesses," says Burnet*, "and yet made use of them to destroy others." Spies were planted in all coffee-houses, to furnish out evidence for the witnesses. Mercenary justices were put into commission all over the kingdom; juries were packed; and, with regard to the Nonconformists, informers of the vilest of the people were countenanced to a shameful degree, insomuch that the jails were quickly filled with prisoners, and large sums of money extorted from the industrious and conscientious, and played into the hands of the most profligate wretches in the nation.

The justices of Middlesex shewed great forwardness, and represented to his majesty in December, "that an intimation of his pleasure was necessary at this time, to the putting the laws in execution against conventicles, because when a charge was lately given at the council-board to put the laws in execution against Popish recusants, no mention was made of suppressing conventicles." Upon this his majesty commanded the lord-mayor, aldermen, and justices, to use their utmost endeavour to suppress all conventicles and unlawful meetings, upon pretence of religious worship; for it was his express pleasure, that the laws be effectually put in execution against them, both in city and country. Accordingly the justices of peace at their sessions at Hicke's-hall, January 13, ordered, "that whereas the constables and churchwardens, &c. of every parish and precinct within the said county, had been enjoined last sessions to make a return the first of this, of the names of the preachers in conventicles, and the most considerable frequenters of the same within their several limits; which order not being obeyed, but contemned by some, it was therefore by the justices then assembled desired, that the lord-bishop of London will please to direct those officers which are under his jurisdiction, to use their utmost diligence, that all such persons may be excommunicated, who commit crimes deserving the ecclesiastical censure; and that the said excommunications may be published in the parishes where the

persons live, that they may be taken notice of, and be obvious to the penalties that belong to persons excommunicate, viz. not to be admitted for a witness, or returned upon juries, or capable of suing for any debt." They farther ordered at the same time, "that the statute of the first of Eliz. and third of king James, be put in due execution, for the levying of twelve-pence per Sunday upon such persons who repaired not to divine service and sermons at their parish or some other public church." All which, says Mr. Echard, made way for all sorts of prosecutions both in city and country, which in many places were carried on with great spite and severity, where there never wanted busy agents and informers, of which a few were sufficient to put the laws in execution; so that the dissenters this year and much longer, says he, met with cruel and unchristian usage; which occasioned great complaints among the people, and some severe reflections on the king himself.

It was not in the power of the church-whigs to relieve the Nonconformists, nor screen them from the edge of the penal laws, which were in the hands of their enemies. All that could be done was to encourage their constancy, and to write some compassionate treatises to move the people in their favour, by shewing them, that while they were plundering and destroying their Protestant dissenting neighbours, they were cutting the throat of the reformed religion, and making way for the triumphs of Popery upon its ruins. Among other writings of this sort, the most famous was, *The Conformists' Plea for the Nonconformists*, in four parts, by a beneficed minister and a regular son of the church of England. In which the author undertakes to shew, 1. The greatness of their sufferings. 2. The hardships of their case. 3. The reasonableness and equity of their proposals for union. 4. The qualifications and worth of their ministers. 5. Their peaceable behaviour. 6. Their agreement with the church of England in the articles of her faith. 7. The prejudice to the church by their exclusion; and then concludes, with the infamous lives, and lamentable deaths, of several of the informers. It was a sensible and moving performance, but had no influence on the tory justices, and tribe of informers. There was no stemming the tide; every one who was not a furious tory, says Rapin, was reputed a Presbyterian.

Most of the clergy were with the court, and distinguished themselves on the side of persecution. The pulpits everywhere resounded with the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, which were carried to all the heights of king Charles I. No eastern monarch, according to them, was more absolute than the king of England*. They expressed such a zeal for the duke's succession, as if a Popish king over a Protestant country had been a special blessing from heaven. They likewise gave

* Rapin, p. 725. Burnet, p. 309.

themselves such a loose against Protestant Nonconformists, as if nothing was so formidable as that party. In all their sermons, Popery was quite forgot, says Burnet, and the force of their zeal was turned almost wholly against Protestant dissenters. In many country places the parson of the parish, who could bully, and drink, and swear, was put into the commission of the peace, and made a confiding justice, by which means he was both judge and party in his own cause. If any of his sober parishioners did not appear at church, they were sure to be summoned, and instead of the mildness and gentleness of a Christian clergyman, they usually met with haughty and abusive language, and the utmost rigour the law could inflict. There was also a great change made in the commissions throughout England. A set of confiding magistrates was appointed; and none were left on the bench, or in the militia, that did not declare for the arbitrary measures of the court; and such of the clergy as were averse to to this fury, were declaimed against as betrayers of the church, and secret favourers of the dissenters; but the truth is, says the bishop, the number of sober honest clergymen was not great, for where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together. The scent of preferment will draw aspiring men after it. Upon the whole, the present times were very lowering, and the prospect under a Popish successor still more threatening.

It would fill a volume, to enter into all the particulars of these unchristian proceedings, which even the black registers of the spiritual courts cannot fully unfold. The reverend Mr. Edward Bury, assisting at a private fast, on account of the extraordinary drought, was apprehended June 14, and fined 20*l.*; and refusing to pay it, because he did not preach, they took away his goods, books, and even the bed he lay upon. The reverend Mr. Philip Henry was apprehended at the same time, and fined 40*l.* and for nonpayment they carried away thirty-three loads of corn which lay cut upon the ground, together with hay, coals, and other chattels. The informers took the names of one hundred and fifty more, who were at the meeting: they fined the master of the house 20*l.* and 5*l.* more as being constable that year, and exacted 5*s.* a head from all who were present. Examples of this usage in London, Middlesex, and most of the counties of England, are innumerable.

The Quakers published a narrative of the sufferings of their friends since the Restoration, by which it appeared that great numbers had been fined by the bishops' courts, robbed of their substance, and perished in prison*. Many had been so beaten and wounded for attending their meetings, that they died of their wounds. An account was also published, of the unjust proceedings of the informers, shewing, that at their instance

* Sewel, p. 574. 581.

many had been plundered without a juridical process; that seven hundred of them were now in prison in several parts of England, and especially about Bristol; but remonstrances and complaints availed nothing.

In the midst of this furious persecution, the famous Mr. Thomas Gouge, son of Dr. Gouge of Blackfriars, and the ejected minister of St. Sepulchre's, was taken out of this world: he was born at Bow near Stratford 1605, bred at Eton school, and educated in King's-college, Cambridge*. He settled at St. Sepulchre's in the year 1638, and for twenty-four years discharged all the parts of a vigilant and faithful pastor. He was a wonder of piety, charity, humility, and moderation, making it his study to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man. Mr. Baxter says, he never heard any man speak to his dishonour, except that he did not conform. He was possessed of a good estate, and devoted the chief of it to charity. He settled schools to the number of three or four hundred, and gave money to teach children to read in the mountainous parts of Wales, where he travelled annually, and preached, till he was forbid by the bishops, and excommunicated, though he still went as a hearer to the parish churches. He printed eight thousand Welsh Bibles†, a thousand of which were given to the poor, and the rest sent to the principal towns of Wales, to be sold at an under rate. He printed five hundred of the Whole Duty of a Man in Welsh, and gave them away; two hundred and forty New Testaments; and kept almost two thousand Welsh children at school to learn English. Archbishop Tillotson, in his funeral sermon, says, that, all things considered, there has not since the primitive times of Christianity been any among the sons of men, to whom that glorious character of the Son of God might be better applied, that he went about doing good‡. He was a divine of a cheerful spirit, and went away quietly in his sleep, October 29, 1681, in the seventy-seventh year of his age§.

* Tillotson's Works, vol. 1. p. 265.

† In these charitable works, as we have seen before, he was assisted by his friends. The great business of his life was to do good. He annually travelled over Wales, inspecting the schools and instructing the people both in public and private, till he was between sixty and seventy years of age. He sustained great loss by the fire of London, and after the death of his wife and the settlement of his children, his fortune was reduced to 150*l.* per annum; out of which he constantly expended 100*l.* in works of charity. He had a singular sagacity and prudence in devising the most effectual ways of doing good: and his example gave the first hint to Mr. T. Firmin of that plan of furnishing the poor with employment, which he so extensively and so generously pursued. His funeral sermon was preached by doctor, afterward archbishop, Tillotson. Palmer.—Ed.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 8.

§ The learned and excellent Dr. William Lloyd, then bishop of St. Asaph, who endeavoured by argument to remove the scruples of the dissenters, and to bring them back into the church by mild and Christian methods, after some private conferences, called on Mr. James Owen to produce his reasons for preaching without ordination by diocesan bishops, at the public hall of Oswestry, on the 27th of September of the year 1681. The bishop was attended by the learned Mr.

While the tories and high-church clergy were ravaging the dissenters, the court was intent upon subverting the constitution, and getting the government of the city into their hands. June 24, 1682, there was a contest about the election of sheriffs, which occasioned a considerable tumult. And when the election of a lord-mayor came on at Michaelmas, the citizens were again in an uproar, the lord-mayor pretending a right to adjourn the court, while the sheriffs, to whom the right belonged, continued the poll till night; when the books were cast up, each party claimed the majority according to their respective books. The contest rose so high, that sir William Pritchard, lord-mayor, was afterward arrested at the suit of Mr. Papillon and Dubois, and detained prisoner in Skinners'-hall till midnight. But when the affair came to a trial, the election was vacated, Papillon and Dubois were imprisoned, and the leading men of the whig party, who had distinguished themselves in the contest, were fined in large sums of money, which made way for the loss of the charter.

The court would have persuaded the common-council to make a voluntary surrender of it to the crown, to put an end to all contests for the future*; but not being able to prevail, they resolved to condemn it by law; accordingly a *quo warranto* was issued out of the court of King's bench, to see whether its charter had been duly observed, because the common-council, in one of their addresses, had petitioned for the sitting of the parliament, and had taxed the prorogation as a delay of justice; and because they had laid taxes on their wharfs and markets contrary to law. After trial upon these two points, the chief-justice delivered it as the unanimous opinion of the court, that the liberties and franchises of the city of London had been forfeited, and might be seized into the king's hands, but judgment was not to be entered till the king's pleasure was farther known. In the mean time the lord-mayor and common-council, who are the representatives of the city, agreed to submit to the king's mercy, and sent a deputation to Windsor, June 18, 1683, to beg pardon; which the king was pleased to grant on condition that his majesty might have a negative in the choice of all the chief magistrates—that if his majesty disapproved of their choice of a lord-mayor they should choose another within a week—and that if his majesty disapproved their second choice he should himself nominate a mayor

Henry Dodwell; Mr. Owen's supporters were, Mr. Philip Henry, Mr. Jonathan Roberts of Slainvair, in Denbighshire, an excellent scholar and warm disputant. The dispute began at two in the afternoon, and ended between eight and nine. Several points, connected with the main question, "concerning the necessity of ordination by diocesan bishops, in uninterrupted succession from the apostles," were debated. The effects of this discussion were various: but no converts were made by it. The bishop procured respect by his exemplary candour; and Mr. Philip Henry, by his prudent and primitive temper, and the mildness of his manner, recommended himself to the high esteem of the prelate and the company. Mr. James Owen's Life, p. 29—35.—Ed.

* Burnet, p. 354—357. Rapin, p. 727.

for the year ensuing; and the like as to sheriffs, aldermen, &c.* When this was reported to the common-council, it was put to the vote, and upon a division, one hundred and four were for accepting the king's regulation, and eighty-six against it; but even these concessions continued no longer than a year. The charter of London being lost, the cities and corporations in general were prevailed with to deliver up their charters, and accept of such new ones as the court would grant, which was the highest degree of perfidy and baseness in those who were intrusted with them, especially when they knew, that the design was to pack a parliament, in order to make way for a Popish successor.

Thus the liberties of England were delivered up to the crown; and though the forms of law remained, men's lives and estates were at the mercy of a set of profligate creatures, who would swear any thing for hire. Juries, says Burnet†, were a shame to the nation, and a reproach to religion, for they were packed and prepared to bring in verdicts as they were directed, and not as matters appeared upon the evidence. Zeal against Popery was decried as the voice of a faction, who were enemies to the king and his government. All rejoicings on the 5th of November were forbid, and strict orders given to all constables and other officers to keep the peace; but the populace not being so orderly as they should have been, several London apprentices were fined twenty marks for a riot, and set in the pillory. These were the triumphs of a tory and Popish administration.

A little before this died old Mr. Thomas Case, M.A., educated in Christ-church, Oxford, and one of the assembly of divines: he was peculiarly zealous in promoting the morning exercises, but was turned out of his living at St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-street, for refusing the engagement, and imprisoned for Mr. Love's plot; he was afterward rector of St. Giles's, and waited on the king at Breda‡. He was one of the commissioners at the Savoy, and silenced with his brethren in 1662. He was an open plain-hearted man, an excellent preacher, of a warm spirit, and a hearty lover of all good men. He died May 30, 1682, aged eighty-four§.

Mr. Samuel Clarke, the ejected minister of St. Bene't Fink, was an indefatigable student, as appears by his Martyrology,

* Burnet, vol. 2. p. 403. Gazette, no. 1835. † Page 359.

‡ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 13. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 1. p. 124.

§ He survived every one of the dissenters that sat in the assembly of divines. Mr. Baxter styles him "a holy faithful servant of God." It is painful, however, to reflect, that a man whose character appears in general to have been venerable and amiable, should be so transported by the heat of the times, as, in a sermon preached before the court-martial in 1644, to say, "Noble sirs, imitate God, and be merciful to none that have sinned of malicious wickedness;" meaning the royalists, who were frequently styled malignants. This, as Mr. Granger observes, is sanguinary. It may be added, that it conveyed also a false idea of the divine clemency, which extends its exercise, on repentance, to all characters; to sins of malignity as well as of infirmity. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 317, 318. —ED.

his Lives of eminent Divines, and other historical works: he was a good scholar, and had been a useful preacher in Cheshire and Warwickshire, before he came to London; he was one of the commissioners at the Savoy, and presented the Presbyterian ministers' address of thanks to the king for his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs; and though he could not conform as a preacher, he frequently attended the service of the church as a hearer and communicant. He died December 25, 1682, æt. eighty*.

While the liberties of England lay bleeding, the fury of the court raged higher than ever against the Nonconformists, as inflexible enemies of their arbitrary measures †. Mr. Baxter was surprised in his own house by a company of constables and other peace-officers, who arrested him for coming within five miles of a corporation, and brought warrants to distrain upon him for five sermons, amounting to 195*l*. They took him out of his bed, to which he had been confined for some time, and were carrying him to jail; but Dr. Cox the physician, meeting him in the way, went and made oath before a justice of peace, that he could not be removed to prison without danger of his life, so he was permitted to go home again to bed; but the officers rifled his house, took away such books as he had, and sold even the bed from under him. Dr. Annesley, and several other ministers, had their goods distrained for latent convictions; that is, upon the oaths of persons they never saw, nor received summons to answer for themselves before a justice of peace. This was stabbing men in the dark. Some were imprisoned on the corporation-act. The reverend Mr. Vincent was tried and convicted at the Surrey-sizes on the 35th of queen Elizabeth, already mentioned: he lay in prison many months, but was at last released by the intercession of some great men. The dissenting laity were harassed everywhere in the spiritual courts, warrants were signed for distresses, in the village of Hackney alone, to the sum of 1400*l*.

* When Mr. Clarke was ejected, he had been forty years in the ministry, during which time he had been seven or eight years a governor, and two years a president of *Sion-college*. The most valuable of his numerous works are reckoned to be "Lives of the Puritan divines and other persons of note." "The author and the bookseller (says Mr. Granger) seem to have been thoroughly informed of this secret, that a taking title-page becomes much more taking, with an engraved frontispiece before it; and that little pictures, in the body of the book, are great embellishments to style and matter." He was more a compiler than an author. His name was anagrammatised to *Su(c)kall Cream*, alluding to his taking the best parts of those books from which he collected. One is sorry to find, in the list of his publications, *A discourse against Toleration*. He enjoyed about nine years the living of *Alcester* in *Warwickshire*, where his preaching was very useful, and the town became exemplary for sobriety, which had borne the character of "drunken *Alcester*." He met death with a lively sense of eternity upon his mind, and a comfortable assurance of his own title to future blessedness. *Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. 1. p. 88, &c. *Granger's History*, vol. 3. p. 321.—Ed.

Mr. Clarke was the great grandfather of Dr. Samuel Clarke of *St. Alban's*, the patron of Dr. *Doddridge's* youthful studies.—Ed.

† Part 3. p. 191.

one of which was 500*l*. The reader will then judge what must have been the case of the interest in general*.

But in the midst of this oppression and violence, the court found that the spirit of English liberty was not easily to be subdued: there were a set of patriots who stood in their way, and were determined to hazard their lives and fortunes for the constitution; these were therefore to be removed or cut off, by bringing them within the compass of some pretended plot against the government. Some, who were more zealous than prudent, met together in clubs at the taverns and other places, to talk over the common danger, and what might be done to secure their religion and liberties in case of the king's death; but there was no formed design in any of them against the king or the present government. The court however laid hold of this occasion, and, as Mr. Coke says, set on foot three plots, one to assassinate the king and duke as they came from Newmarket; another to seize the guards: and a third was called the Blackheath plot; in all which, for aught I can find, says he, the fox was the finder. Dr. Welwood adds †, that the shattered remains of English liberty were attacked on every side, and some of the noblest blood in the nation offered up a sacrifice to the manes of Popish martyrs. Swearing came into fashion, and an evidence office was set up at Whitehall; the witnesses were highly encouraged, and, instead of judges and juries that might boggle at half evidence, care was taken to pick out such as should stick at nothing to serve a turn. The plot which the court made use of was called the Ryehouse plot ‡, from the name of the house where the two royal brothers were to be shot; it was within two miles of Hodsdon in Hertfordshire, and was first discovered by one Keeling an Anabaptist; after him Goodenough, Rumsey, and West, made themselves witnesses, and framed a story out of their own heads, of lopping off the two brothers as they came from Newmarket; and having heard of conferences between the duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, and others, concerning securing the Protestant religion upon the king's decease, they impeached them to the council, upon which lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, the earl of Essex, and Mr. Houblon, were apprehended and sent to the Tower. Warrants were issued out for several others, who, knowing that innocence was no protection,

* The temper of the court and church at this time inclined Mr. John Shower to attend the nephew of sir Samuel Barnardiston on his travels, in compliance with the earnest request of his uncle, in company with several other gentlemen, which we mention here to introduce the following passage. When they were at Geneva, where they continued for some time, they contracted an acquaintance with Turretin the younger. On their first conversation they found this learned divine and the rest of the city possessed with very unfavourable sentiments concerning the English Nonconformists. But when Mr. Shower and his companions had stated their case, and the terms required of them, Turretin and the others declared themselves well satisfied with the grounds of their dissent, and treated them, during the remainder of their residence in the city, with a very particular respect. *Tong's Life of Shower*, p. 48.—*Ed.*

† *Memoirs*, p. 132.

‡ *Burnet*, vol. 2. p. 368—373.

absconded, and went out of the way; but several were tried, and executed upon the court-evidence; as Mr. Rumbold, the master of the house where the plot was to take place, who declared at his execution in king James's reign, that he never knew of any design against the king; as did captain Walcot and Sir Thomas Armstrong, Rouse, and the rest. Lord Russel was condemned, and beheaded, for being within the hearing of some treasonable words at Mr. Shepherd's, a wine-cooper in Abchurch-lane*. The earl of Essex's throat was cut in the Tower† during lord Russel's trial‡; and Algernon Sidney was executed for having a seditious libel in his study§; of the injustice of which the parliament at the Revolution was so sensible, that they reversed the judgments. A proclamation was issued out against the duke of Monmouth, though the king knew where he was; and after the ferment brought him to court. Mr. Echard observes, that some have called this the Fanatic, the Protestant, the Whiggish, or Presbyterian plot; others have called it, with more justice, a piece of state policy, and no better than an imposture, for it had no other foundation than the rash and imprudent discourse of some warm whigs, which, in so critical a conjuncture, was very hazardous; but no scheme of a plot had been agreed upon, no preparations made, no arms nor horses purchased, nor persons appointed to execute any design against the king or government||.

* P. 382.

† Dr. Grey censures Mr. Neal's account of the Ryehouse plot as very faulty, if not false; "as appears (he says) from the very best of our historians, and the confession of several that suffered for it." The historians to whom the doctor refers are Echard, Kennet, &c. and principally bishop Sprat's History of the Ryehouse Plot. As to this work, the most partial to it must own it detracts greatly from its credit; that it was drawn up to please the court, by one that was wholly in that interest, and the author, it seems, acknowledges, "that king James II. called for his papers, and having read them, altered divers passages, and caused them to be printed by his own authority." Calamy's Letter to Archdeacon Echard, p. 55. Dr. Grey ironically calls Mr. Neal's account of the earl of Essex's death, a candid remark; and then refers to, and quotes largely, Carte's and Echard's representations of that event, to shew that the earl was *felo de se*. This is not the place to discuss the question concerning his lordship's death, whether he committed an act of suicide, or was murdered by others. Dr. Harris has fully and impartially stated the arguments on both sides. History of Charles II. vol. 2. p. 371—376. The same judicious writer has also investigated the evidence concerning the Ryehouse plot, p. 355—370.—Ed.

‡ Wetwood's Memoirs, p. 161.

§ This was an answer to Filmer's book, written to prove the absolute and unlimited power of kings. The leading principle of this MS. was, "that power is delegated from the people to the prince, and that he is accountable to them for the abuse of it." It was urged, that he was not proved to have written the piece; that if he were the author, it contained only his private speculations; that it could not be admitted as a proof of the plot, for it was written years before; and that, as it was not a finished piece, it could not be known how it would end; and no general conclusion ought to be drawn from any particular chapter of a work. The book was, however, considered by Jefferies as an overt-act, on this principle, *Scribere est agere*. It is remarkable, that within a few years, the energy and truth of the above principle removed James II. from the throne, and placed on it the prince of Orange. So vain is it to fight against just principles!—Ed.

|| "Mr. Neal must think his readers (says Dr. Grey) very easy of belief to swallow down such gross untruths as these, which the smallest dabbler in the history of

However, the court had their ends, in striking terror into the whole party.

Great industry was used by the court to bring the body of Nonconformists into this plot; it was given out that Dr. Owen, Mr. Mead, and Mr. Griffith, were acquainted with it*; Mr. Mead was summoned before the council, and gave such satisfactory answers to all questions, that the king himself ordered him to be discharged. The reverend Mr. Carstairs, a Scots divine, was put to the torture of the thummikins in Scotland, to extort a confession; both his thumbs being bruised between two irons till the marrow was almost forced out of the bones: this he bore for an hour and a half without making any confession. Next day they brought him to undergo the torture of the boot, but his arms being swelled with the late torture, and he already in a fever, made a declaration of all that he knew, which amounted to no more than some loose discourse of what might be fit to be done, to preserve their liberties and the Protestant religion, if there should be a crisis†; but he vindicated himself and his brethren in England from all assassinating designs, which, he said, they abhorred. Dr. South was desired to write the history of this plot; but Dr. Sprat, afterward bishop of Rochester, performed it,

those times can easily confute." The reader, who is not a dabbler in the history those times, is referred to Dr. Harris, as before quoted, for materials on which to form his judgment of the truth of this remark. In the mean time he may not be displeased with the following plain lines on the death of Sidney.

"Algernon Sidney fills this tomb,
An Atheist for disclaiming Rome;
A rebel bold for striving still
To keep the laws above the will:
Crimes damn'd by church and government,
Alas! where must his ghost be sent?
Of heav'n it cannot but despair,
If holy pope be turnkey there;
And hell it ne'er must entertain,
For there is all tyrannic reign.
Where goes it then? Where 't ought to go,
Where pope nor devil have to do."

Bennet's Memorial, p. 359.—ED.

* Dr. Grey refers to "copies of informations," in the appendix to Sprat's account for a deposition signed by Mr. Carstairs, saying, "The deponent did communicate the design on foot to Dr. Owen, Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Mead, at Stepney, who all concurred in promoting of it, and desired it might take effect."—Dr. Grey, by this quotation, means to implicate those gentlemen in the most atrocious part of this plot. But the question returns, what was the design on foot? what were the nature and extent of it?—Mr. Neal immediately informs us, in his report of the amount of Carstaire's confession, that it did not go to any assassination, but only to preserving their liberties and the Protestant religion. As to Mr. Mead, in particular, he went into Holland on this occasion: and after his return to England, he was summoned to appear before king Charles at the privy-council, where he fully vindicated his innocence, and was perfectly discharged. Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, part 1. p. 258. Mr. Mead carried with him into Holland the son (the eleventh of thirteen children), whom he placed under an excellent master, who afterward rose to the first eminence as a scholar and physician. Granger's History, vol. 3. p. 333.—ED.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 426—430.

though at the Revolution he disowned it so far as to declare, that king James had altered several passages in it before it was published. Bishop Burnet adds, that when the congratulatory addresses for the discovery of this plot had gone all round England, the grand juries made high presentments against all who were accounted whigs and Nonconformists. Great pains were taken to find out more witnesses; pardons and rewards were offered very freely to the guilty, but none came in, which made it evident, says his lordship, that nothing was so well laid, or brought so near execution, as the witnesses had deposed, otherwise the people would have crowded in for pardons. Bishop Kennet says*, that the dissenters bore all the odium, and were not only branded for express rebels and villains, in multitudes of congratulatory and tory addresses from all parts of the kingdom, but were severally arraigned by the king himself, in a declaration to all his loving subjects, read in all the churches on Sunday September 9, which was appointed as a day of thanksgiving, and solemnized, after an extraordinary manner, with mighty pomp and magnificence. There was hardly a parish in England that was not at a considerable expense to testify their joy and satisfaction: nay, the Papists celebrated in all their chapels in London an extraordinary service on that account; so that these had their places of public worship, though the Protestant dissenters were denied them.

The Quakers avowed their innocence of the plot in an address to the king at Windsor†, presented by G. Whitehead, Parker, and two more, wherein they appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that “their principles do not allow them to take up defensive arms, much less to avenge themselves for the injuries they receive from others. That they continually pray for the king’s safety and preservation, and therefore take this occasion humbly to beseech his majesty, to compassionate their suffering friends, with whom the jails are so filled, that they want air, to the apparent hazard of their lives, and to the endangering an infection in divers places. Besides, many houses, shops, barns, and fields, are ransacked, and the goods, corn, and cattle, swept away, to the discouraging of trade and husbandry, and impoverishing great numbers of quiet and industrious people; and this for no other cause but for the exercise of a tender conscience, in the worship of Almighty God, who is sovereign Lord and King in men’s consciences——.”

But this address made no impression‡: all things proceeding

* Page 402.

† Sewel, p. 585.

‡ The king was touched, for the moment, with the exhibition it gave of the unreasonable and unmerited sufferings of the Quakers, and said to one of his courtiers standing by, “What shall we do for this people? the prisons are full of them.” The party to whom this query was put, to divert his attention, drew him into conversation upon some other topic, so that little or no relaxation of the oppressive measures resulted from this address, nor during the remainder of the king’s reign. Gough’s History of the Quakers, vol. 3. p. 8, 9.—Ed.

triumphantly on the side of the prerogative* ; the court did what they pleased ; the king assumed the government of the city of London into his own hands, and appointed a mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, without the election of the people ; sermons were filled with the principles of absolute obedience and non-resistance, which were carried higher than ever their forefathers had thought of or practised. The university of Oxford passed a decree † in full convocation, July 21, 1683, against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and all human society ‡. It consists of twenty-seven propositions, extracted from the writings of Buchanan, Baxter, Owen, Milton, J. Goodwin, Hobbs, Cartwright, Travers, and others, who had maintained that there was an original contract between king and people ; and that when kings subvert the constitution of their country, and become absolute tyrants, they forfeit their right to the government, and may be resisted : these and other propositions of a like nature, they declare to be impious, seditious, scandalous, damnable, heretical, blasphemous, and infamous to the Christian religion. They forbid their students to read those writers, and ordered their books to be burnt. But how well they practised their own doctrines at the Revolution, will be seen in its proper place ; and one of queen Anne's parliaments ordered the decree itself to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman §.

* Kennet, p. 410.

† This decree was drawn up by Dr. Jane, dean of Gloucester, and the king's professor of divinity, and subscribed by the whole convocation. It was presented to the king with great solemnity on the 24th of July following, and very graciously received. It was ordered, in perpetual memory of it, to be entered in the registry of the convocation, and to be stuck up in the different colleges and halls. Farther to counteract the spread and influence of the propositions against which it was levelled, all readers, tutors, catechists, and others, to whom the instruction and care of youth were committed, were commanded, to instruct and ground their scholars in "that most necessary doctrine, which in a manner is the badge and character of the church of England, of submitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well ; teaching that this submission is to be clear, absolute, and without any exception of any state or order of men." High-church Politics, p. 89.

‡ Another proof of the intolerant spirit which dictated the decrees of the university at this time, offers in its treatment of Dr. Whitby, precentor of the church of Sarum. This learned writer published in this year, 1683, without his name, his "Protestant Reconciler," humbly pleading for condescension to dissenting brethren, in things indifferent and unnecessary, for the sake of peace ; and shewing how unreasonable it is to make such things the necessary conditions of communion. This book gave such high offence, that it was condemned by the university on the above-mentioned day, and burnt by the hands of the marshal in the schools' quadrangle. The author was also obliged by Dr. Seth Ward, to whom he was chaplain, to make a public retraction of it on the 9th of the ensuing October. And in the same year, to remove the clamour his piece had raised, he published a second part, "earnestly persuading the dissenting laity to join in full communion with the church of England, and answering all the objections of the Nonconformists against the lawfulness of the submission to the rites and constitutions of that church." Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 103—105.—Ed.

§ Collyer, 902.

Dr. Benjamin Calamy, rector of St. Lawrence Jewry, in one of his printed sermons entitled "A Scrupulous Conscience," invited the Nonconformists to examine what each party had to say for themselves with respect to the ceremonies imposed by the church, and enforced by the penal laws, calling upon them modestly to propose their doubts, and meekly to hearken to and receive instruction. In compliance with this invitation, Mr. Thomas Delaune, an Anabaptist schoolmaster, and a learned man *, printed a Plea for the Nonconformists, shewing the true state of their case, and justifying their separation. But before it was published, he was apprehended by a messenger from the press, and shut up close prisoner in Newgate, by warrant from the recorder Jenner, dated November 30, 1683. Mr. Delaune wrote to Dr. Calamy to endeavour his enlargement: "My confinement (says he) is for accepting your invitation; I look upon you obliged in honour to procure my sheets, yet unfinished, a public passport †, and to me my liberty—there is nothing in them but a fair examination of those things your sermon invited to, and I cannot find that Christ and his disciples ever forced scrupulous consciences to conformity, by such methods as sending them to Newgate; I beseech you, therefore, in the fear of God, as you will answer it to our great Lord and Master Jesus Christ, that you would endeavour to convince a stranger by something more like reason and divinity, than a prison." The doctor at first said, he would do him all the kindness that became him ‡. But in answer to a second letter, he

* Mr. Delaune was born at Brini in Ireland, about three miles from Riggsdale. His parents were Papists and very poor, and rented part of the estate of — Riggs, esq. This gentleman, observing the early and forward parts of the young Delaune, placed him in a friary at Kilcrash, seven miles from Cork, where he received his education; when he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, he removed to Kinsale, and met with Mr. Bampffield, who, discovering his genius and learning, made him clerk of his pilchard fishery there, and was the means of giving his mind a pious and virtuous turn. After some years, during which he enjoyed the high esteem and friendship of major Riggs and Mr. Bampffield, persecution and troubles induced him to leave Ireland, and come over into England, where he married the daughter of Mr. Edward Hutchinson, who had been pastor of a congregation at Ormond, but was also come to England on account of the troubles of the times. After this Mr. Delaune went to London, kept a grammar-school there, and fell into an intimacy and strict friendship with Mr. Benjamin Keach, and translated the *Philologia Sacra*, prefixed to his celebrated work, entitled, "A Key to open Scripture Metaphors." The narrative published with the subsequent editions of his "Plea for the Nonconformists," fully represents the series of sufferings under which he sunk, and the process of the iniquitous prosecution to which he, his wife and children, became a sacrifice.—Ed.

† It is to be observed, that notwithstanding all the attempts used to suppress Mr. Delaune's tract, to obstruct its reception, and to prevent its effect on the public mind, by severities against its author, and by committing the piece itself to the flames, there was a great demand for it, and before the year 1733, there had been seventeen impressions of it.—Ed.

‡ Mr. Neal's account of Dr. Calamy's conduct towards Mr. Delaune, is drawn from the injured sufferer's narrative; and it must be allowed, that it reflects on the doctor's character and memory. But though by not replying to his book, nor visiting him, he appeared to desert him; yet it appears that the behaviour which Mr. Delaune, in his afflicted situation, felt as a severe neglect, was tempered with more attention to his case and kindness than he seems to have known of. For Dr.

said, he looked upon himself as unconcerned, because he was not mentioned in that sheet he saw with the recorder. Mr. Delaune insisted that his honour was at stake for his deliverance, and prayed him at least to perform the office of a divine, in visiting him in prison, to argue him out of his doubts; but the doctor, like an ungenerous adversary, deserted him. Mr. Delaune therefore was to be convinced by an indictment at law; for that on November 30, he did by force of arms, &c. unlawfully, seditiously, and maliciously, write, print, and publish, a certain false, seditious, and scandalous libel, of and concerning our lord the king, and the Book of Common Prayer, entitled, "A Plea for the Nonconformists." For which offence he was fined one hundred marks, and to be kept prisoner till he paid it; to find security for his good behaviour for one year, and his books to be burnt before the Royal Exchange. The court told him, that in respect of his being a scholar, he should not be pilloried, though he deserved it. Mr. Delaune, not being able to pay his fine, lay in prison fifteen months, and suffered great hardships by extreme poverty, having no subsistence but on charity. He had a wife and two small children with him, who all died in the jail, through the length and closeness of the confinement, and other inconveniences they endured*; and at length Mr. Delaune himself sunk under his sufferings, and died in Newgate, a martyr to the challenge of this high-church champion.

Mr. Francis Bampffield suffered the like, or greater hardships;

Edmund Calamy says, "that his uncle took pains with Jefferies to get him released, but could not prevail, which was no small trouble to him." Dr. Calamy was a man greatly respected; and, though a true son of the church, averse to persecution. He was a man of great humanity, courteous and affable in his deportment, and exemplary in his life. His sermons were reckoned to possess great merit. No books in his study appeared to have been as much used as Mr. Perkin's works, especially his "Cases of Conscience," which were full of marks and scores. He died when a little turned of forty years of age. The treatment which his neighbour and particular friend alderman Cornish received, greatly affected him, and is thought to have hastened his end. Dr. Calamy's own *Life, MS. and Biographia Britannica*, vol. 3. second edit.—Ed.

* The story of Mr. Delaune is very affecting, and cannot but, at this distance of time, move pity and resentment. "The fate of himself and family, perishing in Newgate for want of 70*l.* (observes the candid editor of the *Biographia Britannica*, 2d edit.) is not only a disgrace to the general spirit of the times, but casts peculiar dishonour on the Nonconformists of that period. Though there was probably something in his disposition which occasioned his having but few friends, a man of his knowledge, learning, and integrity, ought not to have been so fatally neglected. Perhaps the only apology which can be made for the dissenters of king Charles II.'s reign is, that whilst so many of their ministers were in a persecuted state, it was impossible for every case of distress to be duly regarded." To this may be added the great number of cases of distress, arising from the prosecution and sufferings of the lay-dissenters. Mr. Jeremy White told Mr. John Waldron of Exeter, that the computation of those who suffered for nonconformity, between the Restoration and the Revolution, amounted to seventy thousand families ruined, and eight thousand persons destroyed; and the computation was not finished, when this number was ascertained. The sources of beneficence were also diminished by the effect of the measures pursued on trade. For the customs paid in Bristol only arose, in Charles's persecution, not to 30,000*l.* per annum; but in king William's reign they advanced to near 100,000*l.* Waldron's copy of Neal, *penes me.*—Ed.

he had been educated in Wadham-college, Oxford, and was minister of Sherborne in Dorsetshire*. After the act of uniformity, he continued preaching as he had opportunity in private, till he was imprisoned for five days and nights, with twenty-five of his hearers in one room, with only one bed, where they spent their time in religious exercises; but after some time he was released †. Soon after he was apprehended again, and lay nine years in Dorchester jail, though he was a person of unshaken loyalty to the king, and against the parliament war; but this availed nothing to his being a Nonconformist. He afterward retired to London, where, being again apprehended, he was shut up in Newgate, and there died February 16, 1683—4. He was for the seventh day sabbath, but a person of unquestionable seriousness and piety.

With him might be mentioned Mr. Ralphson, a learned man, and a fellow-sufferer with Mr. Delanne in Newgate. On the 10th of December, a bill was found against him by the grand jury of London; on the 13th of the same month he pleaded Not guilty at the Old Bailey. On the 16th of January he was called to the sessions-house, but other trials proving tedious, his did not come on. The next day he was brought to the outer bar; and after an attendance of divers hours in a place not very agreeable, and in the sharpest winter that had been known, he contracted a violent cold, which issued in a fever, that carried him as well as Mr. Bampfield beyond the reach of tyrants, or the restraint of bail-docks and press-yards, to the mansions of everlasting rest ‡. Mr. Philips, partner with Mr. Bampfield, suffered eleven months' imprisonment in Ilchester jail, in a nasty stinking hole, to the great hazard of his life. Mr. French, of Town-Maulin, was confined six months in Maidstone common jail, in a hard winter, without fire or candle, or any private apartment.

Mr. Salkeld, the ejected minister of Worlington in Suffolk, was fined 100*l.* and committed to the common jail of St. Ed-

* Mr. Bampfield was descended from an ancient and honourable family in Devonshire. The first living he held was more valuable than that of Sherborne, being about 100*l.* per annum; and having an annuity of 80*l.* per annum settled on him for life, he spent all the income of his place in acts of charity, by employing the poor that could work, relieving the necessities of those who were incapable of any labour, and distributing Bibles and practical books. Soon after his ejection he was imprisoned for worshipping God in his own family; and it is remarkable, that, notwithstanding he was prosecuted with severity, he had been zealous against the parliament's army and Oliver's usurpation, and always a strenuous advocate for the royal cause. When he resided in London he formed a church on the principles of the Sabbatarian Baptists at Pinners'-hall, of which principles he was a zealous asserter. He was a celebrated preacher, and a man of serious piety. He bore his long imprisonment with great courage and patience, and gathered a church even in the place of confinement. His fellow-prisoners lamented him, as well as his acquaintance and friends. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 468—472. Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 1. p. 363—368; vol. 2. p. 355—361.—ED.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 260.

‡ Calamy's Abridg. vol. 2. p. 259—377.

mundsbury*, for saying, Popery was coming into the nation apace, and no care taken to prevent it. He lay in prison three years, and was not discharged till the year 1686.

Mr. Richard Stretton suffered six months' imprisonment this year, for refusing the Oxford oath, in company with ten ministers more, who were also his fellow-prisoners †. Most of the dissenting ministers were forced to shift their places of abode to avoid discovery, and travel in long nights and cold weather, from one village to another, to preach to their people. If at any time they ventured to visit their families in a dark night, they durst not stir abroad, but went away before morning. Some spent their time in woods and solitary places; others, being excommunicated, removed with their effects into other diocesses—great numbers of the common people, taken at private meetings, were convicted as rioters, and fined 10*l.* a piece; and not being able to pay, were obliged to remove into other counties, by which they lost their business, and their families were reduced to want. I forbear to mention the rudeness offered to young women, some of whom were sent to Bridewell, to beat hemp among rogues and thieves: others, that were married and with child, received irreparable damages; even children were terrified with constables and halberdeers breaking open houses, of whom I myself, says Mr. Peirce, being very young, was one example; and the writer of this history could mention others.

In the midst of these violent proceedings, the divines of the church of England published the London Cases against the Nonconformists, as if the danger of religion arose from that quarter; they were twenty-three in number, and have since been abridged by Dr. Bennet. These champions of the church were very secure from being answered, after Mr. Delaune had so lately lost his life for accepting such a challenge ‡. They must therefore have the field to themselves, for if their adversaries wrote, they were sure to be rewarded with fines, and a prison; but since the return of liberty, they have been answered separately by Mr. Nathaniel Taylor, Mr. James Peirce, and others.

This year [1683] died Dr. John Owen, one of the most learned of the Independent divines; he was educated in Queen's college, Oxford, but left the university in 1637, being dissatisfied with Laud's innovations §. He was a strict Calvinist, and

* It aggravated the iniquity as well as severity of this sentence, that many hundreds of Dr. Salkeld's hearers could testify that what he said was not said as his own language, but that of the parliament. During his confinement he was helpful to his fellow-prisoners, both as a minister and a cheerful Christian. His table was furnished by his friends at Bury, and his fine afterward remitted by king William. But his estate was much weakened, and his health almost ruined by his imprisonment. After his liberation he continued his ministry at Walsham in the Willows, and died December 20, 1699, aged seventy-seven. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 2. p. 442, 443.—Ed.

† Calamy, vol. 2. p. 676.

‡ Peirce, p. 259

§ Calamy, vol. 2. p. 58. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 1. p. 152—158.

published his *Display of Arminianism* in 1642, for which the committee of religion presented him to the living of Fordham in Essex. In 1643 he removed to Coggeshall in the same county, where he first declared himself an Independent, and gathered a church according to the discipline of that people. He often preached before the long-parliament, even about the time the king was beheaded, but always kept his sentiments in reserve upon such a subject. Soon after, lieutenant-general Cromwell took him into his service as a chaplain in his expedition to Ireland; and when the general marched to Scotland, he obtained an order of parliament for the doctor to attend him thither. Upon his return, he was preferred to the deanery of Christchurch, and next year to the vice-chancellorship of Oxford, where he presided with great reputation and prudence for five years. He always behaved like a gentleman and scholar, and maintained the dignity of his character. The writer of his life says, that though he was an Independent himself, he gave most of the vacant livings in his disposal among the Presbyterians, and obliged the episcopal party, by conniving at an assembly of about three hundred of them, almost over against his own doors. The Oxford historian*, after having treated his memory with the most opprobrious language, confesses, that he was well skilled in the tongues, in rabbinical learning, and in the Jewish rites and customs, and that he was one of the most genteel and fairest writers that appeared against the church of England. The doctor had a great reputation among foreign Protestants: and when he was ejected by the act of uniformity, was invited to a professorship in the United Provinces. He was once also determined to settle in New-England, but was stopped by express order from the council. He

* Mr. Wood represents Dr. Owen as a perjured person, a time-server, a hypocrite, whose godliness was gain, and a blasphemer; and, as if this were not sufficient, he has also made him a fop. "All which (observes Mr. Granger, with equal judgment and candour) means no more than this; that when Dr. Owen entered himself a member of the university of Oxford, he was of the established church, and took the usual oaths; that he turned Independent, preached and acted as Independents did, took the oath called the engagement, and accepted of preferment from Cromwell; that he was a man of good person and behaviour, and liked to go well dressed."—"We must be extremely cautious (adds this author), how we form our judgments of characters at this period; the difference of a few modes or ceremonies in religious worship, has been the source of infinite prejudice and misrepresentation. The practice of some of the splenetic writers of this period, reminds me of the painter, well known by the appellation of Hellish Brueghell, who so accustomed himself to painting of witches, imps, and devils, that he sometimes made but little difference between his human and infernal figures." To Mr. Neal's delineation of Dr. Owen's character may be added, that he was hospitable in his house, generous in his favours, and charitable to the poor, especially to poor scholars, some of whom he took into his own family, maintained at his own charge, and educated in an academical learning. When he was at Tunbridge, the duke of York, several times, sent for him, and conversed with him concerning the dissenters. On his return to London king Charles himself sent for him, and discoursed with him two hours; assuring him of his favour and respect, expressing himself a friend to liberty of conscience, and his sense of the wrong done to the dissenters. At the same time he gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most. Granger's *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 301, 302, note; and Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. 1. p. 154, 155.—Ed.

was pastor of a considerable congregation in London, and died with great calmness and composure of mind, on Bartholomew-day 1683. His works are very numerous, and still in esteem among the dissenters; though his style is a little intricate and perplexed.

[In this year died, aged seventy-two, Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, the friend of Tillotson. He was of an ancient and honourable family in the county of Salop, and was born at Whichcote-hall in the parish of Stoke, March 11, 1609. He was admitted in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, 1626, and graduated bachelor of arts 1629, master of arts 1633, and bachelor in divinity 1640. In the same year that he took his second degree, he was elected fellow of the college, and his tutor, Mr. Thomas Hill, leaving the university the year after, Mr. Whichcote took pupils, and became very considerable for his learning and worth, his prudence and temper, his wisdom and moderation, in those times of trial; nor was he less famous for the number, rank, and character, of his pupils, and the care he took of them. Wallis, Smith, Worthington, Cradock, &c. studied under him. In 1626, he set up an afternoon lecture in Trinity-church at Cambridge, which he served twenty years. In 1643, the master and fellows of his college presented him to the living of North Cadbury, in Somersetshire. But he was soon called back to Cambridge, and admitted provost of King's college, March 19, 1644*. In 1649, he was created doctor in divinity. Here he employed his credit, weight, and influence, to advance and spread a free and generous way of thinking, and to promote a spirit of sober piety and rational religion. Many, whose talents and learning raised them to great eminence as divines, after the Restoration, were formed by him. To his predecessor in the provostship he was generous. His spirit was too noble, servilely to follow a party. At the Restoration he was removed from his post, on accepting of which he had resigned the living of Cadbury, and he was elected and licensed to the cure of St. Anne's Blackfriars, November 1662. This church was burnt down in the fire of 1665, and he retired for a while to Milton, a living given to him by his college. He was after this presented, by the crown, to the vicarage of St. Lawrence Jury, which was his last stage. Here he continued, in high and general esteem, preaching twice every week, till his death in 1683. One volume of his sermons, entitled "Select Discourses," was published, after his death, by the earl of Shaftesbury, author of the "Characteristics," in 1698. Three others by Dr. John Jeffery, archdeacon of Norwich, in 1701 and 1702, and a fourth by Dr. Samuel Clarke. A collection of his "Aphorisms," was printed by Dr. S. Salter, in 1753. See the second preface to which, p. 16—27.—ED.]

* See before, vol. 2. p. 253, text and note, where we have already made respectful mention of Dr. Whichcote.

This year the king, by the assistance of the Tories and Roman Catholics, completed the ruin of the constitution, and assumed the whole government into his own hands. The Whigs and Nonconformists were struck with terror, by the severe prosecutions of the heads of their party*. Mr. Hampden was fined 40,000*l.* Sir Samuel Barnardiston 10,000*l.* for defaming the evidence in the Ryehouse plot. Mr. Speke 2000*l.* and Mr. Braddon 1000*l.* for reporting that the earl of Essex had been murdered in the Tower. Mr. John Duttoncolt 100,000*l.* for *scandalum magnatum* against the duke of York, who now ruled all at court. Oates was fined for the same crime 100,000*l.* and never released till after the Revolution. Thirty-two others were fined or pilloried for libelling the king or the duke of York. In short, the greatest part of the history of this year consists of prosecutions, penalties, and punishments, says Mr. Echard. At the same time the earl of Danby and the Popish lords were released out of the Tower on bail, the garrison of Tangier was brought over into England, and augmented to a standing army of four or five thousand resolute men, fit for any service the court should employ them in. And the corporations throughout England, having been prevailed with, by promises or threatenings, to surrender their charters†, after the example of London, the whole kingdom was divested of its privileges, and reduced to an absolute monarchy‡. Whole peals of anathemas were rung out against those patriots, who stood in the way against this inundation of power. The Scriptures were wrested to prove the divine right of tyrants. The absolute government of the Jewish kings was preached up as a pattern for ours§. And Heaven itself was

* Rapin, p. 733, and note. Echard, p. 1043, 1044.

† Among others, the charter of the city of Chester was surrendered, and a new one joyfully accepted, by which a power was reserved to the crown to put out magistrates and put in at pleasure. This is mentioned to introduce an instance of the conduct of the dissenters of that day, which reflects honour on their integrity, and shews how far they were from the affectation of power; as it was also a proof of a disinterested and inviolable attachment to the rights and liberties of their country. About August 1688, one Mr. Trinder was sent to Chester to new-model the corporation according to the power above mentioned. He applied to Mr. Henry, in the king's name, and told him, that "his majesty thought the government of the city needed reformation, and if he would say who should be put out, it should be done." Mr. Henry said, "he begged his pardon, but it was none of his business, nor would he in the least intermeddle in a thing of that nature." Trinder, however, got instructions from others. The charter was cancelled, and another of the same import was made out and sent down, nominating to the government all the dissenters of note in the city, the seniors to be aldermen, and the juniors common-councilmen. When the persons named in it were called together to have notice of it, and to have the time fixed for their being sworn, like true Englishmen, they refused it, and desired that the ancient charter might be re-established, though they knew that none of them would come into power by that, but many of those who were their bitter enemies would be restored. Accordingly the old charter was renewed in the same state wherein it was when the Tories surrendered it. Mr. Thompson's MS. collections, under the word Chester.—ED.

‡ Welwood's Memoirs, p. 130.

§ Mr. Waldron, of Exeter, has written here in his copy of Mr. Neal's work the following note: "The public orator of Cambridge, in a speech to the king at Newmarket, told him, that they hoped to see the king of England as abso-

ranked on that side, by some who pretended to expound its will. Instead of dropping a tear over our expiring laws, liberties, and parliaments, fulsome panegyrics were made upon their murderers, and curses denounced on those who would have saved them from destruction.

In this melancholy situation of public affairs the prosecution of the Nonconformists was continued, and egged on with an infatuation hardly to be paralleled in any Protestant nation. Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, published a letter for spiriting up the magistrates against the dissenters, in concurrence with another drawn up by the justices of peace of Bedford, bearing date January 14, 1684. Many were cited into the spiritual courts, excommunicated, and ruined. Two hundred warrants of distress were issued out upon private persons and families, in the town and neighbourhood of Uxbridge, for frequenting conventicles, or not resorting to church*. An order was made by the justice of Exeter, promising a reward of 40s. to any one who should apprehend a Nonconformist minister, which the bishop of the diocese, Dr. Lamplugh, commanded to be published in all the churches, by his clergy, on the following Sunday. The reverend Dr. Bates, Dr. Annesley, and many of their brethren in the ministry, had their goods seized and confiscated. Mr. — Mayot of Oxford, a moderate Conformist, having left Mr. Baxter 600*l.* to distribute among sixty poor ejected ministers; the lord-keeper North took it from him, as given to a superstitious use; but it lying unappropriated in the court of chancery till after the Revolution, it was restored by the commissioners of the great seal under king William. Soon after the justices sent warrants to apprehend Mr. Baxter, as being one in a list of a thousand names, who were to be bound to their good behaviour upon latent convictions, that is, without seeing their accusers, or being made acquainted with their charge†. Mr. Baxter refusing to open his doors, the officers forced into his house, and finding him locked up in his study, they resolved to starve him from thence, by setting six men at the door, to whom he was obliged next day to surrender. They then carried him to the sessions-house two or three times, and bound him in a bond of 400*l.* so that if his friends had not been sureties for him, contrary to his desire, he must have died in prison, as many excellent persons did about this time.

Jefferies, now lord-chief-justice of England, who was scandalously vicious, and drunk every day, besides a drunkenness of fury in his temper that looked like madness, was prepared for any dirty work the court should put him upon‡. September 23, 1684, Mr. Thomas Rosewel, the dissenting minister at Rother-

lute as the kings of Israel: as Thomas Quicks, Esq. told me, who stood behind him. J. W.'

* Howe's Life, p. 80.

† Baxter, part 3. p. 198.

‡ Burnet, vol. 2. p. 444, 445.

hithe, was imprisoned in the Gate-house Westminster, for high treason; and a bill was found against him at the quarter-sessions, upon which he was tried November 8, at the King's-bench-bar, by a Surrey jury, before lord-chief-justice Jefferies, and his brethren, viz. Withins, Holloway, and Walcot. He was indicted for the following expressions in his sermon, September 14. That the king could not cure the king's evil, but that priests and prophets by their prayers could heal the griefs of the people—That we had had two wicked kings (meaning the present king and his father), whom we can resemble to no other person but to the most wicked Jeroboam; and that if they (meaning his hearers) would stand to their principles, he did not doubt but they should overcome their enemies (meaning the king), as in former times, with rams' horns, broken platters, and a stone in a sling. The witnesses were three infamous women, who swore to the words without the *impuendoes*; they were laden with the guilt of many perjuries already, and such of them as could be found afterward were convicted, and the chief of them pilloried before the Exchange. The trial lasted seven hours, and Mr. Rosewel behaved with all the decency and respect to the court that could be expected, and made a defence that was applauded by most of the hearers. He said it was impossible the witnesses should remember, and be able to pronounce so long a period, when they could not so much as tell the text, nor any thing else in the sermon, besides the words they had sworn: several who heard the sermon, and wrote it in short hand, declared they heard no such words. Mr. Rosewel offered his own notes to prove it, but no regard was had to them. The women could not prove, says Burnet, by any one circumstance, that they were at the meeting; or that any person saw them there on that day: the words they swore were so gross, that it was not to be imagined that any man in his wits would express himself so, before a mixed assembly; yet Jefferies urged the matter with his usual vehemence. He laid it for a foundation, that all preaching at conventicles was treasonable, and that this ought to dispose the jury to believe any evidence upon that head, so the jury brought him in guilty*; upon which, says the bishop †, there was a shameful rejoicing; and it was now thought, all conventicles must be suppressed,

* As soon as Mr. Rosewel was convicted, sir John Talbot, who was present at the trial, went to the king, and urged on his majesty, that if such evidence as had appeared against Mr. Rosewel were admitted, no one of his subjects would be safe. Upon this, when Jefferies soon after came into the royal presence, with an air of exultation and triumph to congratulate his majesty on the conviction of a traitor, the king gave him a cold reception, which damped his ardour in the business. When the court met to hear Mr. Rosewel's counsel, this corrupt judge, who on the trial had intermingled with the examination of the witnesses virulent invectives against him, and with his usual vehemence had endeavoured to prejudice and inflame the jury, now assumed a tone of moderation, and strongly recommended to the king's counsel caution and deliberation, where the life of a man was depending. See the Trial.—Ed.

N.B. This trial has been reprinted in the Protestant Dissenters' Magazine.

† Page 146.

when such evidence could be received against such a defence. But when the words came to be examined by men learned in the law, they were found not to be treason by any statute. So Mr. Rosewel moved an arrest of judgment till counsel should be heard; and though it was doubtful, whether the motion was proper on this foundation after the verdict, yet the king was so out of countenance at the accounts he heard of the witnesses, that he gave orders to yield to it; and in the end he was pardoned*. The court lost a great deal of reputation by this trial; for besides that Rosewel made a strong defence, he proved that he had always been a loyal man even in Cromwell's days, that he prayed constantly for the king in his family, and that in his sermons he often insisted upon the obligations to loyalty.

Among other sufferers for nonconformity, we must not forget the reverend Mr. William Jenkins, M. A. the ejected minister of Christ-church, who died this year in Newgate: he was educated in St. John's-college, Cambridge; and about the year 1641 was chosen minister of this place, and lecturer of Blackfriars, both which pulpits he filled with great acceptance till the destruction of monarchy, after which he was sequestered, for refusing to comply with the orders of parliament†. He was sent to the Tower for Love's plot, but upon his humble petition, and promise of submission to the powers in being, he was pardoned, and his sequestration taken off, but he carefully avoided meddling in politics afterward. He was summoned before the council January 2, 1661, and reprimanded, because he forgot to pray for the king‡; and being ejected with his brethren in 1662, he retired into the country; but upon the indulgence in 1671, he had a new meeting-house erected for him in Jewin-street, where he preached to a crowded audience. He was one of the merchant's lecturers at Pinner's-hall. And when the indulgence was revoked, he continued preaching as he could till this year; but September 2, 1684, being at a private fast with some of his brethren, the soldiers broke in, and carried Mr. Jenkyn before two aldermen, who treated him very rudely, and, upon his refusing the Oxford oath,

* Calamy, vol. 2. p. 756. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 2. p. 512.

† Mr. Jenkyns was, by his mother, the grandson of Mr. John Rogers, the promartyr in the reign of queen Mary. The order of parliament, to which he refused obedience, was one that enjoined a public thanksgiving. The brethren, with whom he was keeping a fast, when he was apprehended in 1684, were Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Keeling, and Mr. Flavel, who made their escape, which Mr. Jenkyns might have done, had it not been for a piece of vanity in a lady, whose long train hindered his going down stairs; Mr. Jenkyns, in his great civility, having let her pass before him. At his funeral, which was attended by many eminent persons, and some scores of mourning coaches, his son gave rings with this motto, "William Jenkyns murdered in Newgate." Upon his death, a nobleman said to the king, "May it please your majesty, Jenkyns has got his liberty." On which he asked with eagerness, "Aye! who gave it him?" The nobleman replied, "A greater than your majesty, the King of kings;" with which the king seemed greatly struck, and remained silent. Granger, vol. 3. p. 317. Palmer, vol. 1. p. 98—100; and History of the Town of Taunton, p. 157.—ED.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 601.

committed him to Newgate: while he was there, he petitioned the king for a release, his physicians declaring, that his life was in danger from his close confinement; but no security would be accepted. So that he soon declined in his health, and died in Newgate in the seventy-third year of his age, January 19, 1684—5, having been a prisoner four months and one week. A little before his death he said, a man might be as effectually murdered in Newgate as at Tyburn. He was buried by his friends in Bunhill-fields with great honour, many eminent persons, and some scores of coaches, attending his funeral.

This was the usage the dissenters met with from the church of England at this time, which has hardly a parallel in the Christian world: remarkable are the words of the earl of Castlemain, a Roman Catholic, on this occasion: " 'Twas never known (says he) that Rome persecuted, as the bishops do, those who adhere to the same faith with themselves; and established an inquisition against the professors of the strictest piety among themselves; and, however the prelates complain of the bloody persecution of queen Mary, it is manifest that their persecution exceeds it; for under her there were not more than two or three hundred put to death, whereas, under their persecution, above treble that number have been rifled, destroyed, and ruined in their estates, lives, and liberties, being (as is most remarkable) men for the most part of the same spirit with those Protestants who suffered under the prelates in queen Mary's time*."

This year died Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, M. A., the ejected minister of Newbury. He was bred up in Magdalen-hall, Oxford; from thence he went to New England, and was the first graduate of the college there. On his return to England, he succeeded Dr. Twisse at Newbury, where he had a mighty reputation as a scholar, a preacher, a casuist, and a Christian. He was a great instrument of reducing the whole town to sobriety, and to family as well as public religion. Upon the Restoration, he was made one of the king's chaplains in ordinary, and preached once before him. He was one of the commissioners at the Savoy, and very desirous of an accommodation with the church-party. He was offered a canonry of Windsor, but refused it, and afterward suffered many ways for his nonconformity, though he was generally respected and beloved by all who were judges of real worth. He had a sound judgment, and was a fine preacher, having a commanding voice and aspect. His temper was cheerful, and his behaviour obliging; he was exemplary for his moderation, and of considerable learning. When the five-mile act took place, he removed from Newbury to a small distance, where he preached as he had opportunity †. He was liberal to the poor, and in all respects a good and great man. He died at Inglefield, November

* Peirce, p. 259. † Ca'am'y, vol. 2. p. 956. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. 1. p. 229.

1, 1684, in a good old age, after he had been a minister in those parts almost forty years.

The sufferings of the Presbyterians in Scotland run parallel with those of England, during the whole course of this reign, but the people were not quite so tame and submissive*: the same or greater acts of severity, than those which were made against the Nonconformists in England, were enacted in Scotland. Episcopacy was restored May 8, 1662, and the covenant declared to be an unlawful oath. All persons in office were to sign a declaration of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever. The English act against conventicles was copied, and passed almost in the same terms in Scotland. The bishops were some of the worst of men, and hated by the people as they deserved, for their deportment was unbecoming their function, says bishop Burnet†; some did not live within their diocesses, and those who did, seemed to take no care of them: they shewed no zeal against vice; the most eminently vicious in the country were their peculiar confidants: nor had they any concern to keep their clergy to their duty, but were themselves guilty of levity, and great sensuality.

The people were generally of the Presbyterian persuasion, and stood firm by each other. In many places they were fierce and untractable, and generally forsook the churches; the whole country complained of the new episcopal clergy, as immoral, stupid, ignorant, and greedy of gain; and treated them with an aversion that sometimes proceeded to violence. Many were brought before the council, and ecclesiastical commission, for not coming to church; but the proofs were generally defective, for the people would not give evidence one against another. However, great numbers were cast into prison, and ill-used; some were fined; and the younger sort whipped publicly about the streets; so that great numbers transported their families to Ulster in Ireland, where they were well received.

The government observed no measures with this people, they exacted exorbitant fines for their not coming to church, and quartered soldiers upon them till they were ruined. The truth is, says Burnet‡, the whole face of the government looked more like the proceedings of an inquisition, than of legal courts. At length, in the year 1666, sir James Turner being sent into the west to levy fines at discretion, the people rose up in arms, and published a manifesto, that they did not take arms against the king, but only that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the bishops, and that presbytery and the covenant might be set up, and their old ministers restored. Turner and all his soldiers were made prisoners, but marching out of their own country, they were dispersed by the king's forces, about forty being killed, and one hundred and thirty taken; many of whom were hanged before

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 206—211.

† Page 317.

‡ Page 307. 309, 310.

their own doors, and died with great firmness and joy*. Mr. Maccaill their minister underwent the torture, and died with great constancy; his last words were, "Farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell kindred and friends, world and time, and this weak and frail body; and welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and God the judge of all!" which he spoke in such a manner as struck all who heard him. The commander of the king's forces killed some in cold blood, and threatened to spit others and roast them alive.

When the indulgence was published in England the Scots had the benefit of it, but when it was taken away the persecution revived, with inexpressible severity, under the administration of duke Lauderdale. Conventicles abounded in all parts of the country; the Presbyterian ministers preached in their own houses, to numbers of people that stood without doors to hear them; and when they were dispersed by the magistrates, they retreated into the fields with their ministers to hear the word of God; and to prevent being disturbed, carried arms sufficient for their defence. Upon which a very severe act was passed against house conventicles and field conventicles, declaring them treasonable; and the landlords, in whose grounds they were held, were to be severely fined, unless they discovered the persons present. But still this did not terrify the people, who met together in defiance of the law†. Writs were issued against many who were called Cameronians, who were outlawed, and therefore left their houses, and travelled about the country, till at length they collected into a body, and declared that the king had forfeited the crown of that kingdom by renouncing the covenant; but the duke of Monmouth, being sent to disperse them, routed them at Bothwell-bridge, killing four hundred, and taking twelve hundred prisoners; two ministers were hanged, and two hundred banished to the plantations, who were all lost at sea‡. Cameron their preacher fell in battle, but Hackston and Cargill, the two other preachers, died with invincible courage; as did all the rest, who were offered their lives if they would say, God bless the king! Hackston had both his hands cut off, which he suffered with a constancy and rapture that were truly amazing. When both his hands were cut off, he asked whether they would cut off his feet too? And notwithstanding all his loss of blood, after he was hanged, and his heart taken out of his body, it was alive upon the hangman's knife.

At length, says bishop Burnet§, things came to that extremity, that the people saw they must come to church or be undone: but they came in so awkward a manner, that it was visible they did not come to serve God, but to save their substance, for they were talking or sleeping during the whole service. This introduced a sort of atheism among the younger people. But the inquisition was so terrible, that numbers fled from their native country, and

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 348.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 64. 155. 182. 266. 268, 269.

‡ P. 223, 224.

§ P. 341.

settled in the plantations. These methods of conversion were subversive of Christianity, and a reproach to a Protestant church and nation; but oppression and tyranny had overspread the English dominions; the hearts of all good men failed them for fear, and for looking after those things that were coming on the land; the clouds were gathering thick over their heads, and there was no other defence against an inundation of Popery and slavery, but the thin security of the king's life.

To return to England: when the king had made way for a Popish successor, by introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical government, his majesty began to think himself neglected, all the court being made to the rising sun; upon which he was heard to say in some passion, that if he lived a month longer he would find a way to make himself easy for the remainder of his life*. This was interpreted as a design to change hands, by sending abroad the duke of York, and recalling the duke of Monmouth; which struck terror into the Popish party, and is thought to have hastened his death, for he was seized with a kind of apoplexy February 2, and died on the Friday following, February 6, 1684—5, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, not without violent suspicion of poison, either by snuff, or an infusion in broth, as bishop Burnet and others of undoubted credit have assured us, the body not being suffered to be thoroughly examined †.

King Charles II. was a gentleman of wit and good-nature ‡, till his temper was soured in the latter part of his life by his Popish counsellors. His court was a scene of luxury and all kinds of lewdness, and his profuse expenses upon unlawful pleasures, reduced him to the necessity of becoming a pensioner of France. If he had any religion, it was that of a disguised Papist, or rather a Deist; but he was strangely entangled, during his whole life, with the obligations he had been brought under by the Roman Catholics. He aimed at being an absolute monarch, but would be at no farther trouble to accomplish it, than to give his corrupt ministry liberty to do what they pleased. The king had a great many vices, says Burnet§, but few virtues to correct them ||.

* Welwood's Mem. p. 123, sixth ed.

† Burnet, vol. 2. p. 460.

‡ Charles the Second, "as a gentleman (says Dr. Warner), was liked by every body, but beloved by nobody, and as a prince, though he might be respected for his station, yet his death could not be lamented by a lover of his country, upon any other motive, but that it introduced a much worse monarch on the throne than he was himself." There was ground, in this view, for the remark of Dr. Gregory Sharpe; "that if the English were in tears, when the king died in 1685, it was more to lament the succession, than the funeral." Ecclesiastical History, vol. 2. p. 929. Sharpe's Introduction to Universal History, p. 256. second ed.

§ Vol. 2. p. 165.

To this it may be added, that Charles II. was characterised, as having never said a foolish thing nor done a wise one. A late writer of dramatical history, Mr. Thomas Davis, is supposed to have contradicted this by an anecdote he has given. Mrs. Marshall, the first actress on the king's theatre, and a woman of virtue, having been tricked into a sham marriage by a nobleman, king Charles II. obliged him to settle an annual income on her. This indicated equity of mind as well as wisdom. Roscius Anglicanus, p. 19. 24, in the Literary Museum, 8vo. printed 1792.—Ed.

|| Long since Mr. Neal's history was published, it has appeared that there was

Religion was with him no more than an engine of state. He hated the Nonconformists, because they appeared against the prerogative, and received the fire of all the enemies of the constitution and of the Protestant religion with an unshaken firmness. His majesty's chief concern at last was for his brother's succession; and when he came to die, he spoke not a word of religion, nor showed any remorse for his ill-spent life: he expressed no tenderness for his subjects, nor any concern for his queen, but only recommended his mistresses and their children to his brother's regard. So that no Englishman, or friend of his country, could weep at his death, from any other motive, than his keeping out a successor who was worse than himself.

PART V.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES II. TO KING JAMES II.'S
DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

1685.

WHEN the news of king Charles's decease was spread over the city, a pensive sadness was visible in most countenances for the fate of the kingdom*. His brother James, who succeeded him, told the privy-council at his first meeting them, that "as he would never depart from any branch of the prerogative, so he would not invade any man's property, but would preserve the government as by law established in church and state †." Which gra-

a design in the reign of Charles II. to place a bishop in Virginia; and that the letters patent for that purpose were actually made out, and are extant. The design failed, because the whole endowment was fixed on the customs. Secker's Letter to Mr. Horatio Walpole, p. 17.—ED.

* Bishop Burnet says, that the proclamation of the king "was a heavy solemnity; few tears were shed for the former, nor were there any shouts of joy for the present king." It appears that the bishop, who was then abroad, was misinformed in this matter: for Dr. Calamy, who heard the king proclaimed, assures us, that his heart ached within him at the acclamations made upon the occasion; which, as far as he could observe, were very general: though he never saw so universal a concern as was visible in all men's countenances at that time: for great numbers had very terrifying apprehensions of what was to be expected. The doctor observes, that it however very sensibly discovered the changeableness of this world, that king James should so quietly succeed his brother without any thing like a dispute or contest; when, but five years before, a majority of three houses of commons were so bent upon excluding him, that nothing could satisfy them, if this were not compassed. Calamy's Historical Account of his own Life, vol. 1. p. 95. MS.—ED.

† "This speech (bishop Burnet adds) was magnified as a security far greater than any that laws could give." The common phrase was, "We have now the word of a king, and a word never yet broken." Of this Dr. Calamy gives a confirmation on the authority of a person of character and worth, who heard Dr. Sharp, afterward archbishop of York, as he was preaching at St. Lawrence Jewry at the time, when king James gave this assurance, break out into language to this effect: "As to our religion, we have the word of the king, which (with reverence be it spoken) is as sacred as my text." This high flight was much noticed then, and often recollected afterward. The doctor had cause to reflect on it with regret: when he was, for preaching against Popery at his own parish-church of St. Giles, the first of the

tified the clergy so much, that the pulpits throughout England resounded with thanksgivings; and a numerous set of addresses flattered his majesty, in the strongest expressions, with assurances of unshaken loyalty and obedience, without limitation or reserve. Among others was the humble address of the university of Oxford; in which, after expressing their sorrow for the death of the late king, they add *, that they can never swerve from the principles of their institution, and their religion by law established, which indispensably binds them to bear faith and true obedience to their sovereign, without any limitation or restriction, and that no consideration whatever should shake their loyalty and allegiance. And the university of Cambridge add, that loyalty [or unlimited obedience] is a duty flowing from the very principle of their religion, by which they have been enabled to breed up as true and steady subjects as the world can show, as well in doctrine as practice, from which they can never depart. The Quakers' address was more simple and honest †; "We are come," say they ‡, "to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England no more than we, therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself; which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness §."

The king began his reign with a frank and open profession of his religion; for, the first Sunday after his accession, he went publicly to mass, and obliged father Huddleston, who attended his brother in his last hours, to declare to the world that he died a Roman Catholic. His majesty acted the part of an absolute sovereign from the very first; and, though he had declared he would invade no man's property, yet he issued out a proclamation for collecting the duties of tonnage and poundage, &c., which were given to the late king only for life; and in his letter to the Scots parliament, which met March 28, he says, "I am resolved

clergy that fell under the king's displeasure, and felt the weight and pressure of his arbitrary power. Historical Account, p. 96. Burnet, p. 620.—ED.

* Gazette, no. 2018.

† Sewel, p. 594.

‡ Echard, p. 1051.

§ Mr. Neal refers, as one authority for giving this address of the Quakers, to Sewel; but it is not to be found there. A modern historian, who censures it for the "uncouthness and blunt familiarity of expression," calls it, "a fictitious address;" the members of this society, he observes, "were not in the custom of paying complimentary addresses to any man;" if the sufferings of their friends impelled them to apply to their superiors for relief, "their addresses, though expressed in their plain manner, were comprised in respectful terms; void of flattery, but not indecent; unceremonious, but not uncivil." There is no account of their being in the number of the congratulatory addresses on the accession of James. Their first application to him was to recommend their suffering friends to his clemency. At the death of Charles, notwithstanding that petition upon petition had been presented to him for relief, one thousand five hundred of this society were in prison on various prosecutions. "So that a people paying a strict regard to truth could hardly term him their good friend." The above address was first published by Echard, from whom it should seem Mr. Neal took it, trusting probably to the exactness of his reference; if he did quote Sewel for it. Hume and others have since published it. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 3. p. 160, 161.—ED.

to maintain my power in its greatest lustre, that I may be better able to defend your religion against fanatics."

Before the king had been two months on his throne, he discovered severe resentments against the enemies of his religion, and of his succession to the crown*. Dr. Oates was brought out of prison, and tried for perjury in the affair of the Popish plot, for which he was sentenced to stand in the pillory several times, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and from thence to Tyburn; which was exercised with a severity unknown to the English nation†. And Dangerfield, who invented the Meal-tub plot, for which he declared he had received money from the duke of York, was indicted for a libel, and was fined 500*l.* He was also sentenced to be pilloried, and whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and in his return home was murdered in the coach by one Frances, a barrister at law, who was afterwards hanged for it. The whigs, who went to court to pay their duty to the king, were received but coldly; some were reproached, and others denied access, especially those who had distinguished themselves for the bill of exclusion‡. In the election of a new parliament, all methods of corruption and violence were used to get such members returned as might be supple to the king's arbi-

* Burnet, vol. 3. p. 29, Edin. edition.

† Oates was whipped a second time, while his back was most miserably swelled with his first whipping, and looked as if it had been flayed. He was a man of undaunted resolution, and endured what would have killed a great many others. He was, in his religious profession, a mere Proteus, but appears to have been uniformly capable of villany. His first education was at Merchant-Tailor's school; from whence he removed to Cambridge. When he left that university he gained orders in the church of England, and after having officiated for a time as curate to his father, he held a vicarage first in Kent and then in Sussex. But previously to this, he was, in his youth, a member of a Baptist church in Virginia-street, Ratcliffe-Highway. In 1677 he reconciled himself to the church of Rome, and is reported to have entered into the society of Jesuits. After having left the whole body of dissenters for thirty years, he applied to be again admitted into the communion of the Baptists, having first returned to the church of England, and continued in it about sixteen years. The Baptists, through a prudent jealousy of him, spent almost three years in trial of his sincerity, before they received him again: so that he complained it "was keeping him on the rack; it was worse than death in his circumstances to be so long delayed." He was restored to their communion in 1698 or 1699, but in less than a year was again excluded as a disorderly person and a hypocrite. He then became a conformist again. "He was a man of some cunning (says Granger), more effrontery, and the most consummate falsehood." At one time he was a frequent auditor of Mr. Alsop at Westminster, after the Revolution: and moved for leave to come to the Lord's table, but was refused on account of his character. Crosby has detailed a long story of a villanous transaction, to ruin a gentleman, to which he was instigated by the spirit of revenge. Dr. Calamy says, "that he was but a very sorry foul-mouthed wretch, I myself can attest from what I once heard from him, when I was in his company." The parliament, after the Revolution, left him under a brand, and incapacitated him for being a witness in future. But a pension of 400*l.* a year was given him by king William. "The era of Oates's plot (remarks Mr. Granger), was the grand era of whig and tory." Whatever infamy rests upon his name, he was, observes Dr. Calamy, the instrument of Providence of good to this nation by awakening it out of sleep, and giving a turn to the national affairs after a lethargy of some years. Calamy's Historical Account of his own Life, vol. 1. p. 98, 99. Granger's History of England, vol. 4. p. 201, 349; and Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 3. p. 166—182.—Ed.

‡ Burnet, vol. 3. p. 12, 13. Edin. edition.

trary designs*. When the houses met, May 22, the king repeated what he had declared in council, that he would preserve the government in church and state as by law established; which, Rapin says, he never intended; for he insinuated in his speech, that he would not depend on the precarious aids of parliament, nor meet them often, if they did not use him well†. But the parliament unanimously settled all the revenues of his late majesty upon the king for life, which amounted to more than two millions a year‡; and presented an address, May 27, to desire him to issue forth his royal proclamation, to cause the penal laws to be put in execution against dissenters from the church of England.

This brought down the storm, and revived the persecution, which had slackened a little upon the late king's death. His majesty was now encouraged to pursue his brother's measures. The tories, who adhered firmly to the prerogative, were gratified with full licence to distress the dissenters, who were to be sacrificed over again to a bigoted clergy, and an incensed king, zealous for their destruction, says bishop Kennet, in order to unite and increase the strength of Popery, which he favoured without reserve. Upon this, all meeting-houses of Protestant dissenters were shut up, the old trade of informing revived and flourished; the spiritual courts were crowded with business: private conventicles were disturbed in all parts of the city and country. If they surprised the minister, he was pulled out of his pulpit by constables or soldiers, and, together with his people, carried before a confiding justice of peace, who obliged them to pay their fines, or dragged them to prison. If the minister escaped, they ransacked the house from top to bottom; tore down hangings, broke open chambers and closets; entered the rooms of those who were sick; and offered all kinds of rudeness and incivilities to the family, though they met with no manner of opposition or resistance. Shopkeepers were separated from their trades and business; and sometimes wives from their husbands and children; several families were obliged to remove to distant places, to avoid the direful effects of an excommunication from the commons; and great sums of money were levied as forfeitures, which had been earned by honest labour. Dissenting ministers could neither travel the road, nor appear in public but in disguise; nay, they were

* Dr. Grey quotes here Echard and Carte, to prove that the new parliament consisted of as many worthy and great, rich, and wise men, as ever sat in the house.—ED.

† Gazette, no. 2036.

‡ “The commons, charmed with these promises, and bigoted as much to their principles of government as the king was to his religion, in about two hours voted him such an immense revenue for life, as enabled him to maintain a fleet and army without the aid of parliament, and consequently to subdue those who should dare to oppose his will. In this manner, and without any farther ceremony, did this house of commons deliver up the liberties of the nation to a Popish arbitrary prince.” Warner's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 2. p. 631.—ED.

afraid to be seen in the houses of their friends, pursuivants from the spiritual courts being always abroad upon the watch.

One of the first who came into trouble was the reverend Mr. Baxter, who was committed to the King's-bench prison February 28, for some exceptionable passages in his paraphrase on the New Testament, reflecting on the order of diocesan bishops, and the lawfulness of resistance in some possible cases. The passages were in his paraphrase on Matt. v. 19. Mark ix. 39., xi. 31. and xii. 38—40. Luke x. 2. John xi. 57. and Acts xv. 2. They were collected by sir Roger l'Estrange; and a certain eminent clergyman, reported to be Dr. Sh—ck, put into the hands of his enemies some accusations from Rom. xiii., that might touch his life, but no use was made of them. Mr. Baxter being ill, moved by his counsel for time; but Jefferies said, he would not give him a minute's time to save his life. "Yonder stands Oates in the pillory," says he, "and if Mr. Baxter stood on the other side, I would say, two of the greatest rogues in England stood there." He was brought to his trial May 30, but the chief-justice would not admit his counsel to plead for their client. When Mr. Baxter offered to speak for himself, Jefferies called him a snivelling, canting Presbyterian, and said, "Richard, Richard, don't thou think we will hear thee poison the court. Richard, thou art an old fellow, and an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of sedition, I might say of treason, as an egg is full of meat; hadst thou been whipped out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the gospel of peace; as thou hast one foot in the grave, 'tis time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give; but, leave thee to thyself, and I see thou wilt go on as thou hast begun; but, by the grace of God, I will look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of their mighty don, and a doctor of the party [doctor Bates] at your elbow, but by the grace of Almighty God, I will crush you all." The chief-justice having directed the jury, they found him guilty, without going from the bar, and fined him five hundred marks, to lay in prison till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for seven years. Mr. Baxter continued in prison * about two years, and when the court

* Dr. Grey has given us, with apparent approbation, what he calls a characteristic epitaph, drawn up for Mr. Baxter by the Rev. Thomas Long, prebendary of Exeter. It shews what different colours a character can receive, according to the dispositions of those who draw the picture; and how obnoxious Mr. Baxter was to some, whose calumnies and censure the reader perhaps will think was true praise. It runs thus: "Hic jacet Ricardus Baxter, theologus armatus, Loyolita reformatus, heresiarcha ærianus, schismaticorum antesignanus; cujus pruritus disputandi ¶"

¶ "These words (says the author of the article, Baxter, in the *Biographia Britannica*) are an allusion to sir Henry Wotton's monumental inscription in Eton-chapel, 'Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus author, disputandi pruritus ecclesiarum

changed its measures, his fine was remitted, and he was released.

The rebellion of the duke of Monmouth furnished the court with a plausible handle to carry the prosecution of the whigs and dissenters to a farther extremity. There was a considerable number of English fugitives in Holland at this time, some on political accounts, and others on the score of religion. The king, being apprehensive of danger from thence, obliged the prince of Orange to dismiss the Duke of Monmouth from his court, and to break all those officers who had waited upon him, and who were in his service: this precipitated the counsels of the malecontents, and made them resolve upon a rash and ill-concerted invasion, which proved their ruin. The earl of Argyle, imagining all the Scots Presbyterians would revolt, sailed to the north of Scotland with a very small force, and was defeated with the effusion of very little blood, before the declaration* which he brought with him could have any effect. After him the Duke of Monmouth, with the like precipitate rashness, landed June 11, with an inconsiderable force at Lyme in Dorsetshire; and though he was joined by great numbers in the west country, he was defeated by the king's forces, made prisoner, and executed on Tower-hill; as was the earl of Argyle at Edinburgh.

Though the body of the dissenters were not concerned in either of these invasions, they suffered considerably on this occasion. Great numbers of their chief merchants and tradesmen in the city,

peperit, scriptandi cacoëthes nutritiv, predicandi zelus intemperatus maturavit, ecclesie scabiem. Qui dissentit ab iis quibuscum consentit maximò: tum sibi, cum aliis nonconformis præteritis, præsentibus et futuris: regum et episcoporum juratus hostis: ipsumq; rebellium solemne fœdus. Qui natus erat per septuaginti annos, et octoginta libros, ad perturbandas regni respublicas, et ad bis perdendam ecclesiam Anglicanam; magnis tamen excidit ausis. Deo gratias." Grey's Examination, vol. 2. p. 281, note.—Ed.

* A full view of the assertions and purport of the duke of Monmouth's manifesto is given in my History of the Town of Taunton, p. 133—135. It was secretly printed in a private house hired for that purpose at Lambeth by W. C., a man of good sense and spirit, and a stationer in Paternoster-row; who imported the paper. His assistant at the press was apprehended and suffered: he himself escaped into Holland, and absconded into Germany, till he came over with the prince of Orange, who, when he was settled on the throne, appointed him his stationer. William Disney, esq. was tried by a special commission upon an indictment of high-treason, for printing and publishing this declaration, and was convicted, and sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 403—404.—Ed.

scabies; i. e. 'Here lies the first author of this opinion, The itch of disputing the leprosy of the churches.' " This writer has given the above epitaph in English, thus: "Here lies Richard Baxter, a militant divine, a reformed Jesuit, a brazen heresiarch, and the chief of schismatics, whose itch of disputing begat, whose humour of writing nourished, and whose intemperate zeal in preaching brought to its utmost height, the leprosy of the church: who dissented from those with whom he most agreed: from himself, as well as all other nonconformists, past, present, and to come; the sworn enemy of kings and bishops, and in himself the very bond of rebels: who was born, through seventy years and eighty books, to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and twice to attempt the ruin of the church of England: in the endeavour of which mighty mischiefs he fell short. For which thanks be to God." Biographia Britannica, vol. 2. p. 18, second edition.—Ed.

being taken up by warrants, and securéd in jails, and in the public halls; as were many country whig gentlemen, in York-castle, Hull, and the prisons in all parts of England, which had this good effect, that it kept them out of harm's way, while many of their friends were ruined by joining the duke; some from a persuasion that the late king was married to his mother; and others in hopes of a deliverance from Popery and arbitrary power.

The king, elated with success, resolvéd to let both whigs and dissenters feel the weight of the arm of a conqueror: his army lived upon free-quarters in the west, and treated all who were supposed to be disaffected with great rudeness and violence.* Some days after Monmouth's defeat, colonel Kirk orderéd several of the prisoners to be hung up at Taunton, without any trial or form of law, while he and his company was dancing, revelling, and drinking healths, at a neighbouring window, with a variety of music, from whence they beheld, with a more than brutish triumph, the dreadful spectacle. The jails being full of prisoners, the king appointed lord-chief-justice Jefferies to go the western circuit, whose cruel behaviour surpasséd all that had been ever heard of in a civilized nation: he was always drunk, either with wine or vengeance. When the juries found persons not guilty, he threaténed and confinéd them, till they brought in a verdict to his mind; as in the case of the old lady Lisle, who was beheaded, for admitting Mr. Hicks, a Nonconformist minister, into her house, though the jury brought her in three times not guilty; and she solemnly declared, that she knew not that he had been in the duke's army. He persuadéd many of the prisoners to plead guilty, in hopes of favour, and then taking advantage of their confession, orderéd their immediate execution, without giving them a minute's time to say their prayers. Mr. Tutchin, who wrote the *Observer*, was sentenced to be imprisoned seven years, and to be whipped once every year through all the towns in Dorsetshire; upon which he petitionéd the king that he might be hanged †. Bishop Burnet says, that in several places in the west, there were executéd near six hundred persons, and that the quarters of two or three hundred were fixéd upon gibbets, and hung upon trees all over the country for fifty or sixty miles about, to the terror and even annoyance of travellers. The manner in which he treated the prisoners, was barbarous and inhuman; and his behaviour towards some of the nobility and gentry who were well affected, but appearéd to the character of some of the criminals, would have amazéd one, says bishop Burnet, if done by a bashaw in Turkey. The king had advice of his proceedings every day, and spoké of them in a style neither becoming the majesty nor mercy of a great prince ‡. And Jefferies, besides satiating himself with blood, got great sums of money, by selling pardons to such as

* Burnet, vol. 3. p. 43, Edin. edition.

† Bennet's *Memoirs*, p. 374, 375, second edit.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 44, second edit.

were able to purchase them, from 10*l.* to fourteen thousand guineas apiece*.

After the executions in the west, the king, being in the height of his power, resolved to be revenged of his old enemies the whigs, by making examples of their chief leaders: alderman Cornish, who had signalized himself in prosecuting the Popish plot, and was frequently in company with the late lord Russel, was taken off the Exchange October 13, and within little more than a week tried, condemned, and executed, in Cheapside, for high-treason, without any tolerable evidence, and his quarters set upon Guildhall. On the same day Mrs. Gaunt, a dissenter, who spent a great part of her life in acts of charity, visiting the jails, and looking after the poor of what persuasion soever, having entertained Burton, one of Monmouth's men, in her house, he, by an unheard-of baseness, while she was looking out for an opportunity to send him out of the kingdom, went out and accused her for harbouring him, and by that means saved his own life by taking away hers: she was burnt alive at Tyburn, and died with great resolution and devotion †. Mr. Bateman a surgeon, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Fernerley, colonel Ayloff, Mr. Nelthorpe, and others, suffered in like manner. Lord Stamford was admitted to bail, and lord Delamere was tried by his peers, and acquitted. Many who had corresponded with the duke of Monmouth absconded, and had proclamations against them, as John Trenchard, esq. Mr. Speke, and others. But all who suffered in this cause expressed such a zeal for the Protestant religion, which they apprehended in danger, as made great impressions on the spectators. Some say the king was hurried on by Jefferies; but if his own inclinations had not run strong the same way, and if his priests had not thought it their interest to take off so many active Protestants who opposed their measures, they would not have let that butcher loose, says Burnet, to commit so many barbarous acts of cruelty, as struck a universal horror over the body of the nation. It was a bloody summer, and a dangerous time for honest men to live in.

When the king met his parliament November 9, he congratulated them on the success of his arms; but told them, that in order to prevent any new disturbances, he was determined to keep the present army together; and "let no man (says his majesty) take exceptions that some officers are not qualified, for they are most of them known to me for the loyalty of their principles and practices; and therefore to deal plainly with you, after having had the benefit of their services in a time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them ‡."—Thus we were to have a standing army under Popish officers, in defiance of the penal laws and test. The

* The reader is referred to the History of the Town of Taunton for an ample account of the progress and defeat of the duke of Monmouth, and a minute detail of the subsequent severities of Kirk and Jefferies, p. 135—170.—Ed.

† Burnet, p. 45.

‡ Gazette, 2085.

commons would have given them an act of indemnity for what was past, but the king would not accept it; and because the house was not disposed to his dispensing power, he prorogued them November 20, when they had sat only eleven days; and after many successive prorogations, in the space of two years, dissolved them*.

The prosecution of the dissenters, which was carried on with all imaginable severity this and the last year, forced some of their ministers into the church; but it had a different and more surprising influence upon others, who had the courage in these difficult times, to renounce the church as a persecuting establishment, and to take their lot among the Nonconformists†; as the reverend Mr. John Spademan, M.A. of Swayton in Lincolnshire; Mr. John Rastrick, vicar of Kirton near Boston; Mr. Burroughs of Frampton; Mr. Scoffin of Brotherton; Mr. Quip of Moreton; and a few others; who could be influenced by no other principle but conscience in a cause which had nothing in this world to recommend it but truth, attended with bonds and imprisonment, and the loss of all things.

Great were the oppressions of those who frequented the separate meetings in several counties; the informers broke in upon sir John Hartoppe, Mr. Fleetwood, and others, at Stoke-Newington, to levy distresses for conventicles, to the value of 6 or 7,000*l.*: the like at Enfield, Hackney, and all the neighbouring villages near London‡. The justices and confiding clergy were equally diligent in their several parishes. Injunctions were sent out from several of the bishops, under the seal of their offices, requiring all church-wardens to present such as did not repair to church, nor receive the sacrament at Easter; which were read publicly in the churches of Hertfordshire, Essex, &c. And the juries at the assizes gave it as their opinion, that the dissenters should be effectually prosecuted; but the scandalous villanies and perjuries of the informers made wise men abhor the trade; however, so terrible were the times, that many families and ministers removed with their effects to New-England, and other plantations in America; among whom we may reckon the reverend and worthy Mr. Samuel Lee, the ejected minister of Bishopgate, who in his return to his flock, after the Revolution, was made prisoner by the French, and carried to St. Maloes, where he perished in a dungeon, under the hands of those whose tender mercies are cruel§. Many ministers were fined and imprisoned, and great numbers of their most substantial hearers cited into the commons, their names being fixed upon the doors of their parish-churches; and if they did not appear, an excommunication and a *capias* followed, unless they found means, by presents of wine, by gold

* Burnet, p. 70, 71.

† Calamy's Abridgment, p. 460, &c.

‡ Calamy, p. 372, 373; or Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 163—168.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. 1. p. 95, 96.

in the fingers of a pair of gloves, or some effectual bribe, to get themselves excused; for which, among others, the name of Dr. Pinfold* is famous to this day.

The dissenters continued to take the most prudent measures to cover their private meetings from their adversaries. They assembled in small numbers—they frequently shifted their places of worship, and met together late in the evenings, or early in the mornings—there were friends without doors, always on the watch to give notice of approaching danger—when the dwellings of dissenters joined, they made windows or holes in the walls, that the preacher's voice might be heard in two or three houses—they had sometimes private passages from one house to another, and trap doors for the escape of the minister, who went always in disguise, except when he was discharging his office—in country-towns and villages, they were admitted through backyards and gardens into the house, to avoid the observation of neighbours and passengers—for the same reason they never sung psalms—and the minister was placed in such an inward part of the house, that his voice might not be heard in the streets—the doors were always locked, and a sentinel placed near them to give the alarm, that the preacher might escape by some private passage, with as many of the congregation as could avoid the informers. But notwithstanding all their precautions, spies and false brethren crept in among them in disguise, their assemblies were frequently interrupted, and great sums of money raised by fines or compositions, to the discouragement of trade and industry, and enriching the officers of the spiritual courts.

Thus were the Nonconformists ground between the Papists on the one hand, and the high-church clergy on the other; while the former made their advantage of the latter, concluding, that when the dissenters were destroyed, or thoroughly exasperated, and the clergy divided among themselves, they should be a match for the hierarchy, and capable of establishing that religion they had been so long aiming to introduce. With this view, swarms of Jesuits and regular priests were sent for from abroad; Jesuits' schools, and other seminaries, were opened in London and the country; mass-houses were erected in the most considerable towns: four Roman-Catholic bishops were consecrated in the royal chapel, and exercised their functions under the character of vicars apostolical; their regular clergy appeared at Whitehall and St. James's in their habits, and were unwearied in their attempts to seduce the common people. The way to preferment was to be a Catholic, or to declare for the prerogative; all state-affairs being managed by such men. An open correspondence was held with Rome and many pamphlets were dispersed, to

* Dr. Pinfold was a gentleman of the long robe, and was the king's advocate in the prosecution of bishop Compton. But though he stood at the chancellor's elbow and took notes, while the bishop's counsel were pleading, he said nothing by way of reply. Bishop Compton's Life, p. 37.—Ed.

make proselytes to the Romish faith, or at least to effect a coalition. Multitudes of the king's subjects frequented the Popish chapels; some changed their profession; and all men were forbid to speak disrespectfully of the king's religion.

At length the eyes of many of the clergy began to be opened, and they judged it necessary to preach against the Popish doctrines, that they might recover the people who were deserting in numbers, and rescue the Protestant religion from the danger into which their own follies had brought it. The king being acquainted with this, by the advice of his priests sent circular letters to the bishops, with an order, prohibiting the inferior clergy from preaching on the controverted points of religion; which many complained of, though it was no more than king James and Charles I. had done before. However, when their mouths were stopped in the pulpit, some of the most learned and zealous agreed to fight the Catholics with their own weapons, and to publish small pamphlets for the benefit of the vulgar, in defence of the Protestant doctrines. When a Popish pamphlet was in the press, they made interest with the workmen, and got the sheets as they were wrought off, so that an answer was ready as soon as the pamphlet was published. There was hardly a week in which some sermon or small treatise against Popery was not printed and dispersed among the common people; which, in the compass of a year or two, produced a valuable set of controversial writings against the errors of that church*. The chief writers were, Dr. Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison, Patrick, Wake, Whitby, Sharp, Atterbury, Williams, Aldrich, Burnet, Fowler, &c. †, men of great name and renown, who gained immortal honour, and were afterward advanced to the highest dignities in the church. Never was a bad cause more weakly managed by the Papists, nor a more complete victory obtained by the Protestants.

But the church-party, not content with their triumph, have of late censured the Nonconformists, for appearing only as spectators, and not joining them in the combat ‡. But how could the clergy expect this from a set of men whom they had been persecuting for above twenty years, and who had the yoke of oppression still lying on their necks? Had not the Nonconformists been beforehand with them in their morning exercises against Popery? And did not Dr. Owen, Mr. Pool, Baxter, Clarkson, and others, write against the errors of the church of Rome, throughout the whole reign of king Charles II.? Had not the Nonconformists stood in the gap, and exposed themselves suffi-

* A vast collection of these pieces was published about fifty years ago, in three volumes folio, under the direction of Dr. Gibson, bishop of London. But this contained only a part of the tracts written by the Protestants: and even the catalogues of them drawn up by Dr. Wake, Dr. Gee, and Mr. Francis Peck, were defective in the titles of them. Birch's *Life of Archbishop Tillotson*, p. 127.—ED.

† Burnet, vol. 3. p. 79, 80. Edin. edit.

‡ Calamy, p. 373; and Peirce's *Vindication*, p. 266.

ciently to the resentments of the Papists, for refusing to come into their measures for a universal toleration, in which they might have been included? Besides, the poor ministers were hardly crept out of corners, their papers had been rifled, and their books sold or secreted, to avoid seizure; they had little time to study, and therefore might not be so well prepared for the argument as those who had lived in ease and security. Farther, the church-party was most nearly concerned, the Nonconformists having nothing to lose, whereas all the emoluments of the church were at stake; and after all, some of the dissenters did write; and, if we may believe Dr. Calamy, Mr. Baxter, and others, their tracts being thought too warm, were refused to be licensed*. Upon the whole, bishop Burnet wisely observes†, that as the dissenters would not engage on the side of Popery and the prerogative, nor appear for taking off the tests in the present circumstances; so, on the other hand, they were unwilling to provoke the king, who had lately given them hopes of liberty, lest he should make up matters upon any terms with the church-party, at their expense; nor would they provoke the church-party, or by any ill behaviour drive them into a reconciliation with the court; therefore they resolved to let the points of controversy alone, and leave them to the management of the clergy, who had a legal bottom to support them.

The clergy's writing thus warmly against Popery broke all measures between the king and the church of England, and made each party court that body of men for their auxiliaries, whom they had been persecuting and destroying for so many years.

* A licence was refused to a discourse against the whole system of Popery, drawn up by the learned Mr. Jonathan Hanmer, who was ejected from Bishops-Tawton, in Devon. A discourse against transubstantiation, written by Mr. Henry Pendlebury, ejected from Holcomb chapel in Lancashire, and afterward published by archbishop Tillotson, met with the like refusal. An offer that Mr. Baxter would produce a piece against Popery every month, if a licence might be had, was rejected with scorn. And Mr. Jane, the bishop of London's chaplain, denied his sanction to a piece he actually drew up on the church's visibility. But in opposition to what Mr. Neal says above concerning this point, Dr. Grey, it is but justice to observe, gives us letters from Dr. Isham, Dr. Alston, Dr. Batteley, and Mr. Needham, licensers of the press, declaring that they never refused to licence a book, because written by a dissenter; and that they did not recollect that any tract, of which a dissenter was the author, was brought to them for their sanction. As to Mr. Baxter in particular, Dr. Isham avers, that he never obstructed his writing against Popery, but licensed one of his books: "and if he had prepared any thing against the common enemy (says Dr. Isham), without striking obliquely at our church, I would certainly have forwarded them from the press." It is to be added, that one piece from the pen of Mr. Hanmer had the *imprimatur* of Dr. Jane. These authorities appear to contradict each other: but it is, probably, not only a candid, but just method of reconciling them, and preserving our opinion of the veracity of both parties, to suppose that the tracts to which a licence was refused, were not offered to the gentlemen whose letters Dr. Grey quotes: but to Dr. Jane or other licensers, with whose declarations we are not furnished. Bennet's Memorial, p. 399, 400, second edition. Baxter's History of his own Life, part 3, p. 183, folio. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 1. p. 342. Dr. Grey, vol. 2. p. 424—432. The matter was, I understand, discussed by Mr. Tong, in his defence of Mr. Henry's Notion of Schism.—Ed.

† P. 121, 122.

His majesty now resolved to introduce a universal toleration in despite of the church, and at their expense*. The cruelty of the church of England was his common subject of discourse; he reproached them for their violent persecutions of the dissenters, and said he had intended to set on foot a toleration sooner, but that he was restrained by some of them who had treated with him, and had undertaken to shew favour to the Papists, provided they might be still suffered to vex the dissenters; and he named the very men, though they thought fit afterward to deny it: how far the fact is probable must be left with the reader.

It being thought impracticable to obtain a legal toleration in the present circumstances of the nation, his majesty determined to attempt it by the dispensing power; for this purpose sir Edward Hales, a Popish gentleman of Kent, was brought to trial for breaking through the test-act, when sir Edward Herbert, lord chief-justice, gave judgment in his favour, and declared the powers of the crown to be absolute†. The other judges were closeted, and such displaced as were of a different sentiment; and the king being resolved to have twelve judges of his own opinion‡, four had their quietus, and as many new ones were advanced, from whom the king exacted a promise to support the prerogative in all its branches. There was a new call of sergeants, who gave rings with this motto, DEUS, REX, LEX, God, the king, and the law; the king being placed before the law. The privy-council was new modelled, and several declared Papists admitted into it; two confiding clergymen were promoted to bishopricks. Parker to Oxford, and Cartwright to Chester. Many pamphlets were written and dispersed in favour of liberty of conscience; and sir Roger L'Estrange, with other mercenary writers, were employed to maintain, that a power in the king to dispense with the laws, is law§. But the opinion of private writers not being thought sufficient, it was resolved to have the determination of the judges, who all, except one, gave it as their opinion; 1. That the laws of England were the king's laws. 2. That it is an inseparable branch of the prerogative of the kings of England, as of all other sovereign princes, to dispense with all penal laws in particular cases, and on particular occasions. 3. That of these reasons and necessity the king is sole judge. 4. That this is not a trust now invested in, and granted to, the present king, but the ancient remains of the sovereign power of

* Burnet, p. 140.

† Ibid. p. 73, 74.

‡ Lord-chief-justice Jones, one of the displaced judges, upon his dismissal, observed to the king, "that he was by no means sorry that he was laid aside, old and worn out as he was in his service; but concerned that his majesty should expect such a construction of the law from him as he could not honestly give; and that none but indigent, ignorant, or ambitious men would give their judgment as he expected." To this the king replied, "It was necessary his judges should be all of one mind." *Memoirs of Sir John Resesby*, p. 233.—Ed.

§ Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 194.

the kings of England, which was never yet taken from them, nor can be. Thus the laws of England were given up at once into the hands of the king, by a solemn determination of the judges.

This point being secured, his majesty began to caress the Nonconformists. "All on a sudden (says bishop Burnet*) the churchmen were disgraced, and the dissenters in high favour. Lord-chief-justice Herbert went the western circuit after Jefferies, who was now made lord-chancellor, and all was grace and favour to them: their former sufferings were much reflected upon and pitied; every thing was offered that might alleviate them; their ministers were encouraged to set up their conventicles, which had been discontinued, or held very secretly, for four or five years; intimations were given everywhere, that the king would not have them or their meetings disturbed †." A dispensation or licence-office was set up, where all who applied might have an indulgence, paying only 50s. for themselves and their families. Many who had been prosecuted for conventicles, took out those licences, which not only stopped all processes that were commenced, but gave them liberty to go publicly to meetings for the future. "Upon this (says the same reverend prelate) some of the dissenters grew insolent, but wiser men among them perceived the design of the Papists was now, to set on the dissenters against the church; and therefore, though they returned to their conventicles, yet they had a just jealousy of the ill designs that lay hid, under all this sudden and unexpected show of grace and kindness, and they took care not to provoke the church-party." But where then were the understandings of the high-church clergy, during the whole reign of king Charles II., while they were pursuing the Nonconformists and their families to destruction, for a long course of years? Did they not perceive the design of the Papists? Or were they not willing rather to court them, at the expense of the whole body of dissenting Protestants? Bishop Laud's scheme of uniting with the Papists, and meeting them half way, was never out of their sight; however, when the reader calls to mind the oppression and cruelties that the conscientious Nonconformists underwent from the high-church party for twenty-five years, he will be ready to conclude they deserved no regard, if the Protestant religion itself had not been at stake.

Thus the all-wise providence of God put a period to the prosecution of the Protestant dissenters from the penal laws; though the laws themselves were not legally repealed, or sus-

* P. 78.

† King James, previously to his adopting these conciliating measures with the dissenters, such was his art and duplicity, had tried all the methods he could think of to bring the church into his designs: and twice offered, it was said, to make a sacrifice of all the dissenters in the kingdom to them, if they would but have complied with him: but failing in this attempt, he faced about to the Nonconformists. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. 1. p. 170, MS.—Ed.

pended, till after the revolution of king William and queen Mary. It may not therefore be improper to give the reader a summary view of their usage in this and the last reign, and of the damages they sustained in their persons, families, and fortunes.

The Quakers, in their petition to king James * the last year, inform his majesty, that of late above one thousand five hundred of their friends were in prison, both men and women; and that now there remain one thousand three hundred and eighty-three, of which two hundred are women; many under sentence of pre-munire; and more than three hundred near it, for refusing the oath of allegiance because they could not swear †.—Above three hundred and fifty have died in prison since the year 1660, near one hundred of which since the year 1680.—In London, the jail of Newgate has been crowded within these two years, sometimes with near twenty in a room, whereby several have been suffocated, and others, who have been taken out sick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days;—great violences, outrageous distresses, and woful havoc and spoil, have been made on people's goods and estates, by a company of idle, extravagant, and merciless informers, by prosecutions on the conventicle-act, and others, as may be seen in the margin ‡. Also on *qui tam* writs, and on other processes, for 20*l.* a month; and two-thirds of their estates seized for the king:—some had not a bed left to rest upon; others had no cattle to till the ground, nor corn for seed or bread, nor tools to work with: the said informers and bailiffs in some places breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil, under pretence of serving the king and the church.—Our religious assemblies have been charged at common law with being riotous routs, and disturbances of the peace, whereby great numbers have been confined in prisons, without regard to age or sex; and many in holes and dungeons:—the seizures for 20*l.*

* It was addressed not to king James only, but to both houses of parliament. They made also an application to the king alone; recommending to his princely clemency the case of their suffering friends. Sewel, p. 592. This was not so copious a state of their case as the petition to which Mr. Neal refers, and is called by Gough their first address. Vol. 3. p. 162; and the Index under the word Address.—Ed.

† Sewel, p. 588. 593.

‡ The acts or penal laws on which they suffered were these:

Some few suffered on 27 Henry VIII. cap. 20.

Others on 1 Eliz. cap. 2, for twelve-pence a Sunday.

5 Eliz. cap. 23, *de excomm. capiend.*

23 Eliz. cap. 1, for 20*l.* a month.

29 Eliz. cap. 6, for more speedy and due execution of last statute.

35 Eliz. cap. 1, for abjuring the realm on pain of death.

3 King James I. cap. 4, for better discovering and suppressing Popish recusants.

13th and 14th of King Charles II. against Quakers, &c. transportation.

17 Charles II. cap. 2, against Nonconformists.

22 King Charles II. cap. 1, against seditious conventicles.

N. B. The Quakers were not much affected with the corporation and test acts, because they would not take an oath;

Nor with the Oxford five-mile act, which cut the others to pieces.

a month have amounted to several thousand pounds: sometimes they have seized for eleven months at once, and made sale of all goods and chattels both within doors and without, for payment;—several who have employed some hundreds of poor families in manufacture, are by those writs and seizures disabled, as well as by long imprisonment; one in particular, who employed two hundred people in the woollen manufacture.—Many informers, and especially impudent women, whose husbands are in prison, swear for their share of the profit of the seizures—the fines upon one justice's warrant have amounted to many hundred pounds; frequently 10*l.* a warrant, and five warrants together for 50*l.* to one man; and for nonpayment, all his goods carried away in about ten cart-loads. They spare neither widows, nor fatherless, nor poor families; nor leave them so much as a bed to lie upon:—thus the informers are both witnesses and parties, to the ruin of great numbers of sober families; and justices of peace have been threatened with the forfeiture of 100*l.*, if they do not issue out warrants upon their informations.—With this petition, they presented to the king and parliament a list of their friends in prison in the several counties, amounting to one thousand four hundred and sixty.

But it is impossible to make an exact computation of the number of sufferers, or estimate of the damages his majesty's dissenting subjects of the several denominations sustained, by the prosecutions of this and the last reign; how many families were impoverished, and reduced to beggary; how many lives were lost in prisons and noisome gaols; how many ministers were divorced from their people, and forced to live as they could, five miles from a corporation: how many industrious and laborious tradesmen were cut off from their trades; and their substance and household goods plundered by soldiers, or divided among idle and infamous informers. The vexatious suits of the commons, and the expenses of those courts, were immense.

The writer of the preface of Mr. Delaune's Plea for the Non-conformists, says*, that Delaune was one of near eight thousand Protestant dissenters, who had perished in prison in the reign of king Charles II., and that merely for dissenting from the church in some points which they were able to give good reason for; and yet for no other cause, says he, were they stifled, I had almost said, murdered in gaols. As for the severe penalties inflicted on them, for seditious and riotous assemblies, designed only for the worship of God, he adds, that they suffered in their trades and estates, within the compass of three years, at least 2,000,000*l.*; and doubts, whether in all the times since the Reformation, including the reign of queen Mary, there can be produced any thing like such a number of Christians who have suffered death; and such numbers who have lost their substance

* Preface to Delaune's Plea, p. 5.

for religion. Another writer adds*, that Mr. Jeremy White had carefully collected a list of the dissenting sufferers, and of their sufferings: and had the names of sixty thousand persons who had suffered on a religious account, between the restoration of king Charles II. and the revolution of king William; five thousand of whom died in prison. That Mr. White told lord Dorset, that king James had offered him a thousand guineas for the manuscript, but that he refused all invitations and rewards, and concealed the black record, that it might not appear to the disreputation of the church of England, for which some of the clergy sent him their thanks, and offered him an acknowledgment, which he generously refused. The reader will form his own judgment of the truth of these facts. It is certain, that besides those who suffered in their own country, great numbers retired to the plantations of New-England, Pennsylvania, and other parts of America. Many transported themselves and their effects into Holland †, and filled the English churches of Amsterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, Leyden, Rotterdam, and other parts. If we admit the dissenting families of the several denominations in England, to be one hundred and fifty thousand, and that each family suffered no more than the loss of 3*l.* or 4*l.* per annum, from the act of uniformity, the whole will amount to twelve or fourteen millions; a prodigious sum for those times! But these are only conjectures; the damage to the trade and property of the nation was undoubtedly immense; and the wounds that were made in the estates of private families were deep and large; many of whom, to my certain knowledge, wear the scars of them to this day.

When the Protestant dissenters rose up into public view as a distinct body, their long sufferings had not very much diminished their numbers; which, though not to be compared with those of the establishment, or the Tories and Roman Catholics, were yet so considerable, as to be capable of turning the scale on either side, according as they should throw in their weight, which might possibly be owing, amongst others, to the following reasons:

1. To their firmness and constancy in a long course of suffering, which convinced the world, that they were not actuated by humour, but conscience.
2. To their doctrine and manner of preaching, which was plain

* History of the Stuarts, p. 715.

† Among these were Mr. Howe, Mr. Shower, Mr. Nat. Taylor, Mr. Papillon, sir John Thompson (afterward lord Haversham), sir John Guise, and sir Patience Ward. The states of Holland treated the English refugees with particular respect. But as it has been pertinently observed, it was a reproach to this nation, that, in particular, so excellent a person as Mr. Howe, whose unaffected piety, polite and profound learning, and most sweet, ingenuous, and gentle temper, entitled him to the esteem of the greatest and best men in the land of all persuasions; that such a one at that time could not have a safe and quiet habitation in his native country. Tong's Life of Shower, p. 51.—ED.

and practical, accompanied with a warm and awakening address to the conscience. Their doctrines were those of the first reformers, which were grown out of fashion in the church; and their way of worship was simple and plain; without the ornament of rites and ceremonies.

3. To the severity of their morals, at a time when the nation was sunk into all kinds of vice and luxury, from which they preserved themselves in a great measure untainted. Their conversation was sober and virtuous. They observed the Lord's day with religious strictness, and had a universal reputation for justice and integrity in their dealings.

4. To the careful and strict education of their children, whom they impressed with an early sense of scriptural religion, and educated in their own way, as they had opportunity, under private schoolmasters of their own principles.

5. To a concern for a succession of able and learned ministers; for which purpose they encouraged private academies in several parts of the kingdom; and it is remarkable that many gentlemen and substantial citizens devoted their children to the ministry, at a time when they had nothing in view but worldly discouragements.

6. To the persecuting zeal of the high-church party, attended with an uncommon licentiousness of manners. If their zeal against the Nonconformists had produced a greater sanctity of life, and severity of morals, amongst themselves, it had been less offensive; but to see men destitute of common virtue signing warrants of distress upon their neighbours, only for worshipping God peaceably at a separate meeting, when they themselves hardly worshipped God at all; made some apprehend there was nothing at all in religion, and others resolve to take their lot with a more sober people.

Finally, To the spirit and principles of toryism, which began to appear ruinous to the nation. The old English constitution was in a manner lost, while the church and prerogative had been trampling on the dissenters, who had stood firm to it for twenty years, in the midst of reproaches and sufferings. This was the consequence of tory measures; and Popery being now coming in at the gap they had made, the most resolved Protestants saw their error, entertained a favourable opinion of the dissenters, and many of them joined their congregations.

To return to the history. The dissenters being now easy, it was resolved to turn the artillery of the prerogative against the church, and make them feel a little of the smart they had given others; the king and his priests were thoroughly enraged with their opposition to the court, and therefore appointed commissioners throughout England to inquire, what money had been raised; or what goods had been seized by distress on dissenters, on prosecutions for recusancy, and not brought to account in the exchequer. In the Gazette of March 5, 1687, it is advertised, that the com-

missioners appointed to examine into the losses of the dissenters and recusants, within the several counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Monmouth, were to hold their sessions for the said counties at the places therein mentioned. Others were appointed for the counties of Middlesex, Essex, &c. to inquire what money or goods had been taken or received for any matters relating to religion since September 29, 1677, in any of the counties for which they were named. They were to return the names of all persons who had seized goods, or received money. The parties themselves, if alive, were obliged to appear, and give an account; and if dead, their representatives were to appear before the commissioners for them. This struck terror into the whole tribe of informers, the confiding justices, and others, who expected now to be ruined; but, says Dr. Calamy, the Protestant dissenters generously refused to appear against their enemies, upon assurances given by leading persons, both clergy and laity, that no such methods should be used for the future. Had this inquiry proceeded, and the dissenters universally come into it, a black and fraudulent scene would have been opened, which now will be concealed. Bishop Burnet says, "The king ordered them to inquire into all vexatious suits into which the dissenters had been brought in the spiritual courts, and into all the compositions they had been forced to make to redeem themselves from farther trouble, which, as was said, would have brought to light a scandalous discovery of all the ill practices of those courts; for the use that many who belong to those courts had made of the laws with relation to dissenters, was, to draw presents from such as could make them, threatening them with a process in case they failed to do that, and upon doing it, leaving them at full liberty to neglect the laws as much as they pleased. The commission subsisted till the Revolution, and it was hoped (says his lordship) that this would have animated the dissenters to turn upon the clergy with some of that fierceness with which they themselves had been lately treated*." But they took no advantage of the disposition of the court, nor of the opportunity that was put into their hands of making reprisals on their adversaries; which shews the truly generous and Christian spirit of those confessors for religion; and deserved a more grateful acknowledgment.

To humble the clergy yet farther, his majesty, by the advice of Jefferies, erected a new ecclesiastical commission, though the act which took away the high-commission in 1641 had provided, that no court of that nature should be erected for the future; but the king, though a Papist, assumed the supremacy, and directed a commission to the archbishop of Canterbury, Jefferies the chancellor, the bishops of Durham and Rochester; to the earl of Sunderland, president of the council; Herbert and Wright, lord-chief-justices, and Jenner recorder of London, or any three of them,

* Burnet, vol. 3. p. 140, 141, Edinb. edit.

provided the chancellor was one, "to exercise all manner of jurisdiction and pre-eminence, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdictions, to visit, reform, redress, and amend, all abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which by the spiritual or ecclesiastical laws might be corrected. They were also to inquire into all misdemeanours and contempts which might be punished by the censures of the church, and to call before them all ecclesiastical persons of what degree and dignity soever, and punish the offenders by excommunications, suspensions, deprivations, or other ecclesiastical censures, &c.*" This was a terrible rod held out to the clergy, and if the commissioners had had time to proceed in their inquiries, according to the mandates sent to the chancellors and archdeacons of the several diocesses, they would have felt more of the effects of that arbitrary power which their indiscreet conduct had brought on the nation; but Providence was kinder to them than they had been to their brethren†. The commission was granted the beginning of April, but was not opened till the beginning of August: the archbishop of Canterbury was afraid to act in it‡; Durham was so lifted up, says Burnet, that he said his name would now be recorded in history; and Sprat bishop of Rochester, in hopes of farther preferment, swam with the stream§. Some Roman Catholics were in the commission, and consequently the enemies of the Protestant religion were to be its judges.

But his majesty, not being willing to rely altogether on the Oxford decree, nor on the fashionable doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, which had been preached up for above twenty years as the unalterable doctrines of the church of England, in order to support his extraordinary proceedings resolved to augment his standing forces to fifteen thousand men. He was apprehensive of a snake in the grass, or a secret reserve, that might break out when the church itself came to be pinched; he

* Burnet, p. 82.

† Welwood, p. 198.

‡ It is said, that he took exception at the lawfulness of the commission itself. But then on its being opened, he did not appear and declare against it, as judging it to be against law: contenting himself with not going to it: and it was not at first apprehended that he made a matter of conscience of it. He was of a timorous nature, and cautious of doing any thing that might eventually be prejudicial to his great object, which was to enrich his nephew. Burnet, vol. 3. p. 82, 83. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 405.—Ed.

§ Though the bishop of Rochester might, from views to preferment, be induced to act in a commission to which he was, without his knowledge, named; yet he is stated to have acted with integrity in this matter, through his ignorance of the laws, having no objection to the legality of it; with the purpose of doing as much good, and preventing as much evil, as the times would permit. In the execution of it he pleaded, that he had studied to moderate and restrain the violence of others, never giving his consent to any irregular and arbitrary sentence, but declaring against every extravagant decree. His opinions, he said, were always so contrary to the humours of the court, that he often thought himself to be really in as much hazard from the commission itself, by his non-compliance, as any of his brethren could be that were out of it. And at last, rather than concur in the prosecution of such as refused to read the king's declaration, he solemnly took his leave and withdrew from the court. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 405, 406.—Ed.

therefore ordered his army to encamp on Hounslow-heath, under the command of the earl of Feversham, to awe the city, and be at hand upon any emergency; the officers and many of the soldiers were Irish Papists, and they had a public chapel in which mass was said every day, so that it was believed the king might introduce what religion he pleased*. It was dangerous to speak or write against his majesty's proceedings; for when the reverend Mr. Johnson, a clergyman, ventured to publish a writing, directed to the Protestant officers of the army, to dissuade them from being tools of the court to subvert the constitution and Protestant religion; diligent search was made for him, and being apprehended, he was sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, to be degraded of his orders, to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and to be fined five hundred marks; all which was executed with great severity†.

Affairs in Scotland were in equal forwardness with those of England; the parliament which met at Edinburgh in May, 1685, while the persecution continued, declared their abhorrence of all principles derogatory to the king's absolute power, and offered their lives and fortunes to defend it against all opposers. They passed an act, making it death to resort to any conventicles in houses or fields; and declared it high treason to give or take the national covenant, or to write in defence of it. They also obliged the subjects of Scotland to take an oath, when required, to maintain the king's absolute power, on pain of banishment. Popery made very considerable advances in that kingdom, and several persons of character changed their religion with the times‡. But the populace were in the other extreme; the earl of Perth, having set up a private chapel for mass, the mob broke into it with such fury that they defaced and destroyed the whole furniture, for which one of them was apprehended and hanged. When the English court changed measures, the Scots parliament agreed to a suspension of the penal laws during the king's life; but his majesty insisting upon an entire

* Gazette, No. 2192.

† Mr. Johnson, previously to his sufferings, was degraded in the chapter-house of St. Paul's on the 22d of November, 1686. He bore the whipping on the 1st of December following with great fortitude. The Revolution restored him to his liberty; the degradation was annulled; the judgment given against him was declared illegal and cruel; and a pension of 300*l.* a year for his own and son's life was granted to him, with 1000*l.* in money, and a place of 100*l.* a year for his son. His temper, which was haughty, rough, and turbulent, rendered his solicitations for a bishopric, and two addresses of the lords recommending him to preferment, unsuccessful. He had been chaplain to lord Russel; and was a man of considerable learning and abilities, of great firmness and fortitude of mind. In 1683—4 he had incurred a heavy sentence in the King's-bench, being fined five hundred marks, and committed to the prison till it was paid, and sureties for his good behaviour for a year were found. This penalty was incurred by the publication of a book entitled *Julian the Apostate*, in 1682, intended to expose the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; and to shew the great difference between the case of the primitive Christians, who had the laws against them, and ours who have the laws on our side. Birch's *Life of Archbishop Tillotson*, p. 216, &c.—Ed.

‡ Burnet, vol. 3. p. 86. 90.

repeal, which they declined, he dissolved them. The episcopal clergy were obsequious to the court, and in many places so sunk into sloth and ignorance, that the lower people were quite indifferent in matters of religion; but the Presbyterians, though now freed from the severities they had smarted under so many years, expressed upon all occasions an unconquerable aversion to Popery, and by degrees roused the whole nation out of their lethargy.

In Ireland things had still a more favourable aspect for the court: the king had a greater dependence on the Irish Catholics* than upon any other of his subjects. Colonel Talbot, earl of Tyrconnel, was made lord-lieutenant of that country, a vile and profligate officer, who scrupled no kind of barbarity and wickedness to serve his cause; he broke several Protestant officers in the army, and by degrees turned them all out to make room for Papists. All offices, both civil and military, were put into the hands of the vilest miscreants; there was not a Protestant sheriff left in that kingdom; the charters were taken away, and new-modelled in favour of Papists. The corporations were dissolved, and all things managed with an arbitrary hand, so that many, imagining the massacring knife to be at their throats, left the kingdom; some transporting themselves into England, and others into more remote and distant countries. Thus far the prerogative prevailed without any repulse.

Matters being now ripe for attacking the church of England in form, it was resolved to begin with making an example of some of their leading divines: Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles's, having disobeyed the king's order, of not preaching on the controverted points, and spoken disrespectfully of the king's religion in one of his sermons, the bishop of London was ordered to suspend him; but the bishop, with all respect and duty to his majesty, sent word that he could not proceed in such a summary way, but that when the cause was heard in the commons, he would pronounce such sentence as the canons should warrant; and in the mean time would desire the doctor to forbear preaching†. The court resenting the bishop's denial, cited him ‡ before the ecclesiastical commission August 4, where he was treated by Jefferies in a

* So hostile to the cause of liberty were the Irish Catholics, that, not content with oppressing it in their own kingdom, they encouraged the emigration of their own body with a view to check its spread beyond the Atlantic. For they suggested to king James to grant, in lieu of lands, money to such of their countrymen as were willing to transport themselves into New-England to advance the Catholic faith there, and check the growing independence of that country. *Life of Dr. Increase Mather*, p. 43.—ED.

† Burnet, p. 83—85.

‡ Dr. Compton, the bishop of London, had, by a conduct worthy of his birth and station in the church, acquired the love and esteem of all the Protestant churches at home and abroad: and for that reason, was the mark of the envy and hatred of the Romish party at court. He made a distinguishing figure in the following reigns. He was the youngest son of Spencer earl of Northampton, who was killed in the civil wars. After having studied three years at the university, and made the usual tour of Europe, he became a cornet in the royal regiment of guards; which gave occasion to the following bon-mot: king James, discoursing with him

manner unbecoming his character. The bishop excepted to the authority of the court, as contrary to law, and added, that he had complied in the doctor's case as far as the ecclesiastical laws would permit. However, notwithstanding all that his lordship could say in his defence, he was suspended *ab officio**, and the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough were appointed commissioners, to exercise jurisdiction during his suspension. But Dr. Sharpe, after having expressed his sorrow, in a petition, for falling under the king's displeasure, was dismissed with a gentle reprimand, and suffered to return to the exercise of his function.

The king's next attempt was upon the universities; he began with Cambridge, and commanded Dr. Peachel, the vice-chancellor, to admit one Albin Francis, a benedictine monk, to the degree of M.A., without administering to him any oath or oaths whatsoever; all which, his majesty declared, he would dispense with†. The vice-chancellor, having read the letter to the congregation of regents, it was agreed to petition the king to revoke his mandate; but, instead of complying with their petition, the king sent for the vice-chancellor before the ecclesiastical commission, by whom he was suspended *ab officio et beneficio*, for disobedience and contempt of the king's commands; and Dr. Balderston, master of Emanuel-college, was chosen vice-chancellor in his room.

Soon after, the king sent a *mandamus* to the vice-president of Magdalen-college, Oxford, and to the fellows, to choose Mr. Farmer, a man of ill reputation, their president, in the room of Dr. Clarke, deceased; but, in defiance of the king's mandate, they chose Dr. Hough; for which they were cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners, but having proved Farmer to be a man of bad character, the king relinquished him, and ordered them by another mandate to choose Dr. Parker, bishop of Oxford. The fellows, having agreed to abide by their first choice, refused to elect the bishop, as contrary to their statutes. Upon which the commissioners were sent to visit them, who, after sun-

on some tender point, was so little pleased with his answers, that he told him, "He talked more like a colonel than a bishop." To which he replied, "That his majesty did him honour in taking notice of his having formerly drawn his sword in defence of the constitution; and that he should do the same again, if he lived to see it necessary." Accordingly he appeared in arms again a little before the Revolution, and at the head of a fine troop of gentlemen and their attendants carried off the princess Anne, and marched into Nottingham. Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 175; and Granger's *History of England*, vol. 4. p. 283, 284.—ED.

* Though bishop Compton was thus deprived of his episcopal power, he still retained his other capacities, particularly as a governor of Sutton's Hospital, and preserved the intrepidity of his spirit. For when an attempt was made, by the recommendation of the king, to introduce a Papist as a pensioner, contrary to the statutes of that institution, the bishop, in conjunction with some other trustees, so firmly opposed the encroachment upon the rights of the foundation, that the court and commissioners saw fit in the end to desist from their design. *Life of Bishop Compton*, p. 45; where from p. 22—39, and *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 4, article Compton, p. 55, 56, second edition, may be seen a full account of his prosecution.—ED.

† Burnet, p. 114, 115.

dry inquiries and examinations, deprived Dr. Hough, and installed the bishop of Oxford by proxy; and the fellows, refusing to sign a submission to their new president, twenty-five of them were deprived, and made incapable of any benefice*. Parker died soon after, and one of the Popish bishops was by *mandamus* chosen president in his place; which inflamed the church party so far, that they sent pressing messages to the prince of Orange, desiring him to espouse the cause of the church, and break with the king, if he would not redress their grievances. Thus the very first beginnings of resistance to king James came from that very university which but four years before had pronounced this doctrine damnable by a solemn decree; and from those very men who were afterward king William's most bitter enemies†.

The more desperate the war grew between the king and the church, the more necessary did both parties find it to show kindness to the dissenters; for this purpose his majesty sent agents among them, offering them the royal favour, and all manner of encouragement, if they would concur with him in abrogating the penal laws and test; he invited some of their ministers to court, and pretended to consult them in the present crisis‡. The clergy, at the same time, prayed and entreated the dissenters to appear on their side, and stand by the establishment, making large promises of favour and brotherly affection, if ever they came into power.

The king, notwithstanding the stubbornness of the clergy, called a council, in which he declared his resolution to issue out a declaration for a general liberty of conscience to all persons of what persuasion soever§, "which he was moved to do by having observed, that though a uniformity of worship had been endeavoured to be established within this kingdom, in the successive reigns of four of his predecessors, assisted by their respective parliaments, yet it had proved altogether ineffectual. That the

* It will be thought but justice to the memory of bishop Sprat to state what he himself declared was his conduct on this and the two preceding occasions. It was this: he resolutely persisted in his dissent from every vote that passed against Magdalen-college; he opposed to the utmost the violent persecution upon the university of Cambridge: and he gave his positive vote for the bishop's acquittal both times, when his suspension came in question. Dr. Grey's Examination, p. 406, 407.—ED.

† Burnet, p. 701.

‡ Amongst other measures, which expressed the disposition of the court towards dissenters, was the power with which some gentlemen were invested to grant out licences directed to the bishops and their officers, to the judges, justices, and all others whom it may concern. The licences were to this effect: "that the king's pleasure is, that the several persons (named in a schedule annexed) be not prosecuted or molested, 1, for not taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: or, 2, upon the prerogative writ for 20*l.* a month: or, 3, upon outlawries, or *excom. capiend.* for the said causes: or, 4, for not receiving the sacrament: or, 5, by reason of their conviction for recusancy or exercise of their religion, a command to stay proceedings already begun for any of the causes aforesaid." The price for any one of these licences was 10*l.* for a single person: but if several joined, the price was 16*l.*, and eight persons might join in taking out one licence. There were not very many dissenters that took out these licences. Tong's Life of Mr. Matthew Henry, p. 45, 46, 12mo.—ED.

§ Gazette, No. 2226.

restraint upon the consciences of dissenters had been very prejudicial to the nation, as was sadly experienced by the horrid rebellion in the time of his majesty's father. That the many penal laws made against dissenters had rather increased than lessened the number of them; and that nothing could more conduce to the peace and quiet of this kingdom, and the increase of the number as well as the trade of his subjects, than an entire liberty of conscience, it having always been his opinion, as most suitable to the principles of Christianity, that no man should be persecuted for conscience' sake; for he thought conscience could not be forced, and that it could never be the true interest of a king of England to endeavour to do it*."

This speech meeting with no opposition in the council, his majesty on the 4th of April caused his gracious declaration for liberty of conscience to be published†. In the preamble, to which his majesty does not scruple to say, "that he cannot but heartily wish (as it will easily be believed) that all his subjects were members of the Catholic church, yet it is his opinion, that conscience ought not to be forced, for the reasons mentioned in the foregoing speech," which he rehearses at large; and then adds, "By virtue of his royal prerogative, he thinks fit to issue out his declaration of indulgence, making no doubt of the concurrence of his two houses of parliament, when he shall think it convenient for them to meet. And, first, he declares, that he will protect and maintain his archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other his subjects of the church of England, in the free exercise of their religion as by law established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of their possessions. Secondly, That it is his royal will and pleasure, that all penal laws for nonconformity to the religion established, or by reason of the exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, be immediately suspended. And to the end that, by the liberty hereby granted, the peace and security of the government in the practice thereof may not be endangered, he strictly charges and commands all his subjects, that as he freely gives them leave to meet, and serve God after their own way, be it in private houses, or places purposely hired and built for that use, so that they take special care that nothing be preached or taught among them which may tend to alienate the hearts of his people from him or his government; and that their meetings or assemblies be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, and all persons freely admitted to them; and that they signify and make known to some one or more of the next justices of peace, what place or places they set apart for such uses. And he is desirous to have the benefit of the service of all his subjects, which by the law of nature is inseparably annexed and inherent to his royal person. And that none

* Under all the pretences of tenderness, liberal policy, and wisdom, which gilded over the king's speech, "it was well understood (observes sir John Reresby), that his view was to divide the Protestant churches, *divide et impera*; that so the Papist's might with the more ease possess themselves of the highest place." *Memoirs*, p. 243.—ED.

† Gazette, No. 2231.

of his subjects may be for the future under any discouragements or disability, who are otherwise well inclined, and fit to serve him, by reason of some oaths or tests, that have usually been administered upon such occasions, he hereby farther declares, that it is his will and pleasure, that the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and the several tests and declarations mentioned in the acts of parliament made in the 25th and 30th of his brother's reign, shall not hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or subscribed, by any persons whatsoever, who are or shall be employed in any office, or place of trust, either civil or military, under him or in his government. And it is his intention from time to time hereafter to grant his royal dispensation to all his subjects, so to be employed, who shall not take the said oaths, or subscribe or declare the said tests or declarations. And he does hereby give his free and ample pardon to all Nonconformist recusants, and other his subjects, for all crimes and things by them committed, or done contrary to the penal laws formerly made relating to religion, and the profession or exercise thereof. And although the freedom and assurance he has hereby given in relation to liberty and property, might be sufficient to remove from the minds of his subjects all fears and jealousies in relation to either, yet he thinks fit to declare, that he will maintain them in all their properties and possessions, as well of church and abbey lands, as in other their estates and properties whatsoever*."

A declaration of the same nature was sent to Scotland, in which the king, "by virtue of his prerogative royal, and absolute authority and power over all his subjects, who are bound to obey him without reserve, repeals all the severe laws made by his grandfather king James I., and takes off all disabilities from his Roman-Catholic subjects, which rendered them incapable of employments and benefices. He also slackened the laws against moderate Presbyterians, and promised never to force his subjects by any invincible necessity to change their religion. He also repealed all laws imposing tests on those who held any employments †."

This was strange conduct, says bishop Burnet, in a Roman-Catholic monarch, at a time when his brother of France had just

* The operation of this declaration extended beyond England or Scotland; for it proved beneficial to the people of New England, whose religious liberties as well as their civil rights were near expiring: and who had been told by some in power, "They must not think to have the privileges of Englishmen follow them to the ends of the earth: and they had no more privileges left them than to be bought and sold as slaves." Upon the liberty which the declaration afforded them, Dr. Increase Mather was deputed to take a voyage to England, with addresses of thanks to the king, from various towns and churches; though the measure was opposed by the rulers of the province. When he presented them, he was graciously received, and was admitted to different and repeated audiences with the king, who, on receiving the addresses, said, "You shall have magna charta for liberty of conscience:" and on its being intimated to him by two of his courtiers, at one of the audiences, that the favour shewn to New-England would have a good influence on the body of dissenters in England, his reply was, "He believed so, and it should be done." Life of Dr. Increase Mather, p. 37, &c.—Ed.

† Echarl, p. 1083.—Burnet, p. 136.

broke the edict of Nantes, and was dragooning his Protestant subjects out of his kingdom. But the bishop suspects the king's sincerity in his declaration, from his promising to use no invincible necessity to force his subjects to change their religion, as if there was a reserve, and that some degrees of compulsion might be proper one time or other; which seems to have been a parallel case to the doctrine of the church concerning non-resistance. However, by another proclamation, the king granted full liberty to the Scots Presbyterians to set up conventicles in their own way, which they thankfully accepted; but when his majesty pressed them to dispose their friends to concur with him in taking off the test and penal laws, which they knew was only to serve the Papists, they answered only in cold and general terms.

In pursuance of these declarations, the dissenters of all sorts were not only set at liberty, but admitted to serve in all offices of profit and trust. November 6, the king sent an order to the lord-mayor of London to dispense with the Quakers taking oaths*, or at least, not to fine them if they refused to serve, by which means a door was opened to the Roman Catholics, and to all others, to bear offices in the state without a legal qualification. Several addresses were presented to the king upon this occasion from the companies in the city of London, from the corporations in the country, and even from the clergy themselves, thanking his majesty for his declaration for liberty of conscience, and his promise to support the church of England as by law established, assuring him of their endeavours to choose such members for the next parliament as should give it a more legal sanction.

The several denominations of dissenters also were no less thankful for their liberty, and addressed his majesty in higher strains than some of their elder and more cautious ministers approved; Mr. Baxter, Mr. Stretton, and a great many others, refused to join in them; and bishop Burnet admits†, that few concurred in those addresses‡, and that the persons who presented them were

* Sewel informs us, that the king carried his condescension to the Quakers so far, that a countryman of that persuasion coming to him with his hat on his head, the king took off his own hat and held it under his arm: which the other seeing, said, "The king needs not keep off his hat for me." To which his majesty replied, "You do not know the custom here, for that requires that but one hat must be on here." Sewel's History, p. 609.—Ed.

† Page 140.

‡ Dr. Grey controverts the above assertions of bishop Burnet: he has given at length eight addresses from different bodies of dissenters, in different parts of the kingdom, as specimens of the courtly, not to say fulsome and flattering strains, which they on this occasion adopted: and he refers to the Gazettes of the times, as furnishing about seventy other compositions of the same kind; in which this oppressed body, emancipated from their sufferings, fears, and dangers, poured forth the sentiments of loyalty and gratitude. Mr. Stretton, mentioned above, who had been ejected from Petworth in Sussex, and afterward gathered a congregation in London, which assembled at Haberdasher's-hall, was a minister of great reputation and influence; an active and a useful character. He made use of the liberty granted by the king's proclamation, but never did nor would join in any address of thanks for it, lest he should seem to give countenance to the king's assuming a power above the law; and he was instrumental to prevent several addresses. Henry's Funeral Sermon for Stretton, p. 15. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 410—416.—Ed.

mean and inconsiderable. When there was a general meeting of the ministers to consider of their behaviour in this crisis, and two messengers from court waited to carry back the result of the debate, Mr. Howe delivered his opinion against the dispensing power, and against every thing that might contribute assistance to the Papists to enable them to subvert the Protestant religion*. Another minister stood up, and declared †, that he apprehended their late sufferings had been occasioned more by their firm adherence to the constitution, than their differing from the establishment; and therefore if the king expected they should give up the constitution and declare for the dispensing power, he had rather, for his part, lose his liberty, and return to his former bondage‡. In conclusion Mr. Howe, in summing up the whole debate, signified to the courtiers, that they were in general of the same opinion. Mr. Coke adds, that to his knowledge the dissenters did both dread and detest the dispensing power; and their steadiness in this crisis was a noble stand by a number of men who subsisted only by the royal favour, which ought not to have been so soon forgotten.

Though the court were a little disappointed in their expectations from the dissenters, they put the best face they could on the affair, and received such addresses as were presented with high commendation. The first who went up were the London Anabaptists, who say, that “the sense of this invaluable favour and benefit derived to us from your royal clemency, compels us to prostrate ourselves at your majesty’s feet with the tender of our most humble thanks for that peace and liberty which both we, and all other dissenters from the national church, now enjoy§.”

Next came the Presbyterians||, “who acknowledge his majesty’s

* Gazette, No. 2234.

† This gentleman was Dr. Daniel Williams, who pursued the argument with such clearness and strength, that all present rejected the motion, and the court-agents went away disappointed. There was a meeting at the same time of a considerable number of the city clergy, waiting the issue of their deliberations: who were greatly animated and encouraged by the bold and patriotic resolution of the dissenting ministers. *Life of Dr. Williams*, prefixed to his *Practical Discourses*, vol. 1. p. 10.—ED.

‡ *Howe’s Life*, p. 134.

§ Gazette, No. 2234.

|| This address had about thirty hands to it; it was presented by Mr. Hurst, Mr. Chester, Mr. Slatter, Mr. Cox, Mr. Roswell, Mr. Turner, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Deal, and Mr. Reynolds. It is preserved at length, with the king’s answer, in the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 1, article *Alsop*. It was supposed to have been drawn up by Mr. Alsop; whose feelings and gratitude, on the free pardon which the king had given to his son convicted of treasonable practices, may be reckoned to have had great influence in dictating and promoting it. After the spirited resolution mentioned above had been carried, some of the ministers were privately closeted with king James, and some few received particular and personal favours: by these fascinating arts they were brought over. And their conduct had its weight in producing similar addresses from the country. Part of the king’s answer deserves to be recorded as a monument of his insincerity, and a warning, that kings can degrade themselves by recourse to duplicity and falsehood. “Gentlemen (said James), I protest before God, and I desire you to tell all manner of people, of all persuasions,—that I have no other design than I have spoken of. And, gentlemen, I hope to live to see the day, when you shall as well have magna charta for the liberty of conscience, as you have had for your properties.” The ministers went away satisfied with the welcome which they had received from the

princely compassion in rescuing them from their long sufferings, in restoring to God the empire over conscience, and publishing to the world his royal Christian judgment, that conscience may not be forced; and his resolution that such force should not be attempted in his reign, which they pray may be long." Then followed the Independents: "Sir, the great calamity we have been a long time under, through the severe execution of the penal laws in matters of religion, has made us deeply sensible of your majesty's princely clemency towards us your dissenting subjects, especially since in the indulgence vouchsafed there are no limitations hindering the enjoyment of it with a good conscience, and that your majesty publisheth to the world that it has been your constant sense and opinion, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion*." About the same time was published the humble and thankful address of the London Quakers †, to this purpose, "May it please the king! Though we are not the first in this way, yet we hope we are not the least sensible of the great favours we are come to present the king our humble, open, and hearty thanks for. We rejoice to see the day that a king of England should, from his royal seat, so universally assert this royal principle, that conscience ought not to be restrained, nor people forced for matters of religion ‡." The several addresses above mentioned express their humble dependance on his majesty's royal promise to secure their rights and properties, and that he will endeavour to engage his two houses of parliament to concur with him in this good work. Here are no flights of expression, nor promises of obedience without reserve, but purely a sense of gratitude for the restoration of liberty §.

pleasant countenances of the courtiers, and the courteous words, looks, and behaviour, of his majesty." Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 13.—ED.

* Gazette, No. 2238.

† Sewel, p. 606.

‡ There are, it has been justly observed to the editor, some errors in the above extract: viz. the word royal instead of glorious, before principle; and the omission of mere before religion.—ED.

§ Though Mr. Neal's character of the addresses which he quotes be admitted as just, it will not apply to all which the dissenters presented on this occasion: "Some of them (Dr. Calamy observes) ran high." But for the strong language in which they were expressed, or for the numbers to which they amounted, an apology may be drawn from the excess of joy with which the royal indulgence, though an insidious measure, naturally inspired those who, for many years, had groaned under the rod of persecution. It should also be considered, that but very few, comparatively, think deeply or look far. Present, pleasing appearances mislead and captivate the generality. There is also a propensity in mankind to follow those who take the lead, and a readiness to credit and flatter royalty and greatness. The dissenters, however, not without reason, incurred censure for "a vast crowd of congratulatory addresses, complimenting the king in the highest manner, and protesting what mighty returns of loyalty they would make:" and were called "the pope's journeymen to carry on his work." But these censures came with an ill grace, as Dr. Calamy remarks, "from the church-party, who had set them the pattern;" who in a most luxuriant manner had thanked king Charles for dissolving one of the best parliaments; who were mighty forward in the surrender of charters; and who, in their fulsome addresses, made no other claim to their liberties and civil rights than as concessions from the crown, telling the king, "every one of his commands was stamped with God's authority." The university of Oxford, in particular, promised king James to obey him without limitations or restrictions. Dr. Grey and Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 137, 138.—ED.

And though it must be allowed that some few dissenters, from an excess of joy, or it may be from a strong resentment against their late persecutors, published some severe pamphlets, and gave too much countenance to the measures of the court, as Mr. Lobb, Alsop, and Penn the Quaker, yet the body of them kept at a distance, and, "as thankful as they were for their liberty (says lord Halifax), they were fearful of the issue; neither can any member of consideration among them be charged with hazarding the public safety, by falling in with the measures of the court, of which they had as great a dread as their neighbours*." And the lords, in a conference with the house of commons upon the occasional bill, in the first year of queen Anne, say, "that in the last and greatest danger the church was exposed to, the dissenters joined with her, with all imaginable zeal and sincerity, against the Papists their common enemies, shewing no prejudice to the church, but the utmost respect to the bishops when sent to the Tower."

But as the king and ministry carried all before them, the church-party were in despair, and almost at their wits' end; they saw themselves on the brink of ruin, imagining that they should be turned out of their freeholds for not reading the king's declaration, and that the Nonconformists would be admitted into their pulpits; as Dr. Sherlock, master of the Temple, acknowledged in conversation to Mr. Howe †; and that, as the Papists had already invaded the universities, they would in a little time overset the whole hierarchy. In this distress they turned their eyes all around them for relief: they applied to the dissenters,

* "The churchmen on their side (says Dr. Warner), did all that lay in their power to establish a union, as the only possible means of their joint security. They published pamphlets from time to time, acknowledging their error in driving the Presbyterians to extremities; confessing that they were not enough upon their guard against the artifices of the court, and promising a very different behaviour on the re-establishment of their affairs. It must be owned, that this conduct was dexterous, and sensible, and just. It must be said, however (observes this author), that they had not attained this wisdom, till it was almost too late; at least, not during the space of twenty years, and till by their absurd principles of passive obedience, taught in their pulpits, and acts of parliament, they had enabled the king to become arbitrary and tyrannical. It is no less true, that an accusation lies against them of having forgotten this promise after the Revolution, as they did at the restoration of Charles II." *Eccles. Hist.* vol. 2. p. 639, 640.—ED.

† "Who knows (said Dr. Sherlock), but Mr. Howe may be offered to be master of the Temple?" Mr. Howe replied, "that he should not balk an opportunity of more public service, if offered on terms he had no just reason to except against." But then he added, "that he would not meddle with the emolument, otherwise than as a hand to convey it to the legal proprietor." Upon this the doctor, not a little transported with joy, rose up from his seat and embraced him; saying, "that he had always taken him for that ingenuous honest man that he now found him to be." Mr. Howe afterward told this passage to a dignitary of the church, to whom the doctor was well known: signifying, how little he was prepared to reply to a supposition that had not so much as once entered into his thoughts before. The gentleman answered, "Sir, you say you had not once thought of the case, or so much as supposed any thing like it; but you must give me leave to tell you, if you had studied the case seven years together, you could not have said any thing more to the purpose, or more to the doctor's satisfaction." *Calamy's Life of Howe*, p. 141, 142.—ED.

giving them the strongest assurances of a comprehension and toleration in better times, if they would but assist in delivering them out of their present troubles. Bishop Burnet says, that the clergy here in England wrote to the prince of Orange, and desired him to send over some of the dissenting preachers, whom the violence of the former times had driven into Holland, and to prevail effectually with them to oppose any false brethren, whom the court might have gained over; and that they sent over very solemn assurances, which passed through his own hands, that in case they stood firm now to the common interest, they would in a better time come into a comprehension of such as could be brought into conjunction with the church, and to a toleration of the rest. Agreeably to these assurances, when the reverend Mr. Howe, Mr. Mead, and other refugee ministers, waited on the prince of Orange, to return him thanks for the protection of the country, and to take their leave, his highness made them some presents to pay their debts and defray their charges home; and having wished them a good voyage, he advised them to be very cautious in their addresses; and not to suffer themselves to be drawn into the measures of the court so far as to open a door for the introducing of Popery, by desiring the taking off the penal laws and test, as was intended*. He requested them also, to use their influence with their brethren to lay them under the same restraints. His highness sent orders likewise to monsieur Dykvelt, his resident, to press the dissenters to stand off from the court; and to assure them of a full toleration and comprehension if possible, when the crown should devolve on the princess of Orange. Agents were sent among the dissenters to soften their resentments against the church, and to assure them, that for the future they would treat them as brethren, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The dissenters had it now in their power to distress the church party, and it may be, to have made reprisals, if they would have given way to the revenge, and fallen heartily in with the king's measures. They were strongly solicited on both sides; the king preferred them to places of profit and trust, and gave them all manner of countenance and encouragement; and the churchmen loaded them with promises and assurances what great things they would do for them, as soon as it should be in their power. But, alas! no sooner was the danger over than the majority of them forgot their vows in distress; for when the convocation met the first time after the Revolution, they would not hear of a comprehension, nor so much as acknowledge the foreign churches for their brethren, seeming rather inclined to return to their old methods of persecution. So little dependence ought to be placed on high-church promises!

But in their present circumstances it was necessary to flatter

* Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 132.

the Nonconformists, and weaken the king's hands, by dissuading the dissenters from placing any confidence in their new friends: for this purpose a pamphlet, written by the marquis of Halifax, and published by advice of some of the most eminent dignitaries of the church, was dispersed, entitled "A Letter to a Dissenter upon occasion of his Majesty's late gracious Declaration of Indulgence." It begins with saying, "that churchmen are not surprised nor provoked at the dissenters accepting the offers of ease from the late hardships they lay under; but desired them to consider, 1. The cause they have to suspect their new friends. And, 2. Their duty in Christianity and prudence not to hazard the public safety by a desire of ease or revenge.

"With regard to the first, the church of Rome (says the author) does not only dislike your liberty, but, by its principles, cannot allow it: they are not able to make good their vows; nay, it would be a habit of sin that requires absolution; you are therefore hugged now, only that you may be the better squeezed another time. To come so quick from one extreme to another is such an unnatural motion, that you ought to be on your guard: the other day you were sons of Belial, now you are angels of light. Popery is now the only friend of liberty, and the known enemy of persecution. We have been under shameful mistakes if this can be either true or lasting."

The letter goes on to insinuate, "that some ministers had been bribed into the measures of the court; that they were under engagements, and empowered to give rewards to others, where they could not persuade. Now if these or others should preach up anger and vengeance against the church of England, ought they not rather to be suspected of corruption, than to act according to judgment? If they who thank the king for his declaration should be engaged to justify it in point of law, I am persuaded it is more than the addressers are capable of doing. There is a great difference between enjoying quietly the advantage of an act irregularly done by others, and becoming advocates for it; but frailties are to be excused. Take warning by the mistake of the church of England, when after the Restoration they preserved so long the bitter taste of your rough usage to them, that it made them forget their interest, and sacrifice it to their revenge. If you had now to do with rigid prelates, the argument might be fair on your side; but since the common danger has so laid open the mistake, that all former haughtiness towards the dissenters is for ever extinguished, and the spirit of persecution is turned into a spirit of peace, charity, and condescension, will you not be moved by such an example? If it be said, the church is only humble when it is out of power; the answer is, that is uncharitable, and an unseasonable triumph; besides, it is not so in fact, for if she would comply with the court, she could turn all the thunder upon yourselves, and blow you off the stage with

a breath ; but she will not be rescued by such unjustifiable means. You have formerly very justly blamed the church of England for going too far in her compliance with the court ; conclude, therefore, that you must break off your friendship, or set no bounds to it. The church is now convinced of its error, in being too severe to you ; the next parliament will be gentle to you ; the next heir is bred in a country famous for indulgence ; there is a general agreement of thinking men, that we must no more cut ourselves off from foreign Protestants, but enlarge our foundations ; so that all things conspire to give you ease and satisfaction, if you do not too much anticipate it. To conclude, the short question is, whether or no you will join with those who must in the end run the same fate with you ? If the Protestants of all sorts have been to blame in their behaviour to each other, they are upon equal terms, and for that very reason ought now to be reconciled." How just soever the reasoning of this letter may be, either the author did not know the spirit of the church-party (as they were called,) or he must blush when he compared it with the facts that followed the Revolution. Twenty thousand copies were dispersed about the city and country, and had the desired effect, the honest well-meaning dissenters making no advantage of the favourable juncture ; they entered into no alliance with the Papists, nor complied with the court-measures, any farther than to accept their own liberty, which they had a natural right to, and of which they ought never to have been deprived.

The war between the king and the church being now declared, each party prepared for their defence ; the points in debate were, a general toleration, and the dispensing power ; the latter of which the high-church party had connived at during the late reign ; but when the edge of it was turned against themselves (the king having used it to break down the fences of the church, by abrogating the penal laws and tests, and making an inroad upon the two universities,) they exclaimed against it as subversive of the whole constitution ; and forgetting their late addresses, contested this branch of the prerogative. The king had secured the opinion of the judges in favour of it, but this not giving satisfaction, he determined to obtain a parliamentary sanction. For this purpose he published the following order in the Gazette, " that whereas his majesty was resolved to use his utmost endeavours, that his declaration of indulgence might pass into a law, he therefore thought fit to review the lists of deputy-lieutenants, and justices of peace in the several counties, that those may be continued who would be ready to contribute what in them lies towards the accomplishment of so good and necessary a work, and such others added to them, from whom his majesty may reasonably expect the like concurrence and assistance." Pursuant to this resolution the king's first parliament was dissolved, and agents were employed to dispose the people to the choice of such

new members as might facilitate the court-measures. The king himself went a progress round the country* to ingratiate himself with the people; and it can hardly be expressed, says Echard, with what joyful acclamations his majesty was received, and what loyal acknowledgments were paid him in all places; but in the affair of the tests, says Burnet †, there was a visible coldness among the nobility and gentry, though the king behaved in a most obliging manner.

When the king returned from his progress, he began to change the magistracy in the several corporations in England, according to the powers reserved to the crown in the new charters; he turned out several of the aldermen of the city of London, and placed new ones in their room. He caused the lists of lord-licutenants and deputy-licutenants to be reviewed, and such as would not promise to employ their interests in the repeal of the penal laws were discarded. Many Protestant dissenters were put into commission on this occasion, in hopes that they would procure such members for the next parliament as should give them a legal right to what they now enjoyed only by the royal favour; but when the king pressed it upon the lord-mayor of London, and the new aldermen, who were chiefly dissenters, they made no reply.

The reason of the dissenters' backwardness in an affair that so nearly concerned them, and in which they have since expressed so strong a desire, was their concern for the Protestant religion, and their aversion to Popery. The king was not only a Roman Catholic, but a bigot; and it was evident, that the plucking up the fences at this time must have made a breach at which Popery would enter. If the king had been a Protestant, the case had been different, because Papists could not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to a prince who stood excommunicated by the church of Rome; but now there would be no obstacle, or, if there was, the king would dispense with the law in their favour: the dissenters therefore were afraid, that if they should give in to his majesty's measures, though they might secure their liberty for

* When he came to Chester (it being intimated that it would be expected, and the churchmen having led the way, and divers of the Lancashire ministers coming thither on purpose to attend the king), Mr. Matthew Henry, and Mr. Harvey, minister of another dissenting congregation in that city, with the heads of their societies, joined in an address of thanks to him, not for assuming a dispensing power, but for their ease, quiet, and liberty, under his protection. They presented it to him at the bishop's palace in the abbey court; and he told them he wished they had a magna charta for their liberty. They did not promise to assist in taking away the tests, but only to live quiet and peaceable lives. This, however, was severely censured by some of their brethren. But the expressions of thankfulness for their liberty were very different from the high flights and promises of sir Richard Lieving, the recorder of Chester at that time; who, in a speech to king James, on his entering into the city, told him, "that the corporation was his majesty's creature, and depended on the will of its creator; and that the sole intimation of his majesty's pleasure should have with them the force of a fundamental law." Mr. Thompson's MS. collections under the word "CHESTER."—ED.

† Page 143.

the present, it would stand on a precarious foundation; for if Popery came in triumphant, it would not only swallow up the church of England, but the whole Protestant interest. They chose therefore to trust their liberty to the mercy of their Protestant brethren, rather than receive a legal security for it under a Popish government.

According to this resolution bishop Burnet observes*, that sir John Shorter the new lord-mayor, and a Protestant dissenter, thought fit to qualify himself for this office, according to law, though the test was suspended, and the king had signified to the mayor that he was at liberty, and might use what form of worship he thought best in Guildhall, which was designed as an experiment to engage the Presbyterians to make the first change from the established worship, concluding, that if a Presbyterian mayor did this one year, it would be easy for a Popish mayor to do it the next; but his lordship referred the case to those clergymen who had the government of the diocess of London during the bishop's suspension, who assured his lordship it was contrary to law; so that though the lord-mayor went sometimes to the meetings of dissenters, he went frequently to church, and behaved with more decency, says his lordship, than could have been expected. This disobliged the king to a very high degree, insomuch that he said, the dissenters were an ill-natured sort of people that could not be gained.

This opposition to the king heightened his resentments, and pushed him on to rash and violent measures: if he had proceeded by slow degrees, and secured one conquest before he had attempted another, he might have succeeded, but he gave himself up to the fury of his priests, who advised him to make haste with what he intended. This was discovered by a letter from the Jesuits from Liege to those of Friburgh, which says, the king wished they could furnish him with more priests to assist him in the conversion of the nation, which his majesty was resolved to bring about, or die a martyr in the attempt. He said, he must make haste that he might accomplish it in his lifetime †; and when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was a heretic, he answered, God will provide an heir; which argued either a strong faith, or a formed design of imposing one on the nation. Father Petre was the king's chief minister, and one of his majesty's privy-council, a bold and forward man, who stuck at nothing to ruin the church. The king designed him for the archbishopric of York, now vacant, and for a cardinal's cap ‡, if he could prevail with the pope; for this purpose the earl of Castlemain was sent ambassador to Rome; and a nuncio was sent from thence into England, to whom his majesty paid all possible respect, and gave an audience at Windsor, though it was contrary to law; all commerce with the court of Rome having been declared high-treason by the statute

* Burnet, p. 145.

† Ibid. p. 135.

‡ Ibid. p. 168.

of king Henry VIII.; but the king said he was above law; and because the duke of Somerset would not officiate in his place at the ceremony, he was dismissed from all his employments.

It was strange infatuation in king James to put a slight on the ancient nobility, and turn most of his servants out of their places because they were Protestants; this weakened his interest, and threw a vast weight into the opposite scale. Indeed it was impossible to disguise his majesty's design of introducing Popery*, and therefore Parker, bishop of Oxford, was employed to justify it, who published a book, entitled, "Reasons for abrogating the test imposed on all members of parliament;" which must refer to the renouncing transubstantiation, and the idolatry of the church of Rome; because the members of parliament had no other qualification imposed upon them besides the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The bishop said much to excuse the doctrine of transubstantiation, and to free the church of Rome from the charge of idolatry. His reasons were licensed by the earl of Sunderland, and the stationer was commanded not to print any answer to them; but Dr. Burnet, then in Holland, gave them a very smart and satirical reply, which quite ruined the bishop's reputation.

But his majesty's chief dependence was upon the army, which he was casting into a Popish mould; Protestant officers were cashiered; Portsmouth and Hull, the two principal sea-ports of England, were in Popish hands; and the majority of the garrisons were of the same religion. Ireland was an inexhaustible seminary, from whence England was to be supplied with a Catholic army; an Irish Roman Catholic, says Welwood, was a most welcome guest at Whitehall; and they came over in shoals. Over and above complete regiments of Papists, there was scarce a troop or company in the army wherein some of that religion were not inserted, by express orders from court. Upon the whole, the affairs of the nation were drawing to a crisis; and it was believed, that what the king could not accomplish by the gentler methods of interest and persuasion, he would establish by his sovereign power. The army at Hounslow was to awe the city and parliament; and if they proved refractory, an Irish massacre, or some other desperate attempt, might possibly decide the fate of the nation.

About this time died the Rev. David Clarkson, B. D. born at Bradford in Yorkshire, February 1621—22, and fellow of Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he was tutor to Dr. Tillotson, afterward archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Bates in his funeral sermon gives him the character of a man of sincere godliness and true holiness: humility and modesty were his distinctive characters; and his learning was superior to most of his time, as appears by his

* Burnet, p. 178.

Treatise of Liturgies, his Primitive Episcopacy, his Practical Divinity of Papists destructive to Men's Souls; and his volume of Sermons, printed after his death. He was some time minister of Mortlake in Surrey, but after his ejection he gave himself up to reading and meditation, shifting from one place of obscurity to another, till the times suffered him to appear openly; he was then chosen successor to the reverend Dr. John Owen*, in the pastoral office to his congregation. Mr. Baxter says, he was a divine of solid judgment, of healing, moderate principles, of great acquaintance with the fathers, of great ministerial abilities, and of a godly upright life. Great was his solemnity and reverence in prayer; and the method of his sermons was clear, deep, and instructive. His death was unexpected, though, as he declared, it was no surprise to him, for he was entirely resigned to the will of God, and desired not to outlive his usefulness. This good man, says Dr. Bates, like holy Simeon, had Christ in his arms, and departed in peace, to see the salvation of God above, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Dr. Thomas Jacomb was born in Leicestershire, and educated first in Magdalen-hall, Oxon, and after in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, from whence he removed to Trinity-college, of which he was fellow. He came to London in 1647, and was soon after minister of Ludgate parish, where he continued till he was turned out in 1662. He met with some trouble after his ejection, but being received into the family of the countess dowager of Exeter, daughter of the earl of Bridgewater, he was covered from his enemies. This honourable and virtuous lady was a comfort and support to the Nonconformist ministers throughout the reign of king Charles II. Her respects to the doctor were peculiar, and her favours extraordinary, for which he made the best returns he was able. The doctor was a learned man, an able divine, a serious affectionate preacher, of unspotted morals, and a Nonconformist upon moderate principles. He died of a cancerous humour, that put him to the most acute pain, which he bore with invincible patience and resignation till the 27th March 1687, when he died in the countess of Exeter's house, in the sixty-sixth year of his age †.

* This is an inaccuracy: he was chosen co-pastor with Dr. Owen, July 1682, a year before the doctor's death. To the above account of Mr. Clarkson, it is not improper to add, that his excellent pupil, bishop Tillotson, always preserved that respect for him which he had contracted while he was under his tuition. His book on Diocesan Episcopacy shews him, says Mr. Granger, to have been a man of great reading in church history. In his conversation, a comely gravity, mixed with innocent pleasantness, were attractive of respect and love. He was of a calm temper, not ruffled with passions, but gentle, and kind, and good; his breast was the temple of peace. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 451; Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 4; and Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 310, 8vo.—ED.

† It is a proof what different colouring a character derives from the dispositions and prejudices of those whose pen draws it, that Dr. Sherlock, who seems to have received some provocation from Dr. Jacomb, represents him "as the prettiest, non-

Mr. John Collins was educated at Cambridge, New-England, and returned from thence in the times of the civil war, became a celebrated preacher in London, having a sweet voice, and a most affectionate manner in the pulpit. He was chaplain to general Monk when he marched out of Scotland into England, but was not an incumbent anywhere when the act of uniformity took place. Being of the Independent denomination, he succeeded Mr. Mallory as pastor of a very considerable congregation of that persuasion, and was one of the Merchant lecturers at Pinner's-hall. He was a man mighty in the Scriptures; of an excellent natural temper; very charitable to all good men, without regard to parties; and died universally lamented*, December 3, 1687.

[It seems to have escaped Mr. Neal's attention, to notice, at this period, two eminent persons, who died in the year 1686, Pearson bishop of Chester, and Fell bishop of Oxford.

Dr. John Pearson, born in 1612, was successively master of Jesus and Trinity colleges, in Cambridge; and also Margaret-professor of divinity in that university. He had the living of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, and was consecrated bishop of Chester, February 9, 1672. He was a great divine, a profound and various scholar, eminently read in ecclesiastical history and antiquity, and an exact chronologist. He united with his learning, clearness of judgment and strength of reason. As a preacher, he was rather instructive than pathetic. The character of the clergyman was adorned by an excellent temper, distinguished humility, primitive piety, and spotless manners: as a bishop, he was deemed too remiss and easy in his episcopal function. "He was (says bishop Burnet) a striking instance of what a great man could fall to: for his memory went from him so entirely, that he became a child some years before he died." His late preferment to the episcopacy, and the great decay of his faculties, which it is to be supposed came on gradually, may account for his remissness in that station. His works were few, but of great reputation. The chief were, "A vindication of St. Ignatius' epistles," in Latin; and "An exposition of the Apostles' creed:" esteemed one of the most finished pieces in theology in our language. The substance of it was originally delivered in sermons to his parishioners. This work has gone through twelve or thirteen editions. "It is itself (says Mr. Granger) a body of

sensical, trifling goose-cap, that ever set pen to paper." This description is contradicted by the nature of his library; if the choice of books indicate the turn of the mind. He left an incomparable collection of the most valuable books in all kinds of learning, and in various languages, which sold for 1300*l*. Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 307.—Ed.

* When, during his illness, Mr. Mead affectionately prayed for his recovery at the Pinner's-hall lecture, scarcely a dry eye was to be seen through the numerous auditory. Mr. Collins printed one sermon in the Morning Exercises, vol. 3, with the signature N. N. on this question, "How the religious of a nation are the strength of it?" Mather's History of New-England, book 4. p. 200: where may be seen a Latin epitaph for him.—Ed.

divinity, but not a body without a spirit. The style of it is just; the periods are for the most part well turned; the method is very exact; and it is in general free from those errors which are too often found in theological systems." Burnet's History, vol. 3. 12mo. p. 109, 110; Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 251, 8vo.; and Richardson's Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 779.

Dr. John Fell was the son of Dr. Samuel Fell, sometime the dean of Christ-church, Oxford: he received his classical education in the free-school at Thame in Oxfordshire: at eleven years of age he was made student of Christ-church, in 1636; and in 1643, graduated master of arts. About this time he took arms, within the garrison of Oxford, in the king's cause, and was made an ensign. In 1648, when he was in holy orders, he was displaced by the parliamentary visitors; from that year, till the Restoration, he spent his time in retirement and study; observing the devotions of the church of England with other oppressed royalists. After the Restoration he was installed canon, and then dean of Christ-church, November 30, 1660, being then doctor in divinity, and one of the king's chaplains in ordinary. In the years 1667, 1668, and 1669, he was vice-chancellor of the university; and February 6, 1675, he was consecrated bishop of Oxford. Soon after his preferment he rebuilt the palace of Cusedon, belonging to the see. He was a munificent benefactor to his college, and raised its reputation by his discipline. He settled on it no less than ten exhibitions; and the best rectories belonging to it were his purchase. He expended great sums in embellishing and adorning the university of Oxford. Learning was greatly indebted to his patronage and munificence. He liberally improved the press of the university; and the books that came from the Sheldonian theatre perpetuate, in this respect, his praise. For many years he annually published a book, generally a classic author, to which he wrote a preface and notes, and presented it to the students of his house as a new-year's gift: amongst these was an edition of the Greek Testament, in 12mo. 1675; which Dr. Harwood pronounces to be "a very valuable and excellent edition; that does honour to the bishop, because it is upon the whole a correct book, and exhibits the various readings very faithfully." His edition of the works of Cyprian affords also a conspicuous proof of his industry and learning. But he did not lay out his fortune in public acts of splendid munificence only: the private charities of life partook of his beneficence. To the widow he was a husband, to the orphan a father, and to poor children a tender parent, furnishing them with instruction, and placing them out in life. "He was in all respects a most exemplary man, though (says bishop Burnet) a little too much heated in the matter of our disputes with the dissenters. But, as he was among the first of our clergy that apprehended the design of bringing in Popery, so he was one of

the most zealous against it." It is a deduction from the merit of his character, as the patron of learning, that he was not well affected to the Royal Society: and it is to be regretted, that he was not friendly to that excellent man archbishop Tillotson; which was probably owing to a sense of his own sufferings before the Restoration: for he was not superior to a party spirit. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 602. 605. Richardson de *Præsulibus*, p. 548. Burnet's *History*, vol. 3. p. 100. Grainger's *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 252. *British Biogr.* vol. 5. p. 11; and Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 100.]

CHAPTER II.

FROM KING JAMES'S DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, TO THE ACT OF TOLERATION IN THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY.

1668.

THOUGH the projects of the Roman Catholics were ripe for execution, there was one circumstance which spread a black cloud over all their attempts, which was the near prospect of a Protestant successor to the crown: this was the only hope of the Protestant cause, and the terror of the Papists. To remove this impediment, his majesty first attempted to convert his eldest daughter Mary, princess of Orange, to the Roman Catholic religion, or at least to consent to the making way for it, by taking off the penal laws. To accomplish this, his majesty wrote an obliging letter to his daughter, reciting the motives of his own conversion; which were, the "great devotion of the church of Rome; the adorning their churches; their acts of charity, which were greater than the Protestants could boast of; the numbers who retired from the world, and devoted themselves to a religious life*." He was convinced that Christ had left an infallibility in the church, which the apostles acknowledged to be in St. Peter. Acts xv. It was the authority of the church (says he) that declared the Scriptures to be canonical; and certainly, they who declared them could only interpret them, and wherever this infallibility was there must be a clear succession, which could be no where but in the church of Rome, the church of England not pretending to infallibility, though she acted as if she did, by persecuting those who differed from her, as well Protestant dissenters as Papists; but he could see no reason why dissenters might not separate from the church of England, as well as the church of England had done from that of Rome."

* Burnet, p. 149. 155. vol. 3. Edin. ed.

The princess answered the king's letter with great respect; "she affirmed the right of private judgment, according to the apostle's rule, of proving all things, and holding fast that which is good. She saw clearly from the Scriptures that she must not believe by the faith of another, but according as things appeared to herself. She confessed, if there was an infallibility in the church, all other controversies must fall before it, but that it was not yet agreed where it was lodged, whether in a pope, or a general council, or both; and she desired to know in whom the infallibility rested when there were two or three popes at a time, acting one against another; for certainly the succession must then be disordered. She maintained the lawfulness and necessity of reading the Holy Scriptures; for, though faith was above reason, it proposed nothing contradictory to it. St. Paul ordered his epistles to be read in all the churches; and he says in one place, 'I write as to wise men, judge ye what I say:' and if they might judge an apostle, much more any other teacher. She excused the church of England's persecuting the dissenters in the best manner she could; and said the reformers had brought things to as great perfection as those corrupt ages were capable of; and she did not see how the church was to blame, because the laws were made by the state, and for civil crimes, and that the grounds of the dissenters leaving the church were different from those for which they had separated from the church of Rome." It was impossible for the princess to clear up this objection. But bishop Burnet* adds very justly, that the severities of the church against the dissenters were urged with a very ill grace, by one of the church of Rome, that has delighted herself so often by being, as it were, bathed with the blood of those they call heretics. Upon the whole it appeared that her highness was immoveably fixed in her religion, and that there was not the least prospect of her departing from it.

At the same time his majesty attempted the prince of Orange, for which purpose he employed one Mr. James Steward, a Scotch lawyer, who wrote several letters upon this argument to pensionary Fagel, in whom the prince placed an entire confidence †. The pensionary neglected his letters for some time; but at length, it being industriously reported that the silence of the prince was a tacit consent, the pensionary laid all his letters before his highness, who commissioned the pensionary to draw up such an answer as might discover his true intentions and sense of things.

The answer was dated from the Hague, November 4, 1687, and begins with assurances of the prince and princess's duty to the king; and, since Mr. Steward had given him to understand that his letters were written with the king's knowledge and allowance ‡, the pensionary assures him, in the name of their highnesses, that it was their opinion that "no Christian ought to

* Page 156.

† Burnet, p. 165, 166.

‡ Welwood's Memoirs, p. 218.

be persecuted for his conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the established religion; and therefore they agreed that the Papists in Scotland and Ireland should have the free exercise of their religion in private as they had in Holland; and as to Protestant dissenters, they heartily approved of their having an entire liberty of their religion, without any trouble or hindrance; and their highnesses were ready to concur in the settling it, and giving their guarantee to protect and defend it. If his majesty desired their concurrence in repealing the penal laws, they were ready to give it, provided the laws by which Roman Catholics were excluded from sitting in both houses of parliament, and from all employments, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, remained in force; and likewise those other laws which secure the Protestant religion against all attempts of the Roman Catholics; but they could not consent to the repeal of those laws which tended only to secure the Protestant religion, such as the tests, because they imported no more than a deprivation from public employments, which could do them no great harm. If the number of the Papists were inconsiderable, it was not reasonable to insist upon it; and if those few that pretend to public employments would do their party so much injury as not to be content with the repeal of the penal laws, unless they could get into offices of trust, their ambition only was to be blamed*." This letter was carried by Mr. Steward to the king, and read in the cabinet council, but it had no effect; only the king ordered Mr. Steward to write back, that he would have all or nothing. However, the church-party were satisfied with the prince's resolution to maintain the tests; the Protestant dissenters were pleased with their highnesses' declaration for the repeal of the penal laws, so far as concerned themselves, and they placed an entire confidence in their word. The lay-Papists and seculars pressed the king to accept of the repeal of so much of the penal laws as was offered, and blamed the ambition of the Jesuits and courtiers, who, rather than abate any thing, would leave them exposed to the severity of the law when a freedom was offered. At length the pensionary's letter was printed by allowance of the prince, and dispersed over England, which provoked the king to such a degree, that he spoke indecently of his highness to all the foreign ministers, and resolved to show him the severest marks of his displeasure.

The first project of gaining the prince having failed, his majesty went upon another, which, had it succeeded, must effectually have defeated the Protestant succession; and that was, providing the nation with an heir of his own body by the present queen, though for many years she had been reckoned incapable of having children. This was first whispered among the courtiers, but was soon after confirmed by proclamation in the Gazette of January 2 and 26, 1687—88, in words to this effect, "That it had pleased

* Burnet, p. 167.

Almighty God to give his majesty apparent hopes, and good assurance, of having issue by his royal consort the queen, who, through God's great goodness, was now with child* ;” wherefore his majesty appoints, that on the 15th of January, in the cities of London and Westminster; and on the 29th in all other places of England; and on the 29th of January and 19th of February in all places in Scotland, public thanksgiving and solemn prayer be offered up to God on this occasion; and a form of prayer be drawn up accordingly by the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough; in which were these expressions: “Blessed be that good Providence that has vouchsafed us fresh hopes of royal issue by our gracious queen Mary; strengthen her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou hast begun. Command thy holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all dangers and evil accidents; that what she hath conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our sovereign lord the king, the farther establishment of his crown, the happiness and welfare of the whole kingdom, and the glory of thy great name,” &c.† This struck all the Protestant part of the nation with consternation, except a few ranting tories, whose religion was at the service of the king, whensoever he should call for it. The conception was looked upon by the Jesuits as miraculous, and as the effect of a vow the queen had made to the Lady of Loretto; they prophesied it would certainly be a prince; while the Protestants sighed in secret, and suspected a fraud; the grounds of which suspicion the historians of these times have related at large.

The king, emboldened with the prospect of a Popish successor, instead of venturing first upon a parliament, published another declaration for liberty of conscience, April 27, in higher strains, and more advantageous to the Papists, than the former: the substance of it was as follows:

“JAMES REX.

“Our conduct has been such in all times as ought to have persuaded the world, that we are firm and constant to our resolutions; yet, that easy people may not be abused by the malice of crafty wicked men, we think fit to declare that our intentions are not changed since the 4th of April, 1687, when we issued our declaration for liberty of conscience in the following terms ‡;” [Here the declaration is recited at large, and then it follows] “Ever since we granted the indulgence, we have made it our care to see it preserved without distinction, as we are encouraged to do daily by multitudes of addresses, and many other assurances we receive from our subjects of all persuasions, as testimonies of their satisfaction and duty; the effects of which we doubt not but the next parliament will show, and that it will not be in vain that we have resolved to use our utmost endeavours to establish liberty of conscience on such just and equal foundations as will render it unal-

* Gazette, no. 2306, and 2316.

† Calamy's Abridgments, p. 382.

‡ Gazette, no. 2342.

terable, and secure to all people the free exercise of their religion for ever, by which future ages may reap the benefit of what is so undoubtedly for the general good of the whole kingdom. It is such a security we desire, without the burden and constraint of oaths and tests, which have unhappily been made by some governments, but could never support any. Nor could men be advanced by such means to offices and employments, which ought to be the reward of services, fidelity, and merit. We must conclude, that not only good Christians will join in this, but whoever is concerned for the wealth and power of the nation. It would, perhaps, prejudice some of our neighbours, who might lose part of those vast advantages they now enjoy, if liberty of conscience were settled in these kingdoms, which are above all others most capable of improvements, and of commanding the trade of the world. In pursuance of this great work, we have been forced to make many changes, both of civil and military officers, throughout our dominions, not thinking any ought to be employed in our service who will not contribute towards the establishing the peace and greatness of their country, which we most earnestly desire, as unbiassed men may see by the whole conduct of our government, and by the condition of our fleet and of our armies, which, with good management, shall constantly be the same, and greater, if the safety or honour of the nation require it. We recommend these considerations to all our subjects, and that they will reflect on their ease and happiness, now that above three years it has pleased God to permit us to reign over these kingdoms, we have not appeared to be that prince our enemies would make the world afraid of; our chief aim having been, not to be the oppressor but father of our people; of which we can give no better evidence, than by conjuring them to lay aside private animosities, as well as groundless jealousies, and to choose such members of parliament as may do their parts to finish what we have begun, for the advantage of the monarchy over which Almighty God has placed us, being resolved to call a parliament that shall meet in November next at farthest."

This declaration was published in the usual manner, and ordered to be read in time of divine service in all churches and chapels in and about London, May 20th and 27th; and in all the rest of England and Wales on the 3d and 10th of June following, upon penalty of being prosecuted in the ecclesiastical commission*. For this purpose the bishops were required to cause it to be distributed throughout their respective diocesses: some of them, says Burnet, carried their compliance to a shameful pitch, offering up their allegiance to the king without limitation or reserve. Dr. Crew, bishop of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln †, Cartwright of

* Gazette, no. 2344.

† Dr. Grey thinks that bishop Barlow could not be so forward a promoter of such addresses, because that in a letter to one of his clergy, dated May 29th, he informed him, that the clergy in London generally refused to read the declaration: and

Chester, Wood of Litchfield and Coventry, Watson of St. David's, Sprat of Rochester, and Parker of Oxford, went all the lengths of the court, and promoted addresses of thanks to his majesty in the most exalted language, for the promise he had made in his late declaration, to maintain the church of England as by law established *; though nothing was more evident than his design to subvert it. An address came from the clergy of Chester, justifying the declaration, as issuing from the prerogative of the king's supremacy, and insisting that the clergy were obliged by what is called statute law, the rubric of their liberty, to publish what was required by the king, or their bishop, and therefore they were troubled to hear of the disobedience of some of that bench, who, though they tenderly promised the dissenters something, yet refused to do their part about the declaration, lest they should be parties to it; which reason we with due modesty esteem insufficient. Herbert Croft, bishop of Hereford, published his reasons for reading the declaration, from that passage of Scripture, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme," &c. "Now the king commanding it to be read, without requiring our assent, consent, or allowance, I cannot see," says the bishop, "how it can be refused. If it be said, this is to admit of a dispensing power, yet it is not contrary to the word of God. If the king should aver his dispensing power to be inherent in the crown, and will use it as he pleases, I should beseech him not to exert it in so high a manner; but after this, what have bishops to do but submit, since here is no doctrine affirmed, but only a declaration of matter of fact?"

However, the majority of the clergy were of different sentiments; eighteen bishops, and the chief of their clergy, refused to publish the declaration, so that it was read, says Burnet †, only in seven churches in London, and in about two hundred all over England ‡. The commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs

added, "As to myself, I shall neither persuade nor dissuade you, but leave it to your prudence and conscience, whether you will or not read it. But only this I shall advise, that if, after serious consideration, you find that you cannot read it but *reluctante vel dubitante conscientia*, in that case to read it will be your sin, and you to blame for doing it." Notwithstanding bishop Barlow wrote so candidly on the matter, in this instance, he sent up a letter of thanks to king James for his first declaration, published reasons for reading the second, and asserted and vindicated, in an elaborate tract, the regal power of dispensing with penal laws. This bishop was not a consistent character; he was timid and complying, accommodating himself to the times, and ready to side with the strongest. At one time he was a seeming friend to the Papists, then a distinguished writer against Popery. Now an enemy to the duke of York; then ever expressing his submission to king James; and afterward taking the oaths to his successors. *Biographia Britannica*, vol. 1, article Barlow. Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 305.—ED.

* Gazette, no. 2374.

† Page 178.

‡ Some who read it on the first Sunday, changed their minds before the second. Others declared in their sermons, that, though they obeyed the order, they did not approve the declaration. And one, more pleasantly than gravely, told his people, that though he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and stopped till they all went out, and then read it to the walls. Burnet's History, vol. 3. p. 178.—ED.

sent out citations by the king's order *, requiring the chancellors and archdeacons to send in lists of all who had obeyed, and of those who had not obeyed, the order of council; together with the places where it had been neglected †. Most of the bishops disobeyed, and generously undertook to stand in the gap, and screen the inferior clergy from prosecution: seven of them met at Lambeth, and after consultation signed an address, in behalf of themselves and several of their absent brethren, setting forth, "that they were not averse to the publishing his majesty's declaration for want of duty to his majesty, or due tenderness towards dissenters, in relation to whom (say they) we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter comes to be considered and settled in parliament; but the declaration, being founded on such a dispensing power as may at present set aside all laws ecclesiastical and civil, appears to us illegal, and did so to the parliament in 1672; and it is a point of such great consequence, that we cannot make ourselves party to it, so far as the reading of it in the church in time of divine service will amount to, and distributing it all over the kingdom‡." Signed by Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury §, Lloyd bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol.

The king was startled at the address, and answered in a very angry tone, "I have heard of this before, but did not believe it; I did not expect this from the church of England, especially from some of you. If I change my mind you shall hear from me; if not, I expect my commands shall be obeyed ||." And added, that they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him. The six bishops who brought the address replied, "The will of God be done."

Let the reader now judge, whether the slavish doctrine of non-resistance and unlimited obedience, which the high-church party

* Burnet, p. 184.

† Gazette, no. 2364.

‡ Burnet, p. 176. Welwood's Memoirs, p. 184, sixth edition.

§ Archbishop Sancroft, in this instance, acted contrary to what had been his conduct and avowed principle in the former reign. For when, in 1681, Charles II. published his declaration to satisfy his people about dissolving his parliament, Sancroft moved that an order should be added to it, requiring the clergy to publish it in all the churches in England. This was looked on, says Burnet, as a most pernicious precedent, by which the clergy were made the heralds to publish the king's declarations, that might, in some instances, come to be not only indecent, but mischievous. But this, whatever was now his judgment, had been his decided opinion. For, on the present occasion, Dr. Cartwright, the bishop of Chester, who had been one of the prebendaries of Durham, it appears, from a paper among the MSS. of Mr. Talents of Shrewsbury, which fell into the hands of Mr. Archer of Tunbridge, could produce, and did show to the king, a revised copy of the liturgy in 1661, given by bishop Cosins to the library at Durham; in which Sancroft had added to the rubric, where it was said, "Nothing is to be read in churches but by the bishop's order, or the king's order." Yet, when king James commanded a declaration in favour of the dissenters to be read, this archbishop was amongst the first to oppose it, in contradiction to the clause which he had dictated, and the example he had given. Calamy's History of his own Life, vol. 1. p. 173. 176.—ED.

|| Burnet, p. 177.

had been preaching up for above twenty years as the doctrine of the church of England, had not brought the nation to the very verge of ruin. A doctrine destructive of all law, and of the safety of society, and which has been fatal to many crowned heads. If the king had not relied on the flattering addresses of these men, under which it seems there was a reserve, he would have stopped short, and taken other measures; but he did not perceive the mine till it was sprung, and blew up his whole government at once. This was the crisis upon which the fate of the nation depended.

While the king was deliberating what to do with the bishops, he was for some time in great perplexity; several of the Popish nobility pressed him to retreat; but at length, at the instigation of father Petre, Mr. Lob, and some others, he ordered the bishops to be prosecuted; and they, refusing to enter into bonds for their appearance at the King's-bench bar, on account of their peerage, were sent to the Tower by water*, June 8, but were discharged within a week, upon entering into bonds for small sums to answer to the information that day fortnight. On the 29th of June they were brought to the King's-bench bar in Westminster-hall, attended by several of the nobility, and a vast crowd of common people; and, after a long trial of ten hours, were acquitted †: upon which there was a general joy, and such loud acclamations as resounded not only in the city, but even in the army at Hounslow ‡.

* The bishops, as they took boat, looked all very cheerfully: and the people flocked round them in great numbers, to condole with them, and ask their blessing. When they were confined, ten Nonconformist ministers visited them. Which the king took very heinously, and sent for four of them, and reprimanded them. Their answer was, "that they could not but adhere to the bishops, as men constant and firm to the Protestant faith." Even the soldiers that kept guard would frequently drink health to the bishops; and when an order was sent to the captain of the guard, to see it was done no more, the reply was, "that the soldiers were doing it at the very instant, and would, during the imprisonment of the bishops, drink no other health." So that in an early stage of this prosecution, one of the privy-council owned, "that had the king known how far the thing would have gone, he had never enjoined the reading of the declaration in the churches." Reresby's Memoirs, p. 261, 262.—ED.

† "There were (Dr. Welwood observes), two remarkable things in this trial. King James saw the illegality of his new-assumed prerogative exposed on one of the most solemn causes, in Westminster-hall, before one of the greatest auditories, by the counsel of the bishops: who boldly and learnedly argued against the dispensing power, and proved it, by invincible arguments, to be an open violation of the laws and constitution of the kingdom." Another remarkable circumstance was, "that they, who had contributed to enslave their country by false notions of law, now changed their opinion; and others who through two successive parliaments had, at the expense of their own sufferings, stood up for the liberty of their country, did now endeavour to stretch the prerogative beyond its just limits, as they had before opposed it. So hard is it for mankind to be, at all times, and upon all turns, constant to themselves." Welwood's Memoirs, p. 185, 186.—ED.

‡ The bishops were complimented on their victory, in the highest manner, by all orders of men. They were ranked with the primitive confessors, and loaded with praises: they were compared to the seven golden candlesticks, and to the seven stars in Christ's right hand. Their pictures were publicly sold in all printsellers' shops, and bought up in vast numbers, as guardians of the laws, liberties, and religion, of their country. Their conduct affected king James more than any other

The bishops' address was printed by authority, with a satirical paraphrase, setting forth, that though the bishops had, without any bowels of tenderness, exercised many inhuman cruelties upon the dissenters, they promise now to come to a temper, but it is only such a one as they themselves should settle in convocation; and though they had all along vigorously endeavoured to advance above all law that arbitrary power upon which they suppose his majesty's declaration was founded, when it could be strained to the oppression of dissenters, yet now they oppose it, and are desirous in this juncture (as in the year 1672), that the laws for persecution should retain their force, and the dispensing power not to be countenanced, though designed for a general good.

But this was too late; the controversy between the court and the church was now no longer to be decided by the pen; and it was apparent beyond contradiction, that the hearts of the people were alienated from the king; even the dissenters (says Echard) showed an unusual readiness to join the church against their common enemy; and whatever might be in the hearts of some, the church-party continued to discover an equal willingness to coalesce with the dissenters. When Dr. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, passed through Oswestry, in Shropshire, he sent for Mr. James Owen, the dissenting minister, and ventured to acquaint him with the secret of the prince of Orange's invitation by some great persons, in which he had joined; and added, he hoped the Protestant dissenters would concur in promoting the common interest, for you and we are brethren (says he); we have indeed been angry brethren, but we have seen our folly, and are resolved, if ever we have it in our power, to show that we will treat you as brethren.

Even archbishop Sancroft, in the circular letter which he sent to the clergy of his province, exhorted them to cultivate a good correspondence with the dissenters*. The eleventh article of his letter†, dated July 16, has these words, "that they (viz. the clergy) should walk in wisdom towards them who are not of our communion; and if there be in their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to converse with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our communion; more especially that they have a

opposition he met with. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 420, 421. And, on the day after the trial, he was observed to labour under a very great disturbance of mind. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 264.—ED.

* Calamy's Abridgments, vol. 1. p. 385.

† One of the articles of this letter enjoined the clergy, four times at least in the year, to teach the people, in their sermons, "that the king's power being in his dominions highest under God, all priests should, upon all occasions, persuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his majesty, in all things lawful, and to patient submission in the rest, promoting, as far as in them lies, the public peace and quiet of the world." This was a renewal of certain orders, issued out to the several bishops of their provinces, with the king's consent, by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, August 4th, 1622, and repeated in the reign of Charles II. High-Church Politics, p. 84.—ED.

tender regard to our brethren the Protestant dissenters; that upon occasion offered they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our church; or at least, that whereunto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same things; and in order thereunto that they take opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the bishops of this church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies, of the church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary were altogether groundless. And in the last place, that they warmly and affectionately join us in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace, for a universal blessed union of all reformed churches at home and abroad against our common enemy." Such was the language of the church in distress!

It was often said, that if ever God should deliver them out of their present distress, they would keep up their domestic quarrels no more*; which were so visibly and yet artfully managed by our adversaries, as to make us devour one another. Again, "I do assure you, and I am certain I have the best grounds in the world for my assurance (says one), that the bishops, when the happy opportunity shall offer itself, will let the Protestant dissenters find that they will be better than their word given in their famous petition †." Remarkable are the words of another reverend divine on the same occasion: "The bishops have under their hands declared their dispositions to come to a temper in matters of conformity, and there seems to be no doubt of their sincerity. If ever God brings us into a settled state out of the storms into which our passions and folly, as well as the treachery of others, have led us, it cannot be imagined that the bishops will go off from those moderate resolutions which they have now declared; and they continuing firm, the weak and indiscreet passions of any of the inferior clergy must needs vanish. And I will boldly say, that if the church of England, after she has got out of this storm, will return to hearken to the peevishness of some sour men, she will be abandoned both of God and man, and will set heaven and earth against her. The nation sees too clearly, how dear the dispute about conformity has cost us, to stand upon such punctilios; and those in whom our deliverance is wrapped up judge too right, that ever they will be priest-ridden in this point. And if any argument was wanting to conclude the certainty of this point, the wise and generous behaviour of the main body of the dissenters in this present juncture has given them so just a title to our friendship, that we must resolve to set all the world against us if we can ever forget it; and if we do not make them all the returns of ease and favour when it is in our power to do it ‡."

* Burnet, p. 142.

† Calamy's Abridgment, vol. I. p. 336.

‡ Calamy's Abridgment, vol. I. p. 426.

The reader has now seen the various and strong assurances of favour, given by the church-party in distress, to the Nonconformists, all which, in a few months, entirely evaporated. Nevertheless, I am fully of opinion, that the low-church clergy meant honestly, and designed to be as good as their word; for which purpose a scheme was proposed to review and amend the liturgy by corrections and additions, and leaving some few ceremonies indifferent; but there was another party which lay behind the curtain, and meant no more by their protestations and promises, than to deliver themselves out of trouble; who, as they renounced the doctrine of nonresistance only to serve their turn, when that was effected they seemed willing to forget what they had done, and were desirous of becoming as cruel persecutors as ever; they were enemies to revolution principles; and when the prince of Orange had rescued them, they would have sent him back from whence he came; these men were afterward distinguished by the names of nonjurors, jacobites, and highfliers, whose numbers were greater than the low-church clergy imagined. They prevailed in convocation, intimidated the friends of liberty and moderation, and put an effectual stop to all farther attempts of a general comprehension*.

While the bishops were in the Tower, and the princess Anne at Bath, the queen was declared to be delivered of a prince on Sunday, June 10, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning. This mysterious birth was conducted with great artifice or great imprudence; no care had been taken to satisfy the Protestant part of the nation that the queen was with child, though it was ridiculed in pamphlets dispersed about Whitehall. None of the Protestant ladies were admitted to be with her when she changed her linen; nor to see the milk in her breasts, nor to feel the child move within her; but all about her were Italian women. The place where her majesty was to lie in, was unknown till a few days before her delivery; and it was oddly circumstanced as to time, most of the Protestant ladies being out of the way, and preparing for church; the Dutch ambassador, then in town, was not called to be a witness, on behalf of the princess of Orange, the presumptive heir; all being finished in about two hours. The birth was attended with great rejoicings of the Popish party; a day of public thanksgiving was appointed, on which occasion a form of thanksgiving was prepared by the bishop of Rochester; and a new set of congratulations sent up from all parts of the kingdom.

Bishop Burnet, Mr. Echard, and others, have examined into the legitimacy of this birth with all possible exactness, but they have left the matter under great uncertainties.—Some have pronounced it supposititious, and no better than the last desperate effort of the Popish party to perpetuate their religion. Others,

* Calamy's Abridgment, p. 384, note.

who credited the birth, have assigned very plausible reasons to suspect, that the present pretender was not the queen's child, but another's clandestinely substituted. Bishop Burnet is of opinion, that the proofs of its legitimacy were defective. However, all the hopes of a Protestant successor seemed now at an end, and the joys of the Papists consummated, the English reformation was expiring, and nothing short of a total subversion of the civil and ecclesiastical establishment to be expected.

The princess of Orange being thus cut off from the succession, his highness gave greater attention to the advices he received from England, of the queen's having miscarried some months before, and that therefore the present child must be supposititious. The church-party, being driven to distress from their favourite doctrine of nonresistance, fled with others to the prince of Orange as their last refuge, and prayed him to come over to their rescue; with this view admiral Russel, and several eminent persons, repaired to the Hague on various plausible pretences, but in reality to invite the prince, and concert measures with him for his expedition to England; who received them favourably, and discovered a good disposition to espouse their cause, considering that his own right to the crown was now lost, and that if Popery was established in England, Holland, and the rest of the reformed interests, must be exposed to the utmost hazard. Little persuasion was wanting to prevail with the States-general to assist the English Protestants; but all the difficulty was to keep it secret while they were preparing for so difficult an undertaking. The States made use of the differences about the election of an archbishop of Cologne as a reason to form an army for the security of their own borders; and the prince, who had the administration in his hands, set himself under this cover to prepare all necessaries for his intended embarkation, while Mr. Zuylestein brought him from time to time the strongest assurances of the disposition of the body of the English Protestants to appear for him at his landing, which fully fixed him in his purpose.

But the French ambassador at the Hague kept a watchful eye upon the prince's motions, and gave timely notice of the extraordinary preparations for war that were making in Holland, to his master Louis XIV., from whom king James had the first intelligence. Mr. Skelton, the English envoy at Paris, also wrote five or six letters to court on the same head, but king James gave little heed to his advices, because the prince of Orange carried it in a most courteous and respectful manner, complimenting his majesty on the birth of the prince of Wales, and causing his name to be added to the rest of the princes of the royal family to be prayed for in his chapel. However, the French king continued to alarm the court of England with the intended invasion, and offered to send over fifteen thousand men, or as many more as should be wanted, to his assistance; but the earl of Sunderland, who had lately complimented the king with his religion, prevailed

with his majesty not to transport an army of French Papists into his dominions, lest it should confirm the suspicions of the Protestants, that he designed the overthrow of their religion and liberties*.

The king, being at length convinced of the prince of Orange's design, ordered the fleet to be fitted out, and the army to be augmented; and dispatched orders to Tyrconnel to send hither several regiments from Ireland, which put the people under terrible apprehensions of an Irish massacre.

September 21, his majesty issued out his proclamation for the meeting of a new parliament, "intimating his royal purpose to endeavour a legal establishment of a universal toleration, and inviolably to preserve the church of England in possession of the several acts of uniformity, as far as they were consistent with such a toleration†. And farther to quiet the minds of his Protestant subjects, he was content that the Roman Catholics should remain incapable of being members of the house of commons, that so the legislature might continue in the hands of the Protestants." September 23, the king was farther assured by letters from the marquis of Abbeville at the Hague, that pensionary Fagel had owned the design of the prince of Orange to invade England‡. Upon which the king turned pale and speechless for a while, and like a distracted man looked round every way for relief, but was resolute in nothing. He postponed the meeting of the parliament, and by advice of his council applied to the bishops then in town for advice what was necessary to be done to make the church easy. The bishops moved him to annul the ecclesiastical commission, and the dispensing power: to recall all licences and faculties for Papists to keep schools, to prohibit the four pretended vicars apostolical invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to fill the vacant bishoprics; to restore the charters, and to call a free and regular parliament, by which the church of England might be secured according to the act of uniformity; and provision made for a due liberty of conscience. Pursuant to this advice the king and court began to tread backward, concluding, that if they could satisfy the bishops and recover the affection of the church, all would do well. The bishop of London's suspension was taken off, the ecclesiastical commission dissolved, the city charter and the fellows of Magdalen-college were restored, and other illegal practices renounced§; but upon the news of the prince of Orange's fleet being dispersed by a storm, and that they would hardly be able to put to sea again till next spring, his majesty withdrew his hand from any farther redress of grievances.

But the prince having repaired the damages of the storm, sailed a second time, November 1, and after a remarkable passage, in which the wind chopped about almost miraculously in his favour ||,

* Burnet, p. 217.

† Gazette, No. 2384.

‡ Gazette, No. 2386.

§ Ibid. No. 2388. 2391.

|| Bishop Burnet, who minutely describes the circumstances of the prince of

landed at Torbay, November 5, with about fourteen thousand men, without meeting the king's fleet, which was at sea in order to intercept them. The prince brought over with him a declaration, dated October 10, divided into twenty-six articles, but reducible to three principal heads; 1. An enumeration of the public grievances, with regard to religion and civil government. 2. The fruitless attempts which had been made to redress those grievances: under which mention is made of the suspicious birth of the pretended prince of Wales. 3. A protestation that the present expedition was intended for no other purpose than to procure a free and lawful parliament; to which the prince would refer the redress of all the grievances complained of; and for the obtaining such a parliament, his highness declares, he had been most earnestly solicited by a great many lords both spiritual* and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks, to come over to England; and to encourage the Protestant dissenters his highness adds, that he would recommend to the parliament the making such new laws, as might establish a good agreement between the church of England and all Protestant Nonconformists, and in the meantime would suffer such as would live peaceably to enjoy all due freedom in their consciences.

The king, who had relied too much on the clergy's professions of unlimited obedience, being surprised at the expressions in the prince's declaration, that he had been invited by the lords spiritual, sent for the bishops then in town, and insisted not only upon their disowning the fact, but upon their signing a paper, expressing

Orange's landing, says, that though he was never inclined to superstition, but rather to be philosophical on all occasions, yet, the strange ordering of the winds and seasons to change, just as their affairs required it, made a deep impression on himself, and on all who observed it. The famous verses of Claudian seemed to be more applicable to the prince, than to him on whom they were made:

" O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti."

" Heaven's favourite, for whom the skies do fight,
And all the winds conspire to guide thee right."

Burnet's History, vol. 3. p. 252. Edin. edit. 12mo.—ED.

* Dr. Grey, though he cannot deny that the prince of Orange averred, in his declaration, that he was invited over by lords spiritual, yet is not inclined to admit the fact. He quotes, with a view to invalidate it, some letters from sir Jonathan Trelawney, bishop of Winchester, written to Mr. Echard in the years 1716. and 1718—19, in which this concurrence of the bishops, and of themselves, in the invitation to the prince of Orange, is absolutely denied. To these assertions is added a memorandum, made by sir Jonathan Trelawney, of a conversation which he had with Mr. Francis Robarts, son to the earl of Radnor, shortly after the king's coronation, on this point: who said, that he had asked commissary William Harbord, that came over with the prince, whether it was true that the bishops had taken a part in that invitation? To which Harbord answered with a curse, " No, they were not so honest. But I caused it to be put in to raise a jealousy and hatred on both sides, that king James believing it, might never forgive them; and they, fearing he did believe it, might be provoked, for their own safety, to wish and help on his ruin." Against these authorities, it is to be observed that bishop Burnet asserts, that the earl of Danby drew in the bishop of London to join in the design of bringing over the prince of Orange: and that Trelawney, besides going into it, engaged also his brother, the bishop of Bristol, into it. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 422; and Burnet, vol. 3. p. 214, 215.—ED.

their abhorrence of the intended invasion; but they excused themselves only with a general profession of their allegiance and duty. The church-party, says Burnet*, now shewed their approbation of the prince's expedition in such terms that many were surprised at it, both then and since that time; they spoke openly in favour of it; they expressed their grief to see the wind so cross, and wished for a Protestant wind that might bring the prince over. His majesty, therefore, finding himself deceived in the church-party, and that he had no other reliance but his army, used all imaginable diligence to strengthen it. In obedience to the orders already given, two thousand five hundred men [chiefly Papists] were landed at Chester from Ireland. Commissions were given out for raising ten new regiments of horse and foot. Three thousand Scots were ordered from that country. All the militia were commanded to be in readiness to march on the first summons; and a proclamation was issued out, requiring all horses and cattle to be removed twenty miles from those parts of the sea-coast, where it was apprehended the prince would land; but so great was the people's disaffection that they paid little regard to his majesty's orders.

Soon after his highness's landing, the body of the nation discovered their inclinations so evidently, that the king lost both head and heart at once. The city of London was in confusion; reports were spread that the Irish would cut the throats of the Protestants throughout the nation in one and the same night, which awakened the people's fears, and kept them all night on their guard. When this fright was allayed, the mob rose and pulled down the mass-houses, and burnt the materials in the streets: father Petre, with the swarms of priests and Jesuits who had flocked about the court, disappeared, and retired into foreign parts: and several of the king's arbitrary ministers, who had brought him under these difficulties, forsook him and absconded. Jefferies was taken in Wapping in a sailor's habit, and would have been torn in pieces by the mob if he had not been conducted by a strong guard to the Tower, where he died before he came to his trial. The unhappy king, being left in a manner alone, retired with a small retinue to his army at Salisbury.

The prince of Orange, having refreshed his forces, marched from Torbay to Exeter, where the nobility and gentry signed an association to support and assist his highness in pursuing the ends of his declaration, and that if any attempt was made on his person, it should be revenged on all by whom or from whom it should be made. Great numbers of common people came in to the prince at Exeter; and as soon as he marched forward towards London, prince George of Denmark, the dukes of Ormond, Grafton, lord Wharton, Churchill, and others of the first distinction, deserted the army at Salisbury, and joined the prince,

* Burnet, p. 243, 244.

with a great many Protestant officers and soldiers: so that his majesty perceived, that even the army, which was his last refuge, was not to be relied on; and to complete his unhappiness, princess Anne, his younger daughter, withdrew privately from court, with the bishop of London, who put on his buff coat and sword, and commanded a little army for her highness's defence.

Dr. Finch, son to the earl of Winchelsea, and warden of All-Souls college in Oxford, was sent to the prince from some of the heads of colleges, to invite him to Oxford, and to assure him they were ready to declare for him, and that their plate should be at his service. The prince intended to have accepted their invitation, but all things being in a ferment at London, he was advised to make all the haste thither that he could*. So he sent to Oxford to excuse his visit, and to offer them the association, which was signed by almost all the heads and the chief men of the university; even by those who being disappointed in the preferments they aspired to, became afterward his most implacable enemies †. Archbishop Sancroft also sent his compliments to the prince, and with seven or eight other bishops, signed the association, having changed the word revenge into that of punishment. This was a sudden turn, says the bishop, from those principles which they had carried a few years before. The dissenters went cheerfully into all the prince's measures, and were ready to sign the "association:" there were few or no jacobites or nonjurors among them; and throughout the whole course of king William's reign, they were among his most loyal and zealous subjects.

In this critical juncture, the queen and the young prince of Wales were sent to France, December 9, the king himself following, the latter end of the month, having first caused the writs for calling a new parliament to be burnt, and the great seal to be thrown into the Thames ‡. After his majesty's first attempt to leave the kingdom he was seized at Feversham §, and prevailed with to return back to London; but when the prince resolved to come to Whitehall, and sent his majesty a message, that he thought it not consistent with the peace of the city, and of the kingdom, for both of them to be there together; his majesty retired a second time to Rochester with the prince's consent, and after a week's stay in that place went away privately in a vessel to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he declared, that though he was going to seek foreign assistance, he would not make use of it to overthrow the established religion or the laws of his country. Thus ended the short and unhappy reign of

* Burnet, p. 257, 258.

† Echard, 1138.

‡ Burnet, p. 260. 263.

§ He was seized by Mr. Hunt, at that time a custom-house officer, who died so lately as the 24th of July, 1752, at Feversham. He boarded the ship in which the king was, by virtue of his office; and taking his majesty for a suspicious person, brought him ashore without knowing his quality; but was greatly terrified when he found it was the king. Gentleman's Magazine for July 1752, p. 337.—ED.

James II., and with him the male line of the royal house of Stuarts, a race of princes raised up by Providence to be the scourge of these nations, for they were all chargeable with tyranny and oppression, favourers of Popery, and invaders of the legal constitution of their country in church and state. They enfeebled the nation by encouraging licentiousness of manners, and sunk a bold and brave people into contempt among foreign powers.

Nothing could have been more fortunate for the prince of Orange, than the king's flight from Rochester to France, which furnished a plausible occasion for the convention parliament to pass a vote, that the king had abdicated the crown, and that the throne was vacant; though it would have looked more like a voluntary desertion, if his majesty had gone off the first time from Feversham, and had not declared in the paper he left behind him, that he was going to seek for foreign assistance; it is certain the king was frightened away by his priests, who possessed him with an apprehension that he was already a prisoner; and by his queen, who prevailed with him to consult his own and family's safety, by leaving the kingdom for the present. Thus a great and powerful monarch was in a few weeks reduced to a condition little better than that of a wandering pilgrim*.

The prince of Orange arrived at St. James's December 18, and on the 21st following the bishop of London, with several of the clergy, and some dissenting ministers, waited upon his highness to congratulate him on the happy success of his glorious expedition; when his lordship acquainted his highness in the name of the clergy, that there were some of their dissenting brethren present, who were herein entirely of the same sentiments with themselves †. But on the 2d of January about ninety of the Nonconformist ministers attended the prince at St. James's in a distinct body, being introduced by the earl of Devonshire, and the lords Wharton and Wiltshire: when the reverend Mr. Howe, in the name of the rest, assured his highness "of their grateful sense of his hazardous and heroic expedition, which the favour of Heaven had made so surprisingly prosperous. That they esteemed it a common felicity, that the worthy patriots of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom had unanimously concurred with his highness's designs, by whose most prudent advice the administration of public affairs was devolved, in this difficult conjuncture, into hands which the nation and the world knew to be apt for the greatest undertakings, and so suitable to the present exigency of our case. They promised their utmost endeavours, in their several stations, to promote the excellent and most desirable ends for which his highness had declared. They added their continual fervent prayers to the Almighty, for the preservation of his highness's person, and the success of his

* Burnet, p. 274.

† Calamy, p. 387.

future endeavours for the defence and propagation of the Protestant interest throughout the Christian world; that they should all most willingly have chosen that time for the season of paying their duty to his highness, when the lord-bishop and the clergy of London attended his highness for the same purpose (which some of them did, and which his lordship was pleased condescendingly to make mention of to his highness), had their notice of that intended application been so early as to make their more general attendance possible at that time. Therefore, though they did now appear in a distinct company, it was not on a distinct account, but on that only which was common to them, and to all Protestants; and though there were some of their brethren of eminent note, whom age or present infirmities hindered from coming with them, yet they concurred in the same grateful sense of their common deliverance*." His highness received them very favourably, and returned them the following answer: "My great end was the preservation of the Protestant religion; and with the Almighty's assistance and permission, so to defend and support the same, as may give it strength and reputation throughout the world, sufficient to preserve it from the insults and oppression of its most implacable enemies; and that more immediately in these kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and I will use my utmost endeavours, so to settle and cement all different persuasions of Protestants in such a bond of love and community, as may contribute to the lasting security and enjoyment of spirituals and temporals to all sincere professors of that holy religion."

In order to settle the government, the prince published an order, desiring all persons who had served as knights, citizens, or burgesses, in any of the parliaments in the reign of king Charles II. to meet him at St. James's on Wednesday, the 26th of December, at ten in the morning; and that the lord-mayor and court of aldermen of the city of London would be present, and fifty of the common-council †. This assembly desired the prince to take upon himself the administration of the government for the present; and a convention parliament was chosen with all expedition, in which various methods were proposed of settling the government: some were for compromising matters with king James, and others for a regency; but after long and warm debates the throne was declared vacant, king James having abdicated the government, and broken the original contract with his people. When the question was put, whether to fill the throne with a king, or to appoint a regent, it was carried for the former only by two voices, fifty-one being for a king, and forty-nine for a regent, among which latter were twelve or thirteen bishops, two only, viz. the bishops of London and Bristol, being for a king; the reason of which was, their reluctance to contradict the doctrine they had been so long preaching, viz. that the regal power was

* Howe's Life, p. 112.

† Gazette, No. 2414.

jure divino, and his majesty's character indelible. They had indeed concurred in inviting the prince of Orange to come to the relief of their religion; but, the storm being appeased, they thought it not incumbent on them wholly to depart from their old principles, and therefore voted for a regency; but, the question being carried (says bishop Burnet), nature was so strong in them, that it was too hard for their doctrine*. And a declaration being prepared for asserting and vindicating the ancient rights and liberties of the subject, the crown was offered to the prince and princess of Orange, the latter of whom arrived from Holland the day before; and, both having declared their acceptance, were proclaimed king and queen of England, &c. February 13, 1688—89, and crowned at Westminster April 11 following, amidst the joyful acclamations of all the friends of the Protestant religion and liberties of their country†.

Thus a wonderful revolution was effected with little or no effusion of blood; and it is surprising to reflect on the remarkable appearances of Divine Providence in the rise, progress, and consummation of this important event; how the court of England and the Roman Catholic powers were all infatuated or asleep while the design was forming; and when it was carrying into execution, how the winds were subservient, and the hearts of the people united till it was brought to maturity: and it will amaze all posterity to read the inconsistent and dishonourable part which the high-church clergy and their friends acted on this occasion; for, after they had preached their hereditary prince into a belief of their unlimited loyalty, and assured him in numberless addresses that their lives and fortunes were absolutely at his service; and after the university of Oxford, by a solemn decree, had declared all manner of resistance damnable and infamous to the Christian religion, they appeared among the first who resisted him; and, by opening a reserve which lay hid under their unbounded professions of duty and allegiance, let him fall into that pit out of which he could never escape. As soon as the *jure divino* king invaded the properties of the universities, and threatened to take down the fences of their ecclesiastical preferments, they invited the prince of Orange with an armed force to their rescue; they signed an association to support and assist him; they offered him

* Burnet, p. 282.

† The Scotch also, in 1689, sent up commissioners to their majesties at Whitehall, to make a tender of their crown. On being introduced, they presented, according to the powers on which they acted, an address from the estates, the instrument of government, a recital of grievances, and a request that the convention might be converted into a parliament. The king having promised to concur with them in all just measures for the interest of the kingdom, the coronation-oath was tendered to their majesties. His conduct on this occasion deserves particular notice: it was cautious and liberal. The oath contained a clause by which they should engage to root out heresy: the king demurred on this, and declared he would not oblige himself to act as a persecutor. The commissioners replying that such was not the meaning or import of the oath, he desired them and others present to bear witness to the exception he made. Burnet's History, vol. 4. p. 34. 12mo.; and Lindsey's Historical View of the State of Unitarianism, p. 303, note.—Ed.

their plate, and declared for him in a body, even while their sovereign was on the throne. Nevertheless, the moment they thought their power and preferments secure, they would have retracted, and made up matters again with king James; they opposed the motion in the convention parliament for declaring the throne vacant; and when the government came to be settled upon king William and queen Mary, great numbers of them would not submit, and those who did acted a treacherous and dishonourable part to their great deliverer, throughout the course of his reign. What inconsistencies are these! What oaths and declarations can hold men who burst such bands, and cut such sacred cords asunder? The like must be observed as to their vows and promises to the Nonconformists, all which were forgot or broken as soon as the church was delivered. The dissenters acted a more consistent part; for, not being entangled with the same fetters, they went heartily into the revolution, and were among king William's best and steadiest friends, when others forsook and opposed him.

No sooner were king William and queen Mary settled on the throne, than the dissenting ministers in and about the city of London waited on their majesties with an address of congratulation, when Dr. Bates, at their head, made the two following speeches:

“ To the King.

“ May it please your majesty,

“ The series of successful events which have attended your glorious enterprise for the saving of these kingdoms from so imminent and destructive evils, has been so eminent and extraordinary, that it may force an acknowledgment of the divine providence from those who deny it, and cause admiration in all who believe and reverence it. The beauty and speed of this happy work are the bright signatures of His hand, who creates deliverance for his people: the less of human power, the more of divine wisdom and goodness has been conspicuous in it. If the deliverance had been obtained by fierce and bloody battles, victory itself had been dejected and sad, and our joy had been mixed with afflicting bitterness; but as the sun, ascending the horizon, dispels without noise the darkness of the night, so your serene presence has, without tumults and disorders, chased away the darkness that invaded us. In the sense of this astonishing deliverance, we desire with all possible ardency of affection to magnify the glorious name of God, the author of it, by whose entire efficacy the means have been successful; and we cannot without a warm rapture of thankfulness recount our obligations to your majesty, the happy instrument of it. Your illustrious greatness of mind, in an undertaking of such vast expense, your heroic zeal in exposing your most precious life in such an adventurous expedition, your wise conduct and unshaken resolution in prosecuting your great ends, are above the loftiest flights of language, exceed

all praise. We owe to your majesty the two greatest and most valuable blessings that we can enjoy, the preservation of the true religion, our most sacred treasure; and the recovery of the falling state, and the establishing it upon just foundations. According to our duty, we promise unfeigned fidelity and true allegiance to your majesty's person and government. We are encouraged by your gracious promise, upon our first address, humbly to desire and hope, that your majesty will be pleased, by your wisdom and authority, to establish a firm union of your Protestant subjects in matters of religion, by making the rule of Christianity to be the rule of conformity. Our blessed union, in the purity and peace of the gospel, will make this church a fair and lovely type of heaven, and terrible to our antichristian enemies: this will make England the steady centre from whence a powerful influence will be derived for the support of reformed Christianity abroad. This will bring immortal honour to your name, above the trophies and triumphs of the most renowned conquerors. We do assure your majesty, that we shall cordially embrace the terms of union which the ruling wisdom of our Saviour has prescribed in his word. We shall not trespass farther on your royal patience, but shall offer up our fervent prayers to the King of kings, that he will please to direct your majesty by his unerring wisdom, and always incline your heart to his glory, and encompass your sacred person with his favour as with a shield, and make your government a universal blessing to these kingdoms."

To which his majesty was graciously pleased to make the following answer:

"I take kindly your good wishes; and whatever is in my power shall be employed for obtaining such a union among you. I do assure you of my protection and kindness."

"To the Queen.

"May it please your majesty,

"Your happy arrival into your native country, and accession to the crown, has diffused a universal joy through this kingdom. It is an auspicious sign of public felicity, when supreme virtue and supreme dignity meet in the same person. Your inviolable firmness in the profession of the truth, and exemplary piety, are the most radiant jewels in your crown. The lustre of your conversation, unstained in the midst of tempting vanities, and adorned with every grace, recommends religion as the most honourable and amiable quality, even to those who are averse from hearing sermons, and apt to despise serious instructions and excitations to be religious. We humbly desire, that your majesty would be pleased, by your wisdom and goodness, to compose the differences between your Protestant subjects in things of less moment concerning religion.—We hope those reverend persons who conspire with us in the main end, the glory of God and the public good, will consent to the terms of union wherein all the reformed

churches agree. We shall sincerely address our requests to God, that he will please to pour down in a rich abundance his blessings upon your majesty's person and government, and preserve you to his heavenly kingdom."

Her majesty was graciously pleased to answer,

"I will use all endeavours for the obtaining a union that is necessary for the edifying of the church*. I desire your prayers."

Though the joy that accompanied the revolution had a considerable influence on the choice of representatives in parliament, yet there being no court to make interest among the people, it appeared that the late king had a party in both houses sufficient to perplex the government, who first proposed the choice of a new parliament, in order to throw the nation into a ferment †; but this being overruled, a bill was brought in, and passed, January 23, to turn the present convention into a parliament, it being wisely concluded, that those who had set the king on the throne, would be most zealous to maintain him there; but when the house was called over, and the members required to take the oaths, eight bishops absented, viz. Dr. Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Kenn of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Thomas of Worcester, Lloyd of Norwich, and Frampton of Gloucester; however, that they might recommend themselves by a show of moderation, before they withdrew they moved the house of lords for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, which were drawn up accordingly by the earl of Nottingham, and were much the same with those prepared for the house of commons in king Charles II.'s time, during the debates about the bill of exclusion.

The clergy in general took the oaths, but it became visible that many among them took them only as oaths of submission to usurpers, with this reserve, that it was still lawful to assist king James, if he should attempt to recover the crown, and that he was still their king *de jure*, though the prince of Orange was king *de facto*, contrary to the plain meaning of the words; but the clergy broke through all these fetters, says the bishop ‡, to the reproach of their profession: and the prevarication of so many in so sacred a matter, contributed not a little to the atheism of the age. Indeed, they had embarked so far in their doctrines of absolute submission, and the divine right of monarchy, that they knew not how to disengage themselves with honour or conscience.

* This was in the spirit of a noble answer, which her majesty made to Dr. Increase Mather, who was introduced to her to solicit a new charter for New-England. He represented that her subjects in that country were generally Nonconformists, but carried it with all due respect to others: and added, that this nation had cause to bless God for the indulgence it now enjoyed under the king and her majesty. The queen answered, "It is what I am for. It is not in the power of men to believe what they please; and therefore, I think, they should not be forced in matters of religion, contrary to their persuasions and their consciences. I wish all good men were of one mind; however, in the mean time, I would have them live peaceably, and love one another." Increase Mather's Life, p. 49.—ED.

† Burnet, vol. 4. p. 7, 8. Edin. ed. 12mo.

‡ Ibid. vol. 3. p. 303.

Many suffered the time limited for taking the oaths to elapse, and yet officiated afterward contrary to law.—They threatened the church with a new separation, which terrified the moderate clergy, and put a stop to all amendments of the liturgy for the ease of dissenters, lest the nonjurors should gain over great numbers of the laity, by pretending to abide by the old liturgy, in opposition to the reformed one. Thus the Nonconformists were sold to the Jacobites, by the timidity of their real friends; for the high-church party discovered an irreconcilable enmity to an accommodation, and seemed only to wish for an occasion to renew old severities. Those who had moved for a comprehension, and brought the bill into the house of lords, acted a very disingenuous part, says Burnet*, for while they studied to recommend themselves, by seeming to countenance the bill, they set on their friends to oppose it, representing the favourers of it as enemies to the church.

When the king came to the house, March 16, he made the following speech †:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ Now I have occasion of coming hither to pass these bills, I shall put you in mind of one thing which will conduce much to our settlement, as a settlement will to the disappointment of our enemies. I am, with all the expedition I can, filling up the vacancies that are in the offices and places of trust by this late revolution. I hope you are sensible there is a necessity of some law to settle the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such places. I recommend it to your care to make a speedy provision for it; and as I doubt not but you will sufficiently provide against Papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve. This conjunction in my service will tend to the better uniting you among yourselves, and the strengthening you against your common enemies.” It appears by this, that king William was for taking off the test, and abrogating the penal laws, as far as related to dissenting Protestants, though the parliament were of another mind.

When a bill was brought into the house of lords, for abrogating the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and framing other oaths in their stead, a committee was appointed to insert a clause to take away the necessity of receiving the sacrament in order to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment or place of trust; but when the clause was reported to the house, it was rejected by a considerable majority, the earls of Stamford and Chesterfield, the lords Lovelace, Delamere, North and Grey, Wharton, and Vaughan, entering their protests ‡.

* Burnet, vol. 3. p. 303.

† Gazette, No. 2436.

‡ The protests of the dissentient peers were grounded on the following reasons: “ that a hearty union amongst Protestants is a greater security to the church and state, than any test that could be invented: that this obligation to receive the sacra-

After this another clause was offered, by which it was provided, that such should be sufficiently qualified for any office, who, within a year before or after their admission, did receive the sacrament, either according to the usage of the church of England, or in any other Protestant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the minister, and two other creditable persons, members of such a congregation. The question being put, whether this clause should be a part of the bill, it passed in the negative; the lords Oxford, Lovelace, Wharton, Mordaunt, Montague, and Paget, entering their protests*.

It was proposed farther, in a committee of the house of lords, to dispense with kneeling at the sacrament; but when the question was put, whether to agree with the committee in leaving out the clause, the votes were equal, and so according to the usage of the house it passed in the negative†. The like fate attended the motion about the cross in baptism, and explaining the words assent and consent in subscription. Thus the several attempts for alterations in the church-service, at a time when the legislature was in a temper for accommodating lesser differences, were frustrated by a rising party of jacobites and tories, who threatened the new government with a revolt unless they were humoured; and, for fear of them, all promises of accommodation with the dissenters were of no avail.

Soon after a bill for toleration‡ of Protestant dissenters was brought into the house, and had an easy passage; though some

ment is a test on Protestants rather than on Papists: that so long as it continued, there could not be that hearty and thorough union amongst Protestants as has always been wished, and is at this time indispensably necessary: and lastly, that a greater caution ought not to be required from such as were admitted into offices, than from the members of the two houses of parliament, who were not obliged to receive the sacrament to enable them to sit in either house." A Complete Collection of Protests, p. 62, 63; and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 170, 171.—ED.

* One reason on which the lords protested, was, "that mysteries of religion and divine worship are of divine original, and of a nature so wholly distinct from the secular affairs of public society, that they cannot be applied to those ends: and therefore the church, by the law of the gospel, as well as common prudence, ought to take care not to offend either tender consciences within itself, or give offence to those without, by mixing their sacred mysteries with secular interests." A Complete Collection of Protests, p. 64, 65.—ED.

† Burnet, p. 155.

‡ "The act of toleration (remarks a late writer) was another interference of the state to check the power of ecclesiastics, but without altering the constitution of the church. Laymen had before declared what should be deemed heresy in the spiritual courts; they now exempted some descriptions of dissenters wholly from their jurisdiction, while all others, and opposers of the Trinity by name, were expressly reserved for the persecuting spirit of the church to operate upon." How truly then might Mr. Locke, writing to Limborch (Locke's Works, vol. 4. p. 406), soon after the passing of this act, say, "*Tolerantiam apud nos jam tandem lege stabilitatem, te ante hæc audiisse, nullus dubito. Non ea forsan latitudine quâ tu et tui similes veri, et sine ambitione vel invidiâ, Christiani optarent. Sed aliquid est prodire teus. His initiis jacta spero sunt libertatis et pacis fundamenta, quibus stabilienda olim erat Christi ecclesia.*" High-Church Politics, p. 66. In English thus: "I doubt not before this you have heard, that toleration is at last established here by law. Not indeed with that latitude that you, and other Christians like you, unambitious and unprejudiced, and lovers of truth, might wish. But it is a great point to proceed so far. In these beginnings, I hope, are laid those foundations of liberty and peace, on which the church of Christ will be finally established."—ED.

proposed that the act should be only temporary, as a necessary restraint, that the dissenters might so demean themselves as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years first granted should expire; but this was rejected.—Bishop Burnet* says, that his zeal for this act lost him his credit with the church-party, by which it appears they did not much like it. It is entitled, “An act for exempting their majesties’ Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties therein mentioned.” But the corporation and test acts were not inserted in this act, and therefore remain in full force: there is an exception likewise of such as deny the doctrine of the Trinity; and Quakers are excused taking the oaths to the government, upon their making a solemn declaration therein mentioned. This act excuses all Protestant dissenters from the penalties of the laws therein mentioned, for not coming to church, provided they take the oaths, and subscribe the declarations therein mentioned. And dissenting ministers are tolerated on the like conditions, and on their subscribing the doctrinal articles of the church of England. But this being the basis and boundary of their present liberty, I have inserted the act in the Appendix, No. XIII.

While the bill for a toleration was depending, a motion was made in the house of lords for a comprehension, which was received, and some progress made towards effecting it; but a proviso being offered, and pressed with great earnestness by some temporal lords, that in imitation of the acts passed in the reigns of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. a number of persons, both of clergy and laity, might be empowered to prepare materials for such a reformation of the church as might be fit to offer the king and parliament, it was warmly debated, and at length rejected by a small majority. Bishop Burnet† was against the proviso, for fear of offending the clergy, who would look upon it as taking the reformation out of their hands; but adds, “I was convinced soon after that I had taken wrong measures, and that the method proposed by the lords was the only one like to prove effectual.” Dr. Tillotson, being of the same mind with Burnet, advised the king to refer the affair to a synod of divines, whose determinations he apprehended would stop the mouths of Papists, who reproached our reformation as built chiefly on parliamentary authority, and would be better received by the body of the clergy‡.

Accordingly it was agreed in council, that a select number of learned divines should be appointed by the royal mandate, to meet and consult about the most proper methods of healing the wounds of the church; that their determinations should be laid before the convocation, and from thence receive the sanction of parliament. Agreeably to this resolution the king issued out a commission to thirty divines, of which ten were bishops, whose names were,

* History, p. 14. † Burnet, vol. 4. p. 14. ‡ Birch’s Life of Tillotson, p. 179.

Dr. Lamplugh, archbishop of York,	Sir Jonathan Trelawney, bishop of Exeter,
Compton, bishop of London,	Dr. Burnet, bishop of Sarum,
Mew, bishop of Winchester,	Humphreys, bishop of Bangor,
Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph,	Stratford, bishop of Chester.
Sprat, bishop of Rochester,	
Smith, bishop of Carlisle,	

To these were added the following divines,

Dr. Stillingfleet,	Dr. Montague,	Dr. Patrick,	Dr. Goodman,
Tillotson,	Beveridge,	Maggot,	Battely,
Sharp,	Alston	Kidder,	Tennison,
Aldridge,	Scot,	Jane,	Fowler,
Hall,	Grove,	Beaumont,	Williams.

Their commission was as follows :

“Whereas the particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place and authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient.

“And whereas the book of canons is fit to be reviewed, and made more suitable to the state of the church ; and whereas there are defects and abuses in the ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions ; and particularly, there is not sufficient provision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and for the reforming of manners, either in ministers or people ; and whereas it is most fit that there should be a strict method prescribed for the examination of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy orders, both as to their learning and manners ;

“We therefore, out of our pious and princely care for the good order, edification and unity of the church of England, committed to our charge and care, and for the reconciling as much as is possible of all differences among our good subjects, and to take away all occasion of the like for the future, have thought fit to authorise you, &c. or any nine of you, whereof three to be bishops, to meet from time to time as often as shall be needful, and to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, and to consider of such other matters, as in your judgments may most conduce to the ends above mentioned*.”

The committee having assembled in the Jerusalem-chamber, a dispute arose about the legality of their commission ; Sprat bishop of Rochester, one of king James’s ecclesiastical commissioners, being of the number, they pretended to fear a premunire, though there was not so much as a shadow for such a pretence, the king’s supremacy, if it means any thing, empowering him to appoint proper persons to prepare matters for the legislature : however, upon this debate, Mew bishop of Winchester, Sprat of Rochester,

* Life of Archbishop Tennison, p. 10, &c.

with Dr. Jane and Dr. Aldridge, withdrew. Some of them declared plainly they were against all alterations whatsoever; they thought too much would be done for the dissenters, in granting them an act of toleration, and they would do nothing to make conformity easier. They said farther, that altering the customs and constitutions of the church, to gratify a peevish and obstinate party, was likely to have no other effect than to make them more insolent*. But was it ever tried? Did the convocation or parliament make a single abatement from the year 1662 to this time? If the experiment had been tried, and proved ineffectual, the blame might have been cast upon the dissenters; but to call them peevish and obstinate, without offering them any even the smallest concessions, deserves no better a name than unjust calumny. Was there no obstinacy and peevishness on the side of the church in retreating from so many promises without a single offer? But it was said farther, that the church, by proposing these alterations, seemed to confess that she had hitherto been in the wrong, and that the attempt would divide them among themselves, and lessen people's esteem for the liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted correction. Such were the reasonings of these high divines, if they deserve the name, some of whom but a few months before had made the warmest pretences to a spirit of moderation!

It was alleged on the other side, that if a few corrections or explanations were allowed, there was reason to hope it would bring over many of the people, if not the teachers themselves; at least, if the prejudices of the present dissenters were too strong, it might have a good effect on the next generation; nor could it be any reproach to the church, since the offers were made only in regard to their weakness. Ritual matters were of an indifferent nature, and became necessary in virtue only of the authority that enjoined them, therefore it was an unreasonable stiffness to deny any abatements, in order to heal the church's divisions. Great changes had been made by the church of Rome in her rituals; and among ourselves since the Reformation, in the reigns of king Edward VI., queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles II., and it seemed necessary at this time to make the terms of communion as large as might be, that so a greater number might be brought over, since, by the act of toleration, they might dissent with safety.

But while these matters were debating, the jacobite party took hold of the occasion to inflame men's minds against the government. It was pretended the church was to be pulled down, and presbytery established: the universities took fire, and declared against alterations, and against all who promoted them, as men who intended to undermine the hierarchy. Severe reflections were cast on the king himself, as not being in the interest of the episcopacy, for the cry of the church's danger was raised by the

* Burnet, vol. 4. p. 44.

enemies of the government, as that under which they thought they might safely shelter their evil designs. Great interest was made in the choice of convocation men, to whom the determinations of the committee were to be referred, so that it was quickly visible that the laudable designs of the king and the ecclesiastical commissioners would prove abortive.

However, the committee continued their work till they had finished it; they had before them all the exceptions that either the Puritans before the war, or the Nonconformists since the Restoration, had made to the church-service*. They had also many propositions and advices that had been suggested at several times, by many of our bishops and divines, upon these heads; matters were well considered, and freely and calmly debated, and all was digested into an entire correction of every thing that seemed liable to any just exception. Dr. Nichols says, they began with reviewing the liturgy, and first in examining the calendar; they ordered, in the room of the Apocryphal lessons, certain chapters of canonical Scripture to be read, that were more to the people's advantage; Athanasius's creed being disliked, by reason of the damnatory clauses, it was left to the minister's choice to use it, or change it for the Apostles' creed†. New collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels, for the whole course of the year, with that elegance and brightness of expression, says the doctor, and such a flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect and excite the hearts of the hearers, and raise up their minds towards God; they were first prepared by Dr. Patrick; Dr. Burnet added to them farther force and spirit; Dr. Stillingfleet afterward examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. Tillotson had the last hand, giving them some free and masterly strokes of his sweet and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder made a new version of the psalms, more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tension made a collection of the words and expressions throughout the liturgy which had been excepted against, and proposed others in their room that were clear and plain, and less liable to exception—singing in cathedrals was to be laid aside—the Apocryphal lessons were to be omitted, together with the legendary saints' days—the cross in baptism to be left to the choice of the parent—and kneeling at the sacrament to be indifferent—the intention of Lent fasts was declared to consist only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in distinction of meats—the word priest was to be changed for minister—the use of the surplice is left to the discretion of the bishop, who may dispense with it, or appoint another to read the service—godfathers and godmothers in baptism may be omitted if desired, and children presented in their parents' names—re-ordination of those who had been ordained by presbyters was to be only conditional;—but these, with some other useful altera-

* Burnet, p. 44.

† Apparatus, p. 95, 96.

tions in the litany, communion-service, and canons, will not be known till the papers themselves are made public. However, these concessions and amendments would, in all probability, have brought in three parts in four of the dissenters*.

While these things were debating in parliament, and among the commissioners, an address was presented, April 19, praying, that according to the ancient custom and usage of the kingdom in time of parliament, his majesty would issue out his writ for calling a convocation of the clergy to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters, assuring his majesty that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the consideration of giving ease to the Protestant dissenters; but when they met, it quickly appeared that the high-church party were superior to the moderate, by their choosing Dr. Jane†, who drew up the Oxford decree, prolocutor, in preference to Dr. Tillotson ‡. His majesty sent a letter, or message, by the earl of Nottingham, assuring them of his constant favour and protection, and that he had summoned them, not only because it was usual upon holding parliaments, but out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, and desiring them to consider of such things as by his order should be laid before them, with a due and impartial zeal for the peace and good of the church. But there was no room for his majesty's interposition, the lower house of convocation quickly coming to a resolution not to enter into any debates with relation to alterations; and it was not without difficulty carried to make a decent address to the king, thanking him for his promise of protection. And the address which the bishops sent down, acknowledging the protection which the Protestant

* Calamy's Abridgment, vol. 1. p. 452. 464. See also Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 182. 196.

† The election of Dr. Jane to be prolocutor, as it shewed the sentiments and spirit of a great majority, so it was the principal occasion that nothing succeeded. For as soon as he got into the chair, he addressed the lower house in a speech, which, besides extolling the church of England above all other Christian communities, he concluded with these words, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare;*" i. e. "We will not change the laws of England:" and, in the progress of the session, he opposed every thing that was intended or proposed by the royal commission. Bishop Compton's Life, p. 52; and Life of Dr. Prideaux, p. 54. The conclusion of the prolocutor's speech, it is excellently observed in a late valuable publication, was "to be admired from the mouth of an old English baron; consistent, perhaps, with the declaration of a conclave, if matters of faith and worship were in agitation there; but ill suited, to the greatest degree, on such an occasion, to the character of a Protestant divine." Hints, &c. by a Layman, p. 27, fourth edition.—ED.

‡ It is disgraceful to human nature, and painful to the generous mind, that the most liberal and excellent designs are defeated by revenge, and disappointed ambition. This was the case in the affair before us. The election of Dr. Jane was effected by the intrigues of two noble lords, who being disappointed in their expectations of advancement to some of the higher employments, after the Revolution, on account of their relation to the queen, out of resentment contrived to have Dr. Jane called to the chair, that they might baffle what was intended by the convocation, and so embarrass government. He was also, on the like principles, a man fit for their purpose. For having been refused the see of Exeter, before promised to bishop Trelawney, which he asked when he was sent from the university of Oxford to make an offer of their plate to the prince of Orange, he was so disgusted, that he became a professed enemy to king William. Life of Dr. Prideaux, p. 54, 55.—ED.

religion in general, and the church of England in particular, had received from his majesty, the lower house would not agree to it, because it imported their owning some common union with the foreign churches*. They would thank his majesty for his care to establish the church of England, whereby the interest of the Protestant churches abroad would be better secured, but would not insert the words, "this and all other Protestant churches," as the bishop had desired.

The bishop of London, in his answer to the prolocutor's speech, told them, that they ought to endeavour a temper of things not essential to religion; and that it was their duty to show the same indulgence and charity to the dissenters under king William, which some of the bishops and clergy had promised in their addresses to king James†. But all these promises, says bishop Burnet, were entirely forgotten. It was in vain, therefore, to refer the amendments of the ecclesiastical commissioners to a number of men, who had resolved to admit of no alterations; and it is thought that if the act of toleration had been left to their decision, it would have miscarried‡. The king, observing such a want of temper, broke up the sessions; and seeing they were in no disposition to do good, they were kept from doing mischief by prorogations for a course of ten years.

This was the last fruitless attempt§ for a comprehension of

* This was the first foundation of the differences in the convocation, which have ever since been kept up, to the grief of pious minds, and to the disgrace of the clergy. For the inferior clergy not agreeing to this address, another address was drawn up and presented to the king by the bishop of London, six of his brethren, and several doctors in divinity: who were solemnly introduced to his majesty, sitting on his throne in the Banqueting-house, by the lord-chamberlain. Bishop Compton's Life, p. 54, 55.—ED.

† Bishop Compton closed his speech, which breathed a different spirit from that of Dr. Jane, with these words of Joseph's to his brethren, "*Ne multi animi in consiliis vestris;*" thereby exhorting them to unanimity and concord. Bishop Compton's Life, p. 53.—ED.

‡ It marks the mischief and the evil of the spirit of opposition, that amongst the other instances in which the design of holding this convocation miscarried, was the failure of an attempt to restore family-devotion. For a book, containing directions and forms for family-worship, was provided to be authorized by this convocation. It was left in the hands of Dr. Williams, bishop of Chichester, but has been since lost. Dr. Prideaux's Life, p. 61. 65.—ED.

§ I am tempted to give here the reflections of an admirable piece, which report ascribes to a noble pen. "The prolocutor's veto has hitherto proved triumphant; and we have too much reason to apprehend, that, on one pretence or other, these laws, binding the consciences of men, will become, in effect, as unalterable as those of the Medes and Persians ever were; though probably, in these days, few will venture to hold a doctrine so thoroughly repugnant to all religious liberty. Such, however, was the fate of this attempt to render the service of the established church as pure as possible, and to clear away those parts, which, from that day to the present, continue to offend so many respectable and conscientious persons. Considering the character and abilities of those who undertook the task, it can never be sufficiently lamented that their endeavours proved so unsuccessful." For archbishop Wake, speaking of them before the lords, while he was bishop of Lincoln, thus expresses himself: "They were a set of men, than which this church was never, at any one time, blessed with either wiser or better, since it was a church; and a design that, I am persuaded, would have been for the interest and peace of our church and state, had it been accomplished." And when we find among them

dissenters within the establishment; and such was the ungrateful return that these stubborn churchmen made to those who had assisted them in their distress! For it ought to stand upon record, that the church of England had been twice rescued from the most imminent danger, by men for whose satisfaction they would not move a pin, nor abate a ceremony; first in the year 1660, when the Presbyterians restored the king and constitution without making any terms for themselves; and now again at the Revolution, when the church fled for succour to a Presbyterian prince, and was delivered by an army of fourteen thousand Hollanders, of the same principles with the English dissenters; and how uncivilly those troops were afterward used, is too ungrateful a piece of history to remember.

But besides the strong disposition of the high-church clergy and their friends, to return to their allegiance to king James, there was another incident that sharpened their resentments against the king and the dissenters, which was his majesty's consenting to the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, which could not be prevented without putting all his affairs into the utmost confusion; the bias of that people was strong to presbytery, and the more so, because the episcopal party went almost universally into king James's interests, so that the Presbyterians were the only friends the king had in that kingdom*. There was a convention called in Scotland like that in England, who on the 11th of April, the day on which king William and queen Mary were crowned in England, passed judgment of forfeiture on king James, and voted the crown of Scotland to king William and queen Mary. They drew up a claim of rights, by one article of which it was declared, that the reformation in Scotland having been begun by a party among the clergy, prelacy in the church was a great and insupportable grievance to the kingdom. The bishops and their adherents, having left the convention, because not summoned by writ from king James, the Presbyterians had a majority of voices; whereupon the abolishing episcopacy in Scotland was made a necessary article of the new settlement. The episcopal party sent the dean of Glasgow to king William, to know his intentions concerning them, who answered he would do all he could to preserve them consistent with a full toleration to the Presbyterians, provided they concurred in the new establish-

names whose memory we revere, Compton, Lloyd, Burnet, among the bishops; with Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Sharp, Kidder, &c. among the others; it is clear, that posterity has confirmed the testimony of this learned and sagacious prelate, and regrets the more the loss of their beneficent intentions.—Hints, &c. by a Layman, p. 27—29. To the names mentioned by this writer we would particularly add Dr. Humphrey Prideaux; as he was not only a great friend to the scheme then on foot for a comprehension with the dissenters, but published a piece in favour of that design, under the title of "A Letter to a Friend relating to the present Convocation at Westminster;" which was highly applauded by moderate and candid men, and of which several thousands were sold within a fortnight after its publication. British Biography, vol. 7. p. 224, 225.—Ed.

* Burnet, vol. 4. p. 32.

ment; but if they opposed it, he should not enter into a war for their sakes. The bishops, instead of submitting to the Revolution, resolved unanimously to adhere firmly to king James, and declared in a body with so much zeal against the new settlement, that it was not possible for the king to support them. The clergy sent for king James into Scotland, and the earl of Dundee collected some thousands of Highlanders to make a stand; but general Mackay, who was sent with a body of forces to disperse them, routed them at a place called Killieranky, and killed the earl of Dundee upon the spot. So that episcopacy in Scotland fell a sacrifice to the interest of king James.

But though it was impossible to stop the torrent of the Scots people's zeal for presbytery, and though the king had only Presbyterians on his side in that kingdom, yet the suffering it to take place increased the disaffection of the English clergy. Reports of the king's dislike of the hierarchy were spread with great industry; the leading men of both universities were possessed with it, says Burnet*, though the king had joined in communion with the church, and taken the sacrament according to law; but it was given out, that men zealous for the church were neglected, and that those who were indifferent to the ceremonies were promoted.—His majesty promised the Scots clergy to moderate matters in their favour, and lord Melvil, secretary of state, engaged very solemnly for the same purpose; but when the Presbyterians threatened to desert the court if they were deserted by them, Melvil thought it the king's interest to secure them in all events, which could not be done but by abandoning the ministers of the episcopal persuasion. Such therefore as refused to read the proclamation of king William and queen Mary by the prefixed day were deprived of their livings; which being published up and down England, and much aggravated, raised the aversion of the friends of the church against the Presbyterians so high, says bishop Burnet †, that they began to repent their having granted a toleration to a party, who, where they prevailed, showed so much fury against those of the episcopal persuasion. It ought, however, to be remembered, that this was a government case, that the fate of the Revolution in that kingdom depended upon it; and that the bishops and episcopal clergy, almost to a man, were determined jacobites, and refused to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary. Besides, what reason had the Scots Presbyterians to trust the episcopal clergy, when it was in their power to do themselves justice? Had they not deceived them out of their discipline in 1662, and persecuted them cruelly ever since? Whoever peruses the dreadful sufferings of the kirk in the reign of Charles II. will judge how far they had reason to replace them in the saddle, and deliver the reins into their hands.

* Burnet, p. 40.

† Ibid. p. 42.

But the disaffection of the high-church clergy stopped not short of the king himself, who was made uneasy by their malignant spirit, and restless endeavours to clog the wheels of his government*; insomuch that his majesty sometimes declared, with more than ordinary vehemence, that he would not stay in England and hold an empty name; that it was not easy to determine which was best, a commonwealth or kingly government; but he was sure the worst of all governments was, a king without treasure, and without power. He once resolved to return to Holland, and leave the government in the queen's hands, imagining they would treat her better †; and he communicated his design to the marquis of Carmarthen, the earl of Shrewsbury, and others, who besought him with tears to change his resolution, and at last prevailed: but had his majesty declared this from the throne, the nation was in a temper to have done him justice on the incendiaries; for notwithstanding their clamours, they knew their desperate situation if the king should desert them, having renounced their allegiance to king James, and gone such lengths as he could never forgive. But king William, having a generous mind, imagined they might be gained by gentleness and kindness, and therefore took up with a motley ministry, which distressed him to the last. Thus the Tories and high-church clergy enjoyed the advantages of this glorious revolution, while they acted a most ungrateful part towards their deliverer, and a most unkind and ungenerous one to their dissenting brethren.

Nor have these gentlemen ceased to discover their enmity to the dissenters since that time, as often as the power has been in their hands. It was impossible to injure them while king William lived, but no sooner was queen Anne advanced to the throne, than they endeavoured to cramp the toleration by the bill against occasional conformity, which was brought into the house one session after another, till at length it obtained the royal assent in the latter end of the year 1711, under the specious title of "An act to preserve the Protestant religion, and to confirm the toleration, and farther to secure the Protestant succession." It makes some few concessions in support of the toleration, but then it enacts, "that if any persons in office, who by the laws are obliged to qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament, or test, shall ever resort to a conventicle or meeting of dissenters for religious worship, during the time of their continuance in such office, they shall forfeit twenty pounds for every such offence, and be disqualified for any office for the future, till they have made oath that they have entirely conformed to the church, and not been at any conventicle for the space of a whole year." So that no person in the least office in the customs, excise, or common-council, &c. could ever enter the doors of a meeting-

* Burnet, p. 49.

† Ibid. p. 55, 56.

house. But the reader may peruse the act at large in the Appendix, Number XIV.

In the last year of queen Anne the toleration was farther straitened by an act to prevent the growth of schism; for with these gentlemen all dissenters are schismatics: and in order to prevent their increase, the education of their children was taken out of the hands of their friends, and intrusted only with such who were full and entire conformists.

And if any schoolmaster or tutor should be willingly present at any conventicle of dissenters for religious worship, he shall suffer three months' imprisonment, and be disqualified, as above, from teaching school for the future. The act was to take place August 1, 1714, the very day the queen died; but his late majesty king George I. being fully satisfied that these harshships were brought upon the dissenters for their steady adherence to the Protestant succession in his illustrious house, against a tory and jacobite ministry, who were paving the way for a Popish pretender, procured the repeal of them in the fifth year of his reign. The last-mentioned act, with the repeal, is inserted in the Appendix, Numbers XV. and XVI., together with a clause which forbids the mayor, or other magistrate, to go into any meeting for religious worship with the ensigns of his office.

Many of the ejected ministers of 1662, and others, survived the Revolution, and made a considerable figure in the reigns of king William and queen Mary. As,

Rev. William Bates, D.D.	Rev. Tho. Gilbert, B.D.	Rev. Matt. Sylvester
Obad. Grew, D.D.	Jos. Hill, B.D.	Christ. Nesse, M.A.
Sam. Annesly, D.D.	Robert Bragge	John Humphrys, M.A.
John Collings, D.D.	Matth. Mead	Richard Mayo
Richard Baxter	Jas. Forbes, M.A.	Matth. Clarke, sen.
Vincent Alsop, M.A.	Tho. Cole, M.A.	Isaac Chauncey, M. D.
John Howe, M.A.	Geo. Griffith, M.A.	Sam. Slater, M.A.
Tho. Doolittle, M.A.	Nath. Mather	Daniel Williams, D.D.
Phil. and Matth. Henry, M.A.	Edward Veal	John Spademan, M.A.
John Flavel	John Quick	Robert Billio
Matthew Barker, M.A.	Nath. Vincent, M.A.	Rich. Steele, M.A.
George Cockayne	Rd. Stretton, M.A.	Nath. Taylor
John Faldo	Geo. Hammond, M.A.	R. Flemming, M.A.
W. Lorimer, M. A.	Richard Kentish	Daniel Burgess
	H. Newcome, M.A.	James Owen, &c.

These, and others who deserve an honourable mention, were learned and useful men, and most of them popular preachers, serviceable to the societies for reformation of manners, and eminent confessors in the cause of liberty and scriptural religion; but their deaths not happening within the compass of this work, I must leave them to be remembered by the historians of after-times.

SUPPLEMENT,

CONTAINING

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS AND QUAKERS.

CHAPTER I.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE BAPTISTS, OR ANTIPÆDOBAPTISTS,
FROM THE DAYS OF WICKLIFFE TO THE REIGN OF JAMES I.
A. D. 1370—1600.

ALTHOUGH the Baptist profession does not assume a visible appearance in England, by the formation of churches in a state of separation from their brethren of the Pædobaptist persuasion, earlier than the reign of James I.; it is beyond all reasonable doubt that individuals were to be found maintaining those principles in every subsequent age, from the days of Wickliffe, that morning star of the Reformation.

It is perhaps impossible for us, after a lapse of four or five centuries, to decide the question, whether the great English reformer did or did not oppose the baptism of infants. It is a fact, however, which admits of no dispute, that he maintained and propagated those principles, which, when carried out into their legitimate consequences, are wholly subversive of the practice in question. And if Wickliffe himself did not pursue the consequence of his own doctrines so far, yet many of his followers did, and were made Baptists by it.

One of the maxims held by this reformer was, “that wise men leave that as impertinent, which is not plainly expressed in Scripture*,” in other words, that nothing should be practised in the church of God, as a branch of worship, which is neither expressly commanded nor plainly exemplified in the New Testament. It is upon this principle that the Baptists make their stand. They examine the sacred writings, and there find, that in their Lord’s commission, baptism stands connected with the preaching of the everlasting gospel; that the apostles, who well understood their Master’s will, administered it to none but those who professed to

* Fuller’s Church History, p. 133.

repent and believe the gospel; and that thus it was the first disciples "put on Christ," or were initiated into his visible kingdom; for such as gladly received the word were baptized and added to the churches.

All our historians agree in affirming that the doctrines of Wickliffe spread very extensively throughout the country; insomuch that, according to Knighton, a contemporary historian, "more than half the people of England embraced them and became his followers." Soon after his death, they began to form distinct societies in various places. Rapin tells us that, "in the year 1389, the Wickliffites, or Lollards, as they were commonly named, began to separate from the church of Rome, and appoint priests from among themselves to perform divine service after their own way. Though some were from time to time persecuted by the bishops, yet their persecutions were not rigorous. Their aim seemed to be only to hinder them from pleading prescription. Besides, a petition presented to the king by a former parliament, to revoke the power granted to the bishops to imprison heretics, restrained the most forward*."

During the usurpation of Henry IV. A.D., 1400, the clergy, who had been instrumental to his elevation, obtained from him a law for the burning of heretics, which they were not long in carrying into operation. One of the first victims to their sanguinary edict was William Sawtre, said to have held the principles of the Baptists, and who was burnt in London in the year 1400. He had been some time minister of the parish of St. Margaret, in the town of Lynn; but, adopting the tenets of the Lollards, he was convicted of heresy by the bishop of Norwich, and though by temporizing he for a while averted the dreadful sentence, yet he ultimately fell a martyr to the cause of truth. If we may credit the testimony of those who lived near the time when this took place, the diocese of Norwich, in which Sawtre resided, abounded with persons of similar sentiments; but the cruel and ignominious death of this good man struck terror into the followers of Wickliffe, and made them more cautious how they exposed themselves to a similar fate by divulging their opinions. Yet Fuller relates, that, such was the craft and diligence of the clergy, they found out means to discover many of them, and by *ex officio* informations which they now obtained, they persecuted them with great cruelty, so that the prisons were filled with them—many were induced to recant, and such as refused were treated without mercy †.

That the denial of the right of infants to baptism, was a principle generally maintained among the Lollards or followers of Wickliffe, is abundantly confirmed by the historians of those times. Thomas Walden, who wrote against Wickliffe, terms this reformer, "one of the seven heads that rose up out of the bottomless pit, for denying infant baptism, that heresie of the Lol-

* Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. 1. p. 480.

† Fuller's Church History, p. 164.

lards, of whom he was so great a ringleader." Walsingham, another writer, says, "It was in the year 1381, that that damnable heretic John Wickliffe received the cursed opinions of Berengarius," one of which unquestionably was the denial of infant baptism. The Dutch martyrology, also, gives an account of one sir L. Clifford, who had formerly been a Lollard, but had left them, and who informed the archbishop of Canterbury that the Lollards would not baptize their new-born children. The fact is, therefore, put beyond dispute, that the principles of the Antipædobaptists were prevalent during the whole of the fifteenth century, though we are unable to trace them as embodied in the formation of distinct churches under that denomination.

In the history of the Welsh Baptists compiled by Mr. Joshua Thomas of Leominster, we have some interesting information respecting a Mr. Walter Brute, who is said to have been a gentleman of rank, learning, and parts, in the diocese of Hereford, about the end of the fourteenth century. This person, though reckoned a layman by the Popish clergy, was indefatigable in propagating the truth himself, "teaching openly and privately, as well the nobles as the commons." In this good work he was assisted by two of his intimate friends, viz. Mr. William Swinderby, and Mr. Stephen Ball, who were both of them preachers of note, and all maintaining the doctrines of Wickliffe. Fox, the Martyrologist, has given a particular account of Mr. Brute, and of his religious sentiments, extracted from the register of the bishop of Hereford. One of his tenets was, that *faith ought to precede baptism*, and that baptism was not essential to salvation. A commission was granted by Richard II. about the year 1392, addressed to the nobility and gentry of the county of Hereford, and to the mayor of the city, authorizing them to prosecute Brute, on a charge of preaching heresy in the diocese and places adjacent, and also with keeping conventicles. In consequence of this, Mr. Brute retired into privacy, and Swinderby and his friends fled into Wales, to be out of the county and diocese of Hereford. Amidst the mountains and valleys of the principality, they continued for some time instructing all that came unto them. They seem, however, ultimately to have been apprehended and brought to trial, and Fox mentions that Swinderby, the friend of Walter Brute, was burnt alive for his profession in Smithfield, A.D. 1401; what became of the latter, he does not particularly say, but from what he relates of his bold and spirited defence upon his trial, it is probable that he shared the same fate.

Dr. Wall, the learned author of the History of Infant-Baptism, seems desirous of persuading his readers that there were no Baptists in England, when Henry VIII. ascended the throne at the commencement of the sixteenth century, A.D. 1511. But upon that supposition, it is not easy to account for the sanguinary statutes which in the early part of this reign were put forth against the Anabaptists. In the year 1535, ten persons avowing these

sentiments, are mentioned in the registers of the metropolis, as having been put to death in different parts of the country, while an equal number saved themselves by recantation. In the following year, the convocation sat, and after some matters relating to the king's divorce had been debated, the lower house presented to the upper a catalogue of religious tenets which then prevailed in the realm, amounting to sixty-seven articles, and they are such as respected the Lollards, the new reformers, and the Anabaptists. The latter are most particularly pointed at;—the indispensable necessity of baptism, for attaining eternal life, is most peremptorily insisted on; that “infants must needs be christened, because they are born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted, and which can only be done by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purgeth those from sin by his most secret virtue and operation. *Item.* That children or men once baptized, can, nor *ought ever to be baptized again.* *Item.* That they ought to repute and take all the Anabaptists' and every other man's opinions agreeable to the said Anabaptists, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.” On the 16th November, 1538, a proclamation was issued, condemning all the books of the Anabaptists, and ordering those to be punished who vended them: and in the following month a circular letter was addressed to all the justices of peace throughout England, solemnly warning them to take care that all the injunctions, laws, and proclamations, against the Anabaptists and others, be duly executed. In the same year an act of grace was passed, from the provisions of which all Anabaptists were excepted*. If the country did not abound with Baptists at this time, why were those severe measures enforced against them?

We learn from Fuller's Church History, that “at the period when Henry VIII. was married to Anne of Cleves, the Dutch flocked into England in great numbers, and soon after began to broach their strange opinions, being branded with the general name of Anabaptists.” He adds, that “these Anabaptists, in the main, are but Donatists new dipped. And this year their name first appears in our English Chronicles, where I read, that four Anabaptists, three men and one women, all Dutch, bare fagots at Paul's cross; and, three days after, a man and a woman of their sect were burnt in Smithfield †.”

When the historian says that it was in the year 1538 that the names of these sectaries first appeared in an English Chronicle, there is considerable obscurity attached to his meaning. To suppose him to assert that the Anabaptists do not appear in the annals of England before that year, is to accuse him of contradicting his own writings, and violating the truth of history. Bishop Burnet says, that “in May, 1535, nineteen Hollanders

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. 3. book 3.

† Fuller's Church History, book 4. Stowe's Chronicle, p. 576.

were accused of holding heretical opinions, among which was a denial that the sacraments had any effect on those that received them: fourteen of them remained obstinate, and were burnt by pairs in several places*." This denial of the efficacy of the sacraments evidently points to the Baptists, who strenuously opposed the administration of that ordinance to infants, on the ground of its saving efficacy. In the same year, as has been already stated, the registers of London mention certain Dutch Baptists, ten of whom were put to death; and in the articles of religion set forth by the king and convocation, A.D. 1536, the sect of the Anabaptists is specified and condemned. In fact, it is easy to trace the Baptists in England at least a hundred years prior to the time mentioned by Fuller. His words must therefore be restricted to the punishments first inflicted in England upon the Mennonites, or Dutch Baptists, who had emigrated to this country.

In the year 1539, the thirtieth of the reign of Henry VIII. we find certain legal enactments promulgated, one of which was, "that those who are in any error, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, or any others, that sell books having such opinions in them, being once known, both the books and such persons shall be detected, and disclosed immediately to the king's majesty, or one of his privy-council, to the intent to have it punished without favour, *even with the extremity of the law* †." From this it appears, that the Baptists not only existed in England, but that they were in the habit of availing themselves of the art of printing, which had not long been discovered, for the defence of their peculiar and discriminating tenets; and to such an extent, too, as to alarm the clergy, and induce them to call upon the legislature for measures of severity, in order to restrain their circulation.

In the same year, it appears from the Dutch Martyrology that sixteen men and fifteen women were banished the country for opposing infant baptism. They retired to Delft, in Holland, where they were pursued and prosecuted before the magistrates as Anabaptists, and put to death for their supposed errors, the men being beheaded and the women drowned. Such were the sanguinary proceedings against the Baptists, in the reign of Henry VIII., a monarch who professedly espoused the cause of reformation.

Edward VI. ascended the throne in 1547; and, though only nine years of age, he was evidently a great blessing to the country. He encouraged the reading of the Scriptures in his own language, received home again such as had been banished during the former reign, and restrained persecution in all its direful forms to the utmost of his power. Fox tells us that "during the whole time of the six years' reign of this young prince, much tranquillity, and as it were a breathing time, was granted to the whole church of England; so that, the rage of persecution ceasing, and the

* History of the Reformation, vol. 1. book 3. p. 195.

† Fox's Martyrs, vol. 2. p. 440.

sword taken out of the adversaries' hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unless it were only by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more damage in corrupting men's minds than any time of persecution or affliction. In short, during all this time, neither in Smithfield nor in any other quarter of this realm, was any heard to suffer for any matter of religion, either Papist or Protestant, two only excepted; one an English woman, called Joan of Kent; and the other a Dutchman, named George*."

Bishop Burnet informs us that at this time there were many Anabaptists in several parts of England. These persons laid it down as a foundation principle, that the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians. They denied that the baptism of infants could be fairly deduced from Scripture: "they held that to be no baptism, and so were rebaptized." On the 12th of April, 1549, there was a complaint brought to the council, that with the strangers that werelately come into England, some of that persuasion had come over, who were disseminating their errors, and making proselytes. A commission was accordingly ordered for the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, Worcester, Westminster, Lincoln, and Rochester, &c. &c. to examine and search after all Anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Common Prayer—to endeavour to reclaim them, or, if obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and deliver them over to the secular power, to be farther proceeded against. Some tradesmen in London were brought before the commissioners, and were persuaded to abjure their former opinions, one of which was, "that the baptism of infants was not profitable."

One of those who thus abjured was commanded to carry a fagot on the following Sunday at St. Paul's, where a sermon was to be preached setting forth his heresy. But Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent, was extremely obstinate. "The excuse for thirsting after this woman's blood (says one of our older historians) which Cranmer and the other bishops evinced was, that she was an Anabaptist, and that the Anabaptists in Germany had turned all religion into allegories, and denied the principles of the Christian faith—that they had also broke out into rebellion, and driven the bishops out of Munster, where they set up John of Leyden, one of their teachers, for king, and called the city New Jerusalem. But Joan Boucher was not charged with rebellion, nor yet with a breach of peace. And bishop Burnet himself acknowledges, that there were Anabaptists of gentle and moderate principles and manners, whose only crime was, that they thought baptism ought not to be given to infants, but to grown persons alone. If the bishops did not distinguish this moderate sort of Baptists from the madmen of Munster, there is reason to judge the death of Joan Boucher to be no better than

* Acts and Monuments, p. 685.

murder. She was indeed charged with maintaining, besides adult baptism, “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”—a scholastic distinction, incapable of doing much mischief, and far from deserving so severe a punishment. “The principles of orthodoxy surely ought not to destroy the principles of humanity! It is not in a man’s power to believe all that another may tell him; but is he therefore to be burned for not effecting an impossibility? Had the apostles promulgated any such doctrine among either Jews or Gentiles, when Christ sent them to preach the gospel to *all nations*, and baptize those that believed, not even the power of miracles would have been sufficient to establish a religion thus founded on cruelty and injustice*.”

The bishops named in the commission for searching after the Baptists were Cranmer, Ridley, Goodrich, Heath, Scory, and Holbeach, two of whom were, in the following reign, themselves burnt for heresy. When this poor woman had been convicted, and condemned as an obstinate heretic, she was given over to the secular power, and Cranmer was employed to persuade the king to sign the warrant for her execution. But the young monarch was so struck with the cruelty and unreasonableness of the sentence passed upon her, that when he was requested to sign the warrant for her execution, he could not, for some time, be prevailed on to do it. Cranmer argued from the law of Moses, according to which blasphemers were to be stoned: he said, he made a great difference between other points of divinity and those which were levelled against the Apostles’ creed—that there were impieties against God, which a prince, being his deputy, ought to punish, just as the king’s deputies were obliged to punish offences against the king’s person! These, certainly, were very futile pleas, and bishop Burnet says, they rather silenced than satisfied the young king; who still thought it a hard thing, as in truth it was, to proceed so severely in such cases. Accordingly, he set his hand to the warrant with tears in his eyes, telling Cranmer, that if he did wrong, as it was done in submission to his authority, *he* (the archbishop) should answer for it to God! This struck the prelate with much horror, so that he was very unwilling to have the sentence carried into effect. Every effort was now made to induce the woman to recant: both Cranmer and Ridley took her in custody to their own houses, to try if they could prevail upon her to do so; but, remaining inflexible, she was executed May 2, 1550, bishop Scory preaching at her burning †.

It would seem, at first sight, a little remarkable, that so much pains should have been taken with Joan Boucher to make her retract her opinions: but our surprise will cease when we attend

* Oldmixon’s History of England, vol. p. 187.

† Burnet’s Hist. Reformation, vol. 2. part 2. p. 110.

to the account which Strype gives of her in his *Annals of the Reformation*: “She was (says he) a great disperser of Tyndal’s New Testament, translated by him into English, and printed at Cologne; and was moreover a great reader of Scriptures herself. Which book also she dispersed in the court, and so became known to certain women of quality, and was particularly acquainted with Mrs. Anne Askew. She used, for greater secrecy, to tie the books with strings under her apparel, and so pass with them into court*.” From this it would appear that she was a person of no ordinary rank in life, but one whose sentiments on religious subjects were entitled to respect; and that, having tasted of the good word of God herself, and knowing its ineffable value to the souls of her fellow-creatures, she was not afraid of hazarding her own personal safety, in those perilous times, to put others in possession of the oracles of eternal truth.

There is a remarkable circumstance connected with the burning of this *illustrious* female, related by Fox, which is worth inserting in these pages. I extract it from Crosby’s *History*, vol. 1. p. 59, who tells us, that he has taken it from Peirce’s *Answer to Nichols*. “When the Protestant bishops (says Fox) had resolved to put [this woman] to death, a friend of Mr. John Rogers†, the divinity-reader in St. Paul’s church, came to him, earnestly entreating him to use his interest with the archbishop, that the poor woman’s life might be spared, and other means used to prevent the spreading of her opinions, which might be done in time; urging, too, that though while she lived she infected few with her opinions, yet she might bring many to think well of them, by suffering for them. He therefore pleaded, that it was much better she should be kept in some prison, where she had no opportunity of propagating her notions among weak people, and thus she would be precluded from injuring others, while she might live to change her own mind. Rogers, on the other hand, pleaded, that she ought to be put to death. Well then, said his friend, if you are resolved to put an end to both her life and her opinions, choose some other kind of death, more consonant to the gentleness and mercy prescribed in the gospel, there being no need that such tormenting deaths should be resorted to in imitation of the Papists. Rogers answered, that *burning alive was not a cruel death*, but easy enough! On hearing these words, which expressed so little regard to the poor creature’s sufferings, his friend replied with great vehemence, at the same time striking Rogers’ hand, which before he had held fast, “Well, perhaps it may so happen, that you yourselves will one day have your hands full of *this mild burning!*” And so it came to pass, for Rogers was the first man who was burnt in queen Mary’s reign!

The pious bishop Latimer lived during the reign of Edward VI., and has borne a very honourable testimony to the Baptists of

* *Eccles. Mem.* vol. 2. p. 214.

† Supposed by Mr. Peirce to be *Fox himself!*

his day. In his Lent-sermons preached before the king, he says, "The Anabaptists that were burnt [during the reign of Henry VIII.] in divers towns in England, as I heard of credible men, for I saw them not myself, went to their death intrepidly, as ye will say, without any fear in the world, but cheerfully."

That the Baptists were very numerous at this period, is unquestionable; and that many of those who were led to the stake in the reign of queen Mary were of that persuasion, is equally clear; though historians have not been very careful in recording their opinions on that point. Indeed, there is no want of proof concerning the hatred in which they were held by the ruling party, one instance of which may be mentioned. In the year 1550, after much cavilling in the state, an act of grace was passed, extending the king's general pardon to all persons, those confined in the Tower for crimes against the state and also *all Anabaptists* being excepted! In the same year, Ridley, who had recently been raised to the bishoprick of London, held a visitation of his diocess; and among other articles enjoined on his clergy, this was one: "to see whether any Anabaptists or others held private conventicles, with different opinions and forms from those established by law." This excellent young prince, who was of the most promising expectations, and, in the judgment of many impartial persons, the very phoenix of his time, was removed by death in the seventeenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign; by some, suspected to be owing to poison. Dr. Leighton, speaking of his premature death, says, "This king, a gracious plant, whereof the soil was not worthy, like another Josiah, setting himself with all his might to promote the Reformation, abhorred and forbid that any mass should be permitted to his sister. Farther, he was desirous not to leave a hoof of the Romish beast in his kingdom, as he was taught by some of the sincerer sort. But as he wanted instruments to effect this good, so he was mightily opposed in all his good designs by the prelatists, which caused him, in his godly jealousy, in the very anguish of his soul, to pour out his soul in tears*."

Of the short and sanguinary reign of queen Mary, Mr. Neal has furnished a faithful compendium, vol. 1. p. 58—85, and we have little to add to his narrative. In the first year of her reign, a person of the name of Woodman was cited before the bishop of Winchester, to answer to certain allegations touching his orthodoxy. "Hold him a book (said the bishop): if he refuse to swear, he is an Anabaptist, and shall be excommunicated." This criterion for ascertaining whether or not the poor man was or was not infected with heresy, is no farther entitled to notice than as it proves two things; namely, the existence of Baptists at that time in the country, and the severity of the penal laws against them. On another occasion, when Mr. Philpot was under exam-

* For Dr. Toulmin's Reflections on the state of the Baptists during the reign of Edward VI. see vol. 1. p. 57, 58, of this work.

ination by the lords of the council (November 5, 1555), it was remarked by one of his judges, that "all heretics boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church of his own, as Joan of Kent, and the Anabaptists!" A pretty plain indication that the Baptists of that day were not only contending for the divine authority of that institution, but also for the necessity of their separating themselves unto the law of the Lord, and maintaining the importance of their own principles. It is painful to dwell upon the merciless proceedings of this reign, and we shall dismiss it with a few additional remarks.

In the beginning of June 1558, a proclamation was issued, of which the following is a copy.

" BY THE KING AND QUEEN.

"Whereas divers books, filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, have of late, and be daily brought into this realm, out of foreign countries, and places beyond the seas; and some also *covertly printed within this realm*, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also encouragement given to disobey lawful princes and governors: the king and queen's majesties, for redress hereof, do, by their own proclamation, declare and publish to all their subjects that whosoever shall, after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or, finding them, do not forthwith burn the same, shall, in that case, be reported and taken for a rebel, and shall, without delay, *be executed* for that offence, *according to martial law.*"

A week after the publishing of this proclamation, a meeting of Protestants was detected at Islington, and twenty-two individuals, men and women, were seized and taken before sir Roger Cholmley, who turned them over to the bishop of London, who, in the cruelty of his tender mercies, turned thirteen of them over to the executioners, seven of them to be burnt in Smithfield, and six at Brentford*!

Among those who were committed to the flames in Smithfield, on this occasion, was, Mr. Roger Holland, a gentleman descended from a very respectable family in Lancashire, where several of his predecessors are to be found enrolled in the list of sheriffs for the county. At a hearing before bishop Bonner, lord Strange, son of the earl of Derby; sir Thomas Gerrard; Mr. Eccleston, of Eccleston, with many other gentlemen of the county, appeared to speak on his behalf. In his youthful days, Mr. Holland had been, not only a bigoted Papist, but also a very dissipated and profligate young man. He was, however, converted from the error of his ways by the pious instructions of a servant-maid, in the family in which he resided. She put into his hands some books both in defence of the truth of the gospel, and against the

* Oldmixon's England, vol. 1. p. 284, *folio*.

errors of Popery. These means were, through the blessing of Heaven, so efficacious, that he became the member of a congregational church in London, married the female to whom he was under such lasting obligations, and sealed the profession of the gospel with his blood: his wife also suffered great affliction for maintaining the same truths. Two others, of the Islington congregation, were taken by Bonner, stripped naked, and flogged in his garden at Fulham, in a most unmanly posture, to such a degree, that a bundle of rods was worn out in scourging them! But on the character of this queen, and the general complexion of her reign, let it suffice in this place to give an extract from an oration, composed by the learned John Hailes, esq.* and delivered to queen Elizabeth, soon after her accession to the throne.

“It was not enough for these unnatural English tormentors (says Mr. Hailes), these tyrants and false Christians, to be lords of the goods, possessions, and bodies, of their brethren and countrymen; but being very antichrists and enemies of the cross of Christ, they would be gods also, and reign in the consciences and souls of men. Every man, woman, and child, must deny Christ in word openly, abhor Christ in their deeds, slander him with word and deed, worship and honour false gods as they would have them, and as themselves did, and so give body and soul to the devil, their master: or, secretly flee, or, after inward torments, be burnt openly. O cruelty, cruelty! far exceeding all the cruelties committed by those famous ancient tyrants, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, &c. &c. whose names, for their cruel persecution of the people of God, have been, and ever will be, held in perpetual hatred. If any man would undertake to set forth particularly all the acts that have been done these full five years by this unnatural woman (rather say, this monster covered with the shape of a woman), as it is necessary for the glory of God, and the profit of the church, and of this realm, that it should be done, he will find it subject sufficient for a perfect and a great history, and not to be contained in an oration to be uttered at one time by the voice of man. But to comprehend the sum of all their wickedness in few words, behold, whatever malice in mischief, covetousness in spoil, cruelty in punishing, tyranny in destruction, could do; that, all this poor English nation, these full five years, either suffered already, or should have suffered, had not the great mercy of God prevented it†.”

Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in the year 1558; and,

* Mr. Hailes, the writer of this oration, was bred at Oxford, and deservedly held in high reputation for his learning. He was highly esteemed by the lord-keeper, sir Nicholas Bacon, and by lord Burleigh; two of the greatest men of that age.

† Oldmixon, p. 293.

though a decided enemy to Popery, or, more properly speaking, to the authority of the pope, yet, such was her blind and bigoted determination to enforce a uniformity of worship among all her subjects, that the Baptists were called to no small share of suffering, for conscience' sake, during the whole of her reign. The complexion of her reign, however, was very different from that of her sister. The fires of Smithfield were not lighted up in such profusion; but the same sanguinary laws remained in force; and all who disclaimed human authority in the kingdom of Christ—who maintained the word of God to be the only rule of faith and duty, were either compelled to temporize and conceal their convictions, or were subject to great pains and penalties. The queen, says sir Francis Walsingham when sketching the features of her government, “laid down two maxims of state: one was, not to force consciences—the other was not to let factious practices go unpunished, because they were covered by pretexts of conscience.” The strictures which Mr. Neal has passed on these maxims of government, vol. 1. p. 94—98, are so exceedingly pertinent that it is needless here to enlarge upon them. Bishop Burnet tells us that she did not at first revive those severe laws which were passed in her father's time, by which the refusal of the oath of supremacy was made *treason*, but left her subjects to the freedom of their thoughts, and only made it penal to extol a foreign jurisdiction. She also laid aside the title “supreme head,” of the church, and those who refused the oath were only disabled from holding benefices during their refusal. But after the twentieth year of her reign, the political posture of affairs compelled her, we are told, to adopt a different line of conduct. “Then, pecuniary punishments were inflicted on such as withdrew from the church; and in conclusion she was forced to make laws of greater rigour.—As for the Puritans, as long as they only inveighed against some abuses, such as pluralities, nonresidents, or the like, it was not their zeal against those, but their violence, that was condemned. *When they refused to comply with some ceremonies, and questioned the superiority of the bishops, and declared for a democracy in the church, they were connived at with great gentleness—but they set up a new model of church discipline, without waiting for the civil magistrate, and entered into combination; then it appeared that it was faction, and not zeal, that animated them. Upon that, the queen found it necessary to restrain them more than she had done formerly.*” Such is bishop Burnet's apology for the intolerant proceedings of this reign.

The share which the Baptists had in these severities, will appear from the mention of a few instances. Dr. Wall relates, that about the sixteenth year of queen Elizabeth, a congregation of Dutch Antipædobaptists was discovered without Aldgate, in London, of whom twenty-seven were taken and imprisoned; and

the following month one man and ten women of them were condemned*. Another writer informs us, that it was at Easter, 1575, that this took place, and that four of them recanted at Paul's cross, on the 25th May, and that the rest were banished the kingdom†. The following is the form of their abjuration:

“Whereas, we being seduced by the devil, the spirit of error, and by false teachers, have fallen into these most damnable and detestable heresies, that Christ took not flesh of the substance of the Virgin Mary—that the infants of the faithful ought not to be baptized; and that a Christian man may not be a magistrate, or bear the sword and office of authority; and that it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath: now, by the grace of God, and by the assistance of good and learned ministers of Christ's church, I understand the same to be most damnable and detestable heresies; and do ask God, before his church, mercy for my said former errors, and do forsake, recant, and renounce them: and I abjure them from the bottom of my heart, protesting I certainly believe the contrary. And farther I confess, that the whole doctrine, established and published in the church of England, and also that which is received in the Dutch church in London, is found true and according to God's word: whereunto in all things I submit myself, and will be most gladly a member of the said Dutch church; from henceforth utterly abandoning and forsaking *all and every Anabaptistical error*‡.”

This abjuration-oath, which was administered by Dr. Delaune, then minister of the Dutch church, Austin Friars, sufficiently indicates the arbitrary and intolerant spirit of the age. Fuller, the historian, mentions the same facts, with some additional circumstances. “Now began the Anabaptists (says he) wonderfully to increase in the land; and as we are sorry that any countrymen should be seduced with that opinion, so we are glad that the English as yet were free from that infection.” He then goes on to relate the apprehension of the twenty-seven Baptists at Aldgate, and adds that two of them were so obstinate, that orders were issued for their being committed to the flames in Smithfield. This induced the celebrated John Fox, the martyrologist, to interpose in their behalf, supplicating her majesty to relieve them. The letter was written in Latin, but Mr. Crosby has furnished us with the following translation of it:

“Most serene and happy princess—most illustrious queen, the honour of our country, and ornament of the age. As nothing has been farther from my thoughts and expectations, than ever to disturb your most excellent majesty by my troublesome interruption; so it grieves me very much, that I must break that silence which has hitherto been the result of my mind. But, so it now

* History of Infant Baptism, book 2. p. 212.

† D'Assigny's Mystery of Anabaptism, p. 368.

‡ Crosby, vol. 1. p. 68.

happens by I know not what infelicity, that the present time obliges me, contrary to my hope and opinion, to that which of all things in the world I least desired: and though hitherto I have been troublesome to nobody, I am now, contrary to my inclination, constrained to be importunate, even with my princess: not in any matter or course of my own, but through the calamity brought upon others. And by how much the more sharp and lamentable that is, by so much the more I am spurred on to deprecate it.

“ I understand there are some here in England, though not English, but come hither from Holland, I suppose both men and women, who having been tried according to law, publicly declared their repentance, and are happily reclaimed. Many others are condemned to exile—a light sentence, in my opinion. But I hear there are one or two of these, who are appointed to the most severe of punishments, namely, *burning*, unless your clemency prevent it. Now in this one affair, I consider there are two things to be considered; the one is, the wickedness of their errors; the other, the severity of their punishment. As to their errors, indeed, no man of sense can deny that they are most absurd: and I wonder that such monstrous opinions could come into the mind of any Christian; but such is the state of human weakness, if we are left never so little a while destitute of the divine light, whither is it that we do not fall? And we have great reason to give God thanks on this account, that I hear not of any Englishman that is inclined to this madness. As to these fanatical sects, therefore, it is certain, they are by no means to be countenanced in a commonwealth, but in my opinion ought to be suppressed by proper correction. But to *roast alive* the bodies of poor wretches, that offend 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 to the custom of the Gospellers: yea, it is evidently of the same kind as if it had flowed from the Romish priests, from the first author of such cruelty, Innocent III. O, that none had ever brought such a Phalarian bull into the meek church of Christ! I do not speak these things, because I am pleased with their wickedness, or favour the errors of any men; but seeing I am myself a man, I must therefore favour the life of man—not that he should err, but that he should repent. Nay, my pity extends not only to the life of man, but even to the beasts.

“ For, it is perhaps folly in me; but I speak the truth, that I can hardly pass by a slaughter-house where cattle are killing, but my mind revolts with a secret sense of their pains. And truly I greatly admire the clemency of God in this, who had such regard to the mean brute creatures, formerly prepared for sacrifices, that they must not be committed to the flames, before their blood had been poured out at the foot of the altar. Whence we may gather, that in inflicting punishments, however just, we must not be over

rigorous, but temper the sharpness of rigour with clemency. Wherefore, if I may be so bold with the majesty of so great a princess, 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 miserable wretches may be spared; at least that a stop may be put to the horror, by changing their punishment into some other kind. There are excommunications, and close imprisonment; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself. This one thing I most earnestly beg, that the piles and flames in Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not now be again revived. That 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 give them grace to turn from their dangerous errors; lest, with the destruction of their bodies, their souls be in danger of eternal ruin*.”

So far the venerable John Fox: but what a train of reflection does this letter give rise to, were this the place to indulge in it! One natural inference is, that, in his judgment, the power of the civil magistrates may very properly be exercised in coercing opinions in matters of religion, and in punishing those who dare to think differently from the national standard, provided the punishment be not excessive! These “fanatical sects are by no means to be countenanced in a commonwealth—but *ought to be suppressed with proper correction*:—there are excommunications, and close imprisonment; “exile is a light sentence” in his opinion; “there are bonds, perpetual banishment, burning in the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself.” To any of these the venerable martyrologist could give his consent; but the *roasting alive* of human beings is a “hard-hearted thing,” from which his compassionate heart revolted. Her Majesty’s heart, however, it appears, was not quite so soft: for though she had a high respect for the writer, and constantly called him her “father Fox,” she was not his dutiful daughter, but met his request with a flat denial, “unless, after a month’s reprieve and conference with divines, they would recant their errors.” “She declared their impieties to be damnable, and that she was necessitated to this severity, because having formerly punished some *traitors*, were she now to spare these *blasphemers*, the world would condemn her as being more earnest in asserting her own safety, than the honour of her God.” All the difference then between her majesty and the learned martyrologist, in this instance, merely regarded the *quantum* of punishment to be inflicted; for on the principle, they were fully agreed! And certainly where the point in dispute was

* The original of this letter is given in the Appendix to this Volume, No. III.

so *trivial*, it was very proper that the queen should follow her own judgment. Accordingly, the writ *De heretico comburendo*, that is, for burning heretics, which for seventeen years had only hung up *in terrorem*, was now taken down and put in execution, and the two Anabaptists, John Wielmaker and Henry Torwoort, were committed to the flames in Smithfield, July 22, 1575.

I have dwelt the more largely upon this affair, because it presents us with a fair specimen of the state of the public mind in regard to toleration during the boasted reign of queen Elizabeth. And now, before we dismiss the matter wholly, let us pause and examine a little coolly "these monstrous opinions," which Fox wonders should ever enter the mind of any Christian,—“this madness,” which “endangered the eternal ruin of their souls,” according to his notion of the matter, and which her majesty considered to be “damnable impieties,” implying *blasphemy* against God, not to be expiated but by the extremest tortures.

The first article in this dreadful catalogue of crimes, respected the human nature of the Son of God; a speculation indulged by Joan of Kent, and many other truly pious persons in that day. They had read, in the writings of the holy Evangelist, that Christ's human nature was *miraculously* formed in the womb of a virgin, by the power of the Most High coming upon her; that the body of the Saviour was not produced according to the ordinary laws of generation; and that consequently “that *holy thing* which was born of her,” was not subject to the original taint which descended from Adam to his posterity. Even admitting that it was improper to indulge speculation on this sublime mystery, which we ought to receive as it is delivered to us, without curiously prying into things quite beyond our reach, it is not easy to find the monstrous impiety, the damnable heresy, in it which should entitle its abettors to such condign punishment. For aught we can see, it was a harmless speculation, which no way affected either the faith or the obedience of the gospel. And as to the other articles of their impeachment, it would be trifling with the reader's time here to enlarge upon them. That infants *ought not* to be baptized, must be allowed by all who admit that either precept or example is necessary to authorize us in whatever we practise as a branch of worship. The unlawfulness of taking an oath, and of Christians filling the offices of civil magistracy, though to me they both appear unfounded objections, originating in a misapplication of certain texts of Scripture, were nevertheless opinions that had been current among the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Wickliffites, and indeed have been prevalent in every age of the church since the days of the apostles. Now, to say nothing of the infernal cruelty of roasting alive these individuals, there is something monstrously wicked even in compelling them to abjure these harmless opinions as “most damnable and detestable heresies;” to abjure them “from the bottom of their heart, protesting that *they certainly believed the contrary.*” Alas, humanity

sickens at such an outrage on the prerogative of the Most High, and the rights of mankind !

From this period to the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, the whole body of the Puritans appear to have been treated with great severity, of which the Baptists certainly came in for their due share. Many of them quitted the kingdom, and those who remained in it were perpetually harassed and tormented by fine and imprisonment. In the county of Norfolk (Mr. Neal says Suffolk, see vol. 1. p. 253), an application was made to the justices of peace, in behalf of some of the Brownists who had been long and illegally imprisoned by the bishop of Norwich, entreating that their worships would be pleased to move that prelate in their favour. His lordship was so displeased with them for their interference in what he considered to be his own prerogative, 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 conduct. The particulars are given by Mr. Neal, vol. 1. p. 254; and we only refer to it here for the purpose of remarking, that in the supplication to the justices, the terms *Anabaptists* and *Brownists* are used as synonymous, and also that they were allowed no quarter in that district.

In the year 1589, when the reign of this queen drew towards a close, a treatise appeared against the Puritans from the pen of a clergyman of the name of Some, in which he undertook to shew the coincidence that existed between the Anabaptists and some of the leading men among the former. The sentiments which he charged the Baptists of that day with holding are, that the ministers of the gospel ought to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people: that the civil magistrate has no right to make and impose laws on the consciences of men; that the people ought to have the right of choosing their own ministers; that the high commission court was an antichristian usurpation; that such as are qualified to preach, ought not to be hindered by the civil magistrate from doing so; that no forms of prayer should be imposed upon the church; that the baptisms administered in the church of Rome were invalid; and that a true constitution and discipline are essential to a true church. Such were the *heterodox* principles maintained by the Anabaptists of queen Elizabeth's times, according to the testimony of this learned doctor; principles well supported by the word of God, and which, therefore, every intelligent and consistent Baptist of the present day is proud to avow. The doctor touches also on their opinions of baptizing none but professed believers; that they hold the worship of God as conducted in the church of England to be in many respects defective; and brings up the rear of their crimes, by adding, that they count it blasphemy for any man to arrogate to himself the title of Doctor in Divinity, or as he explains it, to be called Rabbi; that is, lord and master of other

men's faith ! He acknowledges, that there were several Anabaptistical conventicles, both in the metropolis and other parts of the kingdom, in his day ; a fact which we shall find abundantly confirmed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS DURING THE REIGNS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I. A. D. 1602—1650.

HITHERTO we have been engaged rather in tracing out obscure notices of the Antipædobaptists, as of individuals scattered throughout the country, maintaining their discriminating sentiment, yet mingling with their Pædobaptist brethren in church-communion, than as forming a distinct body, or denomination contending for the divine authority of the baptismal institute, and its indispensable obligation as a term of communion : but we shall presently find them separating themselves to the law of their Lord, avowing their convictions and advocating their principles through the medium of the press.

In the year 1608 there was a small piece published, by Enoch Clapham, representing, in a way of dialogue, the opinions of the different sects of Protestants at that period. He speaks of some of them as leaving the kingdom to form churches amongst people of another language : and others, who remained in England, he censures for withdrawing from the national worship, and assembling in woods, stables, and barns, for religious service. He particularly distinguishes from Puritans and Brownists, on the one hand, and from Arians and Socinians, on the other, those who by way of reproach were called Anabaptists * ; and who separated both from the church and other dissenters. Whatever may be thought concerning the truth and justness of their views on the question relative to baptism, their great seriousness of

* In the dialogue of Enoch Clapham, above mentioned, the Anabaptist is asked, what religion he is of, and is made to answer, " Of the true religion, commonly termed Anabaptism, from our baptizing." When he is interrogated concerning the church or congregation he was connected with in Holland, he answers, " There be certain English people of us that came out from the Brownists." When the Arian says, " I am of the mind that there is no true baptism upon earth," he replies, " I pray thee, say not so ; the congregation I am of, can and doth administer true baptism." When an inquirer after truth offers, on his proving what he has said, to leave his old religion, the Anabaptist answers, " You should say, if God will give you grace to leave it ; for it is a particular favour to leave Sodom and Egypt, spiritually so called." When the same person offers to unite with them, the Anabaptist replies, " The dew of heaven come upon you : to-morrow I will bring you into our sacred congregation, that so you may come to be informed of the faith, and after that be purely baptized." This representation of the Baptists in the year 1608, though furnished by one who wrote against them, deserves regard, especially as he assures his readers that the characters which he has drawn of each sect had not been done without several years' experience and study of them. Ivey's English Baptists, vol. 1. p. 122.

spirit and diligence in inquiry, must be praised by all candid persons. They arose out of those who, being tired with the yoke of superstitious ceremonies, the traditions of men, and corrupt mixtures in the worship of God, resolved, by the grace of God, not to receive or practise any piece of positive worship which had not precept or example in his word. On this principle they pursued their researches, which they accompanied with fasting and prayer. When, after long search, and many debates, it appeared to them that infant baptism was a mere innovation, and even a profanation of a divine ordinance, they were not brought to lay it aside without many fears and tremblings, lest they should be mistaken, considering how many learned and godly men were of an opposite persuasion; and gladly would they have had the concurrence of their brethren with them. But since there was no hope of this, they concluded that a Christian's faith must not stand in the wisdom of man, and that every one must give account of himself to God; so they resolved to practise according to their own convictions. They were persuaded, that believers were the only proper subjects of baptism, and that immersion, or dipping the whole body into water, was the appointed rite. But as this was not practised in England, they were at a loss for an administrator to begin the practice. After often meeting together to pray, and confer about this matter, they agreed to send over into Holland Mr. Richard Blount, who understood the Dutch language, to a Baptist church there: he was kindly received by the society and their pastor; and upon his return he baptized Mr. Samuel Blacklock, a minister; these two baptized the rest of the company, to the number of fifty-three. Some few others of this persuasion were among the original planters of New-England. They who continued in England, published, in the year 1615, a small treatise to justify their separation from the church of England; and to prove that every man has a right to judge for himself in matters of religion; and that to persecute any one on this account, is illegal, antichristian, and contrary to the laws of God, as well as several declarations of his majesty.

The title of this pamphlet is as follows: "Persecution for religion judged and condemned, in a discourse between a Christian and Antichristian: proving, by the law of God, and by king James's many declarations, that no man ought to be persecuted for his religion, so he testify his allegiance by the oath appointed by law." The style of this work is easy, correct, and, considering the age when it was composed, very perspicuous: the reasoning strong and conclusive; and the dialogue well maintained. It presents a favourable specimen of the principles and abilities of the authors. They inveigh against the pride, luxury, and oppression, of the bishops; declare their respect for magistrates; protest against the political errors of the Papists; condemn those who through fear comply with any external wor-

ship contrary to their own conscience; and refer, for evidence of their sentiments, to the confession of faith published in 1611.

But the principal glory of this piece, is the manly and explicit avowal which the authors make of the true principles of Christian liberty, at a time when they were either unknown, or opposed, by almost every other party. They preserve a just distinction between civil and religious concerns; and while they fully allow the magistrate his proper authority in the former, they boldly maintain every man's right to judge and act for himself in the latter. In a dedication to all that truly wish Jerusalem's prosperity and Babylon's destruction, they declare, "We do unfeignedly acknowledge the authority of earthly magistrates, God's blessed ordinance, and that all earthly rule and command appertain unto them: let them command what they will, we must obey, either to do or to suffer. But all men must let God alone with his right, who is to be Lord and Lawgiver of the soul; and not command obedience for God when he commandeth none." "If I take (says Christian, in another place) any authority from the king's majesty, let me be judged worthy of my desert; but, if I defend the authority of Christ Jesus over men's souls, which appertaineth to no mortal man whatsoever, then know you, that whosoever would rob him of that honour which is not of this world, he will tread them under foot.—Earthly authority belongs to earthly kings: but spiritual authority belongeth to that spiritual King, who is King of kings*."—When we consider the state of the times, this intrepid and dignified language must excite our just admiration.

In the year 1618, another vindication of their principles came from the press, entitled, "A plain and well-grounded Treatise concerning Baptism." It was a translation from a Dutch piece, and is thought to be the first that was published in English against the baptism of infants. But the vindication of their principles procured them no security against the power of persecution. They were inveighed against from the pulpits, and harassed in the spiritual courts. Their goods were seized, and their persons confined by long and lingering imprisonments, under which many of them died, leaving widows and children. This drew from them, in 1620, during the sitting of parliament, an humble supplication to king James, representing their miseries, avowing their loyal and blameless behaviour, and remonstrating against the cruel proceedings under which they suffered, as unbecoming the charity and goodness of the Christian religion, tempting men to hypocrisy, and exhibiting the marks of antichrist, and humbly beseeching his majesty, the nobles, and parliament, to consider their case, and according to the direction of God's word, to let the wheat and tares grow together till the harvest. Notwithstanding the odium cast upon them, and the severities used against them, they

* Persecution judged and condemned, *passim*.

maintained their separate meetings, had many disciples, and supported an exemplary purity of character*.

Mr. Neal states that, in the year 1644, there were forty-seven congregations of this denomination in the country, and seven in London. It cannot be doubted, that they gradually rose into such a number. Mr. Crosby says, that the Baptists, who had hitherto been intermixed with other Nonconformists, began to form themselves into separate societies in 1633. The first instance of this secession was that of part of the Independent congregation, then under the ministry of Mr. John Lathorp, which had been gathered in 1616, and of which Mr. Henry Jacob was the first pastor. The minister of these separatists was Mr. John Spilsbury; their number is uncertain, because, after specifying the number of about twenty men and women, it is added—with divers others. In the year 1638, Mr. William Kiffin, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and others, adopted the same opinions concerning baptism; and having been, at their own request, dismissed from the Independent church, joined the new congregation. Mr. Neal is mistaken, when he represents this separation as taking place under Mr. Jessey; who did not settle with it as a pastor till about Midsummer 1637: and did not change his sentiments on the questions concerning baptism till the summer of 1645, when he was baptized by Mr. Knowles. The division of the people into two congregations, one continuing with him, and the other joining themselves to Mr. Praise-God Barebones, on the 18th of May 1640, arose not from any difference of sentiment about baptism, but from their becoming so numerous, that they could not meet together in one place without being discovered†.

In 1639 another congregation of Baptists was formed, which met in Crutched-friars; the chief promoters of which were, Mr. Green, Mr. Paul Hobson, and captain Spencer. A pamphlet appeared at this time, under the title of "New preachers, new;" designed to hold up to scorn and contempt the leading members of this church. Among other foolish things, it is remarked, that "Green the felt-maker (that is, a *hatter*), Spencer the horse-rubber, Quartermine the brewer's clerk, and some few others, were mighty sticklers in this new kind of talking trade, which many ignorant coxcombs call preaching." Green appears to have been a very zealous man, and to have excited no inconsiderable attention by his preaching. In the pamphlet above mentioned, some account is given of "a tumult raised in Fleet-street, by the disorderly preachment, pratings, and prattlings, of Mr. Barebones the leather-seller, and Mr. Green the felt-maker, on Sunday last the 19th of December (1641). Barebones is called *a reverend unlearned leather-seller*, memorable for his fiery zeal, and both he and his friend Green were apprehended while

* See Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 1. p. 88—139.

† Jessey's Life, p. 7. 11. 83.

“preaching or prating amongst a hundred persons,” on that day. The following extract from this pamphlet is too good to be lost.

“After my commendations, Mr. Rawbones (Barebones I should have said), in acknowledgment of your too much troubling yourself, and molesting others, I have made bold to relate your last Sunday’s afternoon work, lest in time your meritorious painstaking should be forgotten; (for the which, you and your associate, Mr. Green, *do well deserve to have your heads in the custody of young Gregory, to make buttons for hempen loops!*) you two having the Spirit so full, that you must either rent or burst, did on the Sabbath aforesaid, at your house near Fetter-lane, and in Fleet-street, at the sign of the Lock and Key, there and then, did you and your consort, by turns, unlock most delicate strange doctrine, where was *about thousands of people*, of which number the most ignorant applauded your preaching, and those that understood any thing derided your ignorant prating. But after four hours’ long and tedious tattling, the house where you were was beleaguered with multitudes that thought it fit to rouse you out of your blind devotion, so that your walls were battered, your windows all fractions, torn into tattling shivers; and worse the hurly-burly might have been, but that sundry constables came in, with strong guards of men to keep the peace, in which conflict your sign was beaten down and unhinged, to make room for the owner to supply the place—all which shows had never been, had Mr. Green and Mr. Barebones been content, as they should have done, to have gone to their own parish-churches.” The same writer, addressing Green, asks, “Do not these things come from proud spirits, that, Mr. Spencer a horse-keeper, and you a hat-maker, will take upon you to be ambassadors of God, to teach your teachers, and take upon you to be ministers of the gospel in these days of light. Consider, I pray you, that our Lord would not have had the ass, Matt. xxi. 3, if he had not stood in need of him. Now the truth is, the church hath no need of such as you, an unlearned self-conceited hat-maker. It is true, that in the beginning of queen Elizabeth’s reign, the Papist priests and friars being dismissed, there was a scarcity for the present of learned men, and so some tradesmen were permitted to leave their trades, and betake themselves to the ministry; but it was necessity that did then constrain them so to do: but thanks be to God, we have now no such necessity, and therefore this practice of you and your comrades casts an ill aspersion upon our good God, that doth furnish our church plentifully with learned men; and it doth also scandalize our church, as if we stood in need of such as you to preach the gospel. This you call preaching, or prophesying; and thus, as one of them told the lords of parliament, that they were all preachers, for so they practise and exercise themselves, as young players do in private, till they be by their brethren judged fit for the pulpit, and then up they go, and, like mountebanks, play their part.

Mr. Green, Mr. Green, leave off these ways: bring home such as you have caused to stray. It is such as you that vent their venom against our godly preachers, and the divine forms of prayer, yea, against all set forms of prayers; all is from anti-christ, but that which you preach is most divine: *that* comes from the Spirit, the other is an old dead sacrifice, composed (I should have said, killed) so long ago that it now stinks. It is so that in the year 1549, it was compiled by Dr. Cramer, Dr. Goodricke, Dr. Skip, Dr. Thirlby, Dr. Day, Dr. Holbecke, Dr. Ridley, Dr. Cox, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Harris, Dr. Redman, and Mr. Robinson, archdeacon of Leicester; but what are all these? they are not to be compared to John Green a hat-maker, for he thinketh what he blustereth forth upon the sudden, is far better than that which these did maturely and deliberately compose!"

This extract is interesting on various accounts: the pamphlet from which it is taken is evidently the production of one of those *clerical* bigots of the establishment, of whom abundance are to be found in every age, since national establishments of Christianity were introduced; a privileged order of men, who, having found out the means of making their profession of religion subservient to their worldly interest, take it mightily amiss that any persons should presume to disturb them in their slumbers, or caution their fellow-creatures against being deceived by them. Hence all their cant and whining about "learned and godly ministers," as though any body complained of either their learning or their godliness; or as though their having been *licensed* by their fellow-creatures to officiate in parish churches, were a substantial reason why another, who obtains his livelihood by honest industry, should not raise his voice in defence of the despised truth of the gospel, hold forth the word of life, and contend for the laws and institutions of Christ, against all who would corrupt them by human traditions. It is interesting, too, as furnishing a pretty correct idea of the manner in which the earliest Baptist churches in this country conducted their public worship. Taking the New Testament for their guide, they seem evidently to have discarded "the one-man system," as it has been significantly termed, and which obtains so universally in our day. We may also learn from it the opposition which the Baptists of that day had to sustain, in yielding obedience to the will of their God and Saviour.

But there are accounts of some societies existing in the country, long before these congregations in London were formed. There is great reason to believe that the Baptist society at Shrewsbury has subsisted, through all the revolutions of time to this day, from the year 1627*. The congregation at Bickenhall, now at Hatch, six miles from Taunton, in Somerset, had, according to the opinion of its oldest members, about twenty years ago, sub-

* A Letter from the Rev. Josiah Thompson to the Editor.

sisted near two hundred years; and they had a clear tradition of its assemblies having been held so early as 1630, in the woods and other places of concealment, on account of the severity of the times*. Even in 1457, there was a congregation of this sort at Chesterton, near Cambridge: six of them were accused of heresy, and condemned to abjure and do penance, half naked, with a fagot to their backs and a taper in their hands, in the public market-places of Ely and Cambridge†.

But, notwithstanding this early appearance of the sect, it laboured under such difficulties, from the odium with which it was regarded by the people, and from the severities practised against it by the ruling powers, that its progress was for many years impeded. From what bishop Jewel says, in the "Defence of his Apology," written about the seventh year of queen Elizabeth, it appears that it was then almost totally suppressed in these kingdoms: for, while he speaks of them as finding harbour in Austria, Silesia, and Moravia, he adds, "they have no acquaintance with us in England, or any other place, where the gospel of Christ is clearly preached." This is to be concluded also from a passage in Dr. Featley, who says, "this fire in the reigns of queen Elizabeth, king James, and our gracious sovereign, till now, was covered in England under the ashes: or, if it broke out at any time, by the care of the ecclesiastical or civil magistrate it was soon put out."

But in the times of the civil war, so difficult or so impossible is it to extirpate opinions, this sect revived; held its weekly assemblies for religious worship; and printed various pieces in defence of their sentiments and practice: the number of converts to it rapidly increased, and it boasted in that prophecy, "that many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased ‡."

Amongst the publications in their own vindication was a piece in 1641, by Edward Barber, entitled, "A Treatise of Baptism, or Dipping; wherein is clearly showed, that our Lord Christ ordained Dipping, and that sprinkling of children is not according to Christ's institution; and also the invalidity of those arguments that are commonly brought to justify that practice." In the same year appeared a quarto pamphlet of six pages, relating chiefly, if not wholly, to the Baptists. It is entitled, "The Brownists' Synagogue: or a late discovery of their conventicles, assemblies, and places of meeting, where they preach, and the manner of their praying and preaching; with a relation of the names, places, and doctrines, of those which do commonly preach. The chief of which are these: Green, the felt-maker; Marler, the button-maker; Spencer, the coachman; Rogers, the glover;

* MS. Collections concerning the History of Protestant Dissenters, communicated by Mr. Thompson.

† Robinson's Claude, vol. 2. Dissertation on Preaching, p. 54.

‡ Crosby, vol. 1. p. 160, 161; Wall's History of Infant-Baptism, vol. 2. p. 212—214.

which sect is much increased of late within this city." In this squib, Messrs. Green and Spencer, who were over the Baptist church in Crutched Friars, are termed "the two arch separatists, demi-gods, who are here, and there, and every where." In the conclusion of the piece, the writer gives the following account of their meeting: "In the house where they meet, one is appointed to keep the door, and to give notice, if there should be any insurrection, that warning may be given them. They do not flock together, but come two or three in a company, and all being gathered together, the man appointed to teach stands in the midst of the room, and his audience gather about him. He then prays for the space of about half an hour, and part of his prayer is, that those who come thither to scoff and laugh, God would be pleased to turn their hearts. His sermon is about the space of an hour, and then another stands up to make the text more plain; and at the latter end he entreats them all to go home severally, lest at their next meeting they should be interrupted by those who are of the opinion of the wicked. They seem very steadfast in their opinions, and say, 'rather than turn, they will burn.'"

In the next year came out another treatise, written by A. R. called, "The Vanity of Children's Baptism." Mr. Francis Cornwell, M.A. published, in 1643, a small tract, dedicated to the house of commons, with this title: "The Vindication of the Royal Commission of Jesus." It was given to divers members at the door of the house, which caused it to make a great noise, and be much circulated. Its design was to show, that the practice of christening children opposes the commission granted by our Lord and Saviour; that it was a Romish or antichristian custom; and was established by pope Innocent III. who made a decree that the baptism of the infants of believers should succeed circumcision. This piece gave great offence. Dr. Featley made several remarks upon it; and a piece called "A Declaration against Anabaptists" was published in answer to it*. As they were frequently inveighed against, not only on account of their peculiar sentiments concerning the subjects and mode of baptism, but were also loaded with all the opprobrium which fell on the opinions deemed heretical, and were often reproached, both from the pulpit and the press, with being Pelagians, Socinians, Arminians, Soul-Sleepers, and the like, they published, in 1643, a "Confession of their Faith," mentioned and quoted by Mr. Neal, to vindicate themselves from these reflections, and to show their general agreement with other Protestants in all points except that of baptism. It was the first that was ever published by the English Baptists, and extends to fifty-two articles, which we shall give in the Appendix, No. XI. It passed through several editions in 1644, and 1646, one of which was licensed by authority, dedicated to the high court of parliament, and put into the hands of several members. Their greatest adversaries, and amongst

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 151, 152, and 345.

them Dr. Featley and Mr. Marshall, one of the assembly of divines, acknowledged that it was an orthodox confession*.

This confession must be understood as expressing the sentiments of those Baptists only who joined in it, and not as applying to all who differed from other Christians on the questions concerning baptism. For, from the beginning of the reformation, there was a difference between the Baptists themselves on doctrinal points: and they divided, particularly, into two parties; one embracing the Calvinistic scheme of doctrines, and from the particular point therein, viz. personal election, called particular Baptists; the others, professing the Arminian or remonstrant tenets, from their leading principle, viz. universal redemption, were styled general Baptists.

It is remarkable that some eminent men, who did not join their communion, were strongly in favour of their sentiments. The right honourable lord Robert Brook published about this time *A Treatise on Episcopacy*, in which he says, "I must confess that I begin to think there may be perhaps something more of God in these sects, which they call new schisms, than appears at first glimpse. I will not, I cannot, take upon me to defend that which *nem generally call Anabaptism*; yet I conceive that sect is twofold: some of them hold free-will, community of goods, deny magistracy, and refuse to baptize their children; these truly are such heretics, or atheists, that I question whether any divine should honour them so much as to dispute with them. There is another sort of them who only deny baptism to their children till they come to years of discretion, and then they baptize them." He censured the applying to this people the opprobrious name of schismatics; and gave it as his judgment, that it was very easy for those who held that we should go no farther than the Scriptures for doctrine or discipline, to err on this point, since the Scriptures seem not to have clearly determined it. He went even so far as to call in question the accuracy and conclusiveness of the argument urged against them from circumcision, which he looked upon as a fine rational argument to illustrate a point well proved before; but he doubted whether it was proof enough for that which some would prove by it; because, besides the difference in the ordinances, the persons to be circumcised were stated by a positive law, so expressly as to leave no room for scruple: "but it was otherwise with baptism, where all the designation of persons fit to be partakers, for aught I know," said his lordship, "is only such as believe: for this is the qualification which, with exactest search, I find the Scriptures require in persons to be baptized: and this it seems to require in all such persons. Now, how infants can properly be said to believe, I am not yet fully resolved." Having mentioned this nobleman, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of here introducing some remarks on his character from the writings of one of his contemporaries, namely, the great Milton, who, in his

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 170, 171.

“Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing,” addressed to the parliament of England [1645], thus proceeds :

“What would be the best advised then, if it be found so hurtful, and so unequal to suppress opinions for their newness or their unsuitableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say. I shall only repeat what I have learned from one of your own honourable members, a right noble and pious lord, who, had he not sacrificed his life and fortunes to the church and commonwealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him, I am sure : yet I, for honour’s sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him, the LORD BROOK. He, writing of episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured regard with you, so full of meekness and breathing charity, that next to *his* last testament who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild or peaceful. He there exhorts us to bear with patience and humility those, however they be miscalled, that desire to live purely, in such a use of God’s ordinances as the best guidance of their consciences gives them, and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world, and dedicated to the parliament by him, who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perusal*. Such praise from such a writer as Milton, who would not be proud of? Granger informs us that lord Brook, who was a zealous patriot and an avowed advocate for liberty, on account of the arbitrary measures of Charles I. had determined to seek freedom in America, and had agreed with lord Say to transport themselves to New England, but upon the meeting of the long parliament, and the sudden change of public affairs, they were prevented from taking the voyage. He was afterward commander of the parliament army, and lost his life at Litchfield, in storming a close, to which lord Chesterfield had retired with a body of the king’s troops. He received a musket-shot in the eye, of which he instantly expired, in the year 1643.

A divine also, of great fame in that age, Mr. Daniel Rogers, candidly declared, in a book on the sacrament, that he was unconvinced by any determination of Scripture for infant baptism. The learned and eminent Dr. Jeremiah Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor, published, in 1647, his treatise on “The Liberty of Prophesying †;” in which he stated the opinion of the Antipædobaptists with such advantages of style and elaborate chain of

* Milton’s Prose Works, by Burnet, vol. 1. p. 320.

† This part of his treatise was reprinted in a detached form under the title of “Thoughts upon Infant Baptism,” by the late Rev. and learned Dr. Jeremy Taylor, for Ward, in 1754, and it has lately been reprinted under the title of “The Baptists justified, &c.” 12mo. published by Gale and Fenner, Paternoster-row.

argument, that he was thought to have said more for the Baptists than they were able to offer for themselves. The design of this excellent prelate, in exhibiting the weight of the arguments they could allege, and the great probability of truth on their side, was to abate the fury of their adversaries; and to shew that they were, if in an error, still entitled to candour and indulgence*.

But neither their own vindications, nor the pleas of so generous an advocate, could screen them from that spirit of intolerance which actuated the predominant parties of those times. One of the seventeen canons, which were passed by the convocation of 1640, viz. the fifth canon, particularly decreed, that another canon, which was directed against the Papists, should be in full force against all Anabaptists †. In the following years they were inveighed against from the press and the pulpit. Dr. Featley owned, that in writing against them he could hardly dip his pen in any thing but gall. The severe ordinances of the day were aimed at them as well as the other sectaries. Edwards, in his "Gangræna," proposed a public disputation with them, and that on their being found in an error, the parliament would forbid all dipping, and take some severe course with all dippers, as the senate of Zurich did. In this he referred to an edict, published at Zurich in 1530, which made it death for any to baptize by immersion ‡. On this law some, called Anabaptists, were tied back to back, and thrown into the sea: others were burnt alive, and many starved to death in prison §. But this was not the wish of Edwards alone. There was a general cry against toleration, especially of these people. In the petition of the lord mayor, court of aldermen and common council, in 1646, that a speedy course might be taken to suppress all private and separate congregations, the Anabaptists were by name specified ¶.

Sentiments against the rights of conscience, advanced by writers of reputation, and sanctioned by public acts, must be supposed to be productive of sufferings to individuals. It is proper to enter into the detail of these, as Mr. Neal has been thought to pass them over too generally, or to have represented them too partially.

Amongst others who felt the rage of bigotry was Mr. Vavasor Powell. This eminent Cambro-Briton* was a native of Radnorshire, born in the year 1617, and descended from some of the best families in that county, as well as in those of Montgomery and Salop. Having received a liberal education in his native place, he was entered of Jesus college, Oxford, where he made great proficiency in the learned languages. On leaving college he took orders in the established church about the year 1640, and at first officiated in Wales, as curate to his uncle Erasmus Powell. He had not been long, however, in that situation when he joined the Puritans, from a conviction that their principles and proceedings

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 165—169.

† Mr. Neal, vol. 1. p. 625.

‡ Gangræna, part 3. p. 177.

§ Crosby, vol. 1. p. 183.

¶ Ibid. p. 184.

were more consonant to the Scriptures, than those on which the national establishment is founded. In the earlier part of his life he was remarkably thoughtless and vain; a ringleader among the votaries of folly and dissipation, insomuch that he was called by his schoolfellows *dux omnium malorum*, “a ringleader in all manner of wickedness;” we must, however, except the vice of drunkenness, of which he had so strong an abhorrence, that he used to speak of it as an *unnatural* vice, from which even the beasts were free, and he wondered how any rational being could possibly be addicted to a practice that was so entirely destitute at once of true pleasure, profit, and honour.

Having given up his connexion with the established church, and cast his lot among the Puritans, he began to preach among his countrymen, in the character of an itinerant evangelist, and his zeal and fortitude were soon called into exercise by the rage of bigotry, and the severe persecution to which he was exposed. He was often attacked and assaulted by violent men, and repeatedly exposed to the danger of his life by those who laid in wait, or bound themselves by oath, to kill him; or made an attempt on it. In 1640, he, and fifty or sixty of his hearers, when he was preaching in a house in Brecknockshire, were seized, about ten o'clock at night, by fifteen or sixteen men, under the pretence of a warrant from justice Williams, and secured in a church. The next morning they were conducted to the justice's house, who committed them to the hands of the constable. On the following day they were examined before that justice and two or three more, and six or seven clergymen: but, after much conference and many threats, were at that time dismissed. After this Mr. Powell, preaching at Launger in Radnorshire in the field, because the house was not large enough to hold the auditory, was seized and committed by the high sheriff, Mr. Hugh Lloyd. The constables, sixteen or seventeen, who were charged with the execution of the *mittimus*, except one, refused it. This man, taking Mr. Powell to his own house, and permitting him to lodge there that night, because the prison was at a great distance, was so affected with his devotions in the family, that he would proceed no farther; but absconded himself, leaving Mr. Powell in his house: who, to prevent damage to the man, bound himself with two sufficient sureties to appear at the next assizes at Radnorshire. Accordingly he delivered himself up at that season, and three bills of indictment were preferred against him. But, after the traverse, he was acquitted, and invited to dine with the judges; who desiring him to give thanks, one of them said, “It was the best grace he had ever heard in his life.” But the high sheriff was so offended at the lenity shewn to him, and the impressions made by his conduct and preaching, that on the commencement of the war he persecuted him out of the county*.

* Crosby, vol. I. p. 217—219; Vavasor Powell's Life, p. 125—127.

The public have lately been favoured with a copious memoir of Vavasor Powell, in the "Welsh Nonconformists' Memorial," compiled by the late Mr. Richards of Lynn, in Norfolk, and edited by John Evans, LL.D. Mr. Richards has bestowed much industry in tracing out the history of this eminent Nonconformist, and rescuing his character from many false and malignant aspersions cast upon it by his adversaries. He seems to think that he embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, and was himself baptized towards the end of the year 1655, which must have been a dozen years after he had quitted the church of England. In proof of this he quotes a letter from Mr. Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, dated January 1, 1656, and preserved in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 4. p. 373. "Among other things (says Thurloe) which are daily sent abroad for inflaming the people, your lordship will receive herewith a paper newly exhibited to the world, by Vavasor Powell, who is lately rebaptized, and *several others of his party*; whereupon I will make no observations, though many others do," &c.

It appears that previous to his embracing the sentiments of the Baptists Mr. Powell was in high estimation with the Presbyterian party. The situation of Wales, in regard to religion, was reported to the parliament as being most deplorable. The people were so destitute of the means of religious information, that they had neither Bibles nor catechisms. Their clergy were both ignorant and indolent, so that they had scarcely a sermon from one quarter of a year to another, nor was there any suitable provision made for the maintenance of such as were capable of instructing them. The parliament took their case into consideration and passed an act, February 22, 1649, "for the better propagating and preaching of the gospel in Wales," and commissioners were appointed for carrying it into effect. Mr. Vavasor Powell was at the head of these commissioners, and exerted himself most indefatigably in this office, the beneficial effects of which soon became apparent. Whitelocke, speaking of the year 1652, says, "By this time there were a hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welsh counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week: they were placed in every market town; and in most great towns two schoolmasters, able, learned, and university men," &c. *

Soon after the passing of this act, Mr. Powell, who had for several years taken up his residence in the neighbourhood of London, returned to Wales, where he continued some years diligently exerting himself in promoting the objects of it, and especially in preaching the gospel throughout the country. There was scarcely a neighbourhood, a parish, or a village, in the country which was not visited by him, and that did not hear from his mouth the cheering invitations of the gospel. Even to this day

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 518.

places are pointed out, in the most obscure and unfrequented parts of the principality, where Vavasor Powell is said to have preached to numerous congregations. In these excursions he was often accompanied by other ministers of the same active turn and fervent spirit with himself: and their labours were eminently successful. Even as early as the year 1654, the Christians in Wales connected with Vavasor Powell, were calculated to amount to no less than twenty thousand*.

It is said that Mr. Powell was much in favour with the protector, Cromwell, at one period of his life: but when the latter had assumed the supreme power, he openly opposed his elevation, and thereby lost his favour. From that moment he appears to have been continually the object of mistrust, and consequently became closely watched. All his movements were scrutinised narrowly, and as every thing is yellow to the jaundiced eye, the basest motives were imputed to every part of his conduct. One while Powell was said to be preparing for war; busily engaged in enlisting troops; at another he was actually up in arms at the head of a troop of horse ready to fight it out! Even his labours in preaching the gospel, and the great concourse of people that attended him, were looked upon with an evil eye, and generally represented in a very unfavourable and suspicious light; and he often felt the effects of them in the persecutions which he was called to endure. But though these suspicions and evil surmises must have proved very painful to him, and detrimental to his labours in the propagation of the gospel, yet it does not appear that they damped his courage, or cooled his zeal, or slackened his diligence in the prosecution of his important undertaking. He steadily persevered in the work of the Lord, till the new order of things under Charles II. deprived him of his liberty, and compelled him to desist.

Vavasor Powell was among the first victims to the tyrannical measures of Charles II. No sooner was the restoration resolved on, than the busy agents of government marked him out for their prey. They had even formed their plan and executed it before the king's arrival; such was their *breathless* haste to ruin this worthy man. On the 28th of April 1660, he was seized in his own house by a party of soldiers, and conducted to the county jail; from thence he was removed to Shrewsbury, where he remained a prisoner nine weeks, but was then discharged. Returning into Montgomeryshire, he began to preach as usual, when the sheriff of the county lodged a complaint against him with Mr. Secretary Morrice, charging him with sedition, rebellion, and treason; and before any return could be received from the government, the sheriff issued a warrant to apprehend him, which was accordingly done, having enjoyed his liberty only twenty-four days. Soon after, he was removed, by a warrant from

* See Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 3.

the secretary of state, to London, and committed to the Fleet prison, where he lay two years, so closely confined, that he was not allowed to go out of his chamber-door, which, added to the offensive effluvia of a dung-hill that lay before his window, so much impaired his health that he never perfectly recovered it. During this period, he wrote "A brief narrative of the former propagation and late restoration of the gospel in Wales;" of which a second edition was published in 1662. In this piece he challenged his adversaries to substantiate the least of their calumnious charges against him. But in vain did he justify his character; innocence could procure him no redress. Having lain in the Fleet nearly two years, he was removed at an hour's notice, on the 30th of September 1662, to South-sea-castle, near Portsmouth, where he remained a close prisoner for five years longer. On the fall of lord Clarendon, Mr. Powell sued for a habeas corpus, and soon after, by an order from the king in council, obtained his liberty.

But, scarcely had ten months elapsed, before Mr. Powell was again apprehended, as he was passing from Bristol to Monmouthshire, over the hills of Glamorgan, in his way to his own residence, and committed to prison. He had preached at different stations, as he came along, to large congregations; and the people eagerly flocked to hear him from all parts. He had preached at Newport, in Monmouthshire, and from thence proceeded to Merthyr Tidvil, in Glamorganshire, a place now become famous for its iron works, the most celebrated and extensive in Britain, as well as for the number of its inhabitants, having in a few years, from an inconsiderable village, become the most populous place in all the principality of Wales. When Mr. Powell arrived at Merthyr, he found assembled in and about the church-yard, a large congregation waiting to hear the word of God. He discoursed to them from Jer. xvii. 7, 8. For this act of mercy the clergyman of the parish deposed against him, in consequence of which he was seized and lodged in his majesty's jail of Cardiff; from thence he was, some time afterward, cited before six deputy-lieutenants at Cowbridge, where he underwent a long examination, after which he was remanded to prison and recommitted. His friends in London now interested themselves in his behalf, and procured a writ of habeas corpus to remove him to the court of common pleas, which was for some time resisted, but at length they succeeded, and on the 16th of October 1669 he arrived in London, where, after an examination, he was committed once more to the Fleet. Here he remained till discharged by death, on the 27th of October 1670, in the fifty-third year of his age, *eleven years of which he had passed in prison!* He was a person of the strictest integrity, the most fervent piety, and the most intrepid courage. He bore his illness with great fortitude and resignation to the will of God, and in the highest paroxysms of his disorder, could with difficulty be restrained from breaking out into acts of devotion,

and expressing his sentiments of zeal and piety. His remains were interred in Bunhill-fields, whither they were followed by an innumerable crowd of the dissenters who attended him to his grave. The inscription on his tombstone, which was drawn up by his friend Edward Bradshaw, describes him as "a successful teacher of the past, a sincere witness of the present, and a useful example of the future age; who, in the defection of many, found mercy to be faithful: for which being called to many prisons, he was tried and would not accept deliverance, expecting a better resurrection *." But to return:

In 1641 Mr. Edward Barber, minister to a small congregation of Baptists in London, was kept eleven months in prison for denying the baptism of infants, and that to pay tithes to the clergy was a divine ordinance under the gospel.

In 1643, some pious persons at Coventry, who had embraced the opinion of antipædobaptism, invited Mr. Benjamin Cox, an aged minister of good reputation, for learning and piety, the son of a bishop, and sometime minister at Bedford, to come to them and assist them in forming themselves into a distinct church. Several Presbyterian ministers, amongst whom was Mr. Baxter, had taken refuge in that city: who, being alarmed at the spread of baptistical sentiments, Mr. Baxter challenged Mr. Cox to dispute with him about the points in difference between them. This was done *vivâ voce* and by writing; but it was broken off by the interference of the committee, who required Mr. Cox to depart from the city, and to promise not to return to it. As he refused this, he was immediately committed to prison, and remained there for some time; till, in consequence of Mr. Pinson's application to Mr. Baxter, his release was procured†.

Another sufferer on this side was Mr. Henry Denne, who had been ordained by the bishop of St. David's, and held the living of Pyrton, in Hertfordshire, for ten years. In 1644, he was apprehended in Cambridgeshire by the committee of that county, and sent to gaol, for preaching against infant-baptism, and baptizing those who had received no other. After he had been confined some time, his case, through the intercession of some friends, was referred to a committee of parliament, and he was sent up to London, and detained in the lord Petre's house, in Aldersgate-street, till the committee had heard his cause and released him. In June, 1646, he was apprehended a second time at Spalding, in Lincolnshire. He was seized on a Lord's day, and kept in custody, to prevent his preaching. Upon hearing the charge against him, which was for baptizing, as but one witness appeared to support it, and according to the maxim of law, *Nemo tenetur*

* Richards' Cambro-British Biography, p. 141—186. Dr. Toulmin, in a note respecting Vavasor Powell, says, "his sentiments were those of a Sabbatarian Baptist," but Mr. Richards assures us there is no foundation for considering him a Sabbatarian.

† Crosby, p. 220, 221; and Baxter's Life, p. 46.

seipsum accusare, he refused to be his own accuser. The ceremony had been performed in the night, which indicates the severity of the times against such as held his principles and acted upon them: just as the primitive Christians, under persecution, held their assemblies at that season*.

About the same time Mr. Coppe, a minister in Warwickshire, and preacher to the garrison in Compton-house in the said county, for rebaptizing was committed to Coventry gaol. On publishing the ordinance of parliament, in 1645, against unordained ministers, the lord-mayor sent his officers, on a Sunday, to the Baptist meeting in Coleman-street, London, on an information that laymen preached there. The officers found the religious exercises conducted by Mr. Lamb, the elder of the church, and a young man who was a teacher amongst them. Some of the congregation, incensed at the disturbance given to their worship, used rough language to them; but Mr. Lamb behaved respectfully, requested leave to finish the religious service, and engaged to appear before the lord-mayor at six o'clock. The officers acquiesced, and withdrew: and at the time appointed Mr. Lamb and his assistant met at his lordship's house. He was interrogated on what authority he presumed to preach, and was told that he had transgressed the ordinance of parliament. Mr. Lamb replied, "No; for that he was called and appointed to the office by as reformed a church as any in the world," alluding to the words of the ordinance. But he acknowledged that he rejected the baptism of infants as invalid. After the examination, they were bound over to answer before the committee of the parliament, who, after hearing them, committed both to gaol, where they lay till the intercession of friends procured their liberty†.

In the same year, Mr. Paul Hobson, a Baptist minister, was taken into custody by the governor of Newport-Pagnel, for preaching against infant baptism, and reflecting on the order against the preaching of laymen. After a short confinement, he was sent prisoner to London. He was soon cited before the committee; and, having several friends of rank and influence, he was immediately discharged, and preached publicly at a meeting-house in Moorfields‡.

The case of Mr. Hanserd Knollys runs into more particulars. He was a man of piety and learning, and had received ordination from the bishop of Peterborough, but was afterward a zealous opposer of episcopacy and the liturgy. Preaching one Lord's day, at the earnest and repeated request of the churchwardens, when they wanted a minister, in Bow-church, Cheapside, he was led by his subject to speak against the practice of infant baptism. This gave great offence to some of the auditory; a complaint was lodged against him with the parliament; and by a warrant from

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 221—224; where are the examinations taken on the occasion.

† Crosby, vol. 1. p. 225, 226.

‡ Edwards's Gangræna, vol. 1. p. 34. 37.

the committee for plundered ministers, he was apprehended by the keeper of Ely-house, and kept several days in prison, bail being refused. At length he was brought to a hearing before the committee, when about thirty of the assembly of divines were present. The answers which he gave on his examination, about his authority to preach, the occasion of his appearing in the pulpit at Bow-church, and the doctrine he had there advanced being satisfactory, he was discharged without blame, or paying fees; and the jailer was sharply reprov'd for refusing bail, and threaten'd to be turned out of his post.

Soon after this, Mr. Knollys went into Suffolk, and preached in several places, as opportunity offer'd, at the request of friends. But as he was account'd an Antinomian and Anabaptist, his supposed errors were deem'd as criminal as sedition and faction, and the virulence of the mob was instigated against him by the high-constable. At one time he was ston'd out of the pulpit; at another time the doors of the church were shut against him and his hearers. Upon this he preach'd in the church-yard, which was consider'd as a crime too great to be conniv'd at or excus'd. At length he was taken into custody, and was first prosecuted at a petty sessions in the county, and then sent up a prisoner to London with articles of complaint against him to the parliament. On his examination, he prov'd, by witnesses of reputation, that he had neither sow'd sedition, nor rais'd a tumult, and that all the disorders which had happen'd were owing to the violence and malignity of his opposers, who had act'd contrary both to law and common civility. He produc'd copies of the sermons he had preach'd, and afterward print'd them. His answers were so satisfactory, that on the report made by the committee to the house, he was not only discharged, but a vote pass'd, that he might have liberty to preach in any part of Suffolk, when the minister of the place did not himself preach there. But, beside the trouble which this business occasion'd to him, it devolv'd on him an expense of 60*l*.

Mr. Knollys, finding how much offence was taken at his preaching in the church, and to what troubles it expos'd him, set up a separate meeting in Great St. Helens, London; where the people flock'd to hear him, and he had generally a thousand auditors. Great umbrage was taken at this; the landlord was prevail'd upon to warn him out of the place, and Mr. Knollys was summon'd before a committee of divines, who us'd to sit in the room call'd the Queen's Court, Westminster, to answer for his conduct in this matter. The chairman ask'd, why he presum'd to preach without holy orders? To which he repli'd, he was in holy orders. The chairman on this was inform'd, that he had renounc'd episcopal ordination: this Mr. Knollys confess'd, but pleas'd, that he was now ordain'd, in a church of God, according to the order of the gospel, and then explain'd the manner of ordination among the Baptists. At last he was command'd to preach no more:

but he told them, that he would preach the gospel, both publicly and from house to house; saying, "It was more equal to obey Christ who commanded him, than those who forbade him:" and so went away. A letter, which Mr. Knollys wrote to Mr. Dutton, of Norwich, in which were some reflections on the persecuting measures of those times, and which, coming into the hands of the Suffolk committee, was sent up to London, and presently published by one of the chief promoters of persecution, is supposed to have inflamed the proceedings against him*. As it is short, I will give a copy of it below†. It was too common a practice, then, to seize and publish the letters of those who were called sectaries.

The unsettled state of the times in which Mr. Knollys's lot was cast, occasioned a great variation in his circumstances, and obliged him often to change his place of abode. Sometimes he was possessed of several hundred pounds, the fruits of his industry in teaching youth; at others, he had neither home to dwell in, nor food to eat, nor money to purchase it! And frequently was he hurried from place to place, by the evil of the times, and the malice of his persecutors. When the rage of his adversaries would no longer permit him to remain in Lincolnshire, he removed to London:—Here he opened a school upon Tower-hill, and took a few young men under his care to finish their education and fit them for the work of the ministry. He was also chosen master of the Free school in St. Mary-Axe; but the oppressive hand of power compelled him to abandon this employment, and seek an asylum across the Atlantic. There he continued about five years, preaching the gospel and building up the churches that had lately been gathered in that wilderness. In 1641, he returned to his native country, at the pressing solicitation of his aged father. At this time Mr. Knollys was reduced to great straits in his worldly circumstances, but his friends were numerous, and often interposed with seasonable relief. The words of the apostle were, indeed, literally fulfilled in the experience of this good man, that

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 226—230; and a very short and partial account in Edwards's *Gangræna*, vol. 1. p. 39.

† "Beloved Brother,

"I salute you in the Lord. Your letter I received the last day of the week; and upon the first day I did salute the brethren in your name, who re-salute you, and pray for you. The city Presbyterians have sent a letter to the synod, dated from Sion-college, against any toleration; and they are fasting and praying at Sion-college this day, about farther contrivings against God's poor innocent ones; but God will doubtless answer them according to the idol of their own hearts. To-morrow there is a fast kept by both houses, and the synod at Westminster. They say it is to seek God about the establishing of worship according to their covenant. They have first vowed, now they make inquiry. God will certainly 'take the crafty in their own snare, and make the wisdom of the wise foolishness;' for 'he chooseth the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and weak things to confound the mighty.' My wife and family remember their love to you. Salute the brethren that are with you. Farewell.

"Your brother in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,

"HANSERD KNOLLYS.

"London, the 13th day of the 11th month called January, 1645."

“ we have here no continuing city ! ” We can trace him from this country to America—and then back again : from England into Wales—from London to Holland, and from thence into Germany—then back to Rotterdam, and from the latter place to London once more. These wanderings about, too, were not the effects of choice, but of necessity. They tended, however, greatly to the exercise of his graces, and furnished him with numerous instances of the providential mercies of God towards him.

Shortly after the Restoration, in 1660, Mr. Knollys, with many other innocent persons, was dragged from his own dwelling house, and committed to Newgate, where he was kept in close custody for eighteen weeks, until released by an act of grace, on the king's coronation. At that time, four hundred persons were confined in the same prison, for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. A royal proclamation was issued at this time, prohibiting Anabaptists and other sectaries from worshipping God in public, except at their parish-church. This cruel edict was the signal for persecution, and the forerunner of those sanguinary laws which disgraced the reigns of the Stuarts ; and to these must be attributed the frequent removals to which Mr. Knollys was compelled to have recourse. During his absence in Holland and Germany, his property was confiscated to the crown, and when the law did not sanction the act, a party of soldiers was dispatched to take forcible possession of his property. When the Conventicle-act passed in 1670, Mr. Knollys was apprehended at a place of worship in George-yard, and committed to prison. But here he obtained favour of his jailer, who allowed him to preach to the prisoners twice a week during his confinement.

Mr. Knollys lived to the advanced age of ninety-three, and quitted the world in a transport of joy, 19th of September, 1691. He was buried in Bunhill-fields*.

Mr. John Sims, who preached at Southampton, was a sufferer among the Baptists during this period (1646). He was prevailed on, in a journey to Taunton, to preach in the parish-church of Middlesey. On this he was seized by virtue of the act against unordained ministers, and several letters, which he was to deliver to some pious friends, were taken from him. These with the examination were sent to London, by way of complaint against him, and printed. The charges specified in the examination were for preaching and denying infant-baptism. He admitted the latter, and pleaded against the former, that “ as Peter was called, so was he †.”

The next name on the list of sufferers is Mr. Andrew Wyke. On his examination he refused to answer to the questions concern-

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. 3. p. 93 ; and vol. 4. p. 295. Brooks's Puritans, vol. 3. p. 491.

† Crosby, vol. 1. p. 232, 233 ; and Edwards's Gangræna, vol. 2. p. 50, &c. where four of the letters are printed.

ing the doctrines he held, or his authority for preaching; alleging, that as a freeman of England he was not bound to answer to any interrogatories, either to accuse himself or others: but if they had aught against him, they should lay their charge, and produce their proofs. This conduct was looked upon as great obstinacy, and expressive of high contempt of authority; and he was therefore sent to jail, 3d of June 1646. The duration of his imprisonment is not known; but while he was under confinement a pamphlet, drawn up by himself or some friend, entitled "The Innocent in Prison complaining," being a narrative of the proceedings against him, was published: in which the committee and some members of it did not escape severe reflection*.

The last person, whom I shall mention as suffering in this period, is Mr. Samuel Oates; whose name is brought forward by Mr. Neal, in a manner that has provoked, not wholly without reason, the severe censure of Mr. Crosby; for it leaves the reader to confound this Oates with Titus Oates, so noted in our historians with a brand of infamy upon him; and uninformed of the issue of the proceedings against him on the heavy charge of murder.

This Mr. Samuel Oates was a popular preacher, and great disputant. On a journey into Essex, in 1646, he preached in several parts of that country, and baptized by immersion a great number of people, especially about Bocking, Braintree, and Tarling. Amongst the hundreds he baptized, one died within a few weeks after, and her death was imputed to her being dipped in cold water. The magistrate was prevailed upon to apprehend Mr. Oates on this charge, and to send him to prison, and to put him in irons as a murderer, in order to his trial at the ensuing assizes. The name of the woman was Ann Martin, and the report spread against Mr. Oates was, that in the administration of baptism "he held her so long in the water, that she fell presently sick; that her belly swelled with the abundance of water she took in; that, within a fortnight or three weeks she died; and on her death-bed expressed this dipping to be the cause of her death." He was arraigned for his life at Chelmsford assizes. But on the trial, several credible witnesses, amongst them the mother of the deceased, deposed on oath, that "Ann Martin was in better health for several days after her baptism than she had been for some time before, and that she was seen to walk abroad afterward very comfortably." So that, notwithstanding all the design and malignity which discovered themselves in the trial he was brought in Not Guilty. But this verdict was not sufficient to disarm the rage of the populace against him. For a little time after, some who were known to have been baptized going, occasionally, to Wethersfield in Essex, on alarm being given that Mr. Oates and his companions were come, the mob arose and seized upon these

* Edwards, vol. 2. p. 169; Crosby, vol. 1. p. 235.

innocent persons, dragged them to a pump, and treated them like the worst of villains: though Oates, against whom they were chiefly enraged, was not of the party. Not long after this the mob, without any provocation, but because he dared to come to the place, drew him out of a house at Dunmow, and threw him into a river, boasting that they had thoroughly dipped him*.

The preceding facts shew, that obloquy attached itself to the principles of the Baptists, and that they were marked out as objects for the virulence of the populace and the animadversion of the magistrate. Next to the Quakers, observes a late historian, "they were perhaps the most hated and persecuted sect †." But it should be owned, in mitigation of the conduct of their persecutors, that at least in some instances they inflamed the spirits of men against them, as Mr. Neal suggests, by their own imprudence and the impetuosity of their zeal. Much enthusiasm appears to have animated the profession of their opinions; and it was the fashion of the times for every party to advance its peculiar sentiments in coarse and irritating language; each assumed this licentiousness of speech, but none took it patiently from others. The Baptists incurred censure, and excited jealousy and resentment, by disturbing congregations and dispersing challenges to dispute with any minister or ministers on the questions relative to baptism. This was much according to the practice of the times. Mr. Baxter, we have seen, challenged Mr. Cox: and Dr. Gunning, afterward regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, and bishop of Ely, in the year 1656, went into the congregation of Mr. Biddle, and began a dispute with him. But while the members of the dominant parties did this uncensured, it was considered, and treated, as insolence in the minority to advance their opinions, even in their own assemblies only. When the public peace is broken, men are justly amenable to the civil magistrate: but for the breach of the peace merely, and not for the sentiments they may at the time avow. Violence, penalties, and imprisonment, on account of religious tenets, are, in no view, justifiable. Against error they are needless; for that, not being founded in reason and proof, will of itself die away: against truth they are ineffectual; for that will finally prevail, by its own weight and evidence, above all opposition. Every person, against whom

* Edwards's *Gangrana*, vol. 1. p. 121.; and Crosby, vol. 1. p. 236—238, and p. 240. In the preceding detail the disturbance given to an assembly, at Deadman's Place, January 18, 1640, mentioned by Fuller, is omitted; because he is mistaken in calling it an anabaptistical congregation; and the matter has been stated, before, by Mr. Neal, vol. 2. p. 25. But it may be added to what is there said, either in the text or the notes, concerning this congregation and its ministers, that Mr. Hubbard, or Herbert, its first pastor, was a learned man, and had received episcopal ordination; that in his time, the church accompanied him to Ireland, where he died; that it then returned to England; that Mr. Stephen Moore, its minister in 1640, who had been a deacon of it, was possessed of an estate, a man of good reputation, and endowed with a considerable share of ministerial abilities; and that it was severely persecuted by the clergy and the bishops' courts. Crosby, vol. 1. p. 163—165.

† Gough's *History of the Quakers*, vol. 1. p. 52, note.

they are directed, feels them to be in his own case iniquitous and cruel.

The only good effect which persecution hath ever produced, has been, opening the eyes of men to see the iniquity of it, and raising in their hearts an abhorrence of it. The severities of which the Baptists were the marked objects, led them to be advocates for liberty and toleration. So far back as the year 1615, Mr. Helwise and his church, at London, published a treatise, entitled "Persecution for religion judged and condemned;" the dedication to which was subscribed thus: "By Christ's unworthy witnesses, his majesty's faithful subjects, commonly, but falsely, called Anabaptists." In this piece they asserted, "that every man hath a right to judge for himself in matters of religion, and that to persecute any one on that account is illegal and anti-christian *."

In a book called "The Bloody Tenet," printed in 1644, and in another entitled "The Compassionate Samaritan," they advanced this principle, "That it is the will and command of God, that since the coming of his Son, a permission of the most Paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or antichristian consciences and worships, be granted to all men in all nations; that the doctrine of persecution in case of conscience maintained by Calvin, Beza, Cotton, and the ministers of New-England, is guilty of all the blood of the souls, crying for vengeance under the altar." They besought the parliament "to allow public protection to private as well as public congregations; to review and repeal the laws against the separatists; to permit a freedom of the press to any man, who writes nothing scandalous or dangerous to the state; to prove themselves loving fathers to all good men, and so to invite equal assistance and affection from all." These opinions were in those times censured as most damnable doctrines, and the parliament was invoked, by the pen of Dr. Featley, utterly to exterminate and banish out of the kingdom the Baptists, because they avowed and published them †. But the good sense and liberality of more modern times will not only admit these principles as maxims of good policy and sound Christianity, but respect the despised people who brought them forward and stated them, at a period when they were scarcely received by any others, and were held by the generality as most highly obnoxious: when even the great and good Mr. Baxter could declare, "I abhor unlimited liberty, or toleration of all ‡."

It remains to take notice of some of the more distinguished preachers among this denomination of Christians, who died in the period of which we are speaking.

Mr. Thomas Helwise, according to the order of time, seems to deserve the first mention: a man of good natural parts, and not

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 272.

† Robinson's Translation of Claude, vol. 1. p. 250, note.

‡ Plain Scripture Proof, p. 246.

without some acquired ones, though he had not the advantage of a learned education. He was a member of the ancient church of the separatists in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, and accompanied them, when they transported themselves out of England into Holland to escape persecution. He was of great service to them, and esteemed a man of eminent faith, charity, and spiritual gifts. When Mr. Smith, whose history we have given before, raised the controversy about infant baptism, Mr. Helwise became a convert to his sentiments, received baptism from him, and was one of the first in the constitution of his church, of which after his death he had the pastoral care. He and his people, soon after Mr. Smith's decease, published a confession of their faith, entitled, "The Confession of Faith, published in certain conclusions, by the remainder of Mr. Smith's Company*." At the end of it there was an appendix, giving some account of Mr. Smith's last sickness and death. Three years after, Mr. Robinson, the pastor of the English congregation of Brownists at Leyden, published remarks upon it. About the same time Mr. Helwise began to reflect upon his own conduct, and that of the other English dissenters, in leaving their friends and country to avoid persecution: whether it did not proceed from fear and cowardice; and whether they ought not to return to bear their testimony to the truth, and to countenance and encourage their suffering brethren? The result was, that he and his church quickly left Amsterdam, and removed to London, where they continued to preserve their church state, and to hold their assemblies for worship, as the times would permit. He wrote a piece in justification of this conduct, entitled, "A short Declaration:" wherein he stated in what cases it was lawful to fly in times of persecution; to which Mr. Robinson replied. The conduct of Mr. Helwise and his friends displeased the Nonconformists in exile, who censured it as vain-glorious, and imputed it to natural confidence under the appearance of religious fortitude. It is not known when Mr. Helwise died, but from the publications of the day, it appears that he went on with great courage and resolution; and the church, under all the severities they experienced from the civil powers, increased in numbers †.

Mr. John Morton, another of Mr. Smith's disciples, appears to have been a man of note and reputation, of considerable learning and abilities. He was conversant with the oriental languages and the writings of the fathers, and was a zealous remonstrant. After his return from Holland he settled in the country. These circumstances are inferred from a manuscript, written by J. Morton, supposed to be the same person; which was found at the beginning of the civil wars, on demolishing an old wall near Colchester. It was printed by the General Baptists, and passed through several impressions. Its title was

* See Crosby, vol. 2. Appendix, No. I.

† Ibid. vol. 1. p. 269—275.

“Truth’s Champion.” It discussed the questions concerning baptism, and the points disputed between the Armenians and Calvinists. The piece was written in a good style, and the argument managed with much art and skill; and, not without reason, held in considerable estimation by the remonstrants*.

A more particular and full account of some, whose names have been brought forward in the preceding narrative, will fall under the following periods of this history: the learning and abilities of whom, it will appear, did credit to the sect to which they belonged. Mr. Neal has asserted, that “its advocates were for the most part of the meanest of the people; their preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the countries making proselytes of all that would submit to their immersion, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of religion, or their moral character.” It is to be regretted, that our respectable author, by this general representation, without producing any authority, or alleging attested facts to justify it, hath laid himself open to severe animadversion. Mr. Crosby exclaims, “What a malicious slander is this, cast upon a whole body of Christians, consisting of fifty-four congregations, according to his own acknowledgments †!” It may be supposed that Mr. Neal has here paid too great a deference to such writers as the author of the “Gangræna;” and on the other hand, Mr. Crosby may have been too partial to his own sect, and not allowed for the operation of a precipitate and injudicious zeal, by which a new and persecuted sect is generally actuated; he may have forgotten, that a great number of its preachers would of course be unlearned and ignorant men, when the liberty of prophesying, as any individual was authorized and qualified by the gift or influence of the Holy Spirit, was a received principle; for such gift would, where it was supposed to exist and display itself, supersede acquired abilities and human literature.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE BAPTISTS DURING THE COMMONWEALTH. A. D. 1649—1658.

THE protectorate of Cromwell, though restricted to the short space of ten years, was a most eventful period in the annals of ecclesiastical history. Both in our own country, and upon the continent of Europe, it will ever be memorable for the collision of parties, and the extraordinary incidents to which it gave birth. The sanguinary measures carried on, by the instigation of Louis XIV. against the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont;

* See Crosby, vol. 1. p. 276—278.

† Vol. 1. Preface, p. 5.

the dispersion of the Protestant churches in that long and highly favoured country, and the deep interest which Cromwell, as the head of the English government, aided by the pen of his Latin secretary, our immortal Milton, took in the melancholy fate of the meek confessors of Savoy, are events with which few of the dissenters of the present day are unacquainted. But Mr. Neal has already entered pretty fully into the general history of this period, and traced the contest between the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Independents, which we shall not resume. Our object is merely, to supply a little additional information respecting a class of professors whom he appears to have overlooked or neglected as unworthy of his notice; and to do this, it may not be amiss to look back a little, and glance at the aspect which the laws of the country bear towards the Baptists in particular.

The great increase of the Baptists seems to have provoked the Presbyterians, who were now the ruling party, to a very high degree; and the same spirit of intolerance which the Episcopalians had manifested towards the Puritans, was now exhibited by them against all dissenters from what they, who could now prove the divine right of presbytery, were pleased to decree. The whole of their conduct, in respect of those who differed from them, shews what Milton said to be true; that "New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large."

Their spirit of intolerance may be learned from the history of those times, and especially from some acts of the government. On May 26, 1645, the lord-mayor, court of aldermen, and common-council, presented a petition to parliament, commonly called, "The City Remonstrance," in which they desired, "that some strict and speedy course might be taken for the suppressing all private and separate congregations; that all Anabaptists, Brownists, heretics, schismatics, blasphemers, and all other sectaries, who conformed not to the public discipline established or to be established by parliament, might be fully declared against, and some effectual course settled for proceeding against such persons; and that no person disaffected to presbyterial government, set forth or to be set forth by parliament, might be employed in any place of public trust*."

This remonstrance was supported by the whole Scotch nation, who acted in concert with their English brethren, as appears by a letter of thanks to the lord-mayor, aldermen and common-council, from the general assembly, dated June 10, 1646, within a month after the delivery of the remonstrance. The letter commends their courageous appearance against sects and sectaries; their firm adherence to the covenant, and their maintaining the Presbyterian government to be the government of Jesus Christ. It beseeches them to go on boldly in the work they had begun,

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 184.

till the three kingdoms were united in one faith and worship. At the same time they directed letters to the parliament, beseeching them also in the bowels of Jesus Christ to give to him the glory due to his name, by an immediate establishment of all his ordinances in their full integrity and power, according to the covenant. Nor did they forget to encourage the assembly at Westminster to proceed in their zeal against sectaries, and to stand boldly for the sceptre of Jesus Christ against the encroachments of earthly powers.

The arguments which this grave assembly used, to withhold from others the blessing of Christian liberty, came with a bad grace from men who had as earnestly pleaded for the privilege, while they were smarting under the lash of the prelates. "To comply with this request [of granting toleration], would open a gap for all sects to challenge such a liberty as their due: this liberty is denied by the churches in New-England, and we have as great right to deny it as they. This desired forbearance will make a perpetual division in the church, and be a perpetual drawing away from the churches under the rule. Upon the same pretence, those who scruple infant baptism may withdraw from their churches, and so separate into another congregation; and so in that some practice may be scrupled, and they separate again. Are these divisions and subdivisions as lawful as they are infinite? Or must we give that respect to the errors of men's consciences so as to satisfy their scruples by allowance of this liberty to them? Scruple of conscience is no cause of separation, nor doth it take off causeless separation from being schism, which may arise from errors of conscience as well as carnal and corrupt reason: therefore we conceive the causes of separation must be shewn to be such, *ex natura rei*, as will bear it out; and therefore we say that granting the liberty desired will give a countenance to schism."

Many instances of this spirit might be adduced; but we shall only notice the following. A work was published by the assembly in 1650, entitled, "A Vindication of the Presbyterial government and ministry; with an exhortation to all ministers, elders, and people, within the province of London, &c. Published by the ministers and elders met together in a provincial assembly. George Walker, moderator; Arthur Jackson and Edmund Calamy, assessors; Roger Drake and Elidad Blackwell, scribes.

This work contains the following expressions:—"Whatsoever doctrine is contrary to godliness, and opens a door to libertinism and profaneness, you must reject it as soul poison: such is the doctrine of a universal toleration in religion." The ministers in the different parts of the country seem to have been of the same mind. Those in Lancashire published a paper in 1648, called "The harmonious consent of the Lancashire ministers with their brethren in London;" in which they say, "A toleration would be putting a sword into a madman's hand; a cup of poison into

the hand of a child; a letting loose of madmen with firebrands in their hands, and appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly to; a laying a stumbling-block before the blind; a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon the lambs: neither would it be to provide for tender consciences, but to take away all conscience*."

We turn away with disgust from these intolerant sentiments, and rejoice that the attempt has been made, and that none of the predicted effects have ensued.

It was very common at this time for the enemies of the Baptists to represent the practice of immersion as indecent and dangerous, and to argue that it could not be according to divine authority, because a breach of the sixth commandment, "Thou shalt not kill:" and the divine declaration, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." Who would have thought that Mr. Richard Baxter could have expressed himself in language like the following? "My sixth argument shall be against the usual manner of their baptizing, as it is by dipping over head in a river, or other cold water. That which is a plain breach of the sixth commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill,' is no ordinance of God, but a most heinous sin. But the ordinary practice of baptizing over head and in cold water, as necessary, is a plain breach of the sixth commandment, therefore it is no ordinance of God, but a heinous sin. And as Mr. Cradock shews in his book of gospel liberty, the magistrate ought to restrain it, to save the lives of his subjects—That this is flat murder, and no better, being ordinarily and generally used, is undeniable to any understanding man—And I know not what trick a covetous landlord can find out to get his tenants to die apace, that he may have new fines and heriots, likelier than to encourage such preachers, that he may get them all to turn Anabaptists. I wish that this device be not it which countenanceth these men: and covetous physicians, methinks should not be much against them. Catarrhs and obstructions, which are the too great fountains of most mortal diseases in man's body, could scarce have a more notable means to produce them where they are not, or to increase them where they are. Apoplexies, lethargies, palsies, and all other comatous diseases, would be promoted by it. So would cephalalgies, hemicranies, phthises, debility of the stomach, crudities, and almost all fevers, dysenteries, diarrhoeas, colics, iliac passions, convulsions, spasms, tremors, and so on. All hepatic, splenic, and pulmonic persons, and hypochondriacs, would soon have enough of it. In a word, it is good for nothing but to dispatch men out of the world that are burthensome, and to ranken churchyards—I conclude, if murder be a sin, then dipping ordinarily over head in England is a sin; and if those who would make it men's religion to murder themselves, and urge it upon their consciences as their duty, are not to be suffered in a commonwealth, any more than high-way mur-

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 190.

derers; then judge how these Anabaptists, that teach the necessity of such dipping, are to be suffered.—My seventh argument is also against another wickedness in their manner of baptizing, which is their dipping persons naked, which is very usual with many of them, or next to naked, as is usual with the modestest that I have heard of—If the minister must go into the water with the party—it will certainly tend to his death, though they may escape that go in but once. Would not vain young men come to a baptizing to see the nakedness of maids, and make a mere jest and sport of it*.”

It is with pleasure we give a place to the reflections of the late venerable Abraham Booth on these remarks, which certainly merited severe animadversion, especially as they were published at a time when, as the sequel will show, they were calculated to produce some serious consequences towards those who were in the practice of baptizing by immersion.

“ Were this representation just (says Mr. Booth), we should have no reason to wonder if his following words expressed a fact— ‘ I am still more confirmed that a visible judgment of God doth still follow anabaptizing wherever it comes.’ It was not without reason, I presume, that Mr. Baxter made the following acknowledgment: ‘ I confess my style is naturally keen.’ I am a little suspicious also that Dr. Owen had some cause to speak of his writings as follows :— ‘ I verily believe that if a man who had nothing else to do, should gather into a heap all the expressions which in his late books, confessions, and apologies, have a lovely aspect towards himself, as to ability, diligence, sincerity, on the one hand; with all those which are full of reproach and contempt towards others, on the other; the view of them could not but a little startle a man of so great modesty, and of such eminency in the mortification of pride, as Mr. Baxter is.’ Hence we learn that the Baptists are not the only persons who have felt the weight of Mr. Baxter’s hand; so that if a recollection of others having suffered under his keen resentment can afford relief, the poor Baptists may take some comfort, and it is an old saying,

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

“ Before I dismiss this extraordinary language of Mr. Baxter (adds Mr. Booth), it is proper to be observed, that the charge of shocking indecency, which he lays with so much confidence against the Baptists of those times, was not suffered by them to pass without animadversion. No, he was challenged to make it good: it was denied, it was confuted by them. With a view to which Dr. Wall says, ‘ The English Antipædobaptists need not have made so great an outcry against Mr. Baxter for his saying that they baptized naked; for if they had, it had been no more than the primitive Christians did.’ But surely they had reason to complain of misrepresentation; such misrepresentation as tended to bring the greatest odium upon their sentiments and

* Baxter’s Plain Scripture Proof, p. 134—137.

practice. Besides, however ancient the practice charged upon them was, its antiquity could not have justified their conduct, except it had been derived from divine command, or apostolic example; neither of which appears*.”

It is a little extraordinary that in the next year, 1647, considerable favour was manifested towards the Baptists. Perhaps it arose from the policy of Cromwell, wishing to check the overgrown power of the Presbyterians, or from some of his officers and other persons of considerable influence embracing their sentiments, and using their interest in their behalf.

In a declaration of the lords and commons, published March 4, 1647, it is said, “The name of Anabaptism hath indeed contracted much odium by reason of the extravagant opinions of some of that name in Germany, tending to the disturbance of the government, and the peace of all states, which opinions and practices we abhor and detest. But their opinion against the baptism of infants, it is only a difference about a circumstance of time in the administration of an ordinance, wherein in former ages, as well as in this, learned men have differed both in opinion and practice.—And though we could wish that all men would satisfy themselves, and join with us in our judgment and practice in this point; yet herein we hold it fit that men should be convinced by the word of God, with great gentleness and reason, and not beaten out of it by force and violence †.”

This declaration discovered much of a truly Christian spirit; and happy would it have been if all governments had always acted on such principles. But it is lamentable to observe, that the very next year, a more severe law was passed than any that had been made in England since the Reformation. It bore date May 2, 1648, and was entitled, “An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the punishment of blasphemies and heresies.” One article was, “Whosoever shall say that the baptism of infants is unlawful, or that such baptism is void, and that such persons ought to be baptized again, and in pursuance thereof shall baptize any person formerly baptized; or shall say the church-government by presbytery is antichristian or unlawful, shall upon conviction by the oath of two witnesses, or by his own confession, be ordered to renounce his said error in the public congregation of the parish where the offence was committed, and in case of refusal, he shall be committed to prison till he find sureties that he shall not publish or maintain the said error any more ‡.”

It is likely that the death of the king in this year, and the confusion which resulted from it, might prevent this cruel and shameful ordinance from being carried into effect, as we do not hear that any were prosecuted upon it.

The government was now altered, and instead of being in the

* Pædobap. Exam. vol. 1. p. 263—265.

† Crosby, vol. 1. p. 196.

‡ Crosby, vol. 1. p. 203.

parliament, was vested in a single person. This was the general, Oliver Cromwell, whose title was to be His Highness, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging.

The Baptists in the army seem to have been apprehensive that he entertained designs against them, as appears from the following letter, which we insert, not because we approve of its spirit, but because it may cast some light upon the history of the times. It was probably written by some of his officers, who were envious at his exaltation, and offended that he had deserted his republican sentiments. It is entitled, "A short discovery of his Highness the Lord Protector's intentions touching the Anabaptists in the army, and all such as are against his reforming things in the church; which was first communicated by a Scotch lord who is called Twidle; but is now come to the ear of the Anabaptists: upon which there are propounded thirty-five queries for his highness to answer to his conscience. By a well-wisher to the Anabaptists' prosperity, and all the rest of the separatists in England*."

* "To His Highness the Lord Protector.

"My Lord,

"There is some intelligence abroad, which I desire to communicate in a private way, lest I become a prey to the malice or envy of the roaring lion. But to the matter intended, and that is this:—It seems your highness being discoursing with a Scotch lord, who is called the lord Twidle, you were pleased to say that there was something amiss in the church and state, which you would reform as soon as may be. Of those that were amiss in the state, some were done and the rest were doing; and as for those things that were amiss in the church, you hoped to rectify them by degrees, as convenient opportunity presented itself; but before you could do this work, the Anabaptists must be taken out of the army; and this you could not do with sharp corrosive medicines, but it must be done by degrees. From which there are two things observable, 1. The work. 2. The way you intend to do this work.

"First, to the work; and that is church-work. It seems you intend to follow the steps of them that are gone before, which could not be content to meddle with state-affairs, and to make laws and statutes, and impose them upon the people as rules of divine worship. And this is the work you intend to be at, under pretence of correcting error, and so to destroy truth.

"But who could have thought, when you made your last speech to Parliament, when your tongue was so sweetly tipt for the liberty of conscience, reproving the parliament for having a finger on their brother's conscience; who could have imagined that then heard you, that you would have been so soon at the same trade, unless he had supposed a fountain could have sent forth sweet water and bitter? But,

"Secondly, the way you intend to take to bring about this design, is two-fold. 1. To purge the army of the Anabaptists. 2. To do it by degrees. But, Oliver, is this thy design? And is this the way to be rid of the Anabaptists? And is this the reason, because they hinder the things amiss in the church? I confess they have been enemies to the Presbyterian church-government; and so were you at Dunbar in Scotland; or at least you seemed to be so by your words and actions; for you spake as pure Independency as any of us all then; and made this an argument why we should fight stoutly: because we had the prayers of the Independents and baptized churches. So highly did you seem to love the Anabaptists then, that you did not only invite them into the army, but entertain them in your family; but it seems the case is altered. But, I pray, do not deceive yourself, nor let the priests deceive you; for the Anabaptists are men that will not be shuffled out of their birth-rights, as free-born people of England. And have they not filled your towns, your cities, your provinces, your islands, your castles, your navies, your tents, your armies (except that which went to the West Indies, which prospers so well), your

It was not known that during the contest between Charles I. and the parliament, any Baptists were in the king's army, yet

count?—your very council is not free; only we have left your temples for yourself to worship in. So that I believe it will be a hard thing to root them out; although you tell the Scotch lord you will do it by degrees, as he reports.

“ May it please your highness seriously to consider what hath been said, and answer these ensuing queries to your own conscience :

“ 1. Whether your highness had come to the height of honour and greatness you are now come to, if the Anabaptists, so called, had been so much your enemies as they were your friends ?

“ 2. Whether the Anabaptists were ever unfaithful, either to the commonwealth in general, or to your highness in particular ? And if not, then what is the reason of your intended dismission ?

“ 3. Whether the Anabaptists be not as honest now as in the year 1650, and 51, and 52, &c. ? And if so, why not as useful now as then ?

“ 4. Whether the Anabaptists are not to be commended for their integrity, which had rather keep faith and a good conscience, although it may lose them their employments, than to keep their employments with the loss of both ?

“ 5. Whether the Anabaptists may not as justly endeavour to eat out the bowels of your government, as your highness may endeavour to eat them out of their employments ?

“ 6. Whether the Anabaptists did not come more justly into their employments in the army, than your highness came into the seat of government ?

“ 7. Whether, if the Anabaptists had the power in their hands, and were as able to cast you out as you were them, and they did intend it to you as you do to them; whether, I say, your highness would not call them all knaves ?

“ 8. Whether this be fair dealing in the sight of God and man, to pretend a great deal of love to the Anabaptists, as to major Pack and Mr. Kiffin, and a hundred more that I could name, when at the same time you intend evil against them ?

“ 9. Whether the Anabaptist will not be in a better condition in the day of Christ that keeps his covenant with God and men, than your highness will be if you break with both ?

“ 10. Whether a hundred of the old Anabaptists, such as marched under your command in 48, 49, 50, &c. be not as good as two hundred of your new courtiers, if you were in such a condition as you were at Dunbar in Scotland ?

“ 11. Whether the cause of the army's defeat in Hispaniola was because there were so many Anabaptists in it ? And if so, if that be the only reason why they are so much out of date ?

“ 12. Whether your highness hath not changed your former intention, to have an equal respect to the godly, though different in judgment ? And if so, whether it be not from the better to the worse ?

“ 13. Whether your highness's conscience was not more at peace, and your mind more set upon things above, when you loved the Anabaptists, than it is now, when you hate their principles, or their service, or both ?

“ 14. Whether your highness's court is not a greater charge to this nation than the Anabaptists in the army ? And if so, whether this be the ease which you promised the people ?

“ 15. Whether there be any disproportion betwixt the state of things now, and the state of things in the days of old ? And if there be, shew us where it lieth, how, and when ?

“ 16. Whether the monies laid out in the making of the new rivers and ponds at Hampton-court, might not have been better bestowed in paying the public faith, or the Anabaptists' arrears before their dismission ?

“ 17. Whether it is not convenient for the Anabaptists to provide for their own safety, seeing from you they can expect none ?

“ 18. Whether it will be any more treason to fight for our liberties and civil properties in these days, if they be denied us, than it was to fight for them in the days of the king ?

“ 19. Whether the instrument of government be as the laws of the Medes and Persians that alter not ? If so, how is it that Mr. John Biddle is now a prisoner ?

“ 20. Whether your highness may not as well violate the whole instrument of government as the 37th and 38th articles ; if so, what security have the people for their liberty ?

there seem to have been some of that persuasion among the troops of the parliament; and it has been assigned as a reason for dis-

“ 21. Whether our liberty doth not wholly depend upon your will, and the will of a future protector, seeing the instrument of government is so little useful? If so, whether our condition be not as bad as ever?

“ 22. Whether you may not as justly suffer all to be put in prison that differ from the church of England, as to suffer Mr. Biddle to be imprisoned?

“ 23. Whether it will not be more abominable to the Anabaptists, or Independents, or Mr. Biddle, or any other professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, and are not disturbers of the civil peace, nor turn their liberty into licentiousness, to suffer for their consciences under your government, that promised liberty to such, than it was to have suffered under the king, that promised them none?

“ 24. Whether your highness will not appear to be a dreadful apostate and fearful dissembler, if you suffer persecution to fall upon the Anabaptists, or Independents, or them of Mr. Biddle's judgment, seeing you promised equal liberty to all?

“ 25. Whether this will not prove your highness's ruin, if you join with such a wicked principle to persecute for conscience, or to turn men out of the army for being Anabaptists, or for any such thing as differs from the church of England, seeing God hath confounded all such as have done so?

“ 26. Whether the old parliament was not turned out for leaving undone that which they ought to have done? And if so, whether those things have been done since?

“ 27. Whether the little parliament was not turned out for doing that which the other left undone; or taking away of tithes and other grievances? And if so, then,

“ 28. Whether you did not intend your own ends more than you did the nation's good, in breaking the first parliament, and calling the second, and dissolving them again?

“ 29. Whether the instrument of government was not preparing eight or nine days before the breaking up of the little parliament? And if so, whether you did not intend their dissolving?

“ 30. Whether you did not tell a shameful untruth to the last parliament, saying, that you did not know of their dissolving, that is to say, the little parliament, till they came to deliver up their power to you?

“ 31. Whether your highness did not put a slur upon the lord Lambert, when he should have gone lord-deputy to Ireland, in telling the parliament it savoured too much of a monarchy; and so sent Fleetwood with a lower title?

“ 32. Whether your highness do not intend to put another slur upon the lord Lambert, in sending for the lord-deputy to come into England, to make him generalissimo of the armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland?

“ 33. Whether it is not convenient for the lord Lambert to consider of those actions, and to have an eye to your proceedings, lest by degrees you eat him out of all, as you intend to do the Anabaptists?

“ 34. Whether the excessive pride of your family do not call for a speedy judgment from heaven, seeing pride never goeth without a fall?

“ 35. Whether the six coach-horses did not give your highness a fair warning of some worse thing to follow, if you repent not, seeing God often forewarns before he strikes home?—

THE CONCLUSION.

“ My Lord,

“ My humble request is, that you will seriously consider of these few lines: although you may dislike the way by which they are communicated, yet let the matter sink deep into your heart; for these things should have met you in another manner, had not your highness cast off all such friendly communication by word of mouth, and the persons too, if they did but tell you plainly their minds. And take heed of casting away old friends for new acquaintance, as Rehoboam did, who forsook the counsel of his good old friends, and consulted with his young courtiers; which caused the ten tribes to revolt from him*. And it is a deadly sign of a speedy ruin, when a prince or a state casts off the interests of the people of God; as you may see how Joash forsook the people and the house of God, and then his house fell before a few of the Assyrians, and at last his own servants conspired against him, and slew him.

* 1 Kings xii. 8.

banding one entire regiment in the army of the earl of Essex, that the colonel himself countenanced the separatists, particularly the Anabaptists. Although their numbers increased considerably from about the year 1649, to such a degree indeed as that the principal officers in different regiments both of horse and foot became Baptists, particularly in Cromwell's own regiment of horse, and in that of the duke of Albemarle's regiment of foot, yet it is said, on good information, that previous to this there were not to be found, at any time, twenty persons of this denomination *vested with command* of any kind in the whole army. Until the year 1648, two only of this profession, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. John Fiennes, a son of lord Say, were members of the house of commons; and in that year, before the death of the king, they withdrew from the parliament because they disapproved of its proceedings, and lived in retirement for about six years, when Mr. Lawrence was again called into public employment. In 1650, captain Mildmay, captain Pack, and sir John Harman, who were all Baptists, were preferred to commands at sea*. Major-general Harrison, whom Baxter pronounces, "a man of excellent parts, for affection and oratory, though not well seen in the principles of his religion †," was the only Baptist among the king's judges: and indeed it appears that he himself was not actually baptized till 1657, which was several years after that tragical event had taken place.

The following extract of a letter from captain Richard Deane, to Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, furnishes considerable information concerning the state of the Baptists at this period, and their conduct in the affairs of the state.

" My Lord,

" The ground of my humbly tendering these ensuing pages to your lordship, is your declared condescension to peruse any small treatise that should be presented to you concerning the proper subject and administration of baptism. That they may in your lordship's charity, so far as their conversation suits with their doctrine, be admitted among the number of sincere Christians, I intend to bring to your remembrance some of their

" And therefore, O Cromwell! leave off thy wicked design of casting off the interest of the people of God; and 'let my counsel be acceptable to thee; and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thy iniquity by shewing mercy to the poor, and it may be a lengthening out of thy tranquillity.' For it is not strength united with policy, but righteousness accompanied with strength, that must keep alive your interest with God and the people. And when both these die, that is to say righteousness and sincerity, then adieu to thy greatness here, and thy eternal happiness hereafter.

" From him who wishes your happiness so long as you do well.—*Printed for the information of all such as prize the liberty of their consciences, for which so much blood has been spilt*."

* Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 2. p. 2—5.

† Baxter's Life, part 1. p. 57.

leaders, and the occasions which prepared the way for the increase of their numbers.

“About thirty-eight years since, in the heat of our late troubles, episcopacy being laid aside, and presbytery only as it were by way of experiment for a season attempted, but never in a national way prosecuted with effect, every man was at liberty to pursue the persuasions of his own mind, as to entering into church-fellowship in distinct congregations, and therein to join with such as he conceived came nearest to the primitive pattern in worship and discipline. About that time and a little after there were many ministers, some who had been before ordained, and others who had been admitted to parochial and other public charges. Among whom of my acquaintance were Mr. Tombes, sometime preacher at the Temple; Mr. Christopher Blackwood in Kent, Mr. Benjamin Cox at Bedford, Mr. Edward Harrison, Mr. Daniel Dyke, and some others in or near Hertfordshire; Mr. Hansard Knollys, and many others who did openly profess, and several of them write and publish, their opinions concerning the proper subject and manner of baptism. Some of them voluntarily left their parochial charges and benefices, as not approving the baptizing of infants, and collected distinct congregations of such as agreed with them in this doctrine of baptism; which by a succession of ordained ministers in the places of such as are dead, remain to this day.

“In the year 1649, the Baptists greatly increased in the country, and their opinions did likewise spread themselves into some of the regiments of horse and foot in the army; and that in 1650 and afterward, some professing this opinion were called from their private employments, and preferred to commands at sea. Among others, captain Mildmay; to command the admiral flag-ship, under the late duke of Albemarle, when he was one of the generals at sea. Captain Pack, to command the flag-ship under sir George Ascue, rear-admiral; sir John Harman, to command the admiral flag-ship under his royal highness the duke of York.

“But, notwithstanding some of this sect had that countenance given them as I have mentioned, by such as had the principal management of affairs; yet this sect in general, as they have published in their apologies, were the least of any sort of people concerned in any vicissitudes of government that happened among us. My station within the aforementioned ten years gave me opportunity to know most persons and actions of note, in reference as well to civil as martial affairs, and particularly those of this sect. And although in and after the year 1649, their numbers did increase, insomuch that the principal officers in divers regiments of horse and foot became Anabaptists, particularly in Oliver Cromwell's own regiment of horse when he was captain-general of all the parliament's forces, and in the duke of Albemarle's own regiment of foot when he was general of all the

English forces in Scotland; yet by the best information I could have, there were not, at any time before the year 1649, twenty Anabaptists in any sort of command in the whole army; and until after the year 1648, there were no more than two, viz. Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. John Fiennes, one of the lord Say's sons, who made profession of this opinion, chosen into the commons' house of parliament, and both these did in that year and in the lifetime of Charles I., as I have been credibly informed, voluntarily depart from that parliament, as not approving their proceedings against the person of the king, and sat no more in it, but lived privately until about six years afterward. A new form of government being then formed, and in appearance settled, Mr. Lawrence was again called into public employment.

“I confess to your lordship, I never heard of any Anabaptists in the king's army during the contest between his majesty and the parliament: and perhaps, because there were some in the parliament's army and none in the king's army, some persons have from thence taken occasion to affirm, that the opinion of Anabaptism in the church is opposite to monarchy in the state. It is true, as before is mentioned, that this opinion was no general bar to the continuance of such as did embrace it in public employments, though I have cause to believe that one special reason of disbanding one entire regiment in the earl of Essex's army was, because the colonel entertained and gave countenance to separatists and some Anabaptists. And that which occasioned Oliver Cromwell, after he usurped the government of lord-protector, to discharge at once all the principal officers of his own regiment upon other pretences was, for that they were all Anabaptists*.”

It belongs to this period, also, to introduce some account of another distinguished military officer, who ranks among the denomination of Baptists. I refer to COLONEL HUTCHINSON, who was governor of Nottingham-castle during the time of the civil wars. He was one of the king's judges; and, whether in the senate or the field, uniformly distinguished himself as a person of great courage, judgment, piety, and liberality. An interesting narrative of his life and times, drawn up by his amiable and accomplished wife, has been recently issued from the press, in which the following account is given of the manner in which he was led to embrace the sentiments of the Baptists: the circumstances are related with the characteristic simplicity and good sense which pervade the whole work.

“At Nottingham they had gotten a very able minister into the great church, but a bitter Presbyterian. Him and his brethren my lady Fairfax caressed with so much kindness, that they grew impudent to preach up their faction openly in the pulpit, and to revile the others, and at length they would not suffer any of the

* Crosby, vol. 2. Preface, p. 2—5.

army chaplains to preach in the town. They then, coming to the governor and complaining of their unkind usage, he invited them to come and preach in his house, which when it was known they did, there was a great concourse of people came thither to them; and the Presbyterians, when they heard it, were maddened with rage, not only against them but against the governor, who accidentally gave them another occasion about the same time. When formerly the Presbyterian ministers forced him for quietness' sake to go and break up a private meeting in the cannonneers' chamber, there were found some notes concerning pædobaptism, which, being brought into the governor's lodgings, his wife having then more leisure than he, having perused and compared them with the Scriptures, found not what to say against the truths they asserted concerning the misapplication of that ordinance to infants: but, being then young and modest, she thought it a kind of virtue to submit to the judgment and practice of most churches, rather than defend a singular opinion of her own, she not being then enlightened in that great mistake of the national churches. But in this year, she happening to be with child, communicated her doubts to her husband, and desired him to endeavour her satisfaction; and while he did, he himself became as unsatisfied, or rather satisfied, against it. First, therefore, he diligently searched the Scriptures alone, and could find in them no ground at all for this practice. Then he bought and read all the treatises on both sides, which at that time came thick from the presses, and still was cleared in the error of the pædobaptists. After this, his wife being brought to bed, that he might, if possible, give the religious party no offence, he invited all the ministers to dinner, and propounded his doubt and the ground thereof to them. None of them could defend their practice with any satisfactory reason, but the tradition of the church from the primitive times, and their main buckler of federal holiness, which Tombes and Denne had excellently overthrown. He and his wife then professing themselves unsatisfied in the practice, desired their opinions what they ought to do. Most answered, to conform to the general practice of other Christians, how dark soever it were to themselves; but Mr. Foxcraft, one of the assembly, said, that except they were convinced of the warrant of that practice from the word, they sinned in doing it: whereupon that infant was not baptized. And now the governor and his wife, notwithstanding that they forsook not their assemblies, nor retracted the benevolences and civilities from them; yet they were reviled by them, called fanatics and Anabaptists, and often glanced at in their public sermons. Not only the ministers, but all their zealous sectaries, conceived implacable malice against them on that account, which was carried on with a spirit of envy and persecution to the last; though he on his side might well have said to them, as his master to the old pharisees, "Many good works have I done among you; for which of these do ye hate me?"

Yet the generality even of that people had a secret conviction upon them that he had been faithful to them, and deserved their love; and, in spite of their own bitter zeal, they could not but have a reverent esteem for him whom they often railed at for not thinking and speaking according to their opinions*.”

Having introduced this excellent man to the reader's notice, it possibly may not be altogether unacceptable to him to be furnished with a few more particulars of his personal history, and that of his amiable consort.

He was descended of an ancient and honourable family, and born at Nottingham, in the month of September, 1616. He was the eldest surviving son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson and lady Margaret, his first wife, a daughter of sir John Biron, of Newsted, in the same county. As soon as his age permitted, he was placed under the tuition of Mr. Theobalds, then master of the free school at Nottingham; and shortly afterward he was sent to the free school at Lincoln, which was conducted by a Mr. Clarke. This person, though pious, was remarkable for his pedantry: which so disgusted young Hutchinson, that he could never profit under his instructions. While at this seminary, he was taught the military exercise by an old soldier, who was kept by the master to give his pupils some notion of the art of war. He was again sent to the free school at Nottingham, in which he made very great proficiency; and from this place went to the university of Cambridge, and there was made a fellow-commoner of Peter-house. The tutor of his college was Mr. Norwich, a person of great learning, and of an amiable disposition. Under this preceptor, he made rapid progress in his studies, received great applause for several public exercises, and obtained a degree as a testimony of his merits. After remaining at college five years, he returned to his father's house at Nottingham. He was now about twenty years old, having hitherto resisted the temptations of youth, and been noted for the sobriety and consistency of his deportment. His father had been for some time married to a second wife, and was surrounded by a youthful and increasing progeny. This circumstance was not altogether agreeable to young Hutchinson, who, however, wishing to avoid any complaints that he might make if he continued at home, adopted the resolution of visiting London. There he entered Lincoln's Inn; but soon found the study of the law so irksome and unpleasant, that he very shortly abandoned it. Soon afterward, in 1638, he entered into the marriage relation with Miss Lucy Apsley, second daughter of sir Allen Apsley, lieutenant of the Tower. She was a young lady of great beauty, parts, and acquirements; and wrote the memoirs of her husband, which have been lately published by a descendant of the family. During two years' leisure that Mr. Hutchinson now

* Ed. 2. p. 271, 272.

enjoyed, he directed his attention to several branches of divinity. In October, 1641, he retired to his seat at Owthorpe, in Nottinghamshire. About this time was perpetrated the Irish massacre, which filled the nation with horror, and preceded those civil commotions and distresses with which Britain was about to be chastised. This massacre, and the conversation which it every where occasioned, led Mr. Hutchinson to employ his thoughts on the political state of the country: and the result of this inquiry was a persuasion that the cause of the parliamentarians was supported by justice. He, with some others, was requested by nearly all the freeholders and middle classes in his native county, to present a petition to the king, then at York, to return to parliament. Soon afterward he took up arms, though not till necessity compelled him; for a warrant was issued for his apprehension, and he, with his wife, was obliged to quit home. He accepted the commission of lieutenant-colonel among the forces appointed by the parliament to be raised. He was then engaged, in conjunction with many parliamentarians, in the defence of Nottingham: and when the troops there quartered were called out to the relief of general Essex, he was appointed, by the committee of that town, to the government of its castle.

In 1643, his father died, having left his personal estate, and all his property that was unsettled at Mr. Hutchinson's marriage, to his second wife and children. The enemies of Colonel Hutchinson then seized, by violence, the rents of his tenants, which he was about to receive; and his estate being sought for by several, promise of it was obtained from the king. In this extremity, though he had supported the garrison chiefly at his own expense, and thus lessened his pecuniary resources; and though he was repeatedly tempted, with the most flattering promises, to desert his party, he remained inflexibly firm. He adopted the most salutary measures for the protection of the castle and town; but his efforts were frequently rendered abortive by the treachery of some under his command. By them a party of the royalists were one night admitted into the town, but were soon expelled by the prudence and intrepidity of the governor. A few of the committee, wishing to ruin their commander, that they might obtain authority themselves, endeavoured to excite a spirit of discontent among the soldiers and townsmen; and had the effrontery to lay a statement of their pretended grievances before a committee of both nations. The result of this contest was a perfect justification of Col. Hutchinson, and the disgrace of his infamous calumniators. His office had been previously ratified by parliament, who had also intrusted him with the government of the town, and presented him with thanks for his services. While he held these commissions he often distinguished himself for his bravery. At the siege of Shelford, in which was a garrison under the command of colonel Philip Stanhope, eldest son

to the earl of Chesterfield, he exposed himself to the greatest dangers, and was the first that scaled the walls. He was also at the siege of Newark, which surrendered to him and his men.

Having been chosen a member of parliament, in the place of his father, he came to London to discharge the duties of his new office. The parliament were at that time divided by the factions and animosities of the Independents and the Presbyterians. Col. Hutchinson was soon marked as a strenuous Independent; and, in the controversy between the army and the Presbyterians, he ranked himself with the army. Returning, at the settlement of parliament, to his garrison at Nottingham, he found it consisted only of the castle; and that all his regiment, except two companies, had been disbanded. This being the case, he resigned his commission, and went, with his family, to live at Owthorpe. His house was almost in ruins, but he then had not money sufficient to repair it. He was, however, earnestly entreated to resume his commission, but in vain; for his health was now rather delicate, and he wished to enjoy a little peace and retirement.

Being again summoned to parliament, he was nominated one of the commissioners for the trial of king Charles I. To this nomination he at first felt considerable reluctance to accede. But being convinced, after mature deliberation, and fervent prayer for direction, that the measure was fully justifiable, he no longer hesitated. Whatever were the motives which induced that assembly to judge and condemn their sovereign, or whatever opinion may be formed of their proceedings, the conduct of colonel H. in that affair was certainly dictated by conscientious principles.

After the dissolution of parliament, he returned to Owthorpe, and devoted his time to the education of his children (who had, besides, the ablest masters); to the suppression of disorders in his neighbourhood; and to the administration of justice. He was elected a member of the parliament, summoned April 25, 1660, but was soon suspended, on account of the part he took in the transactions relative to Charles I.; and his punishment was a sentence of dismissal from the present house of parliament, and of incapacity to sustain any public office, civil or military, for ever. This sentence must be allowed not to have been very severe; but he was not permitted to live unmolested. He was accused, without the least shadow of proof, of treasonable designs and practices. His house was pillaged of all his armour, to the value of 100*l.*; and some pictures that had once belonged to the late king, and which he had purchased in London during the interregnum, to the amount of 1000*l.* or 1500*l.*, were wrested from him by an order from the secretary of state. By a warrant from the same secretary, he was seized one Sunday evening, while expounding to his family a portion of the Epistle to the Romans. After undergoing very severe treatment, he was dis-

missed; but in a short time again apprehended—thrust into a filthy prison, where he fell sick—and commanded by the king to be carried to London in custody. Having with much pain arrived there, he was committed to the Tower, and bore several petty examinations. Sir John Robinson, then keeper, a worthless character, was as cruel and hardened as a torturer in the inquisition, and employed every method he could devise of insulting and injuring colonel H.

Under all these multiplied calamities, colonel Hutchinson was patient and submissive. An order at length came for his removal to Sandown-castle, in Kent, whither he was still pursued by the malice and cruelty of his adversaries. He was confined to a dreary, damp room, that was exposed to the piercing air of the sea; and against the bottom of which the waves dashed in angry murmurs. In this miserable condition, his wife, who had attended him in all his sufferings, brought some books for his entertainment: but he declared, that if he were to remain in prison all his life, he would read nothing but the Bible. This book, indeed, afforded him divine consolation, so that he said to his disconsolate partner, what reason she had to rejoice that God supported him under his trials, and did not suffer his patience or spirits to fail. He was even thankful for his afflictions, considering them as tokens of his heavenly Father's love, who chastises all his children. Symptoms of disease now began to appear, and he very rapidly grew weaker. In his sickness he was wonderfully cheered by the comforts of religion; and to a person who asked him how he did, he replied, "Incomparably well, and full of faith." He continued in this happy frame, giving serious advice to those that were around him, and pouring out his desires in ejaculatory prayers. When he was questioned as to the ground of his hope, he said, "There's none but Christ, none but Christ, in whom I have unspeakable joy, more than I can express:" and on the Sabbath-day, September 11, 1664, his spirit winged her flight to the regions of everlasting repose. Of the political conduct of colonel Hutchinson, various sentiments are entertained, but none question his integrity or piety.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS, FROM THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. TO THE BANISHMENT OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON, A. D. 1660—1670.

WHATEVER concern the Baptists may be supposed to have had in national affairs, while the unhappy contest was pending between Charles I. and his army, it is sufficiently apparent, from what has been seen in the foregoing chapter, that it soon ceased

after Cromwell assumed the reins of government, who, when he thought himself well settled, and perceived that it would please the dominant party, began to undermine the sectarians, and in particular to suppress the Baptists. Mr. Baxter charges them with growing insolent both in England and Ireland, after Cromwell's death, and the succession of his son Richard was set aside: and that, joining their brethren in the army, they were every where put in power. He complains of some personal insults and ungenerous treatment, which he received from some who resided near to him, irritated by their remembrance of the opposition he had made to their sentiments, and who, though not many more than twenty, "talked," as he expresses it, "as if they had been lords of the world*." This spirit of resentment and triumph was soon humbled by the disappointment of hope, and a subsequent series of sufferings.

This appears, in the first instance, from a petition presented to king Charles II. signed by thirty-five, on behalf of many others in Lincolnshire. It stated, that not only their meetings for religious worship were interrupted by the magistrates; and bonds for good behaviour were imposed upon them, for the violation of which, on account of renewing their assemblies, they were prosecuted as peace-breakers; but that they were abused in the streets, and their own houses could not afford them protection; for, if they were heard praying to God in their families, they were insulted by sounding of horns, beating against their doors, and threats that they should be hanged. If they appealed to the magistrates, the rage of their adversaries received a sanction from the odious terms with which those who sat on the bench of justice reviled them. Many of them were indicted at the sessions for not attending on the preaching of the episcopal clergy, and alarmed with a design of levying from every one of them a penalty of 20*l.* a month.

The petition was graciously received by the king, who promised that he would take particular care that none should trouble them on account of their conscience, in things pertaining to religion; and immediately directed a member of parliament to go to the lord-chancellor and secretary, that the proper measures for this end might be taken.

In the same year, another petition and representation of their sufferings was presented by some Baptists, inhabitants of Kent, and prisoners in the jail at Maidstone. In this paper they appealed to their "Confession of Faith," as truly representing their principles concerning magistracy and government; and deplored the danger which threatened their lives and the ruin which hung over their wives and little ones, by the violence exercised against them. For, besides being made prisoners, the houses of some had, without any authority from the

* His own Life, part 2. p. 206.

executive power, been broken open in the dead of night; and from others their goods and cattle had been taken away and detained.

Great also were the sufferings of those who resided in Gloucestershire. The most eminent cavaliers rode about armed with swords and pistols, ransacking their houses, and abusing their families in a violent manner. At the house of Mr. Helme, at Winchcombe, the bed whereon his children laid was not spared; and their outrageous conduct so frightened his wife as to throw her into an illness which threatened her life. Mr. Warren, who possessed the parsonage of Rencome, was with his wife and family penned up into an upper room of his house, and so harassed night and day by the violence of the assailants and the noise of hautboys, that he died in the place. Mr. Fletcher, who had been put into a vacant place by authority, was so beat and inhumanly treated by a cavalier of his parish, that he and his family fled for their lives. One pious minister was assaulted as he was entering his pulpit. Another was violently pulled out of his house; his wife, children, and goods, were thrown into the street, none of the parish were allowed to give them entertainment, and he himself was haled to jail*.

It is less surprising, that these people were insulted by the ignorant populace, and were abused by the petty officers of power, when even the legislature marked them as the objects of suspicion, hatred, and severity. For the parliament assembled upon the Restoration, when it passed an act for confirming all ministers in the possession of their benefices, how heterodox soever they had been, provided they would conform for the future, excepted such as had been of the Baptist persuasion †.

So far from being encouraged to conform, or being permitted in peace and security to dissent, they were pursued with cruelty. Divers of them were cast into Reading prison, for conscientiously scrupling to take some oaths administered to them. At Newport in Wales, at the end of sermon, two were set upon by soldiers with swords and staves ‡. At London, Dr. John Griffith was committed to Newgate, where he lay seventeen months, for no other crime but preaching to a congregation of Protestants. In Lincolnshire, Mr. Thomas Grantham and some others were taken from their meeting at Boston by some soldiers, and after having been lodged all night in a public inn, had their rest disturbed, and their minds grieved, by the incessant curses and oaths of their guards; they were, on the next morning, conveyed to the common jail, and detained there, without so much as the least pretence of any crime laid to their charge, till the assizes, when they were dismissed. At Dover, the magistrates were

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 1—30.

† Wall's History of Infant Baptism, vol. 2. p. 215.

‡ Crosby, vol. 2. p. 94. 97.

severe against them, taking them from their meeting-houses, and committing them to prison. After four-and-twenty days they were admitted to bail, and appearing at the assizes were forbidden to assemble any more in their own place of worship, but were allowed the use of one of the churches. This privilege, which they enjoyed about the space of five months, was afterward denied to them. Upon meeting again in their own place, their worship was disturbed, and twenty-four of them, under different commitments, sent to prison; at the quarter-sessions, a bill of indictment was found against them; some traversed it, others submitted to the court, and the rest were remitted to prison again*.

A circumstance which much aggravated the proceedings against these people was, that they were not apprehended by the peace-officers only, but by rude, youthful, and mercenary soldiers; who seized them, to the terror of women and children, with muskets and drawn swords, did violence to their persons, and spoiled their goods †.

In June 1661, one of these military banditti went to a meeting-house in Whitechapel, and laid hands on more than twenty; one of whom refusing to go with them unless they produced their warrant, they not only pulled him along by force, and beat him about the head with their hangers, but lifting him up several times between three or four, let him fall with violence, and drove his breast and stomach against the rails with such force, that his health was greatly injured by the blows and falls. When a suit was commenced against the actors of this tragedy, the persons, at whose complaint the soldiers were arrested, were themselves arrested, and sent to Newgate, where they lay about ten or twelve days before they could be bailed, and were held bound from sessions to sessions, for a long time, before they could be discharged.

The persons assembling in the same meeting-house were assaulted by a like body of soldiers, October the 20th, 1661, and one of them, the minister objecting to the authority under which they professed to act, was by a mittimus pretending and asserting great matters, cast into Newgate, where he lay thirty weeks, without any thing laid to his charge, and then they released him.

On the 3d of November, in the same year, a similar outrage was committed, in the same place, with as little show or face of law. The preacher and three more were seized, and thrown into New-prison, from which, in time of sessions, one was removed to Newgate, under pretence of being brought to his trial; which, however, he could never procure, though he called for it in the face of the court, nor was his name returned in the calendar. Yet he was kept in jail twelve weeks,

* Crosby, vol. 2, p. 149, 153, 154, 155.

† Ibid. vol. 2 p. 161.

till fetched out by a person in authority. He suffered in all eighteen, and the other persons twenty-eight, weeks' imprisonment*.

In the following year, their religious assemblies, in different parts of the town, met with the like violent interruptions from the soldiery, breaking in with their swords and muskets, and acting under the authority of sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, as in the former cases. In one instance a child in the cradle was awaked out of its sleep by their violence, and so terrified, that it fell sick, and died in three days. In other instances, the forms and furniture of their places of worship were broken and destroyed. Robinson, being told by them that they had broken the pulpit in Brick-lane, replied, "It was well done;" and gave them a piece of gold, as a reward for their good service. In all cases, the persons of those assembled were exposed to their indiscriminating rage; neither sex, nor childhood, nor old age, nor women with child, were spared. At one place the mob was let in to act with soldiers, at the direction of Robinson. Many of the conscientious sufferers, by illegal commitments, were cast into prison.

Even the walls of the prison did not afford them a secure retreat. In the prison itself they were exposed to outrage and fury. When they have been engaged together in religious conversation and acts of devotion, the felons of the jail, the thieves and housebreakers, the pickpockets and highwaymen, have been let into their rooms, have threatened them, violently assaulted, and beaten them †.

But in the country, were usually the greatest injustice and cruelty practised. The gentlemen in the commission of the peace, near Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, distinguished themselves by their virulence in prosecuting the Nonconformists, and particularly the Baptists. They filled not the county jail only with prisoners of this description, but hired large houses in Aylesbury, and converted them into prisons; and not contented with the severities in daily exercise, such as confiscation of goods and imprisonment, they attempted to revive the old practice of punishing heretics with banishment and death. They grounded their proceedings on the oppressive act of the 35th of Elizabeth, for the punishment of persons obstinately refusing to come to church ‡; which went to banish them, if, after three months' imprisonment, they refused conformity; and if they did not leave the kingdom within a limited time, or should return, to inflict death without benefit of clergy. In 1664, some of these justices proceeded on this act against ten men and two women, all Baptists, who had been apprehended at their meeting in or near Aylesbury: on these persons, because they refused to conform, and to abjure the realm, sentence of death was passed, and immediately their goods also were seized. The other dissenters, who constituted the ma-

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 162—165.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 172—179.

‡ See Neal, vol. 1. p. 346, of this edition.

majority of inhabitants in the town, alarmed at these proceedings, and anticipating their own doom, shut up their shops: this stop to commerce struck the whole town with horror and surprise. A son of one of the condemned persons immediately took horse for London, and was introduced, by Mr. William Kiffin, a gentleman of note amongst the Baptists, and of interest at court, to chancellor Hyde, who was easily engaged to lay the case before the king. His majesty expressed great surprise, that any of his subjects should be put to death for their religion, and inquired whether any law in force justified such proceedings? Being satisfied on this point, he promised his pardon. But lest any precipitancy in executing the sentence should supersede the benefit of his grace, while the pardon was passing through the usual forms, the king, on a renewed application, granted an immediate reprieve. The condemned persons, however, were continued close prisoners till the next assizes, and then the judge brought down his majesty's pardon, and they were all set at liberty*. This would undoubtedly check the disposition of the justices to a similar process. But the virtuous sufferers, besides their other calamities, owed their safety to favour instead of law; and appeared under the ignominious character of pardoned criminals, when they ought to have enjoyed the security and reputation of peaceable and innocent subjects.

The rage of the people, sanctioned by the conduct of the magistrates and the clergy towards the Baptists, rose to such a height as to deny them the benefit of the common burying places. Nay, there wanted not instances of their being taken out of their graves. The inhabitants of Croft in Lincolnshire treated in this manner the corpse of Mr. Robert Shalder, in the year 1666. He had suffered much by imprisonment, and died soon after his release. He was buried amongst his ancestors; and on the same day his grave was opened, and his body taken out, dragged on a sledge to his own gate, and left there.

In the year 1670, the Baptists of Lewes, and other places in the county of Sussex, suffered in their property by the proceedings of sir Thomas Nutt and other justices, on the conventicle-act. They were convicted without being admitted to plead in their own defence. They were fined in an arbitrary manner; and those fines were recovered in a way exceedingly oppressive and injurious, by distress and sale of goods. Where the fines amounted, as levied on various persons, to 5*l.* there were enacted, by distrains, 2*9l.* 17*s.* In some instances, four cheeses were seized to recover 10*s.* five pair of shoes for 5*s.* a cow for 2*l.* 15*s.* and a horse for 5*s.* Cattle worth 27*l.* was sold for 14*l.* 5*s.* as a distress for 11*l.* 10*s.* One person, for a meeting held in his house, was fined 20*l.* for which were taken from him six cows, two young bullocks, and a horse, his whole stock. On entering an

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 180—185.

appeal, they were returned to him ; but, being cast at the sessions, he was fined 60*l.* which was at last remitted to 23*l.* For nonpayment of this sum he was committed to the jailer's hands, though the vicar of the parish, touched with remorse for his share in the prosecution, offered his bond to pay the whole fine within a quarter of a year*.

It was remarked by one who had been bound over to several assizes and sessions for having religious assemblies held at his house, that the justices, who in criminal matters were often silent, and generally cool and disposed to lenity; when any person or accusation came before them concerning dissenters, were very forward speakers, and zealously aggravated the charge.

But nothing more strongly marked the malignant temper of the times against the Baptists, than the publication of a pamphlet, in the year 1673, avowedly designed to raise an abhorrence of the sect, and to stand "as an eternal memorial of their cruelty and hatred to all orthodox ministers." It was entitled, "Mr. Baxter baptized in blood." The story it exhibited was, that Mr. Josiah Baxter, a godly minister of New-England, for no other reason than because he had worsted the Baptists in a disputation, had been murdered in his own house, amidst "the howlings, groans, and screechings, of his dear relations, lying bound by him;" and it represented this murder as committed with circumstances of peculiar atrocity and cruelty: he being first stripped and severely whipped, and then unbowelled and flayed alive. To give it the air of authenticity, the pamphlet was pretended to be published by the mournful brother of the said minister, an inhabitant of Fenchurch-street, London; and it was actually licensed by Dr. Samuel Parker. This vile tale had its origin in invention and malice alone; for the king's privy council examined the case, and detected the forgery. It appeared, on the oaths of the officers in Fenchurch-street, that no such person as Benjamin Baxter, the pretended publisher, had, in their memory, lived there: and on the affidavits of a master of a vessel, and of a merchant who sailed from Boston about twenty days after this murder was said to be committed, it also appeared, that no such fact had taken place, nor had there been such a person as Mr. Josiah Baxter. The whole story was pronounced by an order of council "altogether false and fictitious;" and Dr. Parker confessed his mistake and credulity in licensing the pamphlet, and acknowledged, by a testimonial under his hand, his conviction that the whole was "both false and groundless." Mr. Andrew Marvel, not without intimating a suspicion that Dr. Parker was concerned in the fabrication, says, that "from beginning to end there never was a completer falsehood invented †." It grieves and shocks a good mind to think that, in any age or party, men can be found to invent and countenance such groundless and malevolent forgeries.

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 244—258.

† Ibid. vol. 278—294.

Besides this general survey of the persecutions to which the Baptists were exposed throughout the kingdom, it may be proper briefly to notice two or three particular cases.—One is that of Mr. John James, the minister of a congregation of Baptists, who observed the seventh day as a sabbath, and assembled in Bulstake-alley. Towards the end of the year 1661, they were interrupted in their worship by a justice and headborough, as Mr. James was preaching, whom they commanded in the king's name to be silent and come down, having spoken treason against the king. As Mr. James proceeded in his discourse, without noticing his summons, it was repeated with a threat of pulling him down. On this the disturbance grew so great, that Mr. James was obliged to stop; but still refusing to leave the pulpit, he was pulled down, and haled away; and the hearers were carried, by sevens, before the justices sitting at the Half-moon tavern, and those who refused the oath of allegiance were committed to prison. Mr. James was examined in the meeting-house; insult and threats accompanied the interrogatories, and he was committed on the charge of speaking treasonable words against his majesty. On this charge he was tried, condemned, and executed. Previously to the execution, his wife delivered to the king a petition, stating his innocence, and the character of the witnesses against him, signifying who she was, which the king received with a taunt: "Oh! Mr. James! he is a sweet gentleman;" and when she attempted to follow for some farther answer, the door was shut against her. On the next morning, she renewed her attendance and suit: and his majesty replied, "that he was a rogue, and should be hanged." A lord in waiting, asked who was meant, the king answered, "Oh, John James, that rogue; he shall be hanged; yea, he shall be hanged*."

The celebrated Mr. Benjamin Keach had also no small share in the sufferings of the times. He was seized, when preaching, and committed to jail; sometimes bound, sometimes released upon bail, and sometimes his life was threatened. Troopers, who were sent down into Buckinghamshire to suppress the meetings of dissenters, entered into an assembly where he was conducting the worship, with great violence, and swearing that they would kill the preacher. He was accordingly seized, and four of them declared their resolution to trample him to death with their horses. They bound him, laid him on the ground, and were going to spur all their horses at once upon him, when their officer, seeing their design, rode up towards them and prevented its execution. Mr. Keach was taken up, tied behind one of the troopers, across his horse, and carried to jail; where he suffered, some time, great hardships before he was released.

In the year 1644, Mr. Keach printed, at the request of friends, without his name, and with a recommendatory preface by another hand, a little piece entitled "The Child's Instructor; or a new

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 165—171.

and easy Primer." In this book were advanced several principles contrary to the doctrines and ceremonies of the church of England; viz. That infants ought not to be baptized; that laymen having abilities may preach the gospel: that Christ should reign personally upon the earth in the latter day, &c. Soon after this tract was printed, and Mr. Keach had received some copies of it, his house was searched for it, all the copies of it they found were seized, and he was bound over to the assizes in a recognizance of 100*l.* and two sureties with him in 50*l.* each. On October 8, Mr. Keach was brought to the bar of Aylesbury, where the assizes were held, before lord-chief justice Hyde. The judge not only interrogated him, whether he were the author of the Primer, but by unjust reflections and angry insults, endeavoured to incense the jury against him, and to render him odious. Mr. Keach was refused a copy of his indictment till he had pleaded to it. In the course of the trial, abuse and contempt was cast upon him from the bench. The jury were intimidated, when they hesitated on their verdict. Mr. Keach was convicted: and the sentence passed was, that he should be committed to jail for a fortnight, stand in the pillory for two hours on the following Saturday at Aylesbury, with a paper on his head with this inscription: "For writing, printing, and publishing, a schismatical book, entitled, 'The Child's Instructor; or, a new and easy Primer;'" that the same punishment, under like circumstances, should be inflicted on him on the next Thursday at Winslow: that there his book should be openly burnt before his face, in disgrace of him and his doctrine: that he should be fined 20*l.* and that he should remain in jail until he found sureties for his good behaviour and appearance at the next assizes; then to renounce his doctrines, and make such public submission as should be enjoined him. No pardon could be obtained, nor the least relaxation of the sentence, which the sheriff took care should be punctually executed*.

The spirit of persecution thus raged against this people: but not without a mixture of events, which were adapted seriously to affect the minds of their persecutors, and to alarm them to reflection. On the day of the king's proclamation at Waltham near Theobalds, there was a man who at the bonfire in the evening expressed a rage against the dissenters, and the Baptists in particular, by violence of language and oaths; and as he threw fagots into the fire, cried, "Here is a Round-head; here is an Anabaptist!" he was struck with death that night, and never saw the morning. A minister at one place inveighing in his sermon against this fact, fell into a swoon, and was speechless for two hours, so that it was apprehended that he would never recover out of the fit. At Brockington in Gloucestershire, a young woman, who had bitterly reviled them, giving a sudden shriek, as

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 185—209.

the preacher was discoursing on Jude 14, 15, dropped down in the religious assembly, and never recovered. The sufferings and character of the dissenters were made a jest upon the stage at Oxford. In a play acted there by the scholars, one personated the old Puritan; who broke a vein and vomited so much blood, that his immediate death was apprehended, and he lay sometime dangerously ill. Two of the actors, and a woman that joined them in this dramatic exhibition, were cut off by death*. Some remarkable calamities befel those who were instruments in the prosecution of Mr. John James†. One of the actors in the rude and unnatural treatment of Mr. Shalder's corpse, after it was interred, died suddenly; and another languished for some time, terrified with the remembrance of the insults he had offered to the dead‡. A woman named Anne Clemens at Chipping-Norton, distinguished by her rage and malice against the dissenters, fell into such circumstances of poverty, as to be obliged to sell her land, and mortgage her house for near its worth. Not one of her children, who resided in the neighbourhood, was in a comfortable condition; and she herself was so reduced as to beg alms of those she had hated and persecuted. Her affliction was heightened by a diseased appetite, which called for as much as would satisfy two or three persons; and by a disposition to breed vermin, so that though her clothes were not only washed but oved, she could not be kept clean. Richard Allein, an active informer, and violent in his conduct towards the dissenters, fell into afflictions that shortened his days. His eldest son was killed at London; and about the same time, another was accused and convicted for robbing on the highway, and by great friends and fees escaped with his life. An officer in the county troops of Oxford, with an income of 70*l.* per annum, before he could accomplish his design of suppressing the dissenters, sunk in his own estate, died greatly in debt, and his son's children became common beggars. One Werg, a forward and active constable, did not long survive the expiration of his office, and imputed his death to watching one cold night to take the dissenters at their meeting. Five persons, who received pensions as spies and informers, were observed not to prosper afterward, and every one of them shortly died. An Irish peer, and three Irish justices of title and rank, bitter persecutors, it was remarked, while they were directing their whole power to the ruin of the dissenters, were themselves ruined, their estates were sold, and their families became extinct. Whereas sir Littleton Obaldiston, a justice of peace, who had been heard to rail at the dissenters, and acted with others in committing them to prison, afterward laid aside his enmity, was instrumental in releasing several, and conducted himself in a friendly manner; and it was noticed, that his estate continued to his prosperity. And it was remarked, that — Howard, esq. a justice and officer

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 30—31.

† Ibid. p. 172.

‡ Ibid. p. 241.

in the county troops in Oxfordshire, who had from an enemy become a friend to the dissenters, though he adhered to the established worship, was the only one of those who had molested and harassed them that was living on the 30th of December, 1707, being then an old man, full of days, wealth, and honour*.

It becomes us, I am sensible, to be very cautious how we construe the events which are common to all men. "There is usually (says an excellent writer) much rashness and presumption in pronouncing, that the calamities of sinners are particular judgments of God; yet if, from sacred and profane, from ancient and modern historians, a collection were made of all the persecuting tyrants, who delighted in tormenting their fellow-creatures, and who died not the common death of all men, nor were visited after the visitation of all men, but whose plagues were horrible and strange, even a sceptic would be moved at the evidence, and would be apt to suspect that it was $\Theta\epsilon\iota\omega\nu\ \tau\epsilon$, that the hand of God was in it †."

But the history, which we are detailing, presents objects to our consideration more pleasing than the sufferings of the persecuted, or calamities that befel persecutors. It records the virtues which the persecuted displayed, and the consolations in which, under their heavy trials, they rejoiced. We see the power of faith and piety, when we hear the Baptists confined in Reading jail declaring, "Our Lord and King, whom we serve, hath brought us under his own pavilion: and his banner over us hath been and still is love, and hath been teaching of us these lessons following. 1st. In the loss of all outward things, having Christ, we enjoy all things, and are satisfied in the Lord: we shall take the spoiling of our goods with far more comfort, than the enemy will do in the spending of them, for that word, Job xx. 22, 23, is very much on our hearts concerning him. 2dly. We hope we have learned, in whatsoever condition we are, to be therewith contented; and are persuaded in our hearts, this is given us in answer of many prayers breathed forth unto the Lord on our behalfs. 3dly. That whereas formerly we could hardly part with anything for the Lord, we are now made willing by him, to part with all things for him, and to say with good old Eli, 'It is the Lord, let him do what he pleaseth;' and that in Job is set before us for our example, upon whom the ends of the world are come; 'The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the name of the Lord. In all this Job sinned not,' &c. 4thly. We have since our confinement tasted a greater sweetness in the promises of the Lord than formerly; and particularly these places following, we have sweet experience of, and we can truly say by experience, 'That faithful is he that hath thus promised, for he hath also done it: it is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.' Phil. iv. 19. 1 Pet. v. 7. Deut. xxxiii. 25. We are

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 259—263.

† Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 3. p. 247. 1754.

also brought by the power of his grace to a more watchful frame over our hearts, thoughts, and actions, by these trials than formerly. One thing had almost slipped our memory, the knowledge of which will, we hope, rejoice our hearts; that our relations, that are precious to the Lord and to us, bear this our suffering with incomparable patience, rather singing for joy, than weeping for grief. Also our societies, from whence we were taken, are exceeding cheerful, and a very lively spirit of faith and prayer is amongst them; and their meetings rather increase than otherwise. Sure, 'That the Lord is near, his wondrous works declare; for the singing of birds is come, and the turtle is heard in our land.' And now, brethren, forasmuch as the mercies expected and prayed for by us, are to be enjoyed in the way of righteousness, it greatly concerns us, that we cry mightily to the Lord, as did his servant of old, Isa. lxii. 1. Then shall we have that new name which God will give us, which is expressed in the last verse of that chapter. Now the God of all peace fill you with peace and joy in believing; so pray your brethren through grace*."

In the spirit of these pious sufferers, one whose property was seized, told those who took distress, "he never sold anything to so great advantage, for this would bring him a hundred-fold." And another, on goods from his shop to the value of 50*s.* being seized for a fine of 30*s.* assured them, "that he parted as willingly with them as with any goods he ever sold †."

When Mr. John James was brought to the bar to receive sentence, he was asked what he had to say for himself, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him. In a manner very expressive of pious submission and fortitude, he answered: "That he had not much to say, only two or three scriptures he would leave with them." The first scripture was Jer. xxvi. 14, 15. "As for me, do as seemeth good unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof." The second scripture was Psalm cxvi. 15. "Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints." He also reminded them of that good word of the Lord: "He that toucheth the Lord's people, toucheth the apple of his eye."

The deportment of Mr. Keach, when he stood in the pillory at Aylesbury, was singularly serious, devout, and undaunted. To his friends, who accompanied him, expressing their sense of his sufferings, he said, with a cheerful countenance, "The cross is the way to the crown." When his head and hands were fixed, he addressed the spectators to this effect: "Good people, I am not ashamed to stand here this day, with this paper on my head.

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 93—95.

† Ibid. p. 249.

My Lord Jesus was not ashamed to suffer on the cross for me, and it is for his cause that I am made a gazing-stock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedness that I stand here; but for writing and publishing his truths, which the Spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the Holy Scriptures. It is no new thing for the servants of the Lord to suffer and to be made a gazing-stock; and you that are acquainted with the Scriptures know, that the way to the crown is by the cross. The apostle saith, 'that through many tribulations, we must enter into the kingdom of heaven:' and Christ saith, 'He that is ashamed of me and my words, in an adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, before the Father, and before the holy angels.'" After frequent interruptions from the jailer and standing some time silent, disengaging one of his hands, he pulled his Bible out of his pocket, and held it up to the people, saying: "Take notice, that the things which I have written and published, and for which I stand here this day a spectacle to men and angels, are all contained in this book, as I could prove out of the same, if I had opportunity." The jailer took it from him, and fastened up his hand again: but it was almost impossible to keep him from speaking; saying, "It seems I cannot be suffered to speak to the cause for which I stand here; neither could I be suffered the other day (viz. on his trial): but it will plead its own innocency, when the strongest of its opposers shall be ashamed. I do not speak this out of prejudice to any person, but do sincerely desire, that the Lord would convert them, and convince them of their errors, that their souls may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Good people, the concernment of souls is very great; so great, that Christ died for them. And, truly, a concernment for souls was that which moved me to write and publish those things for which I now suffer, and for which I could suffer far greater things than these. It concerns you therefore to be very careful, otherwise it will be very sad with you, at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven, for we must all appear before his tribunal." Here he was interrupted, but after some time he again ventured to break silence. "I hope (said he) the Lord's people will not be discouraged at my sufferings. Oh! did you but experience the great love of God, and the excellences that are in him, it would make you willing to go through any sufferings for his sake. And I do account this the greatest honour that ever the Lord was pleased to confer upon me." He was not suffered to speak much more after this, and the officers were commanded to keep the spectators at a greater distance from him. He found an opportunity however to say at one time, "This is one yoke of Christ, which I can experience is easy to me, and a burden which he doth make light;" and to utter also this sentence, "Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." When the

time for his standing was expired, and his head and hands were at liberty, he blessed God, with a loud voice, for his great goodness unto him*.

Such sentiments, such a spirit expressed in the moment of suffering, it may be supposed, would disarm the rage of some, and possess the minds of many in favour of the pious sufferer. But the Baptists did not leave their principles to the recommendation and support, which the conduct and temper of those who, in the profession of them endured cruel trials, might afford. They adopted every method of softening prejudice and conciliating regard, by addresses from the press, and applications to the throne. With this view they published, in 1660, a Brief Confession or Declaration, to inform all men of their innocent belief and practice. It was owned and approved by more than twenty thousand. This was presented to his majesty, and met with his approbation. It was reprinted at London in 1691 †. Petitions also, as we have noticed, were in this year delivered to the king, representing their pacific principles, and imploring his protection ‡. Three persons, of this denomination, about this time published a declaration of their sentiments concerning opposing magistracy, in which they advanced principles to which the most zealous advocates for passive obedience and nonresistance could not object: professing that in such instances wherein they could not in conscience obey, they ought “not to resist them, but patiently suffer whatever they should inflict for non-obedience to their requirements§.” The persons who signed this declaration apologize for their paucity, and seemed not pleased with their brethren, because they were not of their judgment on this point. But their difference in opinion from other Baptists shews, that a uniformity of sentiment concerning the extent of the magistrate’s authority, and the right of resistance, had no necessary and direct connexion with an agreement on the questions concerning baptism. In the year 1661, the hardships under which many of this profession groaned, again excited them to seek mercy from the higher powers. A petition was presented to the king, on behalf of themselves and others, from some confined in the prison at Dover, and another to the duke of York; describing their great sufferings, protesting that innocence was found in them, and that against the king and his government they had done no harm, soliciting with much importunity to be set at liberty, and that they might not be interrupted in their worship of the God of heaven, as they were taught it in his word, which they prized above all the world; and urging, that it might be considered, ‘how disagreeable it is with Christianity, to bring tribulation upon any for conscience’ sake, seeing all things in worship must be done in faith and love ||.”

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 204—208.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 18; and Appendix, No. 4.

‡ Crosby, p. 19—26.

§ Ibid. vol. 2. p. 19. Appendix, No. V.

|| Crosby, vol. 2. p. 155—160.

But the application for redress of their grievances, which particularly deserves notice, was an address to the king, parliament, and people, in a treatise entitled, "Sion's groans for her distressed; or, Sober endeavours to prevent innocent blood," &c. This was not a petition only for toleration for themselves, but an able and spirited defence of the rights of conscience. Its design was to prove how contrary to the gospel "of the Lord Jesus, and to good reason, it is for any magistrate, by outward force, to impose anything in the worship of God on the consciences of those whom they govern; but that liberty ought to be given to all such as disturb not the civil peace, though of different persuasions in religious matters." The question is handled on liberal principles, also with copiousness and strength. The spirit and the reasoning do honour to the people from whom it came; especially when it is recollected, that the assembly at Westminster, and the ministers of London and other parts, had from the pulpit and the press opposed the principles of toleration.

It is argued, that the power of directing conscience by outward force doth not attach itself to the office of magistracy itself, because then all magistrates in all nations have the same power; the Mahometan to enforce the reception of the Koran, the Spaniard to enjoy popery, and every succeeding magistrate to sanction his own religion, to the overthrow of what his predecessor established: because the apostles, who command obedience to magistrates, in matters of religion, refused obedience; because all the Scriptures of the New Testament, enjoining obedience to magistrates, being written when the emperors were idolaters; such injunctions cannot be understood as applying to religion: because, if the commands of the magistrate in religious matters were obligatory, there could be no persecutions, and the way to heaven, so far from being strait and narrow, any might be a disciple of Christ without taking up the cross. And the conduct of Gallio, who declined interfering in a matter relative to God's law, and restrained the exercise of his authority to civil injuries only, is with great propriety appealed to, as a worthy example for the imitation of magistrates.

That the Christian magistrate, as such, has no power over conscience, nor authority to impose anything in religion by outward force, is argued from the conduct of Christ Jesus, who never compelled men by force to receive his doctrine; from the conduct of the apostles, and the elders of the primitive church, who disclaimed any such power. 1 Cor. i. 24. Matt. xx. 25. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. "Why, therefore, (say the authors of this piece) the Christian religion should be built and supported by violence, when the foundation was laid, and the work carried on during all the apostles' days, and some hundred years after, by a quite contrary means, is a question should be resolved by those whose strongest arguments for the support of their religion is, Take him, jailer. For such is the difference between the way which the

apostles and primitive saints took, in carrying on the work of the gospel, and approving themselves to be the ministers of God, and the way now used by the national clergy, than which nothing is more unlike." In the prosecution of their argument, they reason forcibly from the parable of the tares and wheat, as forbidding any outward force or violence to be used upon false worshippers and heretics as such. "Hath the magistrate (it is asked) power to remove those out of the world, that God would have permitted to live?" The fallibility of the magistrate furnishes another argument against the exercise of his power in religion; a fallibility which woful experience hath taught the world in all ages; the magistrate of one country establishing the principles and practices which that of another country condemns and persecutes; nay, the same magistrate, at different periods, reversing his own decrees; and now rejecting what he had just before defended by his pen, or supported by his laws: as was the case of Henry VIII. To this fallibility he is equally liable, whether he confide in his own wisdom, or rely on the authority of popes, synods, or general councils. This point is illustrated by various examples. As to national conventions and synods, so far are they from any show of infallibility, it is justly observed, "that the same complexion and temper the nation is of, wherein they are called, you shall be sure to find them of; because they have their dependency on the authority that calls them together." Among other arguments, it is stated, that for the magistrate to inflict temporal punishments upon any for not conforming to those decrees which enjoin any spiritual worship or service, is a breach of the royal law, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This is a rule which all sorts of men, whilst under persecution, are ready to receive and plead. Nor would they who are forward to persecute, be very zealous in their proceedings, if they were sure that those whom they persecute should have power on their sides to "mete the same measure unto them." It is well observed, that such proceedings may sometimes prove inconsistent with the very being of nations. "For, suppose any nation were wholly heathen idolaters, and the word of God coming in amongst them should convert the chief-magistrate, and one-twentieth part of the nation more; must he then with that twentieth part destroy all the other nineteen, if they will not be converted, but continue in their heathenish idolatry? It cannot possibly be supposed to be warrantable. And the reason holds good likewise against the rooting up and destroying heretics out of the world."

These just sentiments are followed by a full answer to the argument in favour of the magistrate's power in religious matters, drawn from the example of the kings of Israel and Judah. In reply to this, it is observed, that the power of those kings to punish idolaters and blasphemers was given them by God, and

written in plain precepts in the Mosaical law : but hath the Lord Jesus invested magistrates with such power ? if he have, where is it written ? The Jews, all the time they kept to the law of God, had a standing oracle amongst them, the Urim and Thummim, and the counsels of extraordinary prophets to assist them to judge righteous judgments. Besides, the gospel is a dispensation far different from the law in all its ordinances and administrations, under which the Lord Jesus is the only lawgiver.

Such is the strain of this piece : the importance of the subject, the force of the argument, and the liberality of the spirit, entitle it to particular notice ; and will, it is presumed, make this review of it acceptable *. The authors of it, whose names are subscribed to the prefatory epistle, were, Thomas Monck, Joseph Wright, George Hammon, William Jeffery, Francis Stanley, William Reynolds, and Francis Smith. While they earnestly recommend their treatise to deliberate and serious perusal, our design, they say, “ in what we beg may be perused, is general good, in setting at liberty that which God made free, even the conscience.”

The only particulars I can find concerning these able advocates for liberty are, that Mr. Wright, born in 1623, was a physician : he was educated at the university, and was a man of great learning and piety ; a serious and diligent preacher, and greatly promoted the cause of the Baptists. He was confined twenty years in the jail at Maidstone ; in this town he died, aged eighty, in 1703 †. Mr. George Hammon, eminent for the ardour and freedom with which he vindicated what he judged to be truth on all occasions, and very much persecuted on that account, was pastor of a congregation at Biddenden in Kent ; and died at Haseldens-wood, in the parish of Cranbrook ‡. Mr. William Jeffery, born in 1616, of pious parents, in the parish of Penshurst, lived at Bradbourn, in Sevenoaks, Kent ; where he and his brother were the great supporters, if not the founders, of a meeting. By his diligence, and that of several others, more than twenty congregations were formed in that county, on the principles laid down in Heb. vi. 1, 2, without entering on speculative and controverted points. As he was vigorous, unwearied, and successful, in his labours, so with great patience and pleasure he suffered much for his principles ; these he also often defended in public disputations. He was much valued for his steady piety and universal virtue, and died in a good old age §. His son succeeded him in his church. Mr. Francis Stanley was a man noted for his zeal and piety, and was imprisoned for preaching, in the jail of Northampton. He bore his sufferings like a Christian, and died about the year 1696. He was a native of Northamptonshire, and was buried at East-Haddon, in that

* Mr. Crosby has preserved it entire in his History, vol. 2. p. 100—144.

† Crosby, vol. 3. p. 116.

‡ Ibid. p. 103.

§ Ibid. p. 97, 98.

county*. Of the other persons Mr. Crosby gives no particular account.

In the same year in which appeared the piece on 'Toleration, there were published, a small piece, entitled, "A Complaint of the Oppressed against the Oppressors; or, the unjust and arbitrary proceedings of some soldiers and justices, against some sober, godly persons, in and near London, who now lie in stinking jails, for the testimony of a good conscience; with some reasons why they cannot swear allegiance to obtain their liberty:" and a tract, entitled, "A Plea for Toleration of Opinions and Persuasions in matters of Religion, differing from the church of England: humbly presented to the king's most excellent majesty: by Mr. John Sturgeon, a Baptist." The former was written by Dr. John Griffith, a worthy man, who suffered a long imprisonment in Newgate for nonconformity. Each piece was an affecting remonstrance on the unjust proceedings, by which many pious and innocent persons, of unblemished characters, in London, and in almost all the counties of England, were suffering; being taken out of their beds at midnight by soldiers, acting without warrant, and with drawn swords, to the great terror of their wives and children; and being thrust into prisons, in such crowds that the jailers complained they had too many guests; and detained there to the ruin of their families †.

Mr. James Atkins, one of those who were harassed by the magistrates of Dover, on his own behalf, and in the cause of his fellow-sufferers, addressed a letter to the mayor and justices of that town, under the name of "A Poor Subject;" acknowledging a submission to the civil magistrate, except in what concerned the worship of God, and entreating in the bowels of love a consideration of the evil of restraining their liberty ‡.

In the year 1662, there came from the press a small pamphlet, entitled, "Behold a Cry; or, a true relation of the inhuman and violent outrages of divers soldiers, constables, and others, practised upon many of the Lord's people, commonly, though falsely, called Anabaptists, at their several meetings in and about London."

An incident which took place in Lincolnshire in 1670, called forth a vindication of their principles from this denomination in a different form from the preceding publications. Mr. Robert Wright, who had been a preacher amongst them, but was on account of his irregular life and conversation excluded their society, having spent his estate, applied to Dr. William Fuller, the bishop of that diocese, for orders and a benefice; promising to renounce his sentiments concerning baptism, and to preach against the Baptists. The bishop accepted his offer; he was admitted in the ministry of the church of England, and preached in support of the baptism of infants, in opposition to that of believers, with great ardour and confi-

* Crosby, vol. 3. p. 127. † Ibid. vol. 2. p. 144—148; and vol. 3. p. 120.

‡ Ibid. vol. 2. p. 151, 152.

dence. This excited great attention, the minds of many were much impressed by it, and it was supposed that most, if not all the ministers of the Baptist churches would be easily confuted. They, in their own vindication, at the assizes, posted up, in different parts of the city of Lincoln, four papers, addressed to the citizens and inhabitants, inviting Mr. Wright to a friendly conference, and offering to maintain the doctrine and baptism of repentance to be from heaven, and the sprinkling and crossing of infants to be man's tradition. They were dated the 11th day of the first month (vulg.) March, 1670. Two of them were taken down in the morning, and were, it was supposed, carried to the bishop and the judge. The other two were permitted to remain till the afternoon, and were read by many, till they were removed by the clergy, who threatened the writers of them should answer for it before the council-table. But though the bishop, it was well known, was not a little moved by these proceedings of the Baptists, no other step was taken on the occasion, than sending to them an angry paper, drawn up by Mr. William Silverton, the bishop's chaplain, who called them erroneous, antic Baptists. To this paper Mr. Grantham replied, promising Mr. Silverton either to hear and discuss his arguments in a free audience, if he would fix a convenient time and place for the purpose; or to reply to him, if he would defend his sentiments from the press. Here the matter ended, as Mr. Silverton saw fit to be silent*.

The only publication which remains to be noticed in this period, was, "A narrative of the late proceedings of some justices and others, pretending to put in execution the late act against conventicles; against several peaceable people in and about the town of Lewes in Sussex, only for their being quietly met to worship God: together with a brief account of the like proceedings against some at Bighthelmstone, and others at Chillington, in the same county." This professed to be a faithful narrative, published with a view to encourage others to suffer the spoiling of their goods by the example of many, who endured it with patience and joyfulness; and with the hope, that by it the harsh proceedings against a peaceable people might come to the knowledge of some in authority, who, out of pity to the distressed, and justice to their righteous cause, would redress their grievances †. Such narratives were indeed well adapted to each purpose, and were an affecting appeal to the sense of humanity and equity.

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 241—244.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 245, 246.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE TO THE
REVOLUTION.

A CONTROVERSY arose among the Baptists, about this time, respecting the laying on of hands, which created not a little altercation and trouble. Hitherto, it appears that this rite was practised by them as an apostolical ordinance, and was accompanied with prayer over the newly-baptized. A treatise, entitled "A Search after Schism," was published in opposition to it. This was answered by Dr. John Griffith, in a piece called "The Searchers after Schism searched," and it drew from Mr. Grantham his "Sigh for Peace; or, the Cause of Division discovered." The appearance of this piece occasioned a meeting between Mr. Grantham and Mr. Ives, when the subject was debated with temper and good humour; and Mr. Ives is reported, on finding himself gravelled, to have broken up the meeting in a friendly and peaceable manner. About three years after, Mr. Danvers published a treatise against laying on of hands, which was answered by Mr. Benjamin Keach, and also by Mr. Grantham, who annexed to his answer, "A Treatise of the Successors of the Apostles."

In 1674, the Baptists were engaged in a controversy with the Quakers, which created a noise, and was conducted, as is usual, by mutual criminations. Mr. Thomas Hicks, a minister of the former, published several pamphlets in succession, under the title of "A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker." The title these pieces bore was certainly invidious, and held up the Quakers as not deserving to be ranked among Christians. It was also complained of, that the design of them was not so much to investigate truth as to represent the Quaker a deformed, ridiculous, and erroneous being. The great Penn, on this occasion, became the advocate of the people to whom he had joined himself, in two books; the first entitled, "Reason against Railing;" and the other, "The Counterfeit Christian detected." But as Mr. Hicks had reflected upon some particular members by name, an appeal was made to the Baptists, in and about London, for justice against him. A meeting was accordingly appointed to hear the charges against him; but they are censured for fixing the time when the complainants, Penn and Whitehead, were absent from the city at a distance too remote to be apprised of the intended meeting. It was urged in defence of the Baptists, that they were informed that Penn was not far from London several days after the notice of the meeting was sent, and even at his own house at no great distance from the town the very day preceding: and that they had invited others of the society, particularly John Osgoods, to be present, who declined it. The meeting took place, and Mr. Hicks was examined by his own friends only on the charges brought against him by the Quakers; and he endeavoured

to establish the representations he had made of their principles and doctrines by quotations from their own writers. These were pronounced, by nineteen of his own denomination, to be truly recited, and the church to which he belonged, in public print, cleared him from the charge which the Quakers alleged against him. This decision was deemed partial. On the face of it, though the business was said to be conducted with great fairness, it was open to objection. The Baptists refused to defer the meeting, though solicited. No Quaker was present to be heard on the grounds of the charges. And, though the passages might be quoted with verbal exactness, which Mr. Hicks brought as his authorities, yet they were detached from their connexion, and a meaning affixed to them which probably the writers, if they had been there to explain themselves, would not have admitted as their sense. New complaints were brought forward against the Baptists; and justice again demanded. A meeting for a rehearing was obtained; but Mr. Hicks would not attend it, but sent some others with Mr. Ives; "who (says Crosby) so managed the Quakers that they were obliged to break up without any farther proceedings in the matter." "By clamours and rudeness (says Gough), they diverted the complainants from prosecuting the charge against Hicks, and carried their point so far as to prevent its being heard, though frequent attempts were made to read it."

The Baptists published an account of these meetings, under the title of "A Contest for Christianity." Mr. Tho. Welwood, in behalf of his friends, appealed to the public, first in a single sheet, entitled, "A fresh Pursuit;" and then, in reply to the "Contest," which was written by Mr. Thomas Plant, in a piece entitled, "Forgery no Christianity." The issue of this controversy is represented, on the one hand, to be, that the Quakers were so chafed in these disputes, that they did not only brand the Baptists with infamy, but denounced curses and judgments upon them. On the other side it is said, "that the aim of this unprovoked assault upon the principles and reputation of this society was remarkably frustrated; and these dialogues, with their ungenerous and unequitable method of defending them and their author, promoted what they were designed to prevent; for not a few of their members, offended at their proceedings, deserted their meetings and society, went over to the injured party, and joined them in religious fellowship*."

In the year 1677, the Baptists published "A Confession of their Faith, set forth by the elders and brethren of many congregations of Christians, baptized upon profession of their faith, in London and the country." Their avowed design in this publication was, not only to give an account of themselves on the points wherein they differed from other Christians, but also to instruct and establish others in the great principles in which there was a mutual agreement between them. They aimed to express themselves,

* Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 2. p. 294—310. Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 2. p. 368—371.

on the former heads, with a modesty and humility that would render the freedom with which they declared themselves inoffensive to those whose sentiments were different from their own. The general plan of their confession was after the order and method observed in that of the assembly of Westminster, and afterward adopted by the congregational churches; and in the margin they affixed such texts as, in their opinion, confirmed each article. Two things they earnestly desired: that full credit might be given to their declaration of contention being most remote from their design in all that they did in this matter; and that all into whose hands this piece might come “would follow that never-enough-commended example of the noble Bereans, who searched the Scriptures daily, that they might find out whether the things preached to them were so or not.” This Confession of Faith was reprinted in the year 1689; and was approved and recommended by the ministers and messengers of above a hundred congregations, met in London from the third to the eleventh day of the seventh month. It was signed by thirty-seven persons, in the name and behalf of the whole assembly. It has continued to be generally received by those congregations that hold the doctrine of personal election, and the certainty of the saints’ final perseverance*. In 1790 it was reprinted by Dr. John Rippon, with a list of the thirty-seven ministers who recommended it; and to this edition were added the places where they all laboured. In 1791, there appeared a new edition of the translation of it in Welsh, revised by the reverend Joshua Thomas, of Leominster†. The first edition, besides an introductory advertisement to the judicious “and impartial reader,” was accompanied by an Appendix—a judicious, candid, and conciliating piece; in which they discuss the arguments alleged against their distinguishing sentiment and practice, and give the reasons, with brevity and plainness, why they could not acquiesce in them‡.

This denomination now greatly increased. Their arguments weighed with many; their exemplary lives spoke in their favour: but the number of their converts excited against them a spirit of jealousy and resentment, and they were the objects of clamour and defamation. Many books were published, misrepresenting them, and their chiefs were reproached, as Jesuits and heretics. This induced them to publish many confessions of faith; some in vindication of particular churches, others of particular persons. In 1678 one was agreed to, and signed by fifty ministers and messengers in the several counties of Bucks, Hertford, Bedford, and Oxford, in behalf of themselves and many others, containing fifty articles. It was soon published under the title of “An Orthodox Creed; or, a Protestant Confession of Faith; being an essay to unite and confirm all true Protestants in the fundamental

* Crosby, vol. 2. p. 317; vol. 3. p. 258; and Appendix, No. 2.

† Rippon’s Baptist Annual Register, p. 124. 191.

‡ See it at length in Crosby, vol. 2. p. 317—344.

articles of the Christian religion, against the errors and heresies of the church of Rome*." As the Baptists consisted of two parties, distinguished by the names General and Particular, when one published a declaration of their principles, the other soon after did the same†.

In this period may be placed several who made a distinguished figure as ministers among the Baptists, the time of whose deaths is not ascertained.

The first was Mr. William Dell, A. M., famous in the time of the civil wars: he received his education at the university of Cambridge, and held the living of Yeldon in the county of Bedford, worth about 200*l.* a year. About the year 1645 he became chaplain to the army, constantly attending sir Thomas Fairfax, and preaching at the head-quarters. In 1649, when several were turned out of the universities for refusing to take the oaths to the government, he was made master of Caius-college at Cambridge, which preferment he held with his living at Yeldon, till he was ejected by the act of uniformity. Party prejudice fixed on his memory the charge of glaring contradictions, and inconsistencies of conduct, from which more candid posterity has vindicated him. The fact was, that he was at first satisfied with episcopacy and the ceremonies; but when the change in the state brought on a reformation in religion, he was one of the first and most zealous to promote it, and would have carried it farther than was agreeable to the principles and views of many others. He was obnoxious to the rigid Presbyterians, whose attempts to monopolise all power, in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, he opposed. A sermon at Marston occasioned him much trouble, and another on a fast-day, before the house of commons, led him into a controversy with Mr. C. Love, who opposed him in the afternoon of the same day: they thus were made the heads and champions of the two contending parties of the nation. Mr. Love justified the punishing of heretics and schismatics, and vindicated the authority of the civil magistrate, in imposing articles of faith and a form of worship; in a word, pleaded for persecution. Mr. Dell was the advocate of liberty: he preached against making a whole kingdom a church; he thought that no power belonged to the clergy but what is spiritual; he protested against blending the civil and the ecclesiastical power together, as the constant method of setting up a spiritual tyranny; he pleaded that all persons ought to have liberty to worship God in the manner they think most agreeable to his word; and argued, that the imposition of uniformity and all compulsion in matters of religion were antichristian. These principles created him enemies, who blackened his character by odious names. But, though he was tinctured with the enthusiasm of the times, he was a man of substantial learning, of real piety, and a noble defender of the rights

* Crosby, vol. 3. Appendix, No. 1.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 344, 345.

of conscience. Besides several sermons and a tract written in this cause, he was the author of a tract in quarto, 1648, entitled, "The Doctrine of Baptism reduced from its ancient and modern corruptions*."

Another person of note was Mr. Francis Cornwell, M.A., who was sometime student of Emanuel-college, Cambridge, and commenced master of arts in that university. When he left it, he was preferred to a living in the established church; and, at the beginning of the civil wars, was minister at Orpington, in Kent. In the reign of Charles I. he was imprisoned for nonconformity, refusing to wear the surplice, to kneel at the sacrament, and to use the sign of the cross in baptism. His companion in Maidstone jail was Mr. Wilson, of Otham, near that town. Among the visiters who came to see them was a woman, who had some doubts in her mind whether the baptism of infants could be proved from Scripture. Mr. Cornwell endeavoured, by the best scriptural arguments he could produce, to resolve her doubts, but found he could not do it so well to her or his own satisfaction as he could wish. When this visitant had left him, he conversed on the subject with his fellow-prisoner Mr. Wilson, who assured him he never thought that infant-baptism could be proved from Scripture, but had its authority from human tradition, being handed down from primitive times as a practice generally received from the church. Mr. Cornwell, taking the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith, and considering that on this principle alone all the Protestant churches vindicated their separation from the church of Rome against all her impositions, founded on pretended primitive antiquity, was induced to make a more diligent search. The result was, that infant-baptism did not appear to him to derive its authority from the Scriptures, but to have had its dependance, in all ages, on the decrees, canons, and councils of the church. Entering into these views of the subject, he relinquished the doctrine of infants' baptism, and adopted the opinion of those who think that believers only, making profession of their faith and repentance, are the proper subjects of this institution †. In 1643, he publicly avowed this principle, and wrote in defence of it a tract, entitled, "The Vindication of the Royal Commission of Jesus." After the publication of this book, he went on to preach and propagate his opinion. In 1644, in a visitation-sermon preached at Cranbrook in Kent, from Mark vii. 7, before the ministers of those parts, he took the liberty of freely declaring his sentiments, and asserted, that pædobaptism was an antichristian innovation, a human tradition, and a practice for which there was neither precept, or example, or true deduction, from the word of God. This, as might be

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 323—333. Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. 1. p. 201, and p. 225, note.

† Mr. Thompson's Collections, MSS., under the words Staplehurst and Smarden.

expected, much startled the clergy who were present, but greatly offended several of them. The matter was debated between them, and the argument in support of antipædobaptism was strongly pushed by Mr. William Jeffery of Sevenoaks, who had baptized Mr. Cornwell, and to whom he had referred them, till Mr. Christopher Blackwood, one of the ministers, desired them to desist at that time, for he had taken down the sermon in short-hand, and would return an answer in print, which he hoped might be to the satisfaction of them all*. His advice was adopted; it was agreed to postpone, for the present, the discussion of the question, to re-examine the point, and to bring their collections together at the next meeting, which was to be within a fortnight. In the mean time Mr. Blackwood studied the question with great diligence and close attention. The impression made on his mind was very different from what was anticipated. He began to suspect that infant-baptism was no more than a human tradition, and was attended with evil consequences; and, when they met, he brought in his arguments against it. As no one produced any defence, one properly observing, that they sought for truth and not victory, proposed, that Mr. Blackwood's papers should be left with them for examination; to this motion he acceded: but when, after waiting a long time, no answer was given to his arguments, he sent for his papers, and published them with corrections and enlargements. Thus the controversy was revived in the county of Kent, and the sentiments of the Baptists gained ground. Mr. Cornwell soon after this withdrew from the national church, for he disapproved both of national and parochial churches; and taught that a church was to consist of such only as professed repentance from dead works, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and were baptized according to his commands, after the pattern of the first churches in Judea. He quickly gathered a church in Kent, formed on this plan, of which he was pastor to the day of his death, and was succeeded in that place and office by his son. It reflects honour on Mr. Cornwell's name and memory, that he was a zealous opposer of persecution and an imposed uniformity. He wrote against the ordinance of parliament made to silence all lay-preachers, that is, such as had not received episcopal or presbyterian ordination, or who should preach any thing contrary to the articles of faith and directory for public worship, set forth by the assembly. The piece which he published on this occasion was entitled, "Two Queries worthy of Consideration."

Q. 1. Whether that ministry that preacheth freely the gospel faith, that the Lord Jesus is the Christ, as the apostle Peter did, be not truly orthodox?

Q. 2. Whether it be agreeable to the word of God, contained in the sacred Scriptures, to silence or inhibit any ministers of Jesus Christ for preaching this gospel freely?

* Mr. Thompson's Collections, MSS.

He affirmed the former, and maintained it by several arguments; the latter he denied; and intimated, that they who were guilty of such practices acted like the Jews of old, who cast the blind man out of the temple, for confessing that Jesus was the Christ*.

In close connexion with Mr. Cornwell's history stands, as we have seen, that of Mr. Blackwood, who, in consequence of his visitation-sermon, became a proselyte to believers' baptism, and with Mr. Richard Kingsnorth, who likewise was convinced by it, gathered a church at Staplehurst in Kent; but his sentiments being Calvinistic, and contrary to those of the society, he afterward left it under the pastoral care of Mr. Kingsnorth, who held universal redemption and final perseverance†. Mr. Blackwood was possessed, at the beginning of the civil wars, of a parochial church in the county of Kent; from whence it is probable that he was educated at one of the universities. After he changed his sentiments on the questions concerning baptism, he did not continue long in the established church; for he was as zealous against national churches as against infant baptism. He was an advocate for liberty of conscience, and opposed the establishment of presbyterianism. In the first piece he published, he joined together infant-baptism and compulsion of conscience, and called them "the two last and strongest garrisons of antichrist." He was reckoned among "those worthy guides, well qualified in all respects for the ministry," who voluntarily left their benefices in the establishment, by one who lived in those times. He appears in 1653, to have gone into Ireland with the army under the command of general Fleetwood and lieutenant Ludlow. He lived till after the Restoration, and signed the apology of the Baptists in 1660, declaring against Venner's insurrection.

Another, who was reckoned among the worthies of this denomination at this period, was Mr. Benjamin Cox, who made no mean figure in his time. He was the son of a bishop‡, was a man of great learning, and a graduate in one of the universities. He was, for some time, a minister in the established church, had a parochial charge in the county of Devon, and was very zealous for the superstitious ceremonies that prevailed in bishop Laud's time. But when the affairs of state led men to think more freely in matters of religion, Mr. Cox was among the first in promoting a reformation, and had before him flattering prospects of eminence and preferment in this kingdom, when he rejected the baptism of infants, as it appeared to him not founded in the Scriptures; but this obstructed his advancement in the established church, and prejudiced against him the divines who were at the

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 334—349; and vol. 3. p. 6—9.

† Thompson's Collections, MSS.

‡ It seems more probable that he was the grandson of one, as Dr. Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, who filled that see twenty years, died in 1580. Richardson de Præsulibus.

head of ecclesiastical affairs. He preserved, however, the character of a man of abilities and great learning. After episcopacy and the common-prayer were laid aside, he was for some time minister at Bedford. In 1645 he came to London, and was one of the principal managers on the part of the Baptists in a public dispute concerning infant-baptism, at Aldermanbury-church, to which a stop was afterward put by the government. In the year 1646, when seven churches, in London, called Anabaptists, published a confession of their faith, and presented it to parliament, his name, in behalf of one of those congregations, was subscribed to it. Though, when the act of Uniformity, in 1662, took place, he at first conformed; yet his conscience soon after upbraiding him for that step, he obeyed its dictates by throwing up his living, and died a Nonconformist and a Baptist, in a very advanced age; for Mr. Baxter, with whom he had a dispute by word of mouth and by writing, called him, at the beginning of the civil wars, an ancient minister. He suffered imprisonment for his opinions concerning baptism in the city of Coventry*.

Here is a proper place for observing, that at the Restoration, several parishes were found to have Baptist ministers fixed in them. The cause of this was, that in the year 1653, when a certain number of men called triers were authorized to examine and approve candidates for the ministry, Mr. Tombes, notwithstanding his difference in opinion from the rest, such was the estimation in which his character was held, was appointed to be one of them. Among other good effects that followed upon this, one was, that the commissioners agreed to own Baptists their brethren; and that if any such applied to them for probation, and appeared in other respects duly qualified, they should not be rejected for holding their sentiments†.

The history of the Baptists, from the accession of James II. to the Revolution, is confined to some brief accounts of the sufferings and characters of several ministers who were in estimation among them, and died in this period.

But we should first mention one, whose name should have been introduced in the preceding reign: Mr. Abraham Chear, a native of Plymouth, who, though he did not enjoy a liberal education, knew the Scriptures from his childhood, and delighted in searching them. About 1648 he was baptized, and joined the Baptist church in that town, and was soon after invited to be their pastor, for which character he was fitted by peculiar gifts and graces. In 1661 he suffered three months' imprisonment in Exeter jail, on the conventicle act. In 1662 he was again cast into that prison; after his release he was imprisoned at the Guildhall in Plymouth: then, after a month's detention, he was confined, under military guard, in the isle of Plymouth; where,

* Crosby, vol. 1. p. 353, 354.

† Ibid. p. 239.

after full five years' imprisonment in different jails, and enduring many inhumanities from merciless jailors, he yielded up his spirit without pang or considerable groan, the 5th of March 1668. At his death the church consisted of one hundred and fifty members. After this the persecution broke out with greater fury, and it suffered much till king James's declaration for liberty of conscience revived their drooping spirits, and were almost twenty years destitute of a pastor. Mr. Chear was a laborious and successful preacher. In his confinement he wrote several religious tracts, and letters to his friends full of Christian exhortations to constancy and steadfastness. One of these, an acknowledgment of some provisions sent to him and his fellow-prisoners, most expressive of cheerfulness in their sufferings and gratitude to their benefactors, is preserved by Crosby. During his illness, almost to his last moment, he continued glorifying God, and exhorting all who visited him to perseverance in those perilous times: speaking with earnest concern about the guilt contracted in these nations by persecuting God's faithful servants; and with great joy and assurance concerning the delight which God takes in his suffering saints, and the ample recompence he will hereafter render for their present sorrows; particularly on the Lord's day preceding his dissolution. About three hours before it, a friend perceiving him under great pressures, said softly to him, "They looked unto the lord, and were lightened: a right look will bring down relief under all difficulties." "Yea (he replied, with great strength and earnestness), and their faces were not ashamed*."

In the reign of James II. died, at Kelby in Leicestershire, where he was minister of a Baptist congregation, Mr. Richard Farmer, the friend of Mr. Clarke and Mr. Shuttleworth, eminent ejected ministers in that county. He was a hard student and an affecting preacher, and frequently officiated among the Independents. He had a small estate to live upon, in which he suffered greatly for his religious principles, as distress was made by virtue of a justice's warrant upon his goods; and they took from him, in one year, to the value of 110*l*.†

Another, who suffered much in this period for his nonconformity, and was several times prisoner at York, at Leeds, and at Chester, was Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, ejected from Bramham, in the county of York. He was born at Barwick upon Holm, and received his education under Mr. Jackson, of that town, a learned divine. He had not been long in the ministry, when the act of uniformity passed: he preached afterward at Shadwell chapel and other places. He was a man of pregnant parts, eminent learning and piety, of great moderation and catholicism, though of a bold spirit, which feared no danger. In 1671 he was, on the

* Thompson's Collections, MSS., and Crosby's History of the English Baptists, vol. 3. p. 11—24.

† Ibid. 118, 119.

death of Mr. Ewins*, invited to be pastor of a congregation of Baptists, who had separated from the establishment early in 1640, though they continued their attendance at sermon, but not at the prayers, in the parish-church on the morning of the Lord's day, spending the afternoon and evening in religious exercises among themselves. Mr. Cann, the author of the marginal references to the Bible, preached adult baptism to them, and settled them in church-order, without making baptism a term of communion. On Mr. Hardcastle's settlement with them, they took four rooms on the Lamb pavement, Broadmead, and made them into one of sixteen yards long and fifteen broad. At Bristol he was sent to the house of correction; he died suddenly, 20th of August, 1678, universally lamented. He published one practical treatise†. He was succeeded by another ejected minister.

Mr. George Fownes, who settled with this society Sept. 16, 1679, found the number of members, which amounted, when Mr. Hardcastle became their pastor, to a hundred, increased to one hundred and sixty-six, of which thirty-one were Pædobaptists. Mr. Fownes was born in Shropshire, and received his classical education at Shrewsbury, where his grandson, the ingenious and learned Mr. Joseph Fownes, was for many years a dissenting minister. His father dying he was sent to Cambridge. He was an able preacher, and a man of great learning, and was conversant in law, physic, and other branches of science. He voluntarily quitted the parish-church before the Restoration, though he continued preaching in different places till he fixed at Bristol. About the time of what was called the Presbyterian plot, he was taken in the pulpit, and committed to Newgate; but by virtue of a flaw in the *mittimus*, he was in six weeks removed by a habeas corpus to the King's-bench, and acquitted. He was afterward apprehended on the highway in Kingswood, on suspicion of only coming from a meeting, and committed to Gloucester jail, for re-

* Mr. Ewins was ejected from a living in Bristol: though he was no scholar, and had been a mechanic, he was esteemed as a judicious, methodical preacher; was remarkable for his meekness, patience, and charity: in his ministerial duties he was popular, laborious, and successful, ready to preach on most days when not otherwise employed; grave and serious every where, and full of good discourse. He was so scrupulous about maintenance, that he would accept no tithes nor salary, but only free gifts. The bishop of Bristol invited him to conform, but he could by no means be satisfied to comply. When, in 1651, he was invited by the Separatists at Bristol, to become their minister—he was a Pædobaptist. About 1654, he embraced the opinions of the Baptists, and was baptized in London. In 1660 the members of his society were turned out of the churches, and in 1662 he was ordained their pastor. He went through a variety of persecutions, and was often in prison, once for a whole year, when he preached twice a day. There he contracted a lethargic distemper, of which he died, aged about sixty, in April 1670, greatly lamented. He was buried in St. James's church-yard, April 29, and a vast concourse of people attended his funeral. He was sometimes abused in the streets, but would not attempt to retaliate; for he said "Vengeance is God's; my duty is patience." Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. 2. p. 351; and Thompson's Collections, MSS.

† Thompson's Collections, MSS. Crosby, vol. 3. p. 27, 28; and Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. 2. p. 557.

fusing the corporation-oath, and riding within five miles of a corporation: witnesses were suborned to swear a riot against him, though no other rioter was named in the bill; he pleaded his own cause very pleasantly; telling them, "that he and his horse could not be guilty of a riot without company;" and the jury brought in their verdict, Not guilty: yet he was returned back to prison; and refusing to give a bond for good behaviour, of which he knew preaching would be interpreted to be a forfeiture, he was detained there for two years and a half, till God released him by death in December 1685. He was afflicted with the stone, and a physician declared "that his confinement was his death; and that it was no less murder than if they had run him through the first day he came in, and more cruel*."

Another eminent minister and writer among the Baptists at this time, was Mr. Henry D'Anvers, a worthy man, of unspotted life and conversation, a joint elder of a Baptist congregation at Aldgate, London; and author of "A Treatise of Baptism," which drew him into a controversy with Mr. Wills, Mr. Blinman, and Mr. Baxter, in whose writings, if we may credit a letter published by Mr. D'Anvers, and sent to him by a person of quality, of known worth, ability, and moderation, "there were more heat, passion, and personal reflections, than of reason, or a sober inquiry of truth." Mr. D'Anvers was descended from honourable parents, his father being a gentleman who had an estate of 400*l.* a year; he himself was governor of Stafford, and a justice of peace, some time before Oliver's usurpation, and well beloved by the people. He was noted for one who would take no bribes. At Stafford he first embraced the opinions of the Baptists†.

In 1687, May 14th, died Mr. Thomas Wilcox, minister of a congregation, which met previous to the plague at his own house in Cannon-street; but afterward at the Three Cranes in the Borough, Southwark; and author of a popular little piece, which has been frequently reprinted, entitled, "A Drop of Honey from the Rock Christ." He was born at Linden, in the county of Rutland, August 1622; was several times confined in Newgate for nonconformity, and suffered very much. He was a moderate man, and of catholic principles, well beloved by all denominations, and frequently preached among the Presbyterians and Independents.

October 3, 1687, died, aged fifty-three, Mr. John Gosnold, who had been a scholar at the Charterhouse, and a student at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, a man of great learning and piety: a pious practical preacher, of singular modesty and moderation; intimately acquainted with Tillotson, whose weekly lecture he used to attend, and was much esteemed and valued by other men of note and dignity in the established church, who kept up a cor-

* Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. 1. p. 243, &c. Crosby, vol. 3. p. 28, 29; and Thompson's Collections, MSS.

† Crosby, vol. 3. p. 90.

respondence with him. He was educated for the pulpit in the establishment, but by the act of uniformity made incapable of any settlement in it. He was chaplain to lord Grey. Having joined the Baptists, he was chosen pastor of a congregation at Barbican, in London; and was one of the ministers who subscribed the apology presented to Charles II. on occasion of Venner's conspiracy. Though he was always peaceably minded, he was often forced to conceal himself. His flock held him in great respect, and his preaching was so popular as to draw after him people of all denominations. His audience was usually computed to be near three thousand; and among them very often six or seven clergymen in their gowns, who sat in a convenient place, under a large gallery, where they were seen by few. The number of his auditors, and the figure which some of them made, occasioned, after the fire of London, an application from the officers of the parish of Cripplegate to request a collection for the poor, who abounded in that parish. The request was complied with, upwards of 50*l.* was raised, and the church voluntarily continued the collection for above twenty years. His publications were, a small treatise entitled, "The Doctrine of Baptism;" and another concerning "the laying on of hands." He was buried in Bunhill-fields, with this simple inscription:

"Here lieth the body of Mr. John Gosnold, a faithful minister of the gospel, who departed this life October the 3d, 1678, and in the fifty-third year of his age."

HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE PROTECTORSHIP OF CROMWELL TO THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE, 1674.

MR. NEAL has allowed a few pages only to the History of the Quakers : and they are chiefly spent on the wild extravagances and sufferings of James Naylor. But the lot of this people, while other sectarists breathed a freer air under the protectorship of Cromwell, was peculiarly hard and afflictive. The change of government, on his taking the reins, produced no revolution in their favour ; but their sufferings continued to increase with the increase of their numbers. The subordinate magistrates were continued in office ; and the ecclesiastics, their former persecutors, retained power to be troublesome to them. The protector has been represented as the friend of religious liberty ; and so, in some instances, he certainly showed himself ; but the Quakers derived little benefit from his liberal views and regard to the rights of conscience. For, though he himself did not openly disturb them on account of their religious opinions and practices, yet those who acted under his authority grievously persecuted them, and he gave little or no check to their intolerance, although he had the power, and was repeatedly and earnestly solicited to do it. The dominant parties had imbibed a spirit of hatred and animosity against this people : and the protector, it is supposed, might be fearful of disobliging them, by animadverting on their oppressive measures : or he might consider the Quakers as too contemptible or too pacific a body to fear any danger from, even under the greatest provocations*.

To give some colour of law to the severities practised against them, pretexts were drawn from supposed violations of the regulations of civil policy. " A Christian exhortation to an assembly, after the priest had done and the worship was over, was denominated interrupting public worship, and disturbing the priest in his office : an honest testimony against sin in the streets or markets, was styled a breach of the peace : and their appearing before the magistrates covered, a contempt of authority : hence proceeded fines, imprisonments, and spoiling of goods. Nay, so hot for per-

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 1. p. 132. 198.

secution were some magistrates, that by an unparalleled misconstruction of the law against vagrants, they tortured with cruel whippings the bodies of both men and women of good estate and reputation, merely because they went under the denomination of Quakers*.”

In 1656, Henry Clifton, only riding through Upwell in Cambridgeshire, after having been carried before two justices, was sent to prison, where he lay a considerable time in the dungeon among condemned felons. Richard Hubberthorn and Richard Weaver, travelling from home to pay a friendly visit to Ann Blakeley, who was, for her open testimony against the sins of the times, imprisoned at Cambridge, were also committed to prison. Thomas Curtis, a woollen-draper of Reading, going to Plymouth on business, and from thence to West-Alvington, accompanied by John Martindale, were both cast, as vagrants, into Exeter gaol; and at the ensuing assizes brought before the judge, where nothing was laid to their charge. But, for not taking off their hats, they were fined 40*l.* each for contempt, and for nonpayment detained above a year in prison. During this term, Martindale, having obtained leave of the gaoler to visit a friend at Ilchester, went to a meeting at Colyton; where he, Humphrey Sprague, and Thomas Dyer, lodging at a friend's house, were apprehended by a warrant, and carried before the justices at the quarter-sessions at Honiton; and, though one of them was but two, and another but five miles from home, were sentenced, as vagrants, to be whipped in the market-place, and sent with a pass from tithing to tithing; which was accordingly done. George Whitehead, a virtuous and learned young man of a reputable family in Westmoreland, preaching at Nayland in Suffolk, April 1657, was sentenced by two justices to be openly whipped as a vagrant, till his body were bloody. The constable, to whom the warrant was given, employed a foolish fellow, void of discretion and feeling, to execute it; who laid on his stripes with unmerciful violence; whereby Whitehead's back and breasts were grievously cut, his skin torn, and his blood shed in abundance. But the insensible fool went on, unrestrained by the constable, till his hand was stayed by the cry of the spectators, who, affected with the cruelty, called out to him to stop. Humphrey Smith and Samuel Curtis, riding together near Axminster, George Bewley, John Ellis, and Humphrey Sprague, after a meeting in Bridport, were whipped as vagabonds, and sent away with passes. Joan Edmunds, wife of Edward Edmunds, of Totness, about ten miles from home, being stopped by a drunken fellow, who took away her horse, on complaining to a justice, was sent to Exeter gaol, because she had no pass: her horse was ordered to be sold, and part of the money applied to defray the charge of carrying her to prison. Her habitation lying in the direct road, she was taken

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 139, 140.

six miles about, to prevent this injustice being exposed amongst her neighbours, who well knew she was no vagrant*.

Another pretext on which many of these people suffered, under the form of law, very illegal severities, was that of breaking the sabbath. Their religious zeal, in frequenting their assemblies for public worship, obliged them to travel to the places where they were held, sometimes at a considerable distance from their habitations. This was called a breach of the sabbath; and it was punished by impounding their horses, by distress of goods, by fines, by imprisonment, by whipping, and by sitting in the stocks†.

If magistrates could be guilty of such unrighteous severities, it is not surprising that the licentious rabble should attack this people with violence and abuse. In numerous instances, and in various places, the houses in which they held their assemblies for religious worship were riotously assaulted. Their services were interrupted by hallooing, singing, and railing: the windows were broken by stones and bullets: their persons were buffeted and stoned, their faces and clothes daubed with filth and excrements; some were knocked down, and others had their teeth beaten out; nor did the tenderness of sex protect the women. The rabble were too often led and encouraged by clergymen.

“Many of these abuses,” observes the historian, “being committed on the first day of the week, the day they called their sabbath, with impunity, under a government and by a people who pretended to make it a point to observe it with all the pharisaical strictness, and in many cases beyond the strictness, which the Mosaical law appointed for observing the seventh day, furnish an occasion to reflect upon the irrational inconsistency of superstition in every shape; by which I understand an over-zealous attachment to some circumstantial of religion, while the essential part, viz., the inwardly sanctifying power thereof, whereby we are taught to honour God, and love and do good to mankind, is overlooked. These men, it is probable, would have thought it a heinous crime to have been employed on that day in any honest labour, though in itself lawful, and in some sort necessary, and yet showed no reluctance or compunction in committing unlawful actions, as opposite to good government as religion, in assaulting persons, and destroying the property of inoffensive, unresisting neighbours and fellow-citizens with violence and outrage, whose only crime was, the applying the day to the best purpose, the assembling to worship their Maker in that way they were persuaded in their consciences was most acceptable to him ‡.”

So general was the persecution under which this people suffered, that scarcely one of them, whose travels and services to the society are preserved on record, escaped personal abuse, or cruel imprisonment, in any quarter of the nation.

George Fox, in 1653, was summoned before the magistrates at

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 225—232.

† Ibid. p. 271, 272, note.

‡ Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 267—271, and the note.

Carlisle, and committed to prison till the assizes, as a blasphemer, and heretic, and a seducer. He had exasperated them by his plain-dealing, in endeavouring to show them, that although they, being Presbyterians and Independents, were high in the profession of religion, they were without the possession of what they professed. The ground of his being summoned was, his having exhorted the people to truth and honesty, at the market-cross on a market-day, and having preached to them on the Sunday, after the service was concluded; on which he had been assaulted by rude people in the church, and rescued by the governor. During his confinement, the general wish was "that he might be hanged:" and the high-sheriff declared with rancour, that he would guard him to execution himself. At the assizes, it was found that the charge of blasphemy could not be made good, and it was concluded not to bring him to trial; and he was left with the magistrates of the town. By their order he was put among the felons and murderers, in a dungeon, noisome and filthy to the last degree, where men and women were kept together, one of whom was almost eaten up with lice; and the deputy of the gaoler would often fall on him, and the friends who visited him, with a cudgel: while the prisoners, vile as they were, behaved affectionately to him, received his admonitions with deference, and some embraced his doctrine. At length, the parliament, having instituted an inquiry concerning his situation, and the governor having remonstrated on it, he was released. In 1654, at Whetstone in Leicestershire, he was brought before colonel Hacker, who gave him liberty to go home, if he would stay there, and not go abroad to meetings. To this Fox replied, "if he should agree thereto, it would imply that he was guilty of something, for which his home was made his prison; and if he went to meeting, they would consider that as a breach of their order: therefore he plainly told them he should go to meeting, and could not answer their requirings." Upon this he was, next day, carried prisoner by captain Drury to London. When Cromwell was informed of his arrival, he sent to him this message: "That the protector required of George Fox, that he should promise not to take up the sword, or any other weapon, against him or the government as it then was: that he should write it in what words he saw proper, and set his hand to it." Fox returned an answer to this effect; and was afterward introduced to Cromwell, and they had much discourse about religion, in which the protector carried himself with great moderation; and Fox had his liberty given him*.

In 1656, Fox, accompanied by William Salt of London, and Edward Pyott of Bristol, travelled through Devonshire into Cornwall, to Market-Jew, where he wrote a paper, containing an exhortation to fear God, and learn of Christ the light; which fell into the hands of major Ceely, a justice of St. Ives, who

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 132—136. 155, 156.

committed Fox and his companions to Launceston jail, on the charge of spreading papers to the disturbance of the public peace, and having no pass, though persons unknown, for travelling up and down, and refusing to take the oath of abjuration, and to give sureties for their good behaviour. After nine weeks' confinement they were brought to their trial, before judge Glyn, at the assizes: here they demanded justice for their false imprisonment; and major Ceely, not adhering to the charges in the mittimus, brought up new accusations of a treasonable proposal, and an assault: and they were indicted for coming, by force and arms, into a court, into which they were conducted as prisoners. But on no ground could any illegal criminality be proved against them. The judge ordered them to be taken away; and, in their absence, fined them twenty marks apiece for coming into court with their hats on, and commanded that they should be detained in prison till their fines were paid. Seeing no prospect of an immediate release from such a commitment, they discontinued the weekly payment of seven shillings apiece for themselves, and as much for their horses, which the jailer had extorted. Upon this they were turned into a dismal and most noisome dungeon, called Doomsdale, where the excrements of former prisoners had been accumulating for many years. They were not allowed beds or straw to lie on; and, the filthiness of the place not allowing them room to sit down, they were obliged to stand all night. Neither were they permitted to cleanse it, or to have any victuals but what they received with difficulty through the grate. This cruel treatment continued till the sessions at Bodmin, when, on a representation of their case to the justices, an order was obtained for opening the door of Doomsdale, and for permission to clean it, and to buy their provisions in the town. About the end of thirty weeks they were discharged by an order from major-general Desborough, in consequence of applications made in their favour to Cromwell. During this imprisonment one of Fox's friends offered himself to the protector to lie in prison, body for body, in his stead: to which proposal Cromwell answered, he could not grant it, being contrary to law; and turning to some of his council standing by him, asked, "Which of you would do as much for me, if I were in the same condition*?" The next places at which we find Fox are, Cardiff, Swansea, and Brecknock. He visited these towns in 1657; settled a meeting at Swansea; and, at the latter place, met with rude treatment, and was exposed to danger from the populace, raised and stimulated to riot and tumult by the magistrates †.

Another sufferer amongst the Quakers, was Miles Halhead, one of their first zealous preachers; who, at Skipton and Doncaster, was sorely beaten and bruised by the populace, and left for dead. Thomas Briggs, in Lancaster, Robert Widders and

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 210—217.

† Ibid. p. 289.

William Dewsbury, in Cumberland, were also severally abused in like manner *. John Cam and John Audland were assaulted at Bristol, to the great risk of their lives, by hundreds of the rabble, instigated by Farmer, a clergyman. William Caton and John Stubbs, besides being haled before the magistrates at Dover, were at Maidstone sent to the house of correction, stripped, and their necks and arms put into the stocks, and so cruelly whipped with cords as to draw tears from the spectators. After this, under the plea that "he that would not work should not eat," they were kept several days without victuals, only on the allowance of a little water once a day: and soon after were sent out of town, by different ways, with a pass, as vagabonds †.

At Wymondham in Norfolk, Richard Hubberthorn was committed to bridewell for addressing the congregation after sermon in the parish-church: and on the next day removed to a very incommodious prison, being a poor hole in a cross wall of Norwich-castle; where he was detained till the sessions. The justices then, waiving the original ground of the commitment, charged him with contempt of authority, for appearing before them with his hat on; and under this pretence recommitted him to prison, where he lay a long time ‡.

The sufferings in which the members of this society were involved by the sentence of magistrates, were in many instances heightened by the severity and injustice of the jailers: James Lancaster, George Whitehead, and Christopher Atkinson, for not complying with the jailer's extravagant demands, were obliged to lie in their clothes on the floor, in the prison of Norwich, for eight weeks in the cold winter of 1654 §. At St. Edmundsbury, 1655, the same Whitehead, John Harwood, George Rose, George Fox the younger, and Henry Marshall, because they refused to gratify the avaricious demands of the jailer for lodgings, and required a free prison, were turned down to the common ward among the felons, in a low dungeon, with a damp earthen floor, where they lay upon rye-straw. In this situation they were exposed to abuse from the prisoners, who frequently took away their food and other necessaries, alleging the jailer's permission: one desperate fellow frequently kicked and smote, and in a drunken fit threatened to kill them; saying, "if he killed them, he should not be hanged for it." After they had been in prison thirty weeks, arrears of dues of fourteen pence a week were demanded from each of them; and on their remonstrating against it, the turnkey was ordered to take away their clothes and boxes, which was done, with a threat to take their coats from off their backs. And for the space of twenty-four weeks, they were obliged to lie upon part of their body-clothes on straw. Some necessaries of linen brought to them by a friend

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 137.

† Ibid. p. 169.

‡ Ibid. p. 162, 166, 167.

§ Ibid. p. 170.

were seized, and the provisions sent to them were examined. Their friends were not admitted in; and, if they attempted to speak to them at the window or door of the jail, water was frequently thrown on them to drive them away. At length, in consequence of an application to the protector, an inquiry into the treatment they had received was instituted, and the jailer was restrained from exercising or permitting the cruel abuse they had hitherto suffered. After an imprisonment from twelve to fifteen months, through repeated applications to Cromwell, seconded by the private solicitations of Mrs. Mary Sanders, a waiting gentlewoman in his family, an order for their release was obtained, directed to sir Francis Russel, a man of moderation, and averse from persecution, who immediately caused them to be set at full liberty*. But the case of James Parnel, a native of Retford in Nottinghamshire, who was educated in the schools of literature, in the sixteenth year of his age joined the Quakers, and, though a youth, was a pathetic preacher and able disputant, and discovered the wisdom and understanding of age and experience, afforded most affecting instances of the severities a cruel jailer could inflict. His constitution was tender, and after ten or eleven months sunk under the multiplied hardships of his imprisonment, about the age of nineteen; the consideration of his youth exciting no commiseration †.

Besides the personal injuries these virtuous people suffered, they were exposed to great depredations in their property, by unreasonable fines and exorbitant distrains, especially on account of tithes: into the details of which we have not room to descend. Suffice it to say, that in 1659, where 53*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* only could be demanded, 138*l.* were exacted ‡.

To sum up this view of their sufferings, it may be observed, that when a printed account of them was presented to the parliament which the protector convened, it appeared that one hundred and forty of them were then in prison; and of one thousand nine hundred who had suffered in the preceding six years, twenty-one had died in prison, generally by hardship or by violent abuses §.

It is to be remarked, that they supported themselves under severe persecution, with meekness, patience, and fortitude, "as lambs dumb before their shearers:" and there were not wanting instances of their being so borne up by inward consolation and peace, by faith and hope in their afflictions, as frequently to sing praises to God, to the astonishment of the spectators and of their fellow-prisoners.

While they were exposed to hatred, contempt, and abuse, from without, brotherly kindness and unfeigned charity increased, and connected them amongst themselves. While each seemed regardless of his own liberty, they were zealous advocates for that

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 176—180.

† Ibid. p. 180—188.

‡ Ibid. p. 284.

§ Ibid. p. 274.

of their brethren, and almost incessant in their representations to those in authority of the sufferings of their friends; going so far in their charity, as to offer themselves freely, person for person, to lie in prison, instead of such as they apprehended were in danger of perishing through the length or extremity of their confinement*.

This mutual and generous attachment was amiable: their moral conduct was regular; and their conscientious regard to fidelity in their commerce begat confidence. They were careful to manufacture or choose such goods as were substantial, and would answer the expectations of the purchasers; moderate in their profits; sparing in their commendations; punctual in their payments; they asked no more for their ware than the precise sum they were determined to accept; and they took no advantage of ignorance. So that, under all their sufferings, they prospered, and verified the proverb, that "Honesty is the best policy †."

It was also a distinguishing trait in the character of this people, that they attached themselves to none of the political parties of the day, nor entered into their ambitious views. It was with them a principle of religion to have no intermeddling with secular factions, and to demean themselves quietly and peaceably under the existing government. When the nation was in great commotion and fluctuation, on the death of Cromwell, George Fox addressed an exhortation to his friends "to live in love and peace with all men, to keep clear of all the commotions of the world, and not to intermeddle with the powers of the earth, but to let their conversation be in heaven." He remarked, that "all who pretend to fight for Christ are deceived, for his kingdom is not of this world, and therefore his servants do not fight." When sir George Booth rose in arms in favour of the exiled monarch, the committee of safety invited the Quakers to take up arms, offering considerable posts and commands to some of them. But they esteemed war and violence to be inconsistent with pure Christianity, and were not to be corrupted by the prospects of preferment and honours ‡.

Unassisted by any alliance with the state, nay, treated with severity by all the contending powers in their turn, and every where pursued with contempt and cruel abuse, they increased, and spread themselves over the kingdom. In the year 1652, meetings of them were settled in many of the central and northern parts of the nation. Their preachers were zealous and active; not intimidated by sufferings, nor wearied by journeys and labours. Francis Howgill and Edward Boroughs, with Anthony Pearson, travelled to London; John Cam and John Audland to Bristol; Richard Hubberthorn and George Whitehead, to Norwich; and others to other parts. And we find George Fox disseminating their principles, and meeting the severest sufferings, in the re-

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 140. 175, 176.

† Ibid. p. 141.

‡ Ibid. p. 273, 274, 277.

most parts of the kingdom. The evils which this people endured with singular meekness and patience, had great effect in awakening attention to their preaching, and softening the minds of numbers to the reception of their doctrine. It was justly remarked by Hugh Peters to Oliver Cromwell, "that he could not give Fox a better opportunity of spreading his principles in Cornwall, than by imprisoning him there*."

The instances of the persecution and sufferings they endured, which we have selected, for we do not pretend to give their history in a minute detail, reflect disgrace on the magistracy of the age: and are a reproach to the administration of justice. But the mayor of Oxford, in the year 1654, deserves to be mentioned as an example of a more equitable and humane disposition. Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher, two north-country women, were apprehended and sent to Bocardo, a prison usually appropriated to the reception of felons and murderers, for having exhorted the people, after service, in one of the churches. The mayor being sent for to meet the justices, by whose order they had been committed, to examine the Quakers, he replied to the message, "Let them who committed them deal with them according to law, for my part I have nothing against them: if they wanted food, money, or clothes, I would willingly supply them." The justices however met, attended by Dr. Owen the vice-chancellor, who was the principal in examining them; and the sentence passed on them was, that they should be whipped out of the city. This sentence, according to the constitution of the town, was not valid without the signature and seal of the mayor: which, as he judged it unmerited and unjust, he refused to affix to it. But by the order of the vice-chancellor and his coadjutors, it was severely executed without being legalized by his sanction: though the conviction of their innocence affected even the heart of the executioner to that degree, that he performed his office with manifest reluctance †.

Another more remarkable and more public instance of protection and justice, which this people were so happy as once to receive in those times, reflects honour on the name of general Monk. On a complaint against some of his soldiers for disturbing their meetings, he issued out this order:

"St. James's, March 9, 1659.

"I do require all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 217.

† These women had, a few days before, for exhorting the inhabitants and students to repentance, been pumped on by the scholars of St. John's college, till they were almost suffocated: they were then tied arm to arm, and dragged up and down the college, and through a pool of water: and Elizabeth Fletcher, a young woman, was thrown over a grave, whereby she received a contusion on her side, from which she never recovered, but soon after died. Yet it does not appear that the magistrates animadverted on this inhuman outrage.—Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 147—149.

peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.

“George Monk*.”

I am sensible, that wild flights of rudeness and enthusiasm, that violations of decency, decorum, and order, are imputed to the Quakers at this period. Mosheim stigmatizes them as “pernicious fanatics,” and speaks, as it were with approbation, of their being “severely chastised for their extravagance and folly.” But granting the justness of these imputations, which I conceive, however, are by no means to be admitted in all instances and to their full extent, and will scarcely apply to those cases of suffering which we have stated: every equitable and humane mind will feel indignant at seeing folly illegally chastised, and enthusiastic extravagances restrained by acts of cruelty. Extravagance and folly rank almost with wisdom and virtue, when compared with the injustice and inhumanity of the magistrates from whom the Quakers suffered persecution.

The society of those called Quakers considered the restoration of Charles II. as a signal instance of the interposition of Providence, to restore peace and order to a distracted nation: and soon after he was placed on the throne, Mr. Richard Hubberthorn obtained access to the king, and stated the excessive sufferings which his friends had sustained, and under which they were still smarting. The king entered into free conversation with him on the principles of the Quakers, and promised them his protection: saying, “Of this you may be assured, that you shall none of you suffer for your opinions or religion, so long as you live peaceably, and you have the word of a king for it; and I have also given forth a declaration to the same purpose, that none shall wrong or abuse you †.”

This assurance raised in their minds the encouraging expectation of not being molested in their religious worship and profession. Better times than they had hitherto experienced appeared to be opening upon them. Their meetings were large and quiet. Numbers, drawn by curiosity, or better motives, flocked to them, and embraced their sentiments; but this calm was of no long duration; and they soon found that the word of a king could be a delusive ground of dependence. Venner’s insurrection brought on them new and severe persecution; though they were, by the dying testimony of the sufferers at their execution, exculpated from all knowledge of the design. Their meetings were broken up by soldiers. Their persons were abused by the populace. Their houses were ransacked. They were forced from their employments, and cast into jails among felons, who rifled them of their money and clothes. And even the sick were dragged out of their beds to prisons; one of whom, Mr. Patchen, a man of considerable estate, being in a fever, died there ‡.

* Gough’s History, vol. 1. p. 279.

† Ibid. p. 440.

‡ Ibid. p. 441. 445.

This persecution was not confined to the city of London, but spread with similar violence over all or most parts of the nation. They were, without conviction, without crimination, without any legal cause, violently haled to prison, and crowded together in close, damp, or unwholesome rooms, in such numbers, as almost to the danger of suffocation. In Bristol, near one hundred and ninety were imprisoned. In Lancaster were two hundred and seventy prisoners: in Westmoreland, one hundred and sixteen: in the West-riding of Yorkshire were not fewer than two hundred and twenty-nine; and the number in the North-riding amounted to a hundred and twenty-six. And the treatment which they received in prison was generally as cruel as the commitment was unjust*.

When the members of this society had cleared themselves from the imputation of being parties in Venner's insurrection, they were proceeded against on new grounds; and old laws, made in the reigns of Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth, were revived and made rules for proceeding against them; namely, the laws against the subtraction of tithes, and neglecting to resort to the parish-church, or some other, on every Sunday or holiday. They were also prosecuted on an act made in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, for administering the oath of supremacy, and on one of the third of James, enjoining the oath of allegiance. When there remained no shadow of reason to detain those whom they had imprisoned on account of the rising of the fifth-monarchy men, it was a usual method with the magistrates to tender them the oath of allegiance, which they knew they would not take, that their refusal might be a pretext for still holding them in confinement; though their demeanour was peaceable and unresisting, and by the most explicit declarations they solemnly expressed and pledged their allegiance†. By the misapplication of the law of James, many of them suffered the loss of personal liberty, and of all their substance, and were exposed to very hard and illicit treatment. The case of Thomas Goodyear, and Benjamin Staples, at the quarter-sessions at Oxford, is a striking instance of this. Thomas Goodyear, after receiving the sentence of premunire, was brought into court, like a common malefactor, with bolts on his legs, and on asking, "whether the jailer had orders to fetter him?" he was answered, "The jailer may do as he will with you, for you are out of the king's protection." This man, encouraged by the example of his superior, when he brought them back to the prison, told the other prisoners, "that if they wanted clothes, they might take theirs off their backs, for they can have no law against you." But one of the prisoners humanely answered, he would rather go naked, than strip honest men of their clothes, who were stripped of all they had beside‡.

It is but candid, however, to remark that, though the justices

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 446—451.

† Ibid. p. 457—466.

‡ Ibid. p. 531. 533.

and inferior magistrates, from their bitterness against the Nonconformists, were disposed, in some cases, to put the 35th of Elizabeth in full force, yet the instances of enforcing this law, through the intervention of higher authority, were not many, nor equally encouraged with other modes of prosecution; as the full enforcing thereof must have terminated in public executions*.

But notwithstanding this instance of moderation, violent prejudices against the Quakers were so universal, that they were left unmolested in few or no parts of the kingdom. In 1662, Mr. George Fox represented to the king, that since his restoration three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned. A narrative signed by twelve witnesses, attested that four thousand two hundred of those called Quakers, both men and women, were in prison. No age or sex found commiseration. Men of seventy, or more years old, were subjected to all the rigours of a jail. In London and its suburbs, five hundred were, at this time, confined; suffering every severity, their trades ruined, and their families exposed to ruin. The treatment of this people, even in this city, resembled the French dragoonings of the Hugonots, rather than the condition of those who were entitled to the privileges of a constitution limited to legal rule. They were beaten with cudgels, cut with swords, and dragged into the streets; there they lay in the kennels, senseless and helpless, besmeared with their blood; and the passengers and spectators, moved by the sight of their condition, would sometimes cry out shame upon the perpetrators, that such a resemblance of massacre should be committed in the streets of London. Some, for these expressions of compassion, had their share of the like treatment. The soldiers being asked, why they could be so cruel to their neighbours? one of them answered, "Nay, we are more merciful than we ought to be, for we have orders to kill; and that his musket was double charged, as most of those of the party were to his knowledge." Through this treatment, some who were haled out of the meeting at Bull-and-Mouth, 31st of August, 1662, were so disabled as to keep their beds for some time: one was so wounded in the head that his brains were visible, and one died of the bruises and wounds he received. The coroner's jury, which was impanelled to view the body, broke up without giving a verdict; alleging as their reason, that if they pronounced it wilful murder, and the perpetrator could not be found, the city would be liable to a fine. The king, when an account of these barbarous transactions was presented to him by one of the society, said, "I assure you, it was not by my advice, that any of your friends should be slain; you must tell the magistrates of the city of it, and prosecute the law against them." The mayor was, by letter, duly apprized of these proceedings, but afforded no redress. The letter, accompanied by a narrative, was printed and pub-

* Gough's History, vol. 1. p. 537.

lished; for which the author was committed to Newgate by Sir Richard Brown, the mayor, on the charge of dispersing scandalous papers*.

After the murder we have mentioned, the meetings in the city were generally undisturbed for six weeks; then similar practices of injustice and cruelty were renewed, under the sanction of the magistrates, and continued nearly to the end of the year 1662. By this time no less than twenty persons had died prisoners in Newgate, and seven more by sickness contracted there soon after their discharge†.

The king's declaration of indulgence retarded, in 1663, the furious career of the persecuting magistrates; and few instances of sufferings in the metropolis occur in this year, compared with the preceding. Yet the Quakers did not remain quite unmolested; for sir John Robinson, who preceded sir R. Brown in the mayoralty, ordered a guard to be placed at the entrance of the Bull-and-Mouth meeting-house, to prevent any persons from entering into it. The meetings on this were held in the streets; but those who preached or prayed were generally haled away to prison, and blows were unmercifully dealt on the heads both of men and women, who did not disperse at the command of the mayor and his officers. In this year there was also a severe persecution of this people at Colchester in Essex. Their meetings were interrupted by acts of violence: and many were disabled and bruised, and the lives of others were brought into great danger by blows with clubs, carbines, and swords. One of them, when a trooper was beating him with a sword, and the blade fell out of the hilt, took and gave it to him, saying, "I will give it thee up again; I desire the Lord may not lay this day's work to thy charge‡."

The operation of the conventicle act, passed in 1664, though levelled at every body of dissenters, fell with peculiar weight on the Quakers; numbers of them, and of them only, were condemned to transportation upon this act; and the proceedings against them were conducted with peculiar and hostile precipitancy. For, "as the penalty for the first offence was imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, and for the second not exceeding six at the arbitrary discretion of two justices;" it was usual for these justices to commit them for a few days for the first and second offences, not out of tenderness, but in order to subject them more speedily to the penalty of transportation for the third offence. For, from their long-approved constancy, they promised themselves an assurance of finding them again at their religious assemblies, as soon as at liberty§. The privileges of the subject were held at this time by so precarious a tenure, that the history of this society furnishes instances of the judges refusing to accept the verdict of the grand jury, when they have returned the bill *ignoramus*; and of his sending them out again with

* Gough, vol. 1. p. 538—546.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 1, 2.

‡ Ibid. vol. 2. p. 21—24.

§ Ibid. vol. 2. p. 112, 116.

menaces and fresh instructions*. The evidence produced against them, on their trial, was sometimes so insufficient, that the jury remonstrated against it, and entreated not to be troubled any more with such evidence. When neither persuasions nor menaces could induce a jury to alter their verdict to the dictates of the court, some of them were bound in 100*l.* each to appear at the King's-bench-bar the first day of the following term†.

The awful visitation of Providence, by a destructive pestilence in 1665, had no effect in softening the enmity of their persecutors. Persecution continued, and the meetings were disturbed as before. Many who were cast into the filthy holes of Newgate were released by this disease, which had infected the jails, from a life worse than death. "But (says my author), what must fix an indelible stamp of utter insensibility to every motive of humanity, of civility, or common decency, on the characters of the magistrates, to the disgrace of the government, and of that church with which they were so zealous to enforce conformity, was, that during the very height of the contagion, they continued to crowd the infected prisons with fresh prisoners‡."

In 1668, the Quakers were not, in comparison with former years, much disturbed by the civil power; their sufferings were mostly by excommunications, imprisonments, and distrains, for their conscientious scruples against paying ecclesiastical demands, several of which, however, were unreasonably severe.

The third act against conventicles, which was carried into a law in 1670, opened new scenes of persecution, in which the Quakers had their peculiar share. Many were cruelly spoiled of their property; people of considerable substance were reduced to extreme poverty; and the sick had their beds taken from under them, and were reduced to lie on the floor. When the sufferers, according to the privilege allowed by the act, appealed against the heavy fines and the exorbitant distrains, they generally obtained little by the appeal but additional loss. The influence of the convicting justice, the partiality of the bench, corrupt juries, or a neglect in putting into due execution the decrees of the quarter-sessions, to which they appealed, left them unredressed. A misconstruction of the word conventicles, which the act limited to meetings for religious worship, contrary to the liturgy of the church of England, often exposed them to illegal fines; for, if they met merely to provide for their poor, or visited a sick friend, or attended the funerals of the deceased, there were not wanting informers hardy enough to swear such meetings conventicles, nor justices prejudiced against them to issue their warrants to levy the fines accordingly; of which Mr. Gough gives various instances§. The penalty on the preacher being 20*l.* for the first offence, and 40*l.* for the second, the desire of gain often tempted the unprincipled informer to swear against a preacher, when there was

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 117, 118.

† Ibid. p. 139, 140.

‡ Ibid. p. 128, 129.

§ Ibid. p. 305—316.

not a word spoken in the meeting. At other times, a word spoken, though not on subjects of religion, was termed preaching; and an answer to an impertinent question, extorted from some one or other present, bore the same construction. The magistrates were as ready to fine as the informer to swear; and, by this iniquitous combination, the innocent were robbed under the cover of an act of parliament*. It is a pleasure to find, and truth requires one to add, that some justices, apprized of the villany of the informers, had too much honour to encourage their vicious disposition to plunder without mercy, and to swear without scruple. The lord-mayor of London, in particular, sitting in a court of aldermen, in the year 1670, when an informer made his appearance with such a number of informations as would have wronged the accused of 1500*l.* with abhorrence broke up the court†. This year affords another peculiar instance of the illegal proceedings by which this society were harassed; which, notwithstanding the king's repeated professions of favour towards them, originated with the court. On the 29th of July an order was issued, by the king and council, for demolishing the meeting-house at Horsley-down, Southwark. It was grounded on a pretence, that the persons who assembled in it behaved in a riotous and tumultuous manner, than which charge nothing could be more repugnant to their avowed principles and uniform manners. The pulling down of the building was, by express command, committed to Christopher Wren, esq., the surveyor-general of his majesty's works. After this order was affixed to the meeting-house, the members of the society continued their assemblies in it, till it was demolished; they then met upon the rubbish. By this they exposed themselves to repeated outrages and cruel abuses from the military, into whose hands was put the despotic treatment of this assembly, and who, at one assault, sorely bruised and wounded twenty, at a second thirty, and at a third more than fifty persons. When the soldiers were reprehended for their cruelty; some of them answered, "If you knew what orders we have, you would say we dealt mercifully with you." Others, being asked, How can you deal thus with a people that have love and good-will to all men, and make no resistance or opposition? replied, "We had rather, and it would be better for us, if they did resist and oppose." This was looked upon by the sufferers, as if they sought occasion to embrue their hands more deeply in blood, and take the lives and estates of honest people for their prey. At length these military violations of the peace of the city roused the civil officers to interpose their authority; but it was too weak to protect this unarmed body against the number of armed men let loose upon them. These proceedings of the soldiers having been represented to the king and council, a temporary cessation of these cruelties was procured, but they were not

* Gough's History, vol. 2. p. 316—318.

† Ibid.

wholly discontinued. A building at Ratcliffe, belonging to this society, was subjected to the like violence with that of Horsley-down, and on the 2d of September, without any legal process, was demolished. On that day and the night following, twelve cartloads of doors, windows, and floors, with other materials, were carried away. Some of the materials were sold on the spot for money and strong drink. Thus grievous sufferings, exorbitant spoil, and illegal depredation, were the lot of an inoffensive and peaceable class of subjects. These evils were inflicted by those whose duty it was to protect the rights and property of the subject, even by the officers under government*.

While these calamities awaited the general body of this people on account of their conscientious profession, it is to be supposed, that the more active and distinguished members of the society were peculiar marks for prejudice and malignity. Of this the history of the Quakers furnishes many examples, which we must not pass over unnoticed, though our limits will not allow us to go into a minute detail of each case.

George Fox, eminent for his activity and zeal in disseminating his principles, was among the first who, after the restoration of Charles II. and for some years, felt the rage of bigotry. In 1660 he was apprehended by a warrant from Mr. Henry Porter, the mayor of Lancaster, at the house of Margaret Fell at Swaithmore, and carried to Ulverston, where he was guarded for the night by fifteen or sixteen men, some of whom kept sentry at the chimney, for fear he should escape by that passage; "so darkened," observes the historian, "were they by superstitious imaginations." Next morning he was escorted, with abusive and contumelious treatment, to Lancaster, and brought before the mayor, who committed him to prison; refused bail; and denied him a copy of the mittimus. Two friends having however been permitted to read it, he published an immediate reply to the charges, which they reported to him it contained. Application was made to the king for a habeas corpus to remove him to London, and was obtained. In consequence of this writ, though his persecutors, for two months, obstructed the operation of it, he presented himself in the court of King's-bench; the justices, being dispassionate and favourable, caused the sheriff's return of the habeas corpus to be laid before the king, who, when Fox had suffered for more than twenty weeks an unjust and severe imprisonment, gave directions for his release. His enemies, on his obtaining his liberty, were filled with vexation and fear, as they were conscious of the illegality of their proceedings; and he was advised, by some in authority, to make the mayor and the rest examples: but he meekly replied, "I shall leave them to the Lord; if he forgive them, I shall trouble myself no farther about them†."

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 341—352.

† Gough's History, vol. 1. 432—439.

On occasion of rumours of a conspiracy set on foot in the north among the republicans and separatists, warrants were again issued out, in 1663, to apprehend George Fox; as he was on his tour through the northern counties, he was not met with; but at length, finding that they continued their pursuit, he resolved to stand his ground, and was apprehended; when no evidence could be produced to justify committing him on the pretended plot, the justices contented themselves with his engaging to appear at the sessions: he appeared at it, but finding no grounds to effect their purpose, either upon the plot, or the act against meetings, they committed him, for refusing the oath of allegiance, to a very incommodious room in Lancaster-castle, where he was kept close prisoner till after the spring assizes 1665; after that he was removed to Scarborough-castle, where he was detained upwards of a year longer; when finding means to have his case laid before the king, he soon after obtained his release, having suffered an arbitrary and very rigorous imprisonment of more than three years*. At Lancaster, he was locked up in a smoky tower, sometimes so filled with smoke that a burning candle was scarcely visible†, and so open as to admit the rain in upon his bed. The room allotted to him in Scarborough-castle was little better, if not worse; and when, at his own expense, he had made it tolerable, he was removed into another room, without chimney or fire-place, and so open to the sea-side, that the rain, violently driven by the wind, poured into the room. A sentinel was placed at his door; few or none of his friends were permitted to visit him, or even to bring him food; but numbers of others were admitted in to gaze upon him, or dispute with him‡. His removal from one prison to another, when he was in a very weak condition, was attended with a treatment in many respects uncivil and rude. To the rigour and hardships of his imprisonment were added, to terrify him, the frequent menaces of his keepers. The deputy-governor once told him, "that the king, knowing that he had a great interest in the people, had sent him thither, that if there should be any stirring in the nation, they should hang him over the wall." He replied to this menace, "If that was what they desired, and it was permitted them, he was ready, for he never feared death or sufferings in his life; but was known to be an innocent peaceable man, free from stirrings and plottings, and one that sought the good of all men." His patience surmounted the hardships to which he was exposed; and his innocence pleading in his favour, his keepers at length relaxed their severity, and treated him with favour and respect. When, on obtaining his release, Mr. Fox offered an acknowledgment for his late civility and kindness to the governor of Scarborough-castle, he refused it; adding, "whatever good he could do him or his friends, he

* Gough's History, vol. 2. p. 25—29.

† Ibid. p. 29.

‡ Ibid. p. 152, 153

would do it, and never do them any hurt." His consequent conduct made good this promise, for it was ever favourable to the Quakers*.

Mrs. Margaret Fell, who had been a widow about two years, in 1660 was, in a degree, involved in the severe proceedings against Fox; for, that they might lay hold of him, they forcibly entered and searched her house; of this she complained in an appeal to the public, as an injury offered to herself, and a violation of the liberty of the subject. In the year 1663, this lady, the widow of a judge and a woman of estate, was cited before the justices, and questioned about keeping meetings at her house, and the oath of allegiance was tendered to her; on which she expostulated with them, that as "they knew she could not swear, why should they send for her from her own house and her lawful affairs to insnare her?" adding, "What have I done?" This remonstrance, for the instant, impressed their minds, and they declared they would not urge the oath, if she would not keep meetings at her house †. To this proposal she magnanimously replied, "she would not deny her faith and principles for any thing they could do against her, and while it should please the Lord to let her have a house, she would endeavour to worship him in it." On this the oath was tendered, and on her refusal, she was committed to Lancaster-castle, a prison then crowded with numbers of the same profession, and the state of which heightened the evil of confinement. Here she was detained till next year §.

When, in the month of August, she was, at the assizes, brought to her trial on the same account, she persevered in refusing the oath, and answered the judge with good sense and pious intrepidity. Her counsel was admitted to plead an arrest of judgment, after the jury gave a verdict against her, and found several errors in the indictment, but they were not admitted by the judge, and sentence of *premunire* was passed upon her. She remained in prison twenty months, before she could obtain liberty to go to her own house, which she procured for a little time, and returned to prison again, where she continued about four years, till released by an order of the king and council ||.

Another of the society of Quakers, whose sufferings are recorded in a distinct narrative, was their noted preacher, Mr. Francis Howgill. This respectable man, as he was in the market-place at Kendal on his lawful business, was summoned before the magistrates then sitting in a tavern; who tendered him the oath of allegiance, and, on his conscientious refusal of it, committed

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 150—156.

† Ibid. vol. 1. p. 435, 436.

‡ Mr. Gough properly remarks on this proposal, that it was a plain confession, that the tender of the oath was a mere pretext to be vexatious to the subject, an arbitrary measure assumed for the mere purpose of persecution.

§ Gough, vol. 2. p. 29, &c.

|| Ibid. p. 92—96.

him to prison till the next month. At the spring assizes of 1663, the oath was again administered unto him, and on his refusal, an indictment was drawn up against him, which he traversed. A bond for his good behaviour till his trial came on being required of him, he suffered himself to be recommitted to prison rather than give it, as he apprehended it would be a tacit acknowledgement of past ill-behaviour, and his attendance at meetings in the mean time, which a sense of duty would not suffer him to neglect, would be interpreted as a breach of engagement*. As he was going to the prison he turned to the people, and uttered this devout wish, "The fear of God be among you all." And the people generally appeared very affectionate to him, and pitied his hard circumstances†: while the justices of Westmoreland endeavoured to prepossess the judge and court against him by invidious reflections on him and the society, and by the weight of their united influence and enmity.

At the summer assizes he was again brought to the bar. Modesty, equanimity, good sense, sober reasoning, and deep impressions of religion, marked his conduct at both assizes, and appear to have softened the sternness of his judges. The sentence, which confiscated his lands to the king during his life, and his goods and chattels for ever, and consigned him to prison for the rest of his days, was however passed upon him; the judge, it was observed, pronounced it with a faint and low voice, as if he was sensible that this man was greatly wronged, and that himself did not entirely approve of the sentence he was passing‡. "In mistaken zeal for religion (our historian remarks), the plainest rules of morality are violated, and in forcing uniformity in unessential points, the substantial parts, mercy, justice, and truth, are obliterated."

The case of Hannah Trigg, on account of the singular severity of it, deserves particular mention. She was one of twelve Quakers who received sentence of transportation, being tried and convicted on a bill of indictment preferred against them for the third offence. The circumstance which particularly marked the tyranny and illegality of the treatment of this young woman was, that she was not sixteen years of age, and the certificate of her birth was arbitrarily rejected by the justices. After sentence she sickened in Newgate, and died there. The unfeeling inhumanity, which was insatiate with her life, was extended to her corpse. Her relations were deprived of the consolation of interring her as they desired, but she was carried to the burying-place of the felons; and when the bearers came to the ground, finding no grave made, they left the corpse unburied, saying they would make a grave next morning. The girl's mother attending the funeral, had the grief and anguish to behold this treatment of

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 31, 32.

† Ibid. p. 100.

‡ Ibid. p. 108.

her daughter's remains in silent sorrow, without the power of remedy*.

The sufferings also of Joseph Fuce, a man of patient and meek spirit, and very laborious as a preacher, who died in the White-Lion prison in Southwark in 1665, should not pass unnoticed. In 1660, being at a meeting at Deal, he, with twenty-three others, was seized by several armed men, and being committed to Sandown-castle, they were kept there several nights and days, their friends not being allowed to bring them either food to eat or straw to lie on. He and another were afterward removed to Dover-castle, and with five other of their friends were locked up in one room, from which they were permitted no egress, not even for the necessities of nature, nor were their friends allowed any access to them; and the servant of the marshal, for shewing them some little favour, was dismissed from his place. Joseph Fuce remonstrating, when an opportunity offered, on the cruel usage they received, was answered with a volley of oaths and execrations. His pious ears being wounded with this profaneness, he bore his testimony against it by a serious reproof. The marshal at this, exasperated to rage, caused him to be dragged headlong down several stone steps into a dungeon, overrun with filth and with vermin, into which no light or air could enter, but by some holes cut in the door. He was kept there two days and two nights, without fire, candle, straw, or any thing to lie on but an old blanket. When he had obtained some straw, for want of air, through the damp and stench of his dismal lodging, he fell sick: and after nine days' confinement, as he seemed at the point of death, the fear of being questioned for murdering him moved the marshal to remove him, and to permit him to return to his fellow-prisoners, with whom he continued several months till released by the king's proclamation†.

Neither the calamities to which the society of Quakers were exposed, nor the sufferings which with peculiar severity were felt by some of its most eminent and worthy members, could damp the ardour of their zeal in defending their cause and disseminating their principles, but served to call forth their vigorous exertions. Margaret Fell, on the apprehension of George Fox, published a brief narrative of that violent proceeding, and took a journey to London to lay the case before the king, requesting his favourable interposition, "to cause him to be removed to London, and hear his cause himself:" in which suit she was heard‡. When, in consequence of the insurrection of the fifth monarchy men, many of the Quakers, without crimination, without conviction, were violently haled to prison, in addition to the endeavours used for their relief, by publishing and presenting to the king a declaration from that people, against all sedition, plotters, fighters, &c. the same lady several times waited person-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 127.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 143—145.

‡ Ibid. vol. 1. p. 435—437.

ally upon the king to solicit his indulgence and protection for them; at her first admission she signified to him, "they were an innocent, peaceable people, who did no injury, and administered no occasion of offence, except in keeping up their religious meetings, for no other purpose than worshipping God in that way they were persuaded was most acceptable to him, and edifying one another in his fear; which being to them a conscientious matter of duty to God, they could not violate it, in compliance with the ordinances or laws of man, whatever they suffered." In consequence of her applications and the declaration above-mentioned, the king sent out a proclamation, "forbidding soldiers to search any house without a constable." At length he was prevailed upon to issue out a declaration, ordering "the Quakers to be set at liberty without paying the fees *." Burrough, Hubberthorn, and Whitehead, among others, were active advocates for their suffering brethren. They attended parliament to solicit against the bill, brought in in 1661, passing into an act. Burrough presented to the king and council in the same year a paper, entitled, "A just and right Plea," representing their sentiments respecting oaths, and their established religious principle, "to enter into no plots, combinations, or rebellion against government; nor to seek deliverance from injustice or oppression by any such means." In this he was seconded by Hubberthorn and Whitehead, who with ability and spirit entered into a vindication of the religious meetings of their society †. Two letters, about this time, were addressed to the king, remonstrating on the countenance given to profane shows and sports, and the encouragement afforded to prosecutors, and boldly reproving his majesty for his personal conduct. The one was written by George Fox the elder, so called for distinction, as the elder brother of the society, the other was drawn up by George Fox the younger. They afford a specimen, as the historian observes, "of the honest plain dealing of men, who, with Elihu, knew not to flatter, lest in so doing their Maker should take them away." When the last of the two letters was delivered to the king, he seemed considerably affected with the contents. His brother, the duke of York, whose temper was more gloomy, reserved, and vindictive, being greatly exasperated with the writer, advised the king to punish him; but, with much propriety, he replied, "It were better for us to mend our lives ‡." These epistles of the Foxes, however, left no permanent impression on the royal mind. In the year 1662, the universal rage against the peaceable society of the Quakers left them unmolested in few or no parts of the nation. On this George Fox again addressed the king on behalf of the suffering friends, and stated, that since his restoration three thousand and sixty-eight had been imprisoned, and a narrative signed by twelve witnesses was printed, which repre-

* Gough, vol. 1. p. 455, 456.

† Ibid. p. 500—505.

‡ Ibid. p. 510. 513.

sented that the number of men and women then in prison amounted to upwards of four thousand and two hundred. Humanity revolts at the circumstances of cruelty with which the members of this society were treated at this time; when their meetings were broken up by men with clubs, they themselves were thrown into the water, and trampled under foot till the blood gushed out *. Among other endeavours that George Fox used to remove suspicion and soften enmity, was a paper which he wrote in 1663, as a testimony against all plots and conspiracies whatever; to admonish his friends to circumspection in their words and actions, and not to meddle in any civil commotions: copies of which he dispersed through the northern counties, and sent one to the king and council †.

Others of this society, besides George Fox, took up their pens in the cause of their innocent and oppressed brethren. When the conventicle-act was passed in 1664, George Whitehead published a piece to expose the severity of the persecutors, to exculpate his friends from the charge of obstinacy, to strengthen their steadfastness, and to remonstrate on the unequal and arbitrary manner in which the judges enforced the act. Another remonstrance was also published about the same time, by Josiah Coale, against persecution, addressed to the king and both houses of parliament ‡.

In the year 1666 the cause of the Quakers began to derive great support and credit from the abilities and virtues of the celebrated William Penn, who in that year joined their society, and became one of its most eminent advocates and ornaments. His pen was soon employed in its defence. His first piece was entitled, "The Sandy Foundation shaken." This gave great offence to some powerful ecclesiastics, and it was answered by an accustomed mode of reply, namely, an order for imprisoning him. He was closely confined seven months in the Tower, and denied the visits of his friends. This precluded him from his ministerial labours: but several treatises were the fruits of his solitude, particularly one of great note, entitled, "No Cross, no Crown;" in which, Dr. Henry More observed, "Mr. Penn has treated the subject of a future life and the immortality of the soul, with a force and spirit equal to most writers §."

The first of the above pieces was occasioned by a particular circumstance, which called on the Quakers to vindicate themselves in a public disputation. Mr. Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian minister of eminent piety, and who distinguished himself by his ministerial labours in the time of the plague, but whose zeal in this instance misled him, had, on two of his hearers going to the Quakers' meetings, indulged himself in invectives from the pulpit against that people, and in a licence of expression beyond

* Gough, vol 1. p. 538.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 115.

‡ Ibid. vol. 2. p. 25.

§ British Biography, vol. 7. p. 138.

the bounds of Christian moderation and common decency. This reaching the ears of some of those at whom they were cast, they demanded of him a public meeting to vindicate themselves from his severe reflections, or to give him an opportunity to support them by proof, to which, after some demur, Mr. Vincent agreed. Before the hour appointed the house was filled with his own hearers and partisans; and he was accompanied by three other Presbyterian ministers, as his assistants; Mr. Thomas Dawson, Mr. Thomas Doolittle, and Mr. William Maddocks. George Whitehead and William Penn, on the side of their friends, attended to his charges against the Quakers. Instead of bringing them forward, Mr. Vincent opened the conference with this question, "Whether they owned one Godhead in three distinct and separate persons?" He framed on this, according to the mode of argumentation then in use, a syllogism. George Whitehead rejected his terms as unscriptural, and not deducible from the text he quoted, and desired him to explain them so that they might be understood; observing, "that God did not use to wrap his truths in heathenish metaphysics, but deliver them in plain language." But Mr. Vincent and his coadjutors would neither keep to Scripture terms, nor allow them in their antagonists. After many insults offered to the Quakers, and opprobrious names cast upon them, the meeting was broken up by a prayer from Mr. Vincent, in which these people were accused as blasphemers. Some people staying, after he and his brethren withdrew, the Quakers found an opportunity of exculpating themselves from the invectives of their adversaries. Another debate was desired, but evaded. On this Penn appealed to the public*.

It falls within the period of which we are writing, to notice the remarks on the third conventicle act, which George Fox, being in London at the time, published in 1670, in order, if possible, to move the government to moderation. Apprehending an impending storm, he wrote also, at the same time, an epistle to his friends, to exhort them to faithfulness and steadfastness in their testimony to the truth, and to Christian patience, in bearing the sufferings which might be permitted to try their faith †.

Under a successive train of severe trials, this people maintained patience, resignation, and a blameless demeanour: and, with the powers of the world against them, their numbers were continually increasing. In the year 1666 they were become a large body. This gave them courage and resolution to erect in that year a new meeting-house in Whitehart-court, Gracechurch-street, which, from its central situation, became afterward the place for their yearly meetings ‡.

The affairs of this society began now to range into a regular

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 226—228.

† Ibid. p. 318.

‡ Ibid. p. 157.

and systematic form. George Fox, as soon as he was released from his long confinement, proceeded as usual in his labours; and when he was so weak and stiff, and benumbed in his joints, by a cruel imprisonment for the greatest part of three years, that it was with difficulty he could mount his horse or alight, he went from Yorkshire to London. He saw it necessary to increase the number of meetings of discipline, as the exigencies and the numbers of the society were increased. In 1660, a general meeting for church affairs had been held at Skipton, in Yorkshire. The business of it was confined to the taking an account of their sufferings, and to collections for the relief of the poor. Quarterly meetings were afterwards established in London, which, in addition to the former subjects of attention, had the charge of the reputation of the society, to watch over the members, and admonish and exhort such as might appear disorderly and uncircumspect in their conversation, not agreeable to the strictness of their religious profession; besides the women's meetings, which had chiefly the care of poor widows and orphans. During George Fox's stay in London, there were established, at his recommendation, five monthly meetings of men and women in that city, to transact the business which had before employed the quarterly meetings; and a general meeting once in three months, as hitherto, for mutual counsel, advice, and deliberation, in relation to the common affairs and care of the whole body in the city. He afterward procured his plan of monthly meetings to be adopted through all the counties, in Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and the continent of America. The business of the monthly meetings was, at his advice and admonition, after this, extended to the taking cognizance of the orderly proceedings towards marriage, to see "that the parties who proposed marriage were clear from other engagements, that their relations were satisfied, that widows had made provision for their first husbands' children before they married again, and to institute whatever other inquiries were necessary for keeping all things clean and pure, in good order and righteousness, to the glory of God."

Some time after monthly and quarterly meetings were established, viz. in the year 1669, it was found expedient, and agreed upon, to hold a general meeting in London, representative of the whole body in England, and all other parts where any of the society were settled; which has, from that time, been held annually, and is called "The Yearly Meeting in London." It is formed of deputies from each quarterly meeting in England, and from the half years' meetings in Ireland, without restraining from an attendance any member in unity with the society. Such places in Europe and America as are too remote conveniently to send representatives, keep up a correspondence with this meeting by epistles. A committee of correspondence in London and several counties and other places, to be consulted in the intervals between the yearly meetings, upon any emergency, was also established

The members appointed correspondents in London, to meet the sixth day in every week, to consult upon such matters as may be laid before them, particularly any suffering cases of friends, from whence it is called "The Meeting for Sufferings," and is a meeting of record.

From the meetings of discipline no members of the society are excluded. A regular record of all their proceedings is kept by a clerk, who, at the desire of the meeting, voluntarily undertakes the office. The business of these meetings is preceded by a solemn meeting of worship. An inquiry whether meetings for discipline and worship are duly attended, the preservation of love and unity, the religious education of youth, are some of the leading objects of these associations. Inquiries are also made, whether a faithful and Christian testimony is borne against the receiving or paying tithes, priests' demands, or those called church-rates? Whether friends are careful to avoid all vain sports, places of diversion, gaming, and all unnecessary frequenting of ale-houses or taverns, excess in drinking, and intemperance of every kind? Whether friends are just in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their engagements, and are advised carefully to inspect the state of their affairs once in the year? Whether early care be taken to advise and deal with such as appear inclinable to marry contrary to the rules of the society; and whether any remove from or into monthly or two weekly meetings without certificates? And whether two or more faithful friends are deputed in each particular meeting to have the oversight thereof: and care be taken, when any thing appears amiss, that the rules of their discipline be put in practice?

This sketch of the discipline and ecclesiastical government of this society cannot fail to give us a favourable idea of the spirit and principles which actuate it. It is recommended by the method and regularity which mark it: and it is a great excellence of it, that it is directed to the encouragement and promotion of good morals, of a peaceable, upright, and blameless conduct in social life. For a more full and accurate view of its nature and design, the reader may be referred to a long and judicious disquisition on it in Mr. Gough's history*: which, when he has perused, he will determine for himself whether it may not be justly extolled, as "bearing marks of a peculiar wisdom in the contrivance and goodness of heart in the ends in view, realized in the beneficial effects it then had, and hath since continued to produce."

The Quakers, besides supporting a series of sufferings with patience and fortitude, disseminating their principles through England, Wales, and Scotland, with unabating zeal, and forming their society upon a regular plan of government, traversed the Atlantic ocean, carried their sentiments into America, and esta-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 161—198.

blished themselves in the western continent. The undertaking was arduous; new calamities and persecutions awaited them in new countries*. Their pious efforts, however, were eventually successful in the transatlantic regions. The brevity we must observe does not allow us to go here into particulars. But two instances of their zeal, at this period, to propagate their doctrine in the foreign parts of Europe, were of so singular a nature as to call for particular notice.

About the year 1661, two women, Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, moved with a religious concern to diffuse their principles, took their passage in a ship bound from London to Leghorn: after various trials and storms, they arrived at that city; and, during their stay in it, they dispersed books, explaining the doctrines of the society, and discoursed with people of all ranks, numbers of whom curiosity daily drew after them; and here they met with no molestation. They sailed from thence in a Dutch ship bound to Alexandria, the master of which put into Malta. Going on shore the day after their arrival, they were met by an English consul, who invited them to his house, where they continued about three months. They were visited by many, whom they found it their concern to call to repentance, and were repeatedly summoned before the inquisitors, whose interrogatories they answered in such a manner as not to give them the advantage they sought, nor to resign their own principles by the least compliance with the superstitious and showy religion of the country. The consul, at last, overcome by flattery, menaces, and bribery, gave up his guests to the inquisitors, who would not venture to take them without his consent or acquiescence. Having undergone an examination, which they supported with simplicity and firmness, they were imprisoned in a close dark room, with only two little holes for light and air, and so extremely hot in that warm climate, that it seemed as if the intention of the inquisitors was to stifle them to death. This imprisonment lasted three or four years. They were continually beset and perplexed with the impertinences of monks and friars, to cajole or terrify them into their superstitions. But neither flattery nor menaces could pervert these innocent women from their profession. Upon this they were put into a room so exceedingly hot, close, and suffocating, that they were often forced to rise out of their bed, to lie down at the chink of the door for air to draw breath; their faces were excessively stung by gnats; and, such was the effect of the heat of the room and the climate, their skin was parched, their hair fell off, and they frequently fainted away. They were tempted at times to wish for death, to end their sorrows. Catharine Evans fell into a fit of sickness, and the physician said, "they must have air, or else they would die." On this the door was ordered to be set open six hours in the day. Soon after they were separated,

* Gough, vol. 2. chap. 9.

in hope that an impression might be made on their minds if they were separately attacked; but each was immoveable. They not only resisted every attempt to draw them off from their religious profession to the superstitions of popery; but, as the house of inquisition was rebuilding, or repairing in some parts, for the space of a year and half, they embraced the opportunities which offered to incite the people to repentance, both the workmen who were obliging to them, and the citizens of better quality who came to view the building. The apartment of Catharine being near the street, she frequently accosted with admonitions those that passed by, many of whom would stay to hear as long as they durst, and were much affected. After enduring the severities of an imprisonment in the inquisition upwards of three years, and several unsuccessful attempts to procure their release, George Fox engaged the friendly and humane interposition of lord D'Aubigny with the magistrates, whose mediation was effectual: and being liberated they returned to England. On their passage home, a passenger who was a knight of Malta, and the inquisitor's brother, interested himself with the captain, to secure them every accommodation the ship could afford. The merchants at Leghorn, where the vessel stopped, treated them with great kindness, and supplied them with wine and other articles for their refreshment. At Tangier, the governor courteously received them, and would have given them money, which they declined accepting, though they gratefully acknowledged his kindness. They freely addressed their admonitions to him, and exhortations to amendment of life to the people who flocked to the house where they lodged. Previously to their discharge from Alexandria, their tried integrity and blameless manners had made impressions in their favour, both on the magistrates and the inquisitor, the latter of whom relaxed in his severity, and granted them the use of pen, ink, and paper, to write to their friends*.

The sufferings of these women, in the singular enterprise to which their apprehensions of duty animated them, fell short of those which befel two men in a similar undertaking: namely, John Philly and William Moore. These persons, being in Germany with other friends in the beginning of 1662, felt a concern to proceed into Hungary, and to visit the Hortesche brethren, who were a kind of Baptists that lived in a community, hundreds of them together in a family, having their goods and possessions in common; they also refused to swear or fight. This was a design attended with peculiar difficulties and perils: as it would lead them, on a long journey, through a tract of country unknown to them, and amongst people differing from them in language, in sentiments, and in manners. But, such were their views of the obligations lying upon them, they were not intimidated by the prospect of difficulties, and actually made a prosperous jour-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 51—63.

ney to the nearest body of that people, residing at Cuschart, near Presburg, where they were pretty hospitably entertained, and dispersed some religious books, which they had taken for that purpose. From hence they set off for Pattock, a city three hundred miles farther on in Upper Hungary, and accompanied each other to Comora in Schut, an island in the Danube: encompassed with dangers on all hands; on the one side, of being killed by the Turks, or of being put to death at Newhausel, according to the practice of that garrison towards those who were found there, it being tributary to the Turks, without permission. At Comora, first, Moore was apprehended, searched and stripped, and carried to the guards with his hands and feet shackled; and an insinuation was thrown out, that he should be roasted on a spit. Philly was afterward apprehended at his lodgings. They were committed to separate prisons; Moore to the stockhouse, and Philly to a room appropriated to the inhuman purpose of putting prisoners to the rack. On the next day they were brought before the inquisitor to be examined; by whom, among other questions, they were asked, if they did not know that Catholics had laws to burn and torment heretics, and such as carried such books as they had with them? To which Moore warily replied, "I should not have expected such dealings among good Christians." They were for eight days repeatedly brought to examination, and insnaring questions put to them, as, what they thought of the sacrament; to which Moore replied, "the flesh profiteth little, it is the spirit that quickeneth." This inquisitor was so strangely unacquainted with the Scriptures, that in a surprise he applied to a priest present, "Sir father, how is that?" Who, recollecting himself, said, "he did remember such an expression." The inquisitor next asked him if he would turn Catholic? To which he made this rational reply; "If I should do so for fear of favour of you, the Lord not requiring it of me, I should not have peace in my conscience, and the displeasure of the Lord would be more intolerable than yours;" adding, "that compulsion might make hypocrites, but not Christians, as it did not change the heart."

After this they were put to the torture; first, their thumbs were screwed to extort the confession of some crime, and then they were racked, with such violence in the case of Moore, that his chin was close to his breast, and his mouth so closed, that he was almost choked. They were then threatened with death. Philly, by calling out to the governor, as he was passing in his coach, obtained some redress of their calamities; and they were allowed to earn a trifle, to buy bread, by working at the wheelbarrow, though often their wages were kept back. After sixteen weeks they were conveyed in chains, by a waggon, under a guard, to general Nadash, the emperor's lord-chamberlain. They were examined before him and several lords of the kingdom, some of whom seemed affected with their answers, and none objected thereto. They were sentenced, however, to be burned, if they

would not embrace the Popish religion ; but the sentence was not executed ; and a priest was sent to convert them. These endeavours proving ineffectual, they were removed to a place within about five German miles of Vienna, where, falling into the hands of priests, their perils became aggravated: they were again searched, their books and papers taken away, insnaring questions were put to them, and they were threatened with the execution of various tortures, and of the sentence of death. But the frauds and menaces of their persecutors were frustrated by the steadfastness of these confessors. Manacles were then put on their wrists, so small, as when locked by main force, put them to extreme pain. They were thrust into a narrow hole with some Turks, that were prisoners, where they had scarcely room to sit down. At length they found a friend in the person who was invested with the chief civil authority in the place, whose dispositions to protect them and afford them relief were much strengthened by the influence of one Adam Bien, his barber, a religious man who had been educated among the Hortesche brethren. The priests were restrained from keeping them any longer in their hole of a prison, and using them with the cruelty they had done before. Those who had distinguished themselves by promoting malicious insults, endeavoured to ingratiate themselves ; and after the prospects of obtaining their liberty had been repeatedly clouded over by the sickness of the governor, or by the attention he had been induced to give to insinuations against them, and by some renewed sufferings from the priests and soldiers, by Adam Bien's steadfast friendship, and persevering solicitations in their favour, they were released, September 1663*.

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the prudence of these and other pious persons belonging to the society of Quakers, in exposing themselves to such perils, without possessing ordinary or supernatural means of succeeding in their well-meant efforts ; the patience, firmness, and fortitude, which they displayed under the most trying circumstances, must be allowed singular merit and praise. Patience and meekness, indeed, were general characteristics of this people. They met and supported the exertions of malicious violence and wanton despotism with resigned acquiescence, and in humble dependence upon divine protection and support, without fainting in their minds.

They were also distinguished, from the beginning, by their charitable regard towards each other. There were some among them, who were not only examples of steadfastness, but by their exhortations, in word and writing, encouraged their brethren to perseverance. In the time of the plague they were exemplary for the care and tenderness with which they relieved the affliction of the widows and orphans of their friends, whom that calamity carried off. They held occasional meetings in the city to provide

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 63—83.

for the necessities of the poor; and when the number of objects proved too many for the men to assist by these meetings, they called upon the most grave and tender-hearted of their female friends to aid them in the offices of humanity, who for this purpose met once a week. Not the resident inhabitants only were exercised in this care; but several, as George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Josiah Coale, and others, came out of the country to London, as with their lives in their hands, supported by the sentiments of faith and resignation, to suffer with their friends there, whatever might be permitted to befall them, to strengthen and encourage them to keep up their meetings, to edify them with their gifts, and to visit and comfort the sick and imprisoned. And through all they were mercifully preserved from the infection, and from imprisonment in this season of danger*.

The benevolence of their minds was not confined to the acts of fraternal regards to one another, in the season of calamity and persecution, but took a wider scope. Their attention to their poor, that there should be no beggar amongst them, nor any sent to the parish for relief; and to afford their children instruction, and put them out apprentices to suitable trades, hath deservedly attracted notice, and commanded general approbation. They have, moreover, cheerfully paid their quota to the poor of their respective parishes, and proper objects of any denomination have been relieved by their private donations†. It frequently happened, that justices and military officers, on coming to break up their general meeting at Skipton, when they saw their accounts of their collections and disbursements, and the care taken that one county should help another, as circumstances might require, have been obliged to commend their care, and have left them undisturbed in the exercise of the laudable object of their meeting. The poor of other societies, frequently gathered in crowds upon these occasions, partook of their liberality; for it was their custom, after the meeting was over, to send to the bakers for bread, and distribute a loaf to each, how many soever they were‡.

Our sketch of the history of this society will not be complete, if we do not notice some who were eminent ministers in it, and died at this period.

The first to be mentioned is Richard Hubberthorn, the son of a reputable yeoman in the north of Lancashire, who, after two months' imprisonment, through the effect of the throng of prisoners, and the vitiated air on his tender constitution, died in Newgate on the 17th of June, 1662. He was from his youth inclined to piety, sobriety, and virtue. When he arrived to years of maturity, he obtained a post in the parliament's army; and preached occasionally to the soldiers. When he joined the society of the Quakers, he quitted, agreeably to their principle of peace, his military employment. He was one of the first ministers of

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 149, 150.

† Ibid. p. 189.

‡ Ibid. vol. 1. p. 432.

this society. His stature was low, his constitution infirm, and his voice weak; but he was powerful, able, and successful, as a minister. In the exercise of this office he travelled, in different parts of the nation, for the space of nine years. He knew his season, when to speak and when to be silent; when he spoke, he delivered himself with plainness and pertinency to the subject before him. He was a man of much meekness, humility, patience, and brotherly kindness; and of distinguished equanimity, neither easily depressed in adversity, nor elated in prosperity. His life was spent in acts of righteousness and the pursuit of peace, of which his latter end exhibited the happy effects, the peaceful tenor of his conscience stripping death of all its terrors, and in the full assurance of faith, he looked forward to the near approach of future happiness.

About the same time, and in the same prison, died, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, having been ten years a zealous and powerful preacher, Mr. Edward Burrough. He was born in or near Underbarrow, a village in the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, of parents in repute for their honest and virtuous conduct, and of competent substance. His puerile years exhibited proofs of manly sense and religious thoughtfulness. He was fond of the conversation of such as were in esteem for piety, and placed his satisfaction in perusing the Scriptures, in which he was well versed. He was educated in the episcopal way of worship; but, about the age of twelve years, began to frequent the meetings of the Presbyterians, till he was seventeen. He then became possessed with serious apprehensions of great deficiency in the knowledge of God and internal purity of heart, and felt considerable uneasiness and fear; and, dissatisfied with the doctrine he heard, as resulting, in his view, from mere speculation and the experience of others, and not the fruit of their own experience, he withdrew from the teachers of it. On George Fox's coming into the parts where he resided, he went to hear him preach, and afterward entered into reasoning with him upon religious subjects. The consequence was, that he joined the society of the Quakers, in which he became a most serviceable member and eminent minister. On forming this connexion, his relations discarded him, his father expelled him from his house, and he felt himself exposed to many hardships, all which evils he bore with exemplary patience. His laborious exertions, both by word and writing, were indefatigable, and his religious exercises as a preacher were the whole business of his life; he allowed himself few hours of repose, and did not appropriate one week at a time, for many years, to himself or his private concerns. He travelled through England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders; but the principal field of his ministerial labours was London. As he was preaching at the meeting at Bull-and-Mouth, he was violently taken down by the soldiers, and carried before alderman Brown, who committed him to Newgate. Some weeks after, he was

brought to trial at the Old-Bailey, fined by the court twenty marks, and condemned to lie in prison till he paid the fine, which amounted to perpetual imprisonment, as the principles of the Quakers led them to consider a voluntary and active compliance with the penalty as a tacit confession of guilt. A special order from the king was sent to the sheriffs for his release, and that of some other prisoners, but the magistrates of the city found means to prevent the execution of it. He met his dissolution, brought on by disease and imprisonment, with the consolatory review of a life spent in the service of his Creator. "I have had the testimony of the Lord's love unto me (said he) from my youth; and my heart, O Lord, hath been given up to do thy will. I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake; and now, O Lord, rip open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee." As his dissolution drew nigh, he said, "Though this body of clay must turn to dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served God faithfully in my generation: and that spirit that hath lived, and acted, and ruled in me, shall yet break forth in thousands."

Another zealous preacher among this people was William Ames, who travelled in the work of the ministry not in England only, but much in Holland and Germany, where several were convinced by him, especially in the Palatinate. These Palatines, removing soon after to Pennsylvania, escaped the general devastation of their country by the French, which happened soon after. Ames was, at first, after his mind took a serious turn, a teacher among the Baptists; he was also a military officer in Cromwell's army in Ireland, in which post, being strict and regular in his own conduct, he exerted himself to introduce and preserve the like regularity among the soldiers under his command by a strict discipline. Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough coming into Ireland, he went to hear them, and embraced their doctrine. He and several others were afterward taken, by two musketeers, out of a private house in London, forced to St. Paul's churchyard, where they were derided and abused by the soldiers, and afterward taken before alderman Brown, who committed them to hard labour in Bridewell. Here they were so severely treated, that Ames grew dangerously ill; and being an inhabitant of Amsterdam, he was discharged for fear of his dying in prison. He returned, upon his release, to this city, and supported himself by wool-combing, but so injured in his health, that he never recovered, but died within the current year, 1662*.

Near the close of the year 1662, John Audland, a native of Camsgill in Westmoreland, was taken off by a consumption in an early stage of life. When a child, he discovered a quick understanding and retentive memory. As he approached a state

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 2—15.

of maturity, he applied the attention of his mind to religious thought and to reading the Scriptures, and became an eminent teacher amongst the Independents, of whom he had a very numerous auditory. He was one of the principal preachers at Firbank-chapel, at the time when George Fox had a memorable meeting there, and became a convert to his doctrine, which he afterward zealously and ably exerted himself to disseminate, travelling through sundry parts of the nation with this view; foregoing the comforts of domestic life, and separating himself, with her consent, from his wife, who entered into his views, a virtuous and well-accomplished young woman, of a good family, to whom he was married about the twentieth year of his age. He was one of the earliest preachers of this persuasion, who visited the city of Bristol and the western counties. The number of his hearers increased to such a degree in that place, that, for want of a house large enough, the meetings were frequently held in an orchard. He was a partaker with his brethren in repeated imprisonments and abuses of his person. His sufferings and exertions were beyond his strength, and brought on a cough, which appeared consumptive, and finally terminated in a slow fever, that put a period to his life at the age of thirty-four years. He was not only preserved in peaceful serenity of mind at this solemn season, but at times filled even with joy at the prospect of his approaching felicity; from the impression whereof his soul, under extreme bodily weakness, was raised up in praise to the Almighty, and in prayer for the prosperity of his friends in righteousness*.

In 1667, after about fifteen years spent in acting and suffering for those doctrines he had received for truth, died Richard Farnsworth, exhorting his friends with affecting energy and strength of spirit, as if he were in full health, and giving evidence of his full assurance of faith. He was one of the first who embraced the principles of George Fox, soon after his release from his imprisonment at Derby, while the name Quaker was but just known. He joined him in society and ministerial labours, and many were converted by him. For not pulling off his hat to a justice of peace, in the streets of Banbury, in 1656, he was, after the justice had struck it off in passion, sent for and committed to prison. Next day, when passion subsided, his release was offered him on paying the jailer's fees, and promising to leave the town that night. He would promise nothing, knowing that he had been illegally committed. The oath of abjuration was then tendered to him, and on his refusing it, he was recommitted to prison, where he lay about six months †.

In the latter part of the year 1668 and the beginning of the next, this society was deprived of three eminent and serviceable members; Thomas Loe, Josiah Coale, and Francis Howgill.

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 83—88.

† Ibid. p. 222, 223.

Thomas Loe was a man of fine natural temper, easy, affable, and pleasing in conversation, benevolent and sympathizing in his disposition. He travelled on foot through the greatest part of the nation, and visited Ireland several times. His gifts were attractive, and he had generally crowded audiences. He was several times imprisoned for his testimony, and his natural strength was impaired by his travels and labours. His convert, William Penn, visited him in his last sickness, whom he addressed thus: "Bear thy cross and stand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which shall prosper than that which the holy men of old walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt. His love overcomes my heart. Glory be to his name for evermore." He accosted others with similar sentiments; and his parting breath expressed a song of praise to that almighty Being, whose goodness preserved him through life, and deserted him not in his end*.

Josiah Coale was born at Winterborne, Gloucestershire, near Bristol, and received his impressions in favour of the Quakers' doctrine under the preaching of John Audland, about the year 1655. He proved an able and zealous minister: his testimony was sharp and piercing against the workers of iniquity, while it flowed in a stream of life and encouraging consolation to the pious and virtuous. In 1656, after having been first grievously abused by the populace, and dragged bareheaded under the spouts in a time of rain, he was imprisoned in Newgate, at Bristol. In the same year, he was, with three other friends, severely abused and beaten by the mob, and then committed to prison by the mayor, at Melcomb-Regis. In 1658, a sense of duty determined him to pay a religious visit to the English colonies in America. As no master of a ship would take him to New England, for fear of the penalties enacted in that state against such as should bring in any Quakers, he got a passage, in company with Thomas Thirston, to Virginia; from whence they made their way on foot through a wilderness of several hundred miles, till then deemed impassable for any but the Indians. By these people, of the Susquehannah tribe, they were treated with remarkable attention and hospitality, entertained with lodging and provisions, and furnished with guides to the Dutch plantations. Their journey was, however, attended with great hardships and dangers. They met with very different treatment from the lofty professors of New-England, whose tempers were embittered, whose natural tenderness and compassion were eradicated, by false principles of religion. Here Coale was violently haled out and sent to prison, and some time after banished to Maryland. He travelled through this state and Barbadoes; and, in Europe, through most parts of England, in Holland, and the Low Countries;

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 229—231; and vol. 1. p. 318, 319.

going through many perils, imprisonments, and persecutions, valiant in what he regarded as the cause of truth, undaunted in danger, and borne above the fear of man by the supports of a peaceful conscience. He not only in his travels bore his own charges abroad, but was an exemplary pattern of liberality at home, and freely spent his estate in the service to which he devoted himself. His natural temper was cheerful, religion tempered it with seriousness; his unaffected affability was mixed with a circumspect and exemplary deportment; his whole conversation illustrated the purity of his religion, and was an ornament to his profession. After ministerial services of twelve years, he fell into a decline, and departed in the arms of his friends, as one falling into a deep sleep, full of consolation, exhorting others to "be faithful to God, and have a single eye to his glory," expressing his own confidence that "the majesty of God was with him, and his crown of life upon him," at the age of thirty-five years and two months*.

The last person to be noticed is Francis Howgill, a principal as well as early promulgator of the doctrine of the Quakers, and a valuable member of their community. He was a native of Westmoreland, and received his education, for the priest's office in the church, at the university; but, being scrupulous of complying with the ceremonies, he withdrew from the national church, and joined the Independents, and was an eminent preacher among them, laborious and zealous as a minister, and esteemed for his virtue and exemplary conversation. In 1652, he became a proselyte to the doctrines of George Fox, on hearing him at Firbank-chapel. He was, soon after this, sent with James Naylor, to the jail at Appleby. In 1654, he and Edward Burrough, in company with Anthony Pearson, travelled to London, and were the first of this society who held meetings in that city, and by whose preaching many there were brought over to the same profession. While he was there, he went to court to intercede with Oliver Cromwell, that a stop might be put to the persecution of the members of his society, and he wrote also to the protector, on the same subject, in a plain and bold strain, but without any good effects. It does not appear, that they met with any personal molestations in the metropolis; and when they had gathered and settled meetings there, they went to Bristol. Multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrine. The clergy were alarmed, and they were summoned before the magistrates, and were commanded to leave the city immediately. To this order they answered: "We came not in the will of man, nor stand in the will of man, but when he shall move us to depart who moved us to come hither, we shall obey; we are free-born Englishmen, and have served the commonwealth faithfully, being free in the sight of God from the transgression of any law:

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 231—236.

to your commandments we cannot be obedient; but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot resist." Having said this, they went out of the court, but tarried in the city, preaching as before, for some time*. In 1663, Francis Howgill was summoned before the justices, as he was in the market-place at Kendal on his business; and, for refusing the oath of allegiance, was committed to prison till the summer assizes, at which the oath was again tendered to him, and upon refusal an indictment was drawn up against him, which he traversed. But as he would not enter into bond for his good behaviour, which he considered as a tacit acquiescence in the charge of ill-behaviour, and a bar to attendance on meetings, he was recommitted to prison: At the spring assizes he was brought to his trial; when, under a rigorous sentence of premunire, he was sent back to the prison, where he remained till released by death, for nearly five years, deprived of every comfort and convenience his persecutors could take from him. He died, after a sickness of nine days, the 20th of January, 1688—9. During his confinement he evidenced the peaceful and even tenor of his soul by his patience; and preserved to the last an amiable equanimity, which had characterised him through life, the serenity of his conscience bearing him superior to his sufferings and to the fear of death. He wrote a copious treatise against oaths, wherein he maintained the unlawfulness of swearing under the gospel. His virtues, innocence, and integrity of life, were conspicuous. He was generally respected by those who knew him; his sufferings were commiserated; and the unmerited enmity and cruelty of his persecutors condemned. Several of the principal inhabitants of Appleby, and particularly the mayor, visited him in his sickness; and some of them praying that God might speak peace to his soul, he answered, "He hath done it." He also expressed himself thus: "That he was content, and ready to die; praising the Almighty for the many sweet enjoyments and refreshing seasons he had been favoured with on his prison bed, wherein he lay, freely forgiving all who had a hand in his restraint." A few hours before he departed, he said, "I have sought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived innocently as among men; and if any inquire concerning my latter end, let them know, that I die in the faith in which I lived and suffered for." After these words, he uttered some others in prayer to God, and so finished his life in perfect peace, in the fiftieth year of his age.

Mr. Gough has preserved a letter of useful instructions, addressed to his daughter, which he left behind him. His will, made some time before his decease, bequeathed out of his real estate, his personal having been forfeited to the king, a legacy to his poor friends in those parts where he lived, and a token of his affectionate remembrance to several of his brethren and fellow-labourers in the ministry†.

* Gough, vol. 1. p. 112. 126. 144, &c. † Ibid. vol. 2. p. 31. 96—108, and 236—241.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE TO THE
REVOLUTION. A. D. 1674—1688.

WHEN the king published his declaration of indulgence, the Quakers, who did not rank with any political party, merely to enjoy the ease and liberty to which peaceable and virtuous subjects have a right, accepted the protection it afforded. . But those who were at liberty, from that spirit of sympathy and brotherly concern which pervades the society, could not enjoy their own exemption from penal statutes without exerting themselves for the relief of their brethren who had been, for several years, kept imured in uncomfortable prisons. George Whitehead, Thomas Moor, and Thomas Green, invited by the present disposition of government, waited on the king and council to solicit the discharge of their friends, who, convicted on transportation, or on premunire, or for fines, confiscations, or fees, were still in prison: and they were so successful as to obtain the king's letters patent, under the great seal, for their pardon and discharge. In the accomplishing of this business, a difficulty arose from the amount of the fees to be paid in the sundry offices through which the letters patent would pass, as upwards of four hundred persons would be included in them*. But when the lord-keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, generously and voluntarily remitted his fees, they applied to the king to moderate the rest, who accordingly issued his order, "that the pardon, though comprehending a great number of persons, do yet pass as one pardon, and pay but as one."

Their success gave them an opportunity to shew the universality of their charity to other dissenters, many of whom were confined in prison, and whose solicitors, observing the happy issue of the Quakers' suit, applied to Whitehead, for his advice and assistance, to have the names of their own friends inserted in the same instrument. In consequence of his advice they petitioned the king, and obtained his warrant for that purpose. "This I was glad of (says Whitehead), that they partook of the benefit through our industry. And indeed I was never backward to give any of them my advice for their help, when any of them in straits have applied for it; our being of different judgments and societies did not abate my sympathy or charity, even towards them who, in some cases, had been our opposers." The Quakers were thus freed, for a time, from the severities of persecution. The public testimony which they continued, in the severest times, to bear to the principles they received as truth, and the firmness with which they held their meetings at the appointed times and places, or, when kept out of their places of worship by force, assembled in the streets, baffled the scheme of establishing uniformity, counten-

* The patent, when made out, contained eleven skins of vellum.

anced and assisted by the temporizing conduct of other dissenters; and abated the heat of persecution, and blunted the edge of the sword before it reached the other sects; the more ingenuous of whom, therefore, esteemed their intrepidity, regarded them with gratitude as the bulwark that kept off the force of the stroke from themselves, and prayed that they might be preserved steadfast, and enabled to break the strength of the enemy. Some of the Baptists especially expressed a high opinion both of the people and their principles, which sustained them in undergoing sufferings that others thought of with terror*.

When the revocation of the indulgence, and the displeasure of the court against the dissenters, let loose the whole tribe of informers, and gave fresh spirit to persecuting magistrates: prosecutions, in every mode of distress, were renewed against this people, at the capricious will of every justice. Severe proceedings against them were grounded on the statute of premunire of James I. for refusing to swear; on the obsolete statute of 20*l.* per month, for absence from the parish-church, which penalty, or two-thirds of a person's estate, were seized by exchequer process; and for tithes, to excommunication and procuring writs *de excommunicatio capiendo* to be issued, to throw them into prison. They became a prey to idle and profligate informers, encouraged and instigated by their superiors. And, instead of obtaining durable and effectual relief, their sufferings became heavier and more aggravated during the remainder of this reign to the end of it†.

In 1675, William Hall of Congleton, being fined 20*l.* for a meeting at his house, had his house broken open, and two cart-loads of goods, to the worth of 40*l.* besides a mare, were carried away. About the same time cattle and goods to the value of 100*l.* were taken from sundry persons in and about Nantwich; and from one person the bed on which he lay, and even the dung-hill in his yard‡.

In the next year, prosecutions on the conventicle act subsided in London, but the rigorous enforcing of the ecclesiastical laws was rarely or never suspended. The number plundered, excommunicated, imprisoned, and of those who died in prison, was too large to be recited§. But while the penal laws were suffered to lie dormant in London, they were enforced with rigorous severity in other parts of the nation. In one instance a poor man, with a wife and five children, had little to pay the fine for being at a meeting but his bed, which the compassion of the officers would not permit them to seize: but the obdurate magistrate commanded them to take it. The wife, endeavouring afterward to maintain her children by baking a little bread, and selling it in the market, it was seized at one time to the value of nineteen-pence, and at another to the value of fourteen-pence. From another person for a fine of 7*l.* goods to the worth of near 18*l.*

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 2. p. 361—368.

† Gough, vol. 2. p. 392—397.

‡ Ibid. p. 406.

§ Ibid. p. 414.

were taken*. The distresses made this year in Nottinghamshire, upon the members of this society, for their religious assemblies only, amounted to 712*l.* and upwards. In the city of Hereford, as prosecutions on the law were ineffectual to suppress their meetings, lawless violence and gross abuse were offered by the populace; the windows of their meeting-houses were broken by stones, and sometimes the roof was untiled; their assemblies were interrupted by the sound of the horn, shouting and casting stones and filth, and their persons assaulted. The mob, instead of being restrained and punished for these outrages, were, if not stimulated to them, abetted and encouraged in them by the magistrates and clergy. Appeals to the quarter-sessions for redress against exorbitant exactions were unsuccessful; as the juries were overawed, or their verdicts for the appellants rejected†.

In the year 1677, the officers, encouraged by the magistrate, who acted the part of an informer, took away from six friends in Cheshire, for one meeting, 200*l.* In Gloucestershire a justice of the peace, besides indicting at the sessions twenty-seven for absence from the national worship, who had suffered deeply before on the conventicle act, and levying heavy fines, unmercifully beat some with his own hands, plucked two out of the meeting by the hair of their heads, and drew his knife, if he had not been prevented by his servants, to wound others. At Plymouth, their meetings were forcibly interrupted and dispersed: their property suffered by fines and distresses, and their persons were abused by the rabble, and by the officers and soldiers of the garrison, who, among other insults, threw squibs of fire and hot burning coals upon them. In many other parts they were treated with no less severity. The parish-officers were sometimes instigated by menacing letters, or impelled to act against their inclinations by the clergy exciting the justices to punish by fines and imprisonment, for neglect of duty, such whose moderation and humanity rendered them reluctant to prosecute or plunder their conscientious neighbours‡.

Through the succeeding years they continued to be harassed with prosecutions on all the variety of penal laws; which were rigorously enforced on great numbers of this society; who suffered all the hardships imposed on them by unreasonable men, with pious fortitude and resignation. In 1682, the persecution of this people broke out, and was carried on with uncommon outrage and cruelty at Bristol. The damage done to their meeting-houses was computed at 150*l.* A rabble of rude boys was encouraged to insult and abuse the female part of the assembly, even women of repute and consideration, and to tear their dresses. The signal for this attack was, "Have a care of your hoods and scarfs." Many of them were thrown into prison, where their health was endangered for want of room; many beds being crowded into

* Gough, vol. 2, p. 416, 417. † Ibid. p. 420—424. ‡ Ibid. p. 426—429, 438.

one small apartment, and some were obliged to lie on the ground, in a filthy place which had been a dog-kennel. The remonstrances of the prisoners to the magistrates on the straitness and noisomeness of their prison, and the certificates of physicians on the subject, were treated with equal disregard. "As their constancy in the great duty of assembling to worship God, while at liberty, was invincible; so a prison could not confine the freedom of their spirits, or the impulse of their consciences: they continued the practice of this duty in their imprisonment." This drew on them gross abuse, even from the sheriff, who fell furiously on several, threw one headlong down to the great hazard of his life, and commanded another to be ironed and put down into the condemned felons' place. Many suffered, as in former years, and other places, by heavy fines and grievous distrains: goods to the value of 15*l.* being seized to discharge a fine of 7*l.* When most or all of the men were imprisoned, the women kept up the religious meeting, till they also were cast into jail. When their parents were in confinement, the children, after their example, regularly held their meetings, behaving on those occasions with much gravity and composure, and undergoing many abuses with patience. Their age exempted them from the lash of the law, but their minority could not screen them from furious assaults; some were put in the stocks, others were unmercifully beaten with twisted whalebone-sticks. Persecution was not at this period peculiar to Bristol; but carried on, in most parts, with great animosity: and many families were ruined in their circumstances. In 1683, about eighty persons were, at one time, committed to Chester-castle; where they could find neither rooms nor lodgings for such a number, so that they were obliged for two nights, some of them to walk about, others to lie on tables and benches, and some on flags spread on the floor. At length thirty of them were put into a filthy dungeon, out of which the felons were then removed. In Somersetshire, informers were encouraged against them, and protected in perjury; their meeting-houses were defaced, and they were, in great numbers, imprisoned, fined, distrained, and excommunicated. When shut out of their meeting-houses for divers years, in and about the city of London, they assembled in the streets in all weather: this they did in the year 1683, for three months together, when the river Thames was so frozen that horses, coaches, and carts, could pass to and fro upon it, and a street be erected and stand over it*. There was computed to be upwards of seven hundred members of this society in the different prisons of England this year. Sir Christopher Musgrave, though a zealous churchman, expressed his utter dislike of the severe usage of this people, saying, "the prisons were filled with them, that many of them had been excommunicated and imprisoned for small matters, and that it was a shame and scandal for their church

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 522—525. 528—532. 547, 548.

to use the Quakers so hardly on very trivial occasions.*" Severe prosecutions, similar acts of injustice, oppression, violence, and cruelty, against this society, marked the year 1684, which were the disgrace of the preceding years†.

Among those who suffered from bigotry, armed with power, the name of George Fox takes the lead. After his return from America, in 1673, as he was on the road to visit his mother on her death-bed, Fox and Thomas Lower, who was his wife's son-in-law, were seized as they were in conversation in a friend's parlour at Tredington in Worcestershire, and sent to the county jail. They applied, by letter, to the lord-lieutenant and deputy-lieutenant of the county, for the interposition of their authority for their release: stating their case, the illegality of their commitment, and Fox's solicitude for liberty, to pay the last debt of affection and duty to his dying parent. But the application was ineffectual. Lower, by the interposition of his brother, who was the king's physician, might have obtained his liberty; as a letter to lord Windsor for his release was procured: but, bearing too great a respect to his father-in-law, to leave him in prison alone, he suppressed the letter, and voluntarily continued his companion there. At the quarter-sessions they were produced in court, when, on the examination, it appearing that they had been causelessly imprisoned, and had a right to an immediate release, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to Fox, and on his refusing to take them, he was remanded. But Lower, on account of his powerful connexions, was discharged. Soon after Fox was removed by a habeas corpus to the King's-bench-bar at Westminster. The judges, influenced by the reports and representation which Parker, the justice who first apprehended him, had dispersed, remanded him to Worcester jail; only indulging him with liberty to go down his own way, and at his leisure, provided he would not fail to be there by the following assizes, in April 1674. He accordingly appeared, when the judge Turner, who had before passed sentence of premunire against him at Lancaster, referred the matter back again to the sessions. He was then charged with holding a meeting at Tredington from all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's subjects. Though Fox vindicated himself from this misrepresentation, yet, as he again refused the oaths, an indictment was drawn up and delivered to the jury; who, under the instruction of the chairman, found the bill against him. This he determined to traverse: and on refusing to give bail, or any other security for his appearance but his promise, he was sent back to prison. By the interposition of some moderate justices, however, in about two hours after he had liberty given him to go at large till the next quarter-sessions. In the mean time he attended the yearly meeting in London, and delivered before some of the justices of the King's-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 536. 508.

† Ibid. vol. 3. p. 24—30.

bench a declaration of his fidelity to the king, and denial of the pope's supremacy and power: but as his case was under cognizance of the quarter-sessions at Worcester, the judges were unwilling to meddle with it, not being regularly before them. At the next sessions he appeared to traverse the indictment: but when he proceeded to show the errors which were sufficient to quash it, the oath was again required of him, and upon his refusal to take it, the jury found him guilty. An admonition of the consequence of a *premunire* being given him in court, this was, after he was sent out of court, clandestinely recorded in his absence, for the sentence thereof; and under it he was remanded to prison. Here he was seized with a great sickness, which reduced him to extreme weakness, and made his recovery doubtful. His wife came from the north to attend him, and solicit his discharge: after continuing with him three or four months, and her endeavours to procure his release proving unsuccessful, she went to London, and solicited the king in person, who would have released him by a pardon; but Fox declined obtaining his liberty in this mode, as he conceived that it would be a tacit acknowledgment of guilt; and he declared, "he had rather lie in prison all his days, than come out in any way dishonourable to the truth he made profession of." He preferred having the validity of his indictment tried before the judges, and with this view procured a *habeas corpus* to remove him to the King's-bench-bar. On his appearing before four judges, his counsellor, Mr. Thomas Corbet, advanced a new plea in his favour, and gained himself great credit, by ably urging, "that by law they could not imprison a man upon *premunire*." The judges required time to consult their books and statutes on this plea; and postponed the hearing until next day. They then proceeded, though they found the advocate's opinion well founded, to examine the indictment, in which the errors were so many and so gross, that they were unanimous in judgment, "that the indictment was quashed and void, and that George Fox ought to be set at liberty." Thus he honourably obtained his discharge, after an unjust imprisonment of a year and almost two months. Some of his enemies, insinuating "he was a dangerous man to be at liberty," moved the judges, that the oaths might be tendered to him: but Sir Matthew Hale would not consent to it; saying, "he had indeed heard some such reports of George Fox, but he had also heard more good reports of him*."

He appears to have been unmolested after, till the year 1681, when he and his wife were sued in small tithes in the exchequer, although they had in their answer to the plaintiff's bill proved, that no such tithe had been demanded or paid off her estate during forty-three years she had lived there: yet because they could not answer upon oath, they were run up to a writ of rebel-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 377—391.

lion, and an order of court was issued to take them both into custody. Fox, understanding this, laid the case before the barons of the exchequer. On the hearing of the cause a sequestration was earnestly pleaded for, on the ground of his being a public man, as if that affected the merits and justice of the cause; and was obtained, though at first two of the barons declared that he was not liable to tithes: but one of them was afterward brought over to decide with the adverse barons: the sequestration was, however, limited to the sum proved due, to the great disappointment of the prosecutor's aim, who wanted it without limitation, that they might be their own carvers in making distraint. In the course of this trial was produced an engagement, under the hand and seal of George Fox, that he would never meddle with his wife's estate: this raised the admiration of the judges, as an instance of self-denial rarely to be met with in these ages*.

In 1680, George Whitehead and Thomas Burr, as they were on a journey from different quarters to pay a religious visit to their friends, happened to meet at Norwich. As the former was preaching on the succeeding first day of the week, a rude company, chiefly of informers, rushed into the meeting with tumult and violence, and pulled him down; to the requisition to show some legal authority for their proceedings, they returned abusive language, only with an insinuation to the people, "that he might be a Jesuit." The sheriff, coming afterward, took them prisoners, and carried them before the recorder, Francis Bacon, esq., who was a justice. He examined them of their names, habitations, and trades; "if they were in orders, or had orders from Rome." A fine of 20*l.* each was demanded of them; on refusing to pay this, the oath of allegiance was proposed. While the examination was going on, the informer, with the sanction of the justice, went to seize their horses, but was disappointed in his attempt, as they had been removed without the knowledge of the prisoners. The recorder poured out his bitter invectives, and threatened to have them hanged, if they did not abjure the realm, and if the king would by his orders enforce the execution of a statute made in the reign of queen Elizabeth. They were then committed to jail till the ensuing sessions. Then, after the recorder had, by taunting reflections and partial proceedings, expressed his aversion to them, they were discharged by the court from the charges exhibited in the mittimus; but as they refused again the oath, which he insisted upon administering to them, they were recommitted to prison till the following sessions. In the mean time he was deprived of his office; in consequence of which change and the interposition of friends, they were, at the sessions, cleared by proclamation, and discharged from their imprisonment, after a confinement of sixteen weeks. It showed the prejudice and enmity of this man, that he first insinuated that

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 514, 515.

they were probably Papists; and when they procured certificates to the contrary, he would not permit them to be read in the court*.

In the next and succeeding year, George Whitehead was fined three or four times: and the loss he sustained by distrains, and by the expenses of inefficacious appeals, besides the damage done to his house and goods, amounted to 61*l.* 7*s.* The evil of those seizures was aggravated by a particular instance of injustice in the distrainers, who would not suffer an inventory to be taken, or the goods, chiefly in grocery ware, to be weighed or appraised. On one occasion two friends, for persuading the constables to moderation and to suffer an inventory to be taken, were apprehended and prosecuted for a riot, on the evidence of one constable; for which they were fined, committed to Newgate, and confined there ten weeks †.

The fines levied on this people, on the statute of 20*l.* for absence from the national worship, amounted, in the year 1683, to the enormous sum of 16,400*l.* for which several were distrained; but how much of these fines was actually levied, is not certainly known.

In this year, the case of Richard Vickris deserves particular notice. He was the son of Mr. Robert Vickris, a merchant and alderman of Bristol; he embraced the sentiments of the Quakers in his youth: but to divert him from joining them, his father sent him abroad to travel in France. Here he was a witness to the superstitions of the ceremonious religion of that country; which created a disgust, and confirmed him in the adoption of one that rejected ceremony and vain show. His father's views were disappointed, and on his return home, he openly professed himself a Quaker, at the risk of a variety of sufferings and hardships. In 1680 he was imprisoned upon an excommunication: he was afterward, for attending meetings, subject to frequent fines and distrains, and at last he was proceeded against on the statute of the 35th of Elizabeth. At the sessions before Easter, in 1683, he was indicted on that statute; demurring to the jurisdiction of the court, and refusing to plead, he was committed to prison. At a following sessions he was admitted to bail: and at the Midsummer sessions procured a habeas corpus. His trial was hastily brought on in August, though he solicited time to prepare his defence. He found means however to retain counsel, who ably pleaded his cause, assigned a variety of errors in his indictment, and shewed that the witnesses had not established the charge against him. The court overruled every plea, and the jury (selected from men of mean occupation) found their verdict guilty; and sentence was passed on him to conform, or abjure the realm in three months; or suffer death as a felon without benefit of clergy. He lay in prison under this sentence

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 501—505.

† Ibid. p. 520, 521.

till the next year; when the time for his abjuring the realm being expired, he was liable to the execution of it, to which his enemies seemed determined to proceed. That they might give some colour to their design, they blackened and calumniated his character; representing him as a person disaffected to government, and endeavouring, before they took away his life, to despoil him of his good name. His wife, in her distress, determined on a personal application to government; with this view, she took a journey to London, and by the assistance of her friends got admission to the duke of York, who bore the chief sway at court, and laid her husband's hard case before him. When he had heard it, he replied, "that neither his royal brother nor himself desired that any of his subjects should suffer for the exercise of their consciences, who were of peaceable behaviour under his government." Accordingly, effectual directions for his discharge were given. He was removed by habeas corpus from Newgate in Bristol to London, and brought to the King's-bench bar: there, upon the errors in the indictment assigned by counsellor Pollexfen, he was legally discharged by sir George Jefferies. His father survived his return only three days, by whose will he succeeded to his estate and seat at Chew-Magna; in which he fixed his residence, and lived in honour, conspicuous for his virtue and benevolence, and an ornament to his place and station*.

The Quakers, under the severe sufferings to which their body in general, and some individual members of their society in particular, were exposed, were not wanting in lawful and commendable measures to procure an exemption from these grievous evils. In the year 1674, application was made to the judges, before they went their several circuits, for their compassionate attention to the hard cases of several of the sufferers, and to interpose their authority to secure them relief, in the following address:

"To the king's justices appointed for the several circuits throughout England.

"Many of our friends, called Quakers, being continued prisoners, many prosecuted to great spoil by informers, and on *qui-tam* writs, and by presentments and indictments for 20*l.* *per mensem*, in divers counties throughout England, only on the account of religion and tender conscience towards Almighty God, we esteem it our duty to remind you of their suffering condition, as we have done from time to time, humbly entreating you in the circuits to inquire into the several causes of their commitments, and other sufferings which they lie under, and to extend what favour you can for their ease and relief; praying the Almighty to preserve and direct you †."

But little redress could be obtained. In 1677, an account

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 539—544.

† Ibid. p. 394.

being taken, at the yearly meeting, of sufferings by confiscation to two-thirds of the estates of those who had been prosecuted on the 23d of Elizabeth, a specification of this grievance was drawn up and laid before the parliament then sitting, with a petition for relief, but without effect*. Towards the close of this year George Fox, having returned from Holland, and visited the meetings of his friends in various parts of England, on coming to London found them engaged in fresh solicitations for relief from prosecutions on the laws made against Popish recusants only; and he joined them in these applications; but a sudden prorogation of parliament put a stop to their proceedings. When it met again, he, William Penn, George Whitehead, and others, renewed their suit, and they conceived some hopes of relief, as many of the members, convinced that they suffered grievously and unjustly, and were much misrepresented by their adversaries, manifested a tender and compassionate regard towards them. But the attention of parliament was soon called off by the discovery of what was called the Popish plot; an advantage was taken of the alarm this occasioned, to increase the rigorous persecution of a people of opposite principles and conduct, under the pretext of the necessity, at this season of danger, to exert additional vigilance in guarding against seditious assemblies; and some members, whose residence, occupation, and manner of life, were well known, were imprisoned under a pretended suspicion of being Papists or concealed Jesuits†. Penn had several years before this been happily successful in solicitations for friends suffering by heavy fines and imprisonments in Ireland: or at a half-yearly meeting held at his house in 1670, an account of their sufferings was drawn up in an address to the lord-lieutenant, which was presented to him, and an order of council obtained for the release of those who were imprisoned‡. In Scotland the persecuted members of this society met with an advocate in Barclay, and owed some relief to his powerful exertions. In 1676, the magistrates of Aberdeen made a handle of the declaration issued by the council at Edinburgh, reinforcing former acts of parliament against conventicles, to oppress the Quakers, many of whom were seized, committed to prison, detained near three months without being called before the commissioners, and, notwithstanding the able defence they set up, were fined in different sums, but in general to a heavy amount, and remanded to prison till the fines were paid. Robert Barclay being then in London, gained admittance to the king, delivered to him a narrative of the severe and irregular proceedings of the magistrates, and interceded with him to recommend their case to the favourable notice of the council of Scotland. On this the king ordered the earl of Lauderdale to recommend the narrative to their consideration. The matter was referred to the

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 425.

† Ibid. p. 433—435.

‡ Ibid. p. 479.

former commissioners in conjunction with three others: but their liberty was not obtained, till the fines were discharged by exorbitant and oppressive distraints *! When, in 1680, the Quakers were maliciously represented as concerned in the Popish plot, George Fox published a declaration, addressed to the parliament, in defence of himself and friends, to remove such suspicions, professing it to be their "principle and testimony to deny and renounce all plots and plotters against the king or any of his subjects; that in tenderness of conscience they could not swear or fight, but that they would use every endeavour in their power to save the king and his subjects, by discovering all plots and plotters that should come to their knowledge: and praying not to be put on doing those things, which they had suffered so much and so long for not doing †." When in the same year a bill was brought into parliament to exempt his majesty's Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of the act of the 35th of Elizabeth, the Quakers, with a laudable attention to their own ease, and from a generous sympathy with their friends under persecution, improved the favourable opportunity for promoting liberty of conscience. Divers of them attended the committee, when the bill was committed, early and late, in order to solicit the insertion of such clauses as might give ease to the tender consciences of their friends, whose religious dissent was scrupulous in some matters beyond other dissenters; and they obtained a clause to be inserted for accepting a declaration of fidelity instead of the oath of allegiance. Although this design failed, by the bill being lost, yet a foundation was laid for reviving and completing it in the succeeding reign of king William III. But in the following year an event took place, which must be considered as giving a turn to the fortunes of this society, and advancing them, in the event, to a peculiar degree of respectability and influence. Sir William Penn had, at the time of his death, a considerable debt due to him from the crown, either for arrears or advances made to government in the sundry expeditions in which he was engaged, while he was employed as an admiral, both under Oliver Cromwell and king Charles II. To discharge this debt the king, by letters patent bearing date the 4th of March 1680-1, granted to his son William Penn, and his heirs, that province lying on the west of the river of Delaware, in North America, formerly belonging to the Dutch, and then called the New Netherlands. This grant, by which Penn and his heirs were made governors and absolute proprietors of that tract of land, was owing to the influence of the duke of York, with whom admiral Penn was a peculiar favourite. In the summer of 1682, Penn took possession of this province, and he formed a government in it on the most liberal principles, with respect to the rights of conscience. The leading article of his

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 460—470.

† Ibid. p. 506.

new constitution was this: "That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God, to be the creator, upholder, and ruler, of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in nowise be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry, whatsoever." This settlement, in the first instance, afforded an asylum to many of his friends, who were glad to remove to a government formed on principles of humanity, and with a religious regard to justice and equity*. When the system of legislation was matured and completed, it excited the admiration of the universe. This oppressed society, in a few years, had the happiness and honour of seeing its tenets fixed on the other side of the Atlantic in security and peace, and itself extending through a wide territory, which enlarged the domains of their native country, and made a principal figure in the new world. The wisdom and virtues of the founder of this government, the excellent principles on which it was formed, and the prosperity to which it rose, reflected credit on the Quakers, and gave them weight in the political scale. Civil society has felt its obligations to them. And from this time their religious profession became more and more secure and respectable. The prognostications of William Penn, it hath been observed, have been remarkably verified. "If friends here keep to God, and in the justice, mercy, equity, and fear, of the Lord, their enemies will be their footstool."

During the preceding period, from the declaration of indulgence to the end of Charles II.'s reign, this society lost several active and eminent members by death.

Among these was William Baily, who died 1675, at sea, in his voyage from the West Indies. He had preached among the Baptists at Pool in Dorsetshire, when convinced by the ministry of George Fox, he embraced the principles of the Quakers in 1655, among whom he became a bold and zealous preacher, not in England only, but while he followed a seafaring life in distant countries, being concerned to propagate righteousness, whenever an opportunity presented itself, and he displayed a like fortitude in suffering for his testimony; for he was frequently imprisoned in different jails, both during the time of the commonwealth and after the Restoration. He also suffered much corporal abuse by blows, by being thrown down and dragged along the ground by the hair of his head, trampled upon by a corpulent man, and his mouth and jaws attempted to be rent asunder. On a voyage from Barbadoes he was visited with a disease, which terminated his life and sufferings. Among other sensible observations, expressive of the serenity of his mind, and of devout confidence and hope, address-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 515; and vol. 3. p. 131—147.

ing himself to the master of the vessel, he said, "Shall I lay down my head in peace upon the waters*? Well, God is the God of the whole universe; and though my body sink, I shall live atop of the waters." He afterward added, "the creating word of the Lord endures for ever †."

In 1679, died, at Goodnestone-court in Kent, in the sixty-third year of his age, Isaac Pennington, of Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, an honourable, useful, and virtuous member of this society. He was heir to a fair inheritance, being the eldest son of alderman Pennington of London, a noted member of the long-parliament, and nominated, though he never sat, one of the king's judges. His education had all the advantages the schools and universities of his own country could afford him; his rank in life threw him into the company of some of the most learned and considerable men of the age; his understanding was by nature good; his judgment and apprehension quick; his disposition was mild and affable; and his conversation cheerful, but guarded; equally divested of moroseness and levity. From his childhood he was religiously inclined, and conversant with the Scriptures; the wonder of his acquaintance, from his awful frame of mind and retired life. When he first met with the writings of the Quakers, he threw them aside with disdain; and, when he fell into conversation with some of them, though they engaged his affectionate regard, yet he could not but view them in a contemptuous light, as a poor and weak generation. But, afterwards being invited to a meeting in Bedfordshire, where George Fox preached, his prejudices gave way; he joined the society, against all the influence of connexions and worldly prospects, and became a very eminent and serviceable member in it. He diligently visited and administered to the afflicted in body and mind. He opened his heart and house to the reception of friends. His preaching was very successful in proselyting many, and conforming many. He

* Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. 2. p. 407—411.

† This William Baily married Mary Fisher, a woman of singular ardour and resolution in the propagation of her religious principles; for, besides going to Boston in America, and meeting severe sufferings there, she engaged, after her return to England, in a more arduous undertaking. This was to pay a visit to sultan Mahomet IV. encamped with his army near Adrianople. She proceeded on her way as far as Smyrna, when the English consul stopped her, and sent her back to Venice. Not disheartened from the prosecution of her design, she made her way by land, and escaped any manner of abuse, through a long journey of five or six hundred miles. She went to the camp alone, and obtained an audience of the sultan, who received her with great courtesy, and heard her with much seriousness and gravity, invited her to stay in the country, and offered her a guard to Constantinople. This she declined, but reached that city in safety without the least injury or insult, and afterward arrived in England. The conduct of the Mahometans towards her, as Gough remarks, was a striking contrast to that of the professors of New-England. "We cannot but regret (he properly adds), that the best religion the world was ever blessed with, and in its own purity so far surpassing in excellence, should, on comparison with human infidelity, be so tarnished through the degeneracy of its professors, who, under the name of Christians, in morality, generosity, and humanity, fall far short of those who name not the name of Christ."—Gough, vol. 1. p. 423.

was an excellent pattern of piety, virtue, and the strictest morality. He was a most affectionate husband, a careful and tender father, a mild and gentle master, a sincere and faithful friend, compassionate and liberal to the poor; affable to all, ready to do good to all men, and careful to injure none. But neither rank of life, benevolence of disposition, inculpable innocence of demeanour, nor the universal esteem of his character, could secure him from the sufferings attendant upon his religious profession. His imprisonments were many, and some of them long and severe. These he bore with great firmness and serenity, and the sharp and painful distemper, which put an end to his life, gave no shock to his internal peace*.

In the next year, 1680, died, leaving behind him deep impressions of grateful respect and honourable esteem in the hearts of many, Giles Barnadiston, of Clare in Suffolk, aged fifty-six. He was born in 1684, of a respectable and opulent family, and being designed for the pulpit in the establishment, he received a liberal education both in seminaries of literature, and at the university, where he spent six years. But when he was called on to accept an offer of preferment in the church, and to take orders, from a consciousness of wanting the internal purity and spiritual wisdom essential to a minister of the gospel, he resolutely declined the proposal. Though in this instance he was governed by a just and serious view of things, he had not firmness to resist the allurements of pleasure and sensual gratifications. On the breaking out of the civil war, he obtained a colonel's commission in the army; but he soon grew weary of a military life, accompanied with violence and bloodshed, laid down his commission, and retired to Wormingford-lodge in Essex, commenced a stricter life than before, and became thoughtful about the way of salvation. In this state of mind he felt an inclination to acquaint himself with the principles of the Quakers, and in 1661 invited some of them to his house; the consequence of his conversation with George Fox the younger, and George Weatherly, who paid him a visit, was his joining himself with this society; and he willingly took part in the storm of persecution to which this people were exposed, and constantly attended their religious meetings in the hottest time of it. In 1669 he removed to Clare, the place of his nativity, and in the same year he made his appearance in the ministry, in which he acquitted himself with faithfulness, fervency, wisdom, and success. He had but a tender constitution; yet, animated by a devotedness to the glory of God, and by a generous concern to promote the well-being of mankind, he took many journeys, and travelled into Holland, as well as divers parts of England, to make known to others what he judged to be the truth. He died on his return from London to Chelmsford, after a short illness, in which he expressed his resignation, "that the

* Gough, vol. 2. 439—447.

Lord was his portion, and that he was freely given up to die, which was gain to him*.

In 1681 died, at Stafford, where he had resided several years, and left a good report among the inhabitants of the town, Thomas Taylor, aged sixty-five years, an ancient and faithful minister of this society. He was born at or near Shipton in Yorkshire, about the year 1616, and received a liberal education at the university of Oxford. He was first a lecturer in this county, and then obtained a living in Westmoreland, which he held till the year 1652, when he voluntarily relinquished it. His audience was principally composed of Puritans, among whom he ranked, for he declined the use of ceremonies, and would neither baptize children at the font, nor sign them with the sign of the cross. On having an interview with George Fox, at Swarthmore, he embraced his doctrine, and joined him as a companion in his travels and ministerial labours. He resigned his living on a conviction of the unlawfulness of preaching for hire. He travelled through many parts of England, disseminating the doctrine of the Quakers, which he maintained at Oxford against the learned Dr. Owen, at that time vice-chancellor of the university, with great advantage in the opinion of the academics. But his travels were interrupted by a succession of imprisonments, one of which lasted for ten years, till Charles II. issued his letters patent for the general discharge of the Quakers from prison, in 1672. Supported by consciousness of a good cause, and patient acquiescence in the divine disposals, he held his integrity to the last†.

In 1684 died William Bennet, of Woodbridge in Suffolk, a man of a religious turn of mind from his infancy, which, as he grew up, led him to associate with the strictest professors. His first connexions were among the Independents; he then joined the Quakers, and continued a steady, serviceable, and honourable member of their society till his death. He travelled in the exercise of his ministry, edifying his friends and making converts, through many parts of England, adorning his character by the innocence and integrity of his life, so as to gain universal esteem, and to extort from his adversaries an acknowledgment of his personal merit. Yet his sufferings were remarkable; he appears to have spent, at least in the latter part of his life, nearly as much if not more time in prison, than in the enjoyment of his liberty; till growing weaker and weaker, by close and continued confinement, he fell a sacrifice to the sentence of partial magistrates, and the forced construction of unequal laws.

This year died also, in Carlisle jail, Thomas Stordy, descended from a family of repute in Cumberland, and born to the inheritance of a handsome estate. About middle age he became seriously thoughtful in the pursuit of pure religion. He first joined the Independents, among whom his talents, in exhortations and reli-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 549—553.

† Ibid. p. 554—557.

gious exercises, were highly esteemed. After some time he left them, and connected himself with the Quakers; in this society he spent the remainder of his life, respected in his neighbourhood as a man of circumspect, sober, and temperate demeanour, upright in his dealings, obliging in his disposition, hospitable in his house, and liberally charitable to the poor around him. But this honest, respectable citizen was harassed by prosecution upon prosecution, and penalty upon penalty; he was detained a close prisoner at Carlisle, under a premunire, till released by the king's declaration in 1672. He was fined for a meeting, when he was under restraint several miles from it. On the statute of the 23d of Elizabeth he was cast into jail, and confined there several years, till his death. Not long before his decease, being visited by some of his friends, he encouraged them to faithfulness in these words: "If you continue faithful unto the Lord whilst you live in this world, he will reward you, as he now rewards me, with his sweet peace." He was so confident in his opinion concerning tithes, that he not only refused to pay, but to receive them; for inheriting from his ancestors an impropriation of 10*l.* per annum, he quitted all claim to it for himself, his heirs and assigns for ever, and by a legal instrument released the owners of the lands from whence the tithes accrued*.

Another eminent minister and member of this society, who finished a useful life this year, was William Gibson of London. He was born at Caton in Lancashire in 1629, and in the civil wars enlisted as a soldier. Being in the garrison at Carlisle, he went to a Quakers' meeting, with three of his comrades, to insult and abuse the preacher; arriving at the place before his companions, after the minister had begun, he was so impressed and affected, that, instead of executing his purpose, he stepped up near to the preacher to defend him from insult, if it should be offered. From that time he frequented the meetings of the society, soon quitted his military employment, and after three years became a preacher. In 1662 he married, and settled near Warrington, and his ministry, while resident in that country, was very successful; and on his removal, he left a good report, and impressions of affectionate respect to his memory. He afterward fixed in London, where his service was conspicuous against hypocrisy, formality, and libertinism, and his circumspect conversation was a credit to his ministry. He suffered persecution in the loss of substance by various distrainments, in divers imprisonments, and in personal abuses. In Shropshire, the jailer would not permit his food to be taken to him, but obliged him to draw it up by a rope, and also threw him down a pair of stone stairs, whereby his body was greatly bruised, and beat him to that degree that he was ill near six months. He was engaged in some controversies concerning tithes; was the author of several treatises

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 34-37.

tises serviceable at the time, and employed a part of his time in his imprisonments in writing epistles to his friends for their edification in righteousness. He died, recommending union, and exhorting to faithfulness and confidence in the Lord, at the age of fifty-five, and his funeral was attended to Bunhill-fields by many hundreds of friends and others*.

While the society derived honour, at this period, from the virtues of character, and fortitude under sufferings, of distinguished members, it was greatly indebted to the able writings of Penn and Barclay. The former, the year before the king's declaration, 1671, employed the time of his confinement in prison, in writing "The great cause of Liberty of Conscience briefly debated and defended;" and several other pieces. In 1675, on account of the divisions and animosities prevailing in the nation, he published a treatise, entitled, "England's Present Interest considered;" to shew the consistency of a general liberty of conscience with the peace of the kingdom; and the remedies which he proposes to be adopted for allaying the heat of contrary interests were "an inviolable and impartial maintenance of English rights; our superiors governing themselves upon a balance, as near as may be, towards the several religious interests; and a sincere promotion of general and practical religion." Solid reasoning and a multitude of authorities are employed to support these propositions, which form the ground-work of the treatise: "a work (says Gough), wherein the liberal charity of real Christianity, and the candid spirit of genuine patriotism, are eminently conspicuous." The preface, addressed to the higher powers, exhibits a pathetic representation of the severities of the times; when "to see the imprisoned was crime enough for a jail; to visit the sick, to make a conventicle: when whole barns of corn were seized, thrashed, and carried away; parents left without their children; children without their parents; and both without subsistence. But that which aggravates the cruelty (he adds) is, the widow's mite hath not escaped their hands; they have made her cow the forfeiture of her conscience, not leaving her a bed to lie on, nor a blanket to cover her; and what is yet more barbarous, and helps to make up this tragedy, the poor orphan's milk, boiling over the fire, hath been flung to the dogs, and the skillet made part of the prize; so that had not nature in neighbours been stronger than cruelty in such informers, to open her bowels for their relief and subsistence, they must have utterly perished." In the same year in which this piece appeared, Penn likewise wrote a treatise on oaths, to show the reason for not swearing at all †.

A work of extensive and permanent celebrity came this year from the pen of Robert Barclay, entitled, "An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, being an explanation and vindication of

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 151—157

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 397—400.

the principles and doctrines of the people called Quakers." It was prefaced with an address to king Charles II. remarkable for its plain dealing and honest simplicity, and as important, curious, and extraordinary, as any part of the work. It has been admired both by our own countrymen and strangers. The work itself has been universally allowed to surpass every thing of its kind, and to set the principles of the Quakers in the fairest light possible. The author sent two copies of it to each of the public ministers, then at the famous congress of Nimeguen, where it was received with all imaginable favour and respect, and the knowledge, charity, and disinterested probity, of its author justly applauded. It was printed in Latin at Amsterdam 1676, and was quickly translated into High Dutch, Low Dutch, French, and Spanish. As it attracted great notice, so it drew out various answers, abroad and at home; some from the pens of men who had before gained a considerable reputation in the learned world. These replies contributed to spread and advance the fame of Barclay's work; and it is remarkable, that while these have been little regarded and sunk into oblivion, this treatise maintains its celebrity. Though it had not the desired effect of stopping the persecution against the people in whose cause it was written, "yet it answered (as it is observed) a more important end, by shewing, that the pretences upon which they were persecuted, were false and ill-grounded; and that those who on one side represented them as concealed Papists, and such as on the other hand denied their being Christians, were equally in the wrong, and equally misled by their prejudices." The work did, in this view, great service to those of the author's persuasion; while Quakerism, which before had been looked on as a heap of extravagances and visions, assumed in this treatise a systematic form, was reduced to fixed principles, and recommended itself to the judicious and enlightened mind. "It was an essay (says Gough) to strip Quakerism of the disguise in which enmity or ignorance had dressed it up, and to represent it to the world in its genuine shape and complexion. A work which, with unprejudiced readers, answered the end of its publication, and gained the author the approbation of the ingenuous in general*." It is some proof of the high estimation in which it hath been held, that Mr. Baskerville printed a very elegant edition of it. A Scots poet, writing of the two famous Barclays, William and John, hath concluded with these verses upon Robert :

" But, lo ! a third appears, with serious air ;
His prince's darling, and his country's care.

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 401—406. Biographia Britan. vol. 2. second edit. art. Barclay. Dictionnaire des Hérésies, vol. 2. p. 460. Mosheim, however, has not treated this work with candour or justice, but endeavours to depreciate it, and asperses the author, charging him with duplicity, and with giving a fallacious account of the principles of this society. By which he has exposed himself to the just animadversions of the historian of this society. Mosheim's Eccles. History, vol. 5. p. 36, note (b), second edit. and Gough, *ut supra*.

See his religion, which so late before
 Was like a jumbled mass of dross and ore,
 Refined by him, and burnish'd o'er with art,
 Awakes the spirits, and attracts the heart*."

In 1676 Barclay published a work entitled, "The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines, the hierarchy of the Romanists and other pretended churches, equally refused and refuted." This is pronounced to be a learned and excellent treatise, containing as much sound reasoning as any book of its size in ours, or perhaps in any modern language. The design of it was to vindicate the discipline established among the Quakers, against those who accused them of confusion and disorder on one hand, or calumniated them with tyranny and imposition on the other. The causes and consequences of superstition on one hand, and of fanaticism on the other, we are told, are laid open in this very curious and instructive work, with much solidity and perspicuity†. It drew upon its author, at the time of its appearance, much reproach and invective from certain separatists, who had risen up several years.

The leaders of these separatists were, John Wilkinson and John Story, two ministers in the north, who took disgust at the discipline of the society, as an imposition on gospel liberty, and setting up some men in the church to usurp authority over their brethren: "pleading that nothing ought to be given forth in the church of Christ but by way of advice or recommendation; and that every man ought to be left at his liberty to act according to the light of his own conscience, without censure or being accountable to any man, but to God, the sole proper judge of conscience. They particularly objected to women's meetings, as usurping authority in the church, contrary to the apostle Paul's prohibition. They gained over adherents from the weaker and looser members of the society; and caused a rent and division in the quarterly meeting of Westmoreland, to which they belonged. After several publications on this occasion, *pro* and *con*, especially by William Rogers, a merchant at Bristol, in favour of the separatists, and in reply by Thomas Elwood; and after the matter had been referred to different meetings, and their objections been heard, they found themselves too loosely compacted to adhere long together; some, judging their separation to be causeless, re-united themselves to the body of the society, and the rest soon fell to pieces and dwindled away‡.

When James II. came to the throne, the Quakers drew up a petition, as we have seen, stating their grievous sufferings by no less than ten penal laws; but it is not certain whether they had an opportunity of presenting it; for their proceedings were interrupted by the landing of the duke of Monmouth, which for a time engaged all the attention of the court and the nation. But in March 1685-6, they made an application to the throne, solicit-

* Biographia Brit. vol. 2. p. 602, of the second edit.

† Ibid. p. 592, 593. Gough, vol. 3. p. 15. ‡ Ibid. p. 9—24.

ing the liberation of their imprisoned friends, and they obtained a warrant for their release, directed to sir Robert Sawyer, attorney-general. He was then at his seat in Hampshire; that this business might be expedited, therefore, George Whitehead and John Edge, accompanied by Rowland Vaughan, waited on him there, and were received and entertained with great civility, till liberates could be made out for the prisoners in the city; after his return to London, by the exertion of the said friends, the discharge of the prisoners in different parts of the kingdom was obtained*.

The attention which the king gave their grievances, in this and other instances, encouraged them to present a complaint and petition against the informers and their iniquitous practices. This was followed by a request to the king to examine into the truth of the allegations, by giving the petitioners an opportunity to prove them to the informers' faces. The request was granted, and a commission was issued to Richard Graham and Philip Burton, esqrs., who summoned the informers, sufferers, and witnesses to appear before them at Clifford's-Inn, the 4th of June 1686. Fifty-four cases were selected, from which to establish their charges. When all the parties came to Clifford's-Inn, the informers seeing the numerous company that appeared against them, expressed their malice in this ribaldry; "Here come all the devils in hell," and observing George Whitehead, they cried, "And there comes the old devil of all." The first charge, proved in thirty-four cases, was, that "they had sworn falsely in fact:" then were laid before the commissioners sundry cases, wherein the doors of houses and shops were broken open with violence, by constables and informers, to make severe and exorbitant distrains, by which household and shop goods were carried away by cart-loads. The commissioners grew weary before they had gone through one-fourth of the cases, and adjourned for ten days. At the second meeting the lawyer, whom the informers had employed to plead their cause, was quickly silenced by the number of facts and the evidence produced, and before half the cases prepared for their cognizance were examined, the commissioners thought they had sufficient grounds for a report to the king. A report was accordingly drawn up, to which George Whitehead, on a sight of it, objected as very deficient and improper; being rather a proposal to limit prosecutions to the less ruinous penal laws, than a plain statement of facts, and of the various perjuries, and of the illegal and injurious acts, of the informers. The reason of this was, that they had received a message from a great person or persons in the church, soliciting them to do or report nothing that might invalidate the power of the informers. But, on Whitehead's pleading for justice to be done, in regard to matters of fact, the report was amended and framed more to the purpose. The king, on receiving it, referred it to the lord-chancellor, in

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 161—169.

order to correct the irregular proceedings of some justices and the informers. He signified, also, his pleasure to the subordinate magistrates and justices, that they should put a stop to the deprivations of these men; instead, therefore, of being encouraged, they were discountenanced. The court withdrawing its protection, other dissenters prosecuting them; and the scenes of their iniquity being laid open, some fled the country, and the rest were reduced to beggary*.

The Quakers, who had suffered more severely than any other sects, that they might not seem less sensible of the relief they had received, when addresses were presented to the king for his declaration for liberty of conscience, also waited on him with an address of thanks; first, from those of their society who resided in or about London, and then in the name and on behalf of the community at large. And while the other dissenters were censured in this business, as countenancing the king's dispensing power, the Quakers were guarded in this respect; for they expressed their hope, "that the good effects of the declaration of indulgence on the trade, peace, and prosperity, of the kingdom, would produce such a concurrence from the parliament, as would secure it to their posterity;" modestly hinting, it hath been observed, their sentiments of what they apprehended yet wanting to be done to complete the favour†.

When the bishops were committed prisoners to the Tower, and it was understood that they reflected on the Quakers as belying them, and reporting that they had been the cause of the death of some of them, Robert Barclay paid the bishops a visit, and laid before them undeniable proofs, that some, by order of bishops, had been detained in prison until death, though they had been apprized of their danger by physicians who were not Quakers; but, he added, "that since through the change of circumstances, they themselves were now under oppression, it was by no means the intention of the people called Quakers to publish such incidents, or to give the king or their adversaries any advantage against them thereby." They were accordingly very careful to refrain from every measure, in word or deed, that might in any respect aggravate the case of the prisoners, esteeming it no time to aggravate old animosities, when the common enemy was seeking an advantage‡.

When persecution subsided, and liberty of conscience was enjoyed without molestation, the Quakers thought it a convenient season to apply for relief in a point where they were still exposed to considerable trouble and detriment, and at their yearly meeting in London, in the summer of 1688, they drew up an address to the king, soliciting him to interpose for their relief from sufferings for tithes, and in the case of oaths. The address was presented and well received, but before the time for holding a par-

* Gough, vol. 2. p. 172—176. † Ibid. p. 189—195. ‡ Ibid. vol. 3. p. 198, 199.

liament arrived, the king found it out of his power to redress their grievances, or support himself on the throne. The legal confirmation and enlargement of their liberty were reserved for the next reign*.

During the short reign of James II. the society of Quakers lost several respectable members; the most eminent of whom was colonel David Barclay, the father of the apologist, of an ancient and honourable family in Scotland, a man universally esteemed and beloved. He adopted the principles of the Quakers in 1666, and is said to have been brought over to them by Mr. Swinton, a man of learning, very taking in his behaviour, naturally eloquent, and in great credit among them†. The acquisition of so considerable and respectable a person as colonel Barclay, was of no small use to this persuasion. He was a man venerable in his appearance, just in all his actions, had shewed his courage in the wars in Germany, and his fortitude in bearing all the hard usage he met with in Scotland, with cheerfulness as well as patience; for he very soon found himself exposed to persecutions and sufferings on the score of his religion. He spent, however, the last twenty years of his life in the profession with great comfort to himself, being all along blessed with sound health and a vigorous constitution; and he met death, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, September 1686, at his seat at Ury in Scotland, with resignation and patience under great pain, and with the feelings of a lively hope. His last expressions were uttered in prayer: "Praises to the Lord! Let now thy servant depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my soul, spirit and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done on earth, as it is in heaven." And soon after he breathed his last: and though he gave express directions, agreeably to his principles, that none but persons of his own persuasion should be invited to his funeral, yet, the time being known, many gentlemen, and those too of great distinction, attended him to the grave, out of regard to his humanity, beneficence, and public spirit, virtues which endeared him to the good men of all parties‡.

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 199—202.

† This Mr. Swinton was attainted after the restoration of Charles II. for having joined Cromwell, and was sent down into Scotland to be tried; it was universally believed, that his death was inevitable; but when he was brought before the parliament at Edinburgh, 1661, to shew cause why he should not receive sentence, having become a Quaker, when he might have set up two pleas, strong in point of law, he answered, consonantly to his religious principles, "that he was, at the time his political crimes were imputed to him, in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity, but that, God having since called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged his past errors, and did not refuse to pay the forfeit for them, even though in their judgment this should extend to his life." His speech was, though modest, so majestic, and though expressive of the most perfect patience, so pathetic, that, notwithstanding he had neither interest nor wealth to plead for him, yet the impression made by his discourse on that illustrious assembly was such, that they recommended him to the king as a proper object of mercy, when they were very severe against others. Biog. Brit. vol. 2. p. 590; and Burnet's History, vol. 1. p. 182.

‡ Gough, vol. 3. p. 181—183; and Biog. Brit. vol. 2. p. 590, 591. second edit.

On the 17th of July, 1688, died, at Warwick, in a good age, William Dewsbury, who was early distinguished among the foremost members of this society, by the depth of his religious experience, the eminence of his labours in the ministry, and the severity of his sufferings. He was first bred to the keeping of sheep, and then was put apprentice to a clothier. In early life he was religiously inclined, and associated with the Independents and Baptists. In the civil wars he entered into the parliament army, but as he grew more seriously attentive to religious considerations, the recollection of the words of Christ, "Put up thy sword into the scabbard; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight;" affected his mind with a lively conviction of the inconsistency of war with the peaceable gospel of Christ. Under this conviction he left the army, and resumed his trade. When George Fox was at Wakefield, he joined him in fellowship and in the ministry. He travelled much in different parts of England to promote righteousness, and to propagate what was, in his view, divine truth; for which, like his brethren, he met with much personal abuse, and was frequently thrown into prison at various places, at York, Northampton, Exeter, London, and Warwick. In this last place he was detained till the general release by king James. At length his health and strength were so impaired by the many violent abuses and long imprisonments he had endured, that he was obliged to rest frequently in walking from his house to the meeting-place in the same town. A distemper contracted in prison terminated his life. He was seized with a sharp fit of it, when in London to attend the yearly meeting, so that he was obliged to return home by short journeys: but survived his departure from the city only seventeen days. To some friends who came to visit him he said, just before he expired; "Friends, be faithful, and trust in the Lord your God; for this I can say, I never played the coward, but as joyfully entered prisons as palaces.—And in the prison-house I sang praises to my God, and esteemed the bolts and locks put upon me as jewels, and in the name of the eternal God I always got the victory, for they could not keep me any longer than the time determined of him." Continuing his discourse, he said: "My departure draws nigh; blessed be God I have nothing to do but to die, and put off this corruptible and mortal tabernacle, this body of flesh that hath so many infirmities; but the life that dwells in it ascends out of the reach of death, hell, and the grave; and immortality and eternal life is my crown for ever and ever." He concluded in prayer to the Lord for all his people every where, especially for the friends then assembled in London, reaping the present reward of his fidelity, patience, and sincerity, in peaceful tenor of his mind, and looking death in the face, not only without terror, but with a holy triumph over its power*.

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 223--228.

The history of this society has, with an impartial and commendable disregard to the distinction of sex, made honourable mention of those women to whose piety and zeal it was indebted. One of these, at this period, was Rebecca Travis, born 1609, who had received a religious education, and was a zealous professor among the Baptists. In the year 1654, prompted by curiosity, but possessed with strong prejudices against the Quakers, as a people in the north remarkable for simplicity and rusticity of behaviour, a worship strangely different from all others, and a strenuous opposition to all public teachers; she attended a public disputation between James Naylor, then in London, and the Baptists: in which it appeared to her he had the advantage, by close and powerful replies, over his learned antagonists. This excited her desire to hear him in the exercise of his ministry; she had soon an opportunity of gratifying her wishes; and the result was, that from that time she attended the meetings of this people, and after some time laboured herself in the ministry among them, in London and its neighbourhood. The impressions made on her mind by the preaching of Naylor, and her observation of his circumspect conduct, engaged her affectionate esteem for him, and she cheerfully administered every charitable service in her power to his relief under his grievous sufferings; though she was a woman of too much discretion and stability in religion to carry her regard beyond its proper limits, or to such extravagant lengths as those weak people who contributed to his downfall. She had the character of a discreet and virtuous woman, much employed in acts of charity and beneficence; of sympathetic tenderness towards the afflicted, and therefore one of the first of those faithful women to whom the care of the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned members of the community, was assigned; this care, in conjunction with others, she religiously discharged. After a long life of virtuous and charitable deeds, she died in much peace, on the 15th July 1688, in the eightieth year of her age*.

Another of these women, who was esteemed an ornament to her profession, and who undauntedly suffered, when it fell to her lot, was Ann Downer, first married to Benjamin Greenwell, a grocer in Bishopsgate-street, and then to the celebrated George Whitehead. She was one of the first who received the doctrine of the Quakers, when its ministers came to London, and at length became a preacher of it. In 1656, she was sent for to attend George Fox and his fellow-prisoners at Launceston, and travelled thither on-foot, two hundred miles: on her journey she was instrumental to bring many over to the doctrine she published, some of whom were persons of account in the world. In 1658, she travelled in the southern counties, and the Isle of Wight. She was remarkably conspicuous in her day for her singular piety,

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 219—223.

benevolence, and charity, spending much of her time in visiting the poor, the imprisoned, the sick, the fatherless, and widows, in their affliction: and in her exertions to do good had few equals. She died on the 27th of August, 1686, aged sixty-three, expressing to her friends who visited her the sentiments of resignation and lively hope, and leaving impressions of affectionate regard to her memory in the hearts of many, whom she had helped by her charitable services*.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

REVOLUTION, AND THE ACT OF TOLERATION.

THE Revolution is the grand event, in which the affecting and interesting scenes and transactions of the preceding periods, from the Reformation to the accession of William III., happily and gloriously close. Here the struggles of the several parties have their termination; and though the episcopal form of church-government obtains at last an establishment and permanent pre-eminence, yet that superiority is made easy to the other parties, by the security to their respective religious professions, and by the equality among themselves, which they enjoy by the act of toleration. Here the reader pauses with pleasure and hope; humanity rejoices, that there is a period to the animosities and calamities that had torn and afflicted this country nearly a century and a half, and the prospect of better times opens before the wearied mind. The history through which he has been led, by its various details, giveth him a strong impression of the importance and happiness of the era to which he is at length arrived. Here despotism hath drawn its last breath; here religious liberty commenceth its reign: royal prerogative bows and yields to the voice of the people; and conscience feels itself, though not entirely emancipated, yet walking at large and breathing the open air.

Our author's narrative affords convincing and satisfactory proofs of the importance and felicity of the new state of things to which it brings us. But yet some considerations, arising from facts not mentioned by him, may be properly presented to the reader, to heighten his sense of the deliverance effected by the

* Gough, vol. 3. p. 183—185.

Revolution. Two singular doctrines had been industriously disseminated; viz. "That there was no such thing as passive obedience for the cause of religion; and that kings are so far infallible, as that what religion they establish is the true worship of God in their dominion." To insinuate more universally and effectually these sentiments, they were inserted and enlarged upon in the common almanacks*. No doubt can remain concerning the design of James II. from a review of the measures he actually executed; and yet it is useful and interesting to bring forward the secret councils from whence those measures flowed, and to exhibit the systematical plan, for which, if they were not parts of it, and first attempts at the execution of it, they were evidently calculated to prepare the way.

Some time before the abdication of James, a "Memorial" was presented to him, drawn up by a Jesuit, and exhibiting the methods he should pursue, not only to root out the Protestant religion, but to prevent even the possibility of its revival. The great outlines of the scheme were, "that a council of reformation should be established, which avoiding the name, as odious and offensive at the beginning, should pursue some good and sound manner of inquisition; nay, should order, in divers points, according to the diligent and exact proceedings of the court of inquisition in Spain:—that the authority of the church should take place of the king's authority, and the civil powers be subjected to the ecclesiastical:—that the state of the Catholic religion, and the succession of the crown, should be so linked together, that one might depend on and be the assurance of the other:—that new ways of choosing parliaments should be followed, particularly one very extraordinary, viz. that the bishop of the diocess should judge concerning the knights of the shire, and as they were thought fit to serve in parliament by such bishops or not, so they were to confirm the election or have a negative voice in it. The Catholic prince, whom God should send, is represented as being well able to procure such a parliament as he would have. Many new laws were to be made, that should quite alter the whole constitution; but it was to be made treason for ever, for any man to propose any thing for change of the Catholic Roman faith, when it was once settled. As to those in low circumstances, effectual care was to be taken to keep them low. New methods were to be observed for letting of lands, disposing of children, and ordering of servants." The "Memorial" complains, "that in queen Mary's time, when so many were imprisoned, so many stripped of their estates, and so many burnt, there was a want of zeal, to the grief and discouragement of many; that some things were then tolerated upon constraint, and fear of farther inconveniences; and it is added, that matters are not to be patched up any more by such gentle and backward proceedings. For it is laid down as a

* Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 3. p. 88.

first principle, that as soon as a good Catholic prince should be established upon the throne of these nations, he must make account, that the security of himself, his crown, and successor, dependeth principally on the assurance and good establishment of the Catholic religion within his kingdom." The proposals in this piece were brought forward, not merely as measures which the writer desired to see executed; but such as he apprehended, nay, was confident, the temper and circumstances of the nation would soon afford an opportunity to accomplish. Several things are reckoned up, which gave great force to the Roman Catholics in England. It is said, that England would more easily receive Popery than any other Protestant country; nay, that difficulties which arose in some Catholic countries would not be found here. "All now (says the author) is zeal and integrity in our new clergy, (Almighty God be thanked for it!) and no less in our laity, and Catholic gentlemen in England, that have borne the brunt of persecution."

These specimens of the designs formed, are proofs to what extent the scheme of combining the re-establishment of Popery with arbitrary power was to be carried; and shew what vast consequences were involved in the success of the spirited opposition that led James to abdicate the throne.

Important, valuable, and happy, as was the state of things introduced by this event, especially as it affected religious liberty, the operation of it was partial and limited: when even a bill of rights, after the settlement of king William on the throne, defined our constitution, and fixed the privileges of the subject, the rights of conscience were not ascertained, nor declared by that noble deed. The act of toleration, moved by lord Nottingham in the house of peers, and seconded by some bishops, though more out of fear than inclination*, exempted from the penal statutes then in existence Protestant dissentients only, and not all of them, for the Socinians are expressly excepted, nor did secure any from the influence of the corporation and test acts. It left the English Catholics under severe disabilities; it left many penal statutes unrepealed. The same reign which gave us the blessing of the toleration act, was marked by an act of another complexion; for the prince, to whom we owe the former, was prevailed on to pass another statute, adjudging heavy penalties, fines, and imprisonments, to those who should write or speak against the doctrine of the Trinity. There are claims of power over conscience not yet abolished: there are rights of conscience not yet fully recovered and secured. The very term toleration shews that religious freedom is not yet enjoyed in perfection; it indicates, that the liberty which we possess is a matter of sufferance, lenity, and indulgence, rather than the grant of justice and right. It seemeth to admit and imply a power to restrain conscience and to dictate to faith, but

* Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 323.

the exercise of which is generously waived. The time is, even now, at this distance from the Revolution, yet to come, when the enjoyment of religious liberty shall no longer be considered as a favour; the time is yet to come, when Christians, of all religious forms and creeds, shall be on the equal footing of brethren, and of children in the house of the same heavenly Parent; the time is yet to come, when acts of toleration shall every where give place to bills of right.

But, though much is yet wanting to complete and perfect the blessings of the Revolution; yet we cannot but review the act of toleration as a great point gained, as a noble effort towards the full emancipation of conscience. The preceding periods had been only those of oppression and thralldom. The exertions of any to procure release from severe laws, were rather attempts to gain the power of tyrannizing over conscience into their own hands, that they themselves might be free, and all other parties remain slaves, than liberal endeavours to ascertain and secure to every one security and peace, in following the judgment of his own mind. The preceding ages exhibit a series of severe statutes following each other; from passing the act for burning of heretics in the reign of Henry IV. to the enacting of that of uniformity, and of the Oxford conventicle acts, in the reign of Charles II. At the commencement of the Reformation, we have seen, that on the one hand they who could not admit, from religious reverence to the pope's authority, the supremacy of the king, and on the other, they who discarded any of the six articles which he formed into a standard of faith, were alike doomed to the sentence of death. In the reign of Edward VI. the pious and amiable Hooper, for refusing to wear a particular dress, was imprisoned; and Joan Boucher, who religiously read and dispersed the New Testament, was burnt at the stake. Intolerant statutes marked the government of queen Elizabeth. Persecution, in various forms, by laws and by prerogative, stigmatized the successive reigns of the Stuarts. In the interval, during the suspension of their power, a severe ordinance against heresy was passed: the livings of the episcopal clergy were sequestered; those ministers suffered under severe oppressions, and Presbyterianism was found to be not more friendly to the rights of conscience, or averse from intolerance, than had been the fallen hierarchy. Amongst two despised sects, hated and persecuted by all parties, the Baptists and Quakers, amongst almost them only, the principles of liberty had found able and generous advocates; their writings placed the rights of conscience on a broad and liberal bottom. But they could support them by the pen only; they were never in power, and consequently had never, in this country*, an opportunity to carry

* It is said in *this* country; for when the forming the government of Pennsylvania and Rhode-Island in America rested, the latter with the Baptists, and the former with the Quakers, to their honour it should be said, that their conduct was

their principles into practice, and to shew that they could rule according to the maxims for which, when oppressed, they could forcibly plead.

This having been the state of things, the act of toleration, the consequence of the Revolution, was a great acquisition. It was the first legal sanction given to the claims of conscience; it was the first charter of religious freedom; it was a valuable, important, and permanent security to the dissenting subject. It opened to him the temple of peace, and afforded the long wished-for asylum. To adopt the language of high authority: "The toleration-act rendered that which was illegal before, now legal; the dissenting way of worship is permitted and allowed by that act; it is not only exempted from punishment, but rendered innocent and lawful; it is established; it is put under the protection, and not merely the connivance, of the law*." It hath been followed with a universal good effect and happy influence; it hath been the basis of the religious liberty enjoyed ever since that period; and with respect to the state of freedom and religious inquiry in these kingdoms, it was, as it were, a new creation. Before that period darkness, in a manner, hung over the spacious field of knowledge and divine truth, and the path to it was guarded by a flaming sword. That act said, "Let there be light, and light there was." "The bounds of free inquiry were enlarged; the volume, in which are the words of eternal life, was laid open to examination." And the state of knowledge and liberty has been, ever since, progressive and improving.

To this general view of the effects of the Revolution, it is proper to add; "that it drew considerable consequences after it all over Europe. It kept the reformed interest from sinking, secured the liberty of the British and the Netherlands, and disappointed the French of that universal monarchy, which they had been eagerly expecting, and had great hopes of reaching. And among other happy fruits of it, it was not the least considerable, that it was the means of saving the poor Vaudois of Piedmont from utter ruin, and of their re-establishment in their own country. These people were the remains of the primitive Christians, who were never tainted with the papal corruptions and impurities. In the year 1686, the duke of Savoy, at the instigation of Lewis XIV., because they would not forsake their religion, drove them from their houses and possessions, forced them out of the valleys, and obliged them to take shelter among the Switzers and others that would afford them an asylum. But, in September 1689, eight or nine hundred of them assembled together in the woods of Nion, not far from Geneva, crossed the lake Lemman in the night, and entered Savoy under the conduct of their minister M. Arnold. They marched through that coun-

consistent with the arguments they had advanced, and liberty of conscience, on an extensive and liberal scale, was a leading feature of each constitution.

* Lord Mansfield.

try, fourteen or fifteen days' journey, in which march they were obliged to climb up high mountains, force divers strait passes, well guarded by soldiers, with swords in their hands, till at length they reached their valleys, of which they took possession, and in which, under the singular protection of Providence, they maintained themselves, successfully encountering their enemies who at any time assaulted them*."

Here seems to be a proper place, before the history of this period is closed, to notice a noble and generous exertion of a few dissenters, which has with great good effect been resumed and perpetuated to the present times. It was the founding a school in Gravel-lane, Southwark, for the instruction of children in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the girls in sewing and knitting, and furnishing them with books for their instruction in these arts, and with Testaments, catechisms, and Bibles. One Poulton had opened a school in these parts, and given public notice that he would teach the children of the poor gratis. To counteract his designs, and to afford the poor an easy opportunity of having their children educated in Protestant principles, three worthy gentlemen, Mr. Arthur Shallet, Mr. Samuel Warburton, and Mr. Ferdinando Holland, members of Mr. Nathaniel Vincent's church, instituted this seminary, which has continued ever since, maintained by voluntary subscriptions, annual collections, and legacies. The number of scholars at first was forty; afterward it increased to fifty; then to one hundred and forty; and has since been two hundred. It was the first institution of the kind wherein the Protestant dissenters were concerned; and into its objects are received without distinction of party. Such an institution has the merit of being a rational, fair, and benevolent mode of opposing superstition and bigotry, abridging no one's security and rights, and leaving the event to the operation of knowledge and understanding; and it reflects honour on the spirit and resolution of its first founders, who set it on foot in the reign of the tyrannical and bigoted prince, James II., when the dissenters had scarcely emerged out of a state of persecution.

* Calamy's History of his Own Times, MS. Dr. Calamy was told several remarkable particulars concerning this march by Mr. Arnold, who came afterward to England to solicit the assistance of king William. One was, that when they were come pretty near to their valleys, they were in such straits for provisions, that they were in great fear of starving. But there came a sudden thaw, which in a night's time melted the snow, and in the morning they discovered a considerable quantity of wheat standing in the earth, ready for the sickle, which had been left there from the preceding summer, and had been covered all winter by the snow; the sudden fall prevented the proprietors from reaping it at the proper season. These destitute people beheld it with admiration and thankfulness, reaped it with joy, and were supported by it after their return into their valleys, where, without such a supply, they might have perished. Another resource, especially for their ministers and schoolmasters, was derived from the overplus of the collections made for them in England, during the protectorship of Cromwell, which had been lodged by them, when their wants had been effectually relieved, in the hands of the magistrates of Geneva, on condition of receiving such an allowance from year to year as was agreed on. Calamy, *ut supra*.

It will not, it is presumed, be thought beneath the importance and dignity of general history, to mention here two small publications which the press produced at this period; especially as the history, through which the reader has been led, records the virtuous and manly struggles made to secure the liberty of writing and publishing on the subject of religion, according to the views any might entertain, and exhibits memoirs of the progress of theological inquiries. The importance of publications is also to be estimated, not by the number of pages, but by the nature of the subject, the ability with which they are executed, and the effect they produced, or the impression they were calculated to leave, on the public mind.

One of the pieces, both anonymous, to which we refer, was entitled, "A brief History of the Unitarians, called also Soci-nians: in four Letters to a Friend." The publisher, to whom they were written, having left them some time with a gentleman, a person of excellent learning and worth, they were returned to him with a letter, expressing great approbation of them, which was printed with each edition. The first of these letters represented the Unitarian doctrine concerning the unity of God, the humanity of Christ and the Holy Spirit, as the power and inspiration of God; aimed to conform and prove it by a series of scriptural arguments, and closed with a concise history of it. The design of the three following letters, was to reply to the arguments of the orthodox; and, that the answer might be full and satisfactory, they were occupied in the illustration of all the texts usually alleged as proofs of the Trinitarian doctrine. The passages out of the Old Testament are first explained, then those out of the Gospels and Acts, and lastly those out of the Epistles and the Revelations. This mode of discussing a question, which depends purely on divine revelation, will be admitted to be proper and fair. It shewed that the author was not afraid to lodge his appeal with the Scriptures, and it was adapted to lead the reader into an investigation of their meaning according to the rules of sober criticism and just explanation. It went, particularly, to obviate a reflection cast upon the Unitarians, as exalting their reasonings above the plain and express revelation of the Scriptures. The first edition of this tract was in 12mo, in 1687. It was afterward reprinted in a collection of Unitarian Tracts, in quarto, 1691.

The other tract published at this period, which I have mentioned as worthy of particular notice, was entitled, "A Rational Catechism." It was distinguished, not only by the good sense, and the vein of close but familiar reasoning which ran through it, but by the peculiar method in which it was drawn up. Catechisms, in general, have consisted principally, if not solely, of speculative points, drawn from the theological systems of the day, and of the country where they are published. These are conveyed in an authoritative manner, as absolutely necessary to salvation; and

are to be committed to memory, without any attempt to prove them by reasoning level to the capacity of the learner. The author of this tract, conceiving that neglecting to examine into the bottom of things, was the cause of that variety of opinions whence arose rash judgments, animosities, hatreds, and persecution, began his piece with the first principles discernible in human nature; and, avoiding all sentiments controverted amongst Christians, confined himself to such truths only as all agree in, and which lead directly unto practice, professing not to advance every thing that he might think useful, but only what he judged most useful. The dialogue, into which form the work is thrown, divides itself into three parts; the principles of natural religion; those of Christianity, or the great advantages derived from the gospel; and the rules of conduct which it supplies. The instructions and conclusions which the catechumen is led, in a great degree, to draw for himself, and by his own reflections, arise in a chain of reasoning from this principle, "that every man seeks happiness;" which happiness must be, principally, mental and spiritual. The means of attaining to it in the knowledge of God and the practice of his will are hence gradually developed. This piece is ascribed to Mr. Popple. It was first printed by licence, in 1688; another edition of it appeared 1690, 12mo. And it was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1712*.

* Preface to the work. Hollis's Memoirs, p. 263; and a Critical Review of it in the *Bibliothèque Universelle Historique*, tom. 9. p. 95, &c.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

A declaration of certain principal articles of religion, set out by order of both archbishops, metropolitans, and the rest of the bishops, for the unity of doctrine to be taught and holden of all parsons, vicars, and curates: as well in testification of their common consent in the said doctrine, to the stopping of the mouths of them that go about to slander the ministers of the church for diversity of judgment, and as necessary for the instruction of their people, to be read by the said parsons, vicars, and curates, at their possession taking, or first entry into their cures; and also, after that yearly, at two several times; that is to say, the Sunday next following Euster-day, and St. Michael the Archangel, or on some other Sunday within one month after those feasts, immediately after the Gospel.

FORASMUCH as it appertaineth to all Christian men, but especially to the ministers and pastors of the church, being teachers and instructors of others, to be ready to give a reason of their faith when they shall be thereunto required; I, for my part, now appointed your parson, vicar, or curate, having before mine eyes the fear of God, and the testimony of my conscience, do acknowledge for myself, and require you to assent to the same;

1. "That there is but one living and true God, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things; and that in unity of this Godhead, there be three persons of one substance, of equal power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

2. "I believe also whatsoever is contained in the holy canonical Scriptures, in the which Scriptures are contained all things necessary to salvation; by the which, also, all errors and heresies may sufficiently be reprov'd and convicted; and all doctrines and articles necessary to salvation are established. I do also most firmly believe and confess all the articles contained in the three creeds; the Nicene creed, Athanasius's creed, and our common creed, called the Apostles' creed; for these do briefly contain the principal articles of our faith, which are at large set forth in the Holy Scriptures.

3. "I do acknowledge also that church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used: and that every such particular church hath authority to institute, to change, and clean to put away, ceremonies, and other

ecclesiastical rights, as they be superfluous or abused ; and to constitute others, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

4. “ Moreover I confess, that it is not lawful for any man to take upon him any office or ministry, either ecclesiastical or secular, but such only as are lawfully thereunto called by the high authorities, according to the ordinances of the realm.

5. “ Furthermore, I do acknowledge the queen’s majesty’s prerogative and superiority of government of all estates, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this realm and other her dominions and countries, to be agreeable to God’s word, and of right to appertain to her highness, in such sort as in the late act of parliament expressed, and since then by her majesty’s injunctions declared and expounded.

6. “ Moreover, touching the bishop of Rome, I do acknowledge and confess, that by the Scriptures and the word of God, he hath no more authority than other bishops have in their provinces and diocesses, and therefore the power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and so to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is a usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church ; and therefore is for most just causes taken away and abolished in this realm.

7. “ Furthermore, I do grant and confess that the book of common prayer and administration of the holy sacraments, set forth by the authority of parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures ; and that it is catholic and apostolic, and most for the advancing of God’s glory, and the edifying of God’s people : both for that it is in a tongue that may be understood of the people, and also for the doctrine and form of administration contained in the same.

8. “ And although in the administration of baptism there is neither exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, or hallowing of the water, now used ; and for that they were of late years abused and esteemed necessary, whereas they pertain not to the substance and necessity of the sacrament, and therefore be reasonably abolished ; yet is the sacrament full and perfectly ministered, to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

9. “ Moreover, I do not only acknowledge, that private masses were never used amongst the fathers of the primitive church, I mean, public ministrations and receiving of the sacrament by the priest alone, without a just number of communicants, according to Christ’s saying, ‘ Take ye, and eat ye,’ &c. but also that the doctrine that maintaineth the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, and a mean to deliver souls out of purgatory, is neither agreeable to Christ’s ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolic, but contrariwise most ungodly, and most injurious to the precious redemption of our Saviour Christ, and his only sufficient sacrifice, offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross.

10. “ I am of that mind also, that the holy communion or sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, for the due obedience to Christ’s institution, and to express the virtue of the same, ought to be ministered unto the people under both kinds ; and that it is avouched by certain fathers of the church to be a plain sacrilege, to rob them of the mystical cup, for whom Christ has shed his most precious blood,

seeing he himself hath said, ‘ Drink ye all of this ;’ considering also, that in the time of the ancient doctors of the church, as Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, six hundred years after Christ, and more, both the parts of the sacrament were ministered to the people.

Last of all, “ As I do utterly disallow the extolling of images, relics, and feigned miracles ; and also all kind of expressing God invisible, in the form of an old man, or the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove ; and all other vain worshipping of God, devised by men’s fantasy, besides or contrary to the Scriptures ; as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, praying upon beads, and such-like superstition ; which kind of works have no promise of reward in Scripture ; but contrariwise threatenings and maledictions ; so I do exhort all men to the obedience of God’s law, and to the works of faith, as charity, mercy, piety, alms, devout and fervent prayer, with the affection of the heart, and not with the mouth only ; godly abstinence and fasting, chastity, obedience to the rulers and superior powers, with such-like works, and godliness of life commanded by God in his word ; which, as St. Paul saith, ‘ hath the promise both of this life, and of the life to come ;’ and are works acceptable only in God’s sight.

“ These things above rehearsed, though they be appointed by common order, yet do I, without all compulsion, with freedom of mind and conscience, from the bottom of my heart, and upon most sure persuasion, acknowledge to be true, and agreeable to God’s word. And therefore I exhort you all to whom I have care, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the same ; that we all joining together in unity of spirit, faith, and charity, may also at length be joined together in the kingdom of God, and that through the merits and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ ; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and empire, now and for ever. Amen.”

No. II.

A copy of the letter sent to the bishops and pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman antichrist, and profess the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

The superintendent ministers, and commissioners of charges within the realm of Scotland, to their brethren the bishops and pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in sincerity, desire the perpetual increase of the Holy Spirit.

By word and writ, it is come to our knowledge, reverend pastors, that divers of our dearest brethren, among whom are some of the best learned within that realm, are deprived from ecclesiastical function, and forbidden to preach, and so by you, that they are straight to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ, because their consciences will not suffer to take upon them (at the commandment of authority) such garments as idolaters, in time of blindness, have used in their idolatry, which bruit cannot but be most dolorous to our hearts, mindful of that

sentence of the Apostle, saying, "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed, lest ye be consumed one of another." We purpose not at this present to enter into the ground of that question which we hear, of either part, to be agitate with greater vehemency than well liketh us; to wit, whether that such apparel is to be accounted amongst things that are simply indifferent or not; but in the bowels of the Lord Jesus we crave that Christian charity may so prevail in you, we say, the pastors and leaders of the flock within that realm.

That ye do not to others that which ye would not others should do to you. Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the conscience of man is. All that have knowledge are not alike persuaded; your consciences reclaim not at wearing of such garments, but many thousands, both godly and learned, are otherwise persuaded, whose consciences are continually stricken with these sentences: "What hath Christ Jesus to do with Belial?" "What fellowship is there betwixt darkness and light?" If surplice, corner cap, and tippet, have been badges of idolaters in the very act of their idolatry, what have the preachers of Christian liberty, and the open rebukers of all superstition, to do with the dregs of the Romish beast? Our brethren, that of conscience refuse that unprofitable apparel, do neither damn yours, or molest you that use such vain trifles: if ye shall do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many which are wounded with extremity, which is used against those godly, and our beloved brethren. Colour of rhetoric, or manly persuasion, will we use none, but charitably we desire you to call that sentence of pity to mind:—"Feed the flock of God which is committed to your charge, caring for them, not by constraint, but willingly; not as though ye were lords over God's heritage, but that ye may be examples to the flock." And farther also, we desire you to meditate that sentence of the apostle, saying, "Give none offence, neither to the Jews nor to the Grecians, nor to the church of God." In what condition of time ye and we both travel in the promoting of Christ's kingdom, we suppose you not to be ignorant. And therefore we are more bold to exhort you to walk more circumspectly, than that for such vanities the godly should be troubled. For all things that may seem lawful, edify not. If the commandment of authority urge the consciences of your and our brethren, more than they can bear; we unfeignedly crave of you, that ye remember, that ye are called the light of the world and the earth.

All civil authority hath not the light of God always shining before their eyes in their statutes and commandments; but their affections oft-time savour too much of the earth, and of worldly wisdom.

And therefore we think that ye should boldly oppose yourselves to all power, that will or dare extol itself, not only against God, but also against all such as do burden the consciences of the faithful, farther than God hath burdened them by his own word. But herein we confess our offence, in that we have entered farther in reasoning than we purposed and promised at the beginning: and therefore we shortly return to our former humble supplication, which is, that our brethren, who among you refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, the prelates, such favours as our Head and Master commands every one of his members to shew one to another, which we look to receive of your gentleness, not only for that ye fear to offend God's majesty, in troubling

of your brethren for such vain trifles ; but also because ye will not refuse the humble requests of us your brethren, and fellow-preachers of Christ Jesus, in whom, albeit there appear no great worldly pomp, yet we suppose ye will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us to be of the number of those that fight against the Roman antichrist, and travail, that the kingdom of Christ Jesus universally may be maintained and advanced. The days are evil ; iniquity abounds ; Christian charity, alas ! is waxen cold ; and therefore we ought the more diligently to watch ; for the hour is uncertain when the Lord Jesus shall appear, before whom we your brethren, and ye, may give an account of our administration.

And thus, in conclusion, we once again crave favour to our brethren, which granted, ye in the Lord shall command us in things of double more importance. The Lord Jesus rule your hearts in his true fear to the end, and give unto us victory over that conjured enemy of all true religion ; to wit, over that Roman antichrist, whose wounded head Satan, by all means, labours to cure again, but to destruction shall he and his maintainers go, by the power of the Lord Jesus : to whose mighty power and protection we heartily commit you.

Subscribed by the hands of superintendents, one part of ministers, and scribed in our general assemblies, and fourth session thereof. At Edinburgh, the 28th day of December, 1566.

Your loving brethren, and fellow-preachers,
in Christ Jesus.

Jo. Craig,	Rob. Pont,
Da. Lyndesay,	Jo. Wiram,
Guil. Gislisomus,	Jaco. Mailvil,
Jo. Spottiswood,	Jo. Erskin,
Jo. Row,	Nic. Spital.

No. III.

John Fox's letter to queen Elizabeth, to dissuade her from burning two Dutch Anabaptists for heresy in Smithfield. 1575.

SERENISSIMA beatissima princeps, regina illustrissima, patriæ decus, sæculi ornamentum ! Ut nihil ab animo meo omnique expectatione abfuit longius quam ut majestatis tuæ amplissimam excellentiam molesta interpellatione obturbarem ; ita vehementer dolet silentium hoc, quo hactenus constanter sum usus, non eadem constantia perpetuo tueri ita ut volebam licuisse. Ita nunc præter spem ac opinionem meam nescio qua infelicitate evenit, ut quod omnium volebam minime, id contra me maxime faciat hoc tempore. Qui cum ita vixerim hucusque, ut molestus fuerim nemini, invitus nunc cogor contra naturam principi etiam ipsi esse importunus, non re ulla aut causa mea, sed aliena inductus calamitate. Quæ quo acerbior sit et luctuosior, hoc aciores mihi addit ad deprecandum stimulos. Nonnullos intelligo in Anglia hæc esse non Anglos, sed adventitios, Belgas quidem opinor, partim viros, partim feminas, nuper ob improbata dogmata in judicium advocatos. Quorum aliquot feliciter reducti publica luerunt poenitentia ;

complures in exilium sunt condemnati, idque rectissime meo iudicio factum esse arbitror. Jam ex hoc numero unum esse aut alterum audio, de quibus ultimum exustionis supplicium (nisi succurrat tua pietas) brevi est statuendum. Qua una in re duo contineri perspicio, quorum alterum ad errorum pravitatem, alterum ad supplicii acerbitatem attinet. Ac erroribus quidem ipsis nihil possit absurdum esse, sanus nemo est qui dubitat, mirorque tam fæda opinionum portenta in quosquam potuisse Christianos cadere. Sed ita habet humanæ infirmitatis conditio, si divina paululum luce destituti nobis relinquimur, quo non ruimus præcipites? Atque hoc nomine Christo gratias quam maximas habeo, quòd Anglorum hodie neminem huic insaniam video. Quod igitur ad phanaticas istas sectas attinet, eas certe in republica nullo modo fovendas esse, sed idonea comprimendas correctione censeo. Verum enim vero ignibus ac flammis pice ac sulphure æstuantibus viva miserorum corpora torrefacere, iudicii magis cæcitate quam impetu voluntatis errantium, durum istud ac Romani magis exempli esse quam evangelicæ consuetudinis videtur, ac plane ejusmodi, ut nisi a Romanis pontificibus, authore Innocentio tertio, primum profluxisset, nunquam istum Perilli taurum quisquam in mitem Christi ecclesiam importavisset. Non quod maleficiis delecter, aut erroribus cujusquam faveam, dicta hæc esse velim; vitæ hominum, ipse homo cum sim, faveo; ideoque faveo, non ut erret, sed ut respiscat: ac neque hominum solum, utinam et pecudibus ipsis opitulari possem. Ita enim sum (stulte fortassis hæc de meipso, at vere dico), macellum ipsum, ubi mactantur etiam pecudes, vix prætereo, quin tacito quodam doloris sensu mens refugiat. Atque equidem in eo Dei ipsius valde admiror, venerorque toto pectore clementiam, qui in jumentis illis brutis et abjectis, quæ sacrificiis olim parabantur, id prospexerat, ne prius ignibus mandarentur quam sanguis eorum ad basim altaris effunderetur. Unde disceremus, in exigendis suppliciis, quamvis justis, non quid omnino rigori liceat, sed ut clementia simul adhibita rigoris temperet asperitatem.

Quamobrem si tantum mihi apud principis tanti majestatem audere liceret supplex pro Christo rogarem clementissimam hanc regiam sublimitatis excellentiam, præ autoritate hac *mea* (*lege tua*) qua ad vitam multorum *consecrandum pellere* (*i. conservandam pollere*) te divina voluit clementia, ut vita si fieri possit, (quid enim non posset iis in rebus autoritas tua?) miserorum pareatur, saltem ut horrori obsistatur, atque in aliud quodcunque commutetur supplicii genus. Sunt ejectiones, inclusiones retrusæ, sunt vincula, sunt perpetua exilia, sunt stigmata et *πλήγματα* aut etiam patibula; id unum valde deprecor, ne piras ac flammam Smithfieldianas jam diu faustissimis tuis auspiciis huc usque sopitas, sinas nunc recandescere. Quod si ne id quidem obtineri possit, id saltem omnibus supplicandi modis efflagito, *τοῦτο το πελαργικόν* pectoris tui implorans, ut mensem tamen unum aut alterum nobis concedas, quo interim experiamur, an a periculosis erroribus dederit dominus ut resanescant, ne cum corporum jactura, animæ pariter cum corporibus de aeterno periclitentur exitio*.

* Fuller's Church History of Britain, p. 104, 105.

No. IV.

A directory of church-government, anciently contended for, and, as far as the times would suffer, practised by the first Nonconformists in the days of queen Elizabeth, found in the study of the most accomplished divine Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease.
The sacred Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God.

THE discipline of Christ's church, that is necessary for all times, is delivered by Christ, and set down in the Holy Scriptures; therefore the true and lawful discipline is to be fetched from thence, and from thence alone. And that which resteth upon any other foundation ought to be esteemed unlawful and counterfeit.

Of all particular churches, there is one and the same right, order, and form: therefore also no one may challenge to itself any power over others: nor any right which doth not alike agree to others.

The ministers of public charges, in every particular church, ought to be called and appointed to their charges by a lawful ecclesiastical calling, such as hereafter is set down.

All these, for the divers regard of their several kinds, are of equal power amongst themselves.

No man can be lawfully called to public charge in any church, but he that is fit to discharge the same. And none is to be accounted fit, but he that is endued with the common gifts of all the godly; that is, with faith, and a blameless life: and farther also, with those that are proper to that ministry wherein he is to be used, and necessary for the executing of the same; whereupon, for trial of those gifts, some convenient way and examination are to be used.

The party to be called must first be elected; then he is to be ordained to that charge whereunto he is chosen, by the prayers of that church whereunto he is to be admitted; the mutual duties of him and of the church being before laid open.

The ministers of the church are, first, they that are ministers of the word. In their examination, it is specially to be taken heed unto, that they be apt to teach, and tried men, not utterly unlearned, nor newly planted and converted to the faith.

Now these ministers of the word are, first, pastors, which do administer the word and sacraments; then, teachers, which are occupied in wholesome doctrine.

Besides, there are also elders, which watch over the life and behaviour of every man; and deacons, which have care over the poor.

Farther, in every particular church there ought to be a presbytery, which is a consistory, and, as it were, a senate of elders. Under the name of elders here are contained, they who in the church minister doctrine, and they who are properly called elders.

By the common counsel of the eldership, all things are directed that belong to the state of their church. First, such as belong to the guidance of the whole body of it in the holy and common assembly, gathered together in the name of the Lord, that all things may be done in them duly, orderly, and to edification. 2. Then also such as pertain to par-

ticular persons. First, to all the members of that church, that the good may enjoy all the privileges that belong unto them ; that the wicked may be corrected with ecclesiastical censures, according to the quality of the fault, private and public, by admonishing and by removing either from the Lord's supper by suspension (as it is commonly called,) or out of the church by excommunication. The which belong specially to the ministers of public charge in the church to their calling, either to be begun or ended, and ended either by relieving or punishing them, and that for a time by suspension, or altogether by deposition.

For directing of the eldership, let the pastors be set over it ; or if there be more pastors than one in the same church, let the pastors do it in their turns.

But yet in all the greater affairs of the church, as in excommunicating of any, and in choosing and deposing of church-ministers, nothing may be concluded without the knowledge and consent of the church.

Particular churches ought to yield mutual help one to another ; for which cause they are to communicate amongst themselves.

The end of this communicating together is, that all things in them may be so directed, both in regard of doctrine, and also of discipline, as by the word of God they ought to be.

Therefore the things that belong hereunto are determined by the common opinion of those who meet so to communicate together ; and whatsoever is to be amended, furthered, or procured, in any of those several churches that belong to that assembly. Wherein albeit no particular church hath power over another, yet every particular church of the same resort, meeting and counsel, ought to obey the opinion of more churches with whom they communicate.

For holding of these meetings and assemblies, there are to be chosen, by every church belonging to that assembly, principal men from among the elders, who are to have their instructions from them, and so to be sent to the assembly. There must also be a care had, that the things they shall return to have been godly agreed on by the meetings, be diligently observed by the churches.

Farther, in such assemblies there is also to be chosen one that may be set over the assemblies, who may moderate and direct them. His duty is to see that the assemblies be held godly, quietly, and comely : therefore it belongeth unto him to begin and end the conference with prayer ; to know every man's instructions ; to propound in order the things that are to be handled ; to gather their opinions, and to propound what is the opinion of the greater part. It is also the part of the rest of the assembly, to speak their opinions of the things propounded godly and quietly.

The synodical discipline gathered out of the synods and use of the churches which have restored it according to the word of God, and out of sundry books that are written of the same, and referred under certain heads.

Of the Necessity of a Calling.

Let no man thrust himself into the executing of any part of public charge in the administration of the word, sacraments, discipline, or care over the poor. Neither let any such sue or seek for any public charge of the church ; but let every one tarry until he be lawfully called.

The Manner of entering and determining of a Calling, and against a Ministry of no certain place; and the Desertion of a Church.

Let none be called but unto some certain charge ordained of God, and to the exercising of the same in some particular congregation: and he that is so called, let him be so bound to that — church, that he may not after be of any other, or depart from it without the consent thereof. Let none be called, but they that have first subscribed the confession of doctrine and of discipline; whereof let them be admonished to have copies with themselves.

In the examination of ministers, the testimony of the place from whence they come is to be demanded, whereby it may be understood what life and conversation he hath been of, and whether he hath been addicted to any heresy, or to the reading of any heretical books, or to curious and strange questions, and idle speculations: or rather, whether he be accounted sound and consenting in all things to the doctrine received in the church. Whereunto if he agree, he is also to expound some part of the Holy Scriptures twice or oftener, as it shall seem meet to the examiners, and that before the conference, and that church which is interested. Let him also be demanded of the principal heads of divinity: and whether he will diligently execute and discharge his ministry; and in the execution thereof propound unto himself, not his own desires and commodities, but the glory of God and edification of the church. Lastly, whether he will be studious and careful to maintain and preserve wholesome doctrine, and ecclesiastical discipline. Thus let the minister be examined, not only by one eldership, but also by some greater meeting and assembly.

Of Election.

Before the election of a minister, and the deliberation of the conference concerning the same, let there be a day of fast kept in the church interested.

Of the place of exercising this Calling.

Albeit it be lawful for a minister, upon just occasion, to preach in another church than that whereof he is minister; yet none may exercise any ordinary ministry elsewhere, but for a certain time, upon great occasion, and by the consent of his church and conference.

Of the Office of the Ministers of the Word; and first of the Order of Liturgy or Common Prayer.

Let the minister that is to preach, name a psalm, or a part of a psalm, beginning with the first, and so proceeding, that may be sung by the church, noting to them the end of their singing, to wit, the glory of God, and their own edification. After the psalm, let a short admonition to the people follow, of preparing themselves to pray duly unto God: then let there be made a prayer containing a general confession, first of the guilt of sin, both original and actual; and of the punishment which is due by the law for them both: then also of the promise of the gospel, and in respect of it, supplication of pardon for the said guilt and punishment, and petition of grace promised, as for the duties of the whole life, so especially for the godly expounding and receiving of the

word. Let this petition be concluded with the Lord's prayer. After the sermon, let prayer be made again; first for grace to profit by the doctrine delivered, the principal heads thereof being remembered; then for all men, but chiefly for the universal church, and for all estates and degrees of the people; which is likewise to be ended with the Lord's prayer and the singing of a psalm, as before. Last of all, let the congregation be dismissed with some convenient form of blessing taken out of the Scripture; such as is Numb. vi. 24. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

Of Preaching.

Let him that shall preach choose some part of the canonical Scripture to expound, and not of the Apocrypha. Farther, in his ordinary ministry, let him not take postils, as they are called but some, whole book of the Holy Scripture, especially of the New Testament, to expound in order: in choice whereof regard is to be had both of the minister's ability, and of the edification of the church.

He that preacheth must perform two things; the first, that his speech be uncorrupt; which is to be considered both in regard of the doctrine, that it be holy, sound, wholesome and profitable to edification; not devilish, heretical, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curious, or contentious; and also in respect of the manner of it, that it be proper to the place which is handled, that is, which either is contained plainly in the very words; or if it be gathered by consequent, that the same be fit and clear, and such as may rise upon the property of the word, grace of speech, and suit of the matter; and not be allegorical, strange, wrested, or far-fetched. Now let that which is such, and chiefly which is fittest for the times and occasions of the church, be delivered. Farther, let the explication, confirmation, enlargement, and application, and the whole treatise and handling of it, be in the vulgar tongue; and let the whole confirmation and proof be made by arguments, testimonies, and examples, taken only out of the Holy Scriptures, applied fitly, and according to the natural meaning of the places that are alleged.

The second thing to be performed by him that preacheth, is a reverend gravity; this is considered first in the style, phrase, and manner of speech, that it be spiritual, pure, proper, simple, and applied to the capacity of the people; nor such as human wisdom teacheth, nor savouring of new-fangledness, nor either so affectate as it may serve for pomp and ostentation, or so careless and base, as becometh not ministers of the word of God. Secondly, it is also to be regarded as well in ordering the voice, in which a care must be had, that (avoiding the keeping always of one tone) it may be equal, and both rise and fall by degrees: as also in ordering the gesture, wherein (the body being upright) the guiding and ordering the whole body is to follow the voice, there being avoided in it all unseemly gestures of the head, or other parts, and often turning of the body to divers sides. Finally, let the gesture be grave, modest, and seemly, not utterly none, nor too much neither, like the gestures of players or fencers.

These things are to be performed by him that preacheth; whereby, when need requireth, they may be examined who are trained and exercised, to be made fit to preach: let there be, if it may be, every sabbath-day, two sermons, and let them that preach always endeavour to keep themselves within one hour, especially on the week-days. The

use of preaching at burials is to be left as it may be done conveniently ; because there is danger that they may nourish the superstition of some, or be abused to pomp and vanity.

Of the Catechism.

Let the catechism be taught in every church. Let there be two sorts. One more large applied to the delivering of the sum of religion by a suit and order of certain places of the Scriptures, according to which some point of the holy doctrine may be expounded every week. Another of the same sort, but shorter, fit for the examination of the rude and ignorant before they be admitted to the Lord's supper.

Of the other parts of Liturgy or divine Service.

All the rest of the liturgy or divine service consisteth in the administration of the sacraments, and, by the custom of the church, in the blessing of marriage : the most commodious form thereof is that which is used by the churches that have reformed their — discipline according to the word of God.

Of Sacraments.

Let only a minister of the word, that is, a preacher, minister the sacraments, and that after the preaching of the word, and not in any other place than in the public assemblies of the church.

Of Baptism.

Women only may not offer unto baptism those that are to be baptized, but the father, if it may be, or in his name some other. They which present unto baptism, ought to be persuaded not to give those that are baptized the names of God, or of Christ, or of angels, or of holy offices, as of Baptist, Evangelist, &c. nor such as savour of paganism or Popery ; but chiefly such whereof there are examples in the Holy Scriptures, in the names of those who are reported in them to have been godly and virtuous.

Of the Communion.

Let the time of celebrating the communion be made known eight days before, that the congregation may prepare themselves, and that the elders may do their duty in going to and visiting whom they ought.

Of signifying their Names that are to communicate.

Let them which before have not been received to the Lord's table, when they first desire to come to it, give their names to the minister seven days before the communion, that care of inquiring of them may be committed to the elders ; that if there be any cause of hinderance, there may be stay made betimes ; but if there be no such thing, let them proceed (where need may be) to the examining of their faith, before the communion. Let this whole treatise of discipline be read in the consistory : and let the ministers, elders, and deacons, be censured one after another ; yet so that the minister concerning doctrine be censured of ministers only.

Let them only be admitted to the communion, that have made confession of their faith, and submitted themselves to the discipline : unless they shall bring letters testimonial of good credit from some other place, or shall approve themselves by some other sufficient testimony.

Children are not to be admitted to the communion before they be of the age of fourteen years, except the consistory shall otherwise determine.

On the sabbath-day next before the communion, let mention be made in the sermon of the examination, whereunto the apostle exhorteth, and of the peace that is by faith; in the day of the communion, let there be speech of the doctrine of the sacraments, and especially of the Lord's supper.

Of Fasting.

Let the day of fasting be published by the pastor according to the advice of the consistory, either for supplication, for turning away of calamities present, or for petition of some special grace. Let the sermons upon the same day, before and after noon (as on the Lord's day), be such as may be fit for the present occasion.

Of Holidays.

Holidays are conveniently to be abolished.

Of Marriage.

Let espousing go before marriage. Let the words of espousing be of the present time, and without condition, and before sufficient witnesses on both sides. It is to be wished, that the minister, or any elder, be present at the espousals, who having called upon God, may admonish both parties of their duties. First, may have care of avoiding the degrees forbidden both by the law of God and man: and then they may demand of them, whether they be free from any bond of marriage; which if they profess and be strangers, he may also require sufficient testimony. Farther also, they are to be demanded, whether they have been married before, and of the death of the party with whom they were married, which if they acknowledge and be strangers, he may demand convenient testimony of the death of the other party. Finally, let them be asked if they be under the government of any? whether they whom it concerneth have consented?

The espousals being done in due order, let them not be dissolved, though both parties should consent. Let the marriage be solemnized within two months after. Before the marriage let the promise be published three several sabbath-days; but first, let the parties espoused, with their parents or governors, desire the publishing thereof, of the minister and two elders at the least, that they may be demanded of those things that are needful; and let them require to see the instrument of the covenant of the marriage, or at least sufficient testimony of the espousals. Marriage may be solemnized and blessed upon any ordinary day of public prayer, saving upon a day of fast.

Of Schools.

Let children be instructed in schools, both in other learning, and especially in the catechism, that they may repeat it by heart, and understand it: when they are so instructed, let them be brought to the Lord's supper, after they have been examined by the minister, and allowed by him.

Of Students of Divinity, and their Exercises.

In every church where it may conveniently be done, care is to be had that some poor scholars, studious of divinity, being fit for theological

exercises, and especially for expounding of Holy Scripture, may, by the liberality of the godly rich, be taught and trained up to preach.

Let that exposition, as often as it shall be convenient to be had, be in the presence at least of one minister, by whose presence they may be kept in order, and in the same sort (as touching the manner of preaching) that public sermons are made: which being ended, let the other students (he being put apart that was speaker) note wherein he hath failed in any of those things that are to be performed by him that preacheth publicly, as is set down before: of whose opinion let the minister that is present, and is moderator of their exercise, judge and admonish the speaker as he shall think meet.

Of Elders.

Let the elders know every particular house and person of the church, that they may inform the minister of the condition of every one, and the deacons of the sick and poor, that they may take care to provide for them: they are not to be perpetual; neither yet easily to be changed.

Of Consistories.

In the consistory the most voices are to be yielded unto. In it only ecclesiastical things are to be handled. Of them, first they are to be dealt with such as belong to the common direction of the public assembly, in the order of liturgy, or divine service, sermon, prayers, sacraments, marriages, and burials. Then with such also as pertain to the oversight of every one, and their particular deeds. Farther, they are to cause such things as shall be thought meet, to be registered and written in a book. They are also to cause to be written in another book, the names of them that are baptized, with the names of their parents and sureties: likewise of the communicants. Farther also are to be noted, their names that are married, that die, and to whom letters testimonial are given.

Of the Censures.

None is to be complained of unto the consistory, unless first the matter being uttered with silencing the parties' names, if it seem meet so to be done by the judgment of the consistory.

In private and less faults, the precept of Christ, Matt. xviii. is to be kept.

Greater and public offences are to be handled by the consistory. Farther, public offences are to be esteemed, first, Such as are done openly before all, or whomsoever, the whole church knowing of it. Secondly, Such as be done in a public place, albeit few know it. Thirdly, That are made such by pertinacity and contempt. Fourthly, That for the heinousness of the offence are to be punished with some grievous civil punishment.

They that are to be excommunicated, being in public charge in the church, are to be deposed also from their charges. They also are to be discharged that are unfit for the ministry, by reason of their ignorance, or of some incurable disease; or by any other such cause, are disabled to perform their ministry: but in the room of such as are disabled by means of sickness or age, let another be placed without the reproach of him that is discharged; and farther, so as the reverence of the ministry may remain unto him, and he may be provided for, liberally and in good order.

When there is question concerning a heretic complained of to the consistory, straight let two or three neighbour ministers be called, men godly and learned, and free from that suspicion, by whose opinion he may be suspended, till such time as the conference may take knowledge of his cause.

The obstinate, after admonition by the consistory, though the fault have not been so great, are to be suspended from the communion; and if they continue in their obstinacy, this shall be the order to proceed to their excommunication. Three several sabbath-days after the sermon, publicly let be declared the offence committed by the offender. The first sabbath let not the offender's name be published: the second let it be declared, and withal a certain day of the week named, to be kept for that cause in fasting and prayer: the third let warning be given of his excommunicating to follow the next sabbath after, except there may be shewed some sufficient cause to the contrary: so upon the fourth sabbath day, let the sentence of excommunication be pronounced against him, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

He that hath committed great offences, opprobrious to the church, and to be grievously punished by the magistrate's authority; albeit he profess his repentance in words, yet for the trial thereof, and to take away the offence, let him for a time be kept from the communion; which how often and how long it is to be done, let the consistory, according to their discretion, determine; after which, if the party repent, he is brotherly to be received again, but not until he have openly professed his repentance before the church, by consent whereof he should have been excommunicated.

If the ministers of any public charge of the church commit any such thing, they are to be deposed from their charge.

Of the Assemblies of the Church.

Particular churches are to communicate one with another, by common meetings and resorts: in them only ecclesiastical matters are to be handled, and of those, only such as pertain to the churches of that resort; concerning other churches, unless they be desired, they are to determine nothing farther than to refer such matters to their next common and great meeting.

Let the order of proceeding in them be this: first, let the survey be taken of those that are present, and the names of those that are absent, and should be there, be noted, that they may give a reason at their next meeting of their absence, or be censured by the judgment of the assembly. Next, let the acts of the last assembly of that kind be read, that if any of the same remain unfinished, they may be dispatched: then, let those things be dealt in that are properly belonging to the present assembly; where first the instructions sent from the churches are to be delivered by every one in order, as they sit together, with their letters of credence. Secondly, Let the state of the churches of that resort be considered; to wit, how they are instructed and guided: whether the holy doctrine and discipline be taught and exercised in them; and whether the ministers of public charges do their duty, and such like. Furthermore, they shall determine of those things that do appertain to the common state of all the churches of that resort, or unto any of the same; which way may be sufficient for the oversight of the churches. Lastly, if it seem meet, the delegates present may be censured.

They that are to meet in such assemblies, are to be chosen by the consent of the churches of that assembly and conference to whom it may appertain.

Let such only be chosen that exercise public function in the church, of ministry or eldership, and which have subscribed to the doctrine and discipline, and have promised to behave themselves according to the word of God ; notwithstanding, it may be lawful also to be present for other elders and other ministers ; and likewise (if the assembly think it meet) for deacons, and for students in divinity, especially those that exercise themselves in expounding the Holy Scriptures in the conferences, and be asked their opinion ; which in students is to this end, that their judgment, in handling matters ecclesiastical, may be both tried and sharpened. But they only are to give voice which are chosen by the churches, and have brought their instructions signed from them.

If there fall out any very weighty matter to be consulted of, let notice of it be given to the moderator of the assembly next going before, or to the minister of that church where the next meeting is to be : the same is to send word of it in due time to the minister of every church of that assembly, that they may communicate it aforehand with those to whom it appertaineth, that the delegates resorting to the next meeting may understand and report their judgments.

In appointing of the place for the assembly, regard must be had of the convenient distance, and other commodities, that no part may justly complain that they are burdensome above others.

In every such ecclesiastical assembly, it is meet there be a moderator : he is to have charge of the assembly, to see it kept in good order. He is always, if it may be conveniently, to be changed. The choice is to be in this manner :

The moderator of the former assembly of that kind, or, in his absence, the minister of the church where they meet, having first prayed fitly to that purpose, is to move the assembly to choose a moderator. He being chosen, is to provide that the things done in the assembly may be written that the delegates of every church may write them out, and communicate them with the conferences from whence they came.

The moderator is also, by the order and judgment of the assembly, to give answer, either by speech or by letters, to such as desire any answer ; and to execute censures, if any be to be executed. Farther, he is to procure all things to be done in it, godly and quietly ; exhorting to meekness, moderation of spirit, and forbearing one of another where need shall be, and referring it to the assembly to take order for such as are obstinate and contentious. Lastly, he is to remember them of the next meeting following, with thanks for their pains, and exhortation to proceed cheerfully in their callings ; and so courteously to dismiss the assembly. Before such time none may depart without leave of the assembly.

Those assemblies, according to their kinds, have great authority if they be greater, and less if they be less. Therefore, unless it be a plain act, and manifest unto all, if any think himself injured by the less meeting, he may appeal still unto a greater, till he come to a general council ; so that he ascend orderly from the less to the next greater. But it is to be understood, that the sentence of the assemblies be holden firm, until it be otherwise judged by an assembly of greater authority.

Assemblies or Meetings are either Conferences or Synods.

Conferences are the meetings of the elders of a few churches, as for example of twelve. There are to meet in a conference, chosen of the eldership of every particular church, one minister, and one elder. The conferences are to be kept once in six weeks,

They are specially to look into the state of the churches of that resort and conference; examining particularly these several points: Whether all things be done in them according to the holy doctrine and discipline of the gospel; to wit, whether any questions be moved concerning any point of doctrine? Whether the ecclesiastical discipline be duly observed? Whether any minister be wanting in any of those churches, that a sufficient one in due time may be procured? Whether the other ministers of public charge in the church be appointed in every congregation? Whether care be had of schools, and for the poor? Finally, they are to be demanded wherein any of them needeth the advice of the conference, for the advancement of the gospel amongst them.

Before the end of the meeting, if it shall be so thought good by them, let one of the ministers assembled in conference, either chosen by voice, or taking it by turn, preach publicly. Of his speech, let the rest judge among themselves, the elders being put apart, admonish him brotherly, if there be any cause, examining all things according to those rules that are before declared in the chapter concerning the things that are to be performed by those that preach.

Of Synods.

A synod is the meeting of chosen men of many conferences: in them let the whole treatise of discipline be read: in them, also, other things first being finished, as was said before, let all those that are present be censured, if it may be done conveniently, and let them also have a communion in and with the church where they were called.

There are two sorts of synods; the first is particular, which comprehendeth both the provincial and national synod. A provincial synod is the meeting of the chosen men of every conference within the province. A province containeth four-and-twenty conferences.

A fit way to call a provincial council may be this: the care thereof, except themselves will determine of it, may be committed to the particular eldership of some conference within the province; which, by advice of the same conference, may appoint the place and time for the meeting of the provincial synod.

To that church or eldership are to be sent the matters that seemed, to the particular conferences, more difficult for them to take order in, and such as belong to the churches of the whole province; which is to be done diligently, and in good time, that the same may, in due season, give notice of the place and time of the synod, and of the matters to be debated therein, that they which shall be sent may come the better prepared, and judge of them according to the advice of the conferences.

Two ministers, and as many elders, are to be sent from every conference unto the provincial synod. The same is to be held every half year, or oftener, till the discipline be settled. It is to be held three months before every national synod; that they may prepare and make ready those things that pertain to the national. The acts of the provincial synod are to be sent unto the national, by the eldership of that

church in which it was holden ; and every minister is to be furnished with a copy of them, and with the reasons of the same. A national synod, or convocation, is a meeting of the chosen men of every province, within the dominion of the same nation and civil government. The way to call it, unless it shall determine otherwise, may be the same with the provincial, that is, by the eldership of some particular church, which shall appoint the time and place of the next national convocation ; but not otherwise than by the advice of their provincial synod.

Out of every provincial synod there are to be chosen three ministers, and as many elders, to be sent to the national. They are to handle the things pertaining to the churches of the whole nation or kingdom, as the doctrine, discipline, ceremonies, things not decided by inferior meetings, appeals, and such-like. By the order of the same, one is to be appointed which may gather into one book the notes of every particular church.

Thus much for particular meetings ; the universal followeth, which is called a general or œcumenical council ; which is a meeting of the chosen men of every national synod. The acts of all such councils are to be registered and reported in a book.

The discipline, entitled, “ The Discipline of the Church,” described in the word of God, as far as we can judge, is taken and drawn from the most pure fountain of the word of God ; and containeth in it the discipline of the church that is necessary, essential, and common to all ages of the church.

The synodical also adjoined, as it resteth upon the same foundations, is likewise necessary and perpetual ; but as far as it is not expressly confirmed by authority of the Holy Scripture, but is applied to the use and times of the church as their divers states may require, according to the analogy and general rules of the same Scripture, is to be judged profitable for the churches that receive it, but may be changed in such things as belong not to the essence of the discipline upon a like godly reason, as the divers estates of the church may require.

The Form of the Subscription.

The brethren of the conference of N. whose names are here underwritten, have subscribed this discipline after this manner :—This discipline we allow as a godly discipline, and agreeable to the word of God ; yet so as we may be satisfied in the things hereunto noted, and desire the same so acknowledged by us, to be furthered by all lawful means ; that by public authority of the magistrate, and of our church, it may be established.

Which thing, if it may be obtained of her right excellent majesty, and other the magistrates of this kingdom, we promise that we will do nothing against it, whereby the public peace of the church may be troubled. In the mean time we promise to observe it, as far as may be lawful for us so to do, by the public laws of this kingdom, and by the peace of our church.

No. V.

A Letter of the Puritan Ministers imprisoned, to her Majesty, in Vindication of their Innocence ; dated April, 1592.

“ May it please your excellent majesty,
 “ THERE is nothing, right gracious sovereign, next to the saving mercy

of Almighty God, that can be more comfortable than your highness's favour, as to all other your faithful and dutiful subjects, so to us your majesty's most humble suppliants, who are by our calling ministers of God's holy word; and by our present condition now, and of long time, prisoners in divers prisons in and about the city of London; for which cause our most humble suit is, that it may please your most excellent majesty, graciously to understand our necessary answer to such grievous charges as we hear to be informed against us, which, if they were true, might be just cause of withdrawing for ever from us your highness's gracious protection and favour, which, above all other earthly things, we most desire to enjoy. The reason of our trouble is, a suspicion that we should be guilty of many heinous crimes; but these supposed crimes we have not been charged with in any due and ordinary course of proceeding, by open accusation and witnesses. But being called up to London by authority of some of your majesty's commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, we have been required by them to take an oath of inquisition or office, as it is called; for not taking whereof we were first committed to prison, and since have continued there a long time, notwithstanding that all of us, save one, have been deprived of our livings, and degraded of our ministry.

“Wherefore, for that the oath is the next and immediate cause of our trouble, we have made our answer first to that, and then after also to the crimes that are suggested, and secretly informed against us.

The Oath.

“As for the oath, the reason why we took it not, is because it is without limitation of any certain matter, infinite and general, to answer whatsoever shall be demanded of us. Of this kind of oath we find neither rule nor example in the word of God; but contrariwise, both precepts and precedents of all lawful oaths reported in the same tend to this, that an oath ought to be taken with judgment, and so as he that sweareth may see the bounds of his oath, and to what condition it does bind him, &c. But this oath is to inquire of our private speeches and conferences, with our dearest and nearest friends; yea, of the very secret thoughts and intents of our hearts, that so may we furnish both matter of accusation and evidence of proof against ourselves, which was not used to be done in causes of heresy or high treason; for these are the words of the statutes of your most noble father, Henry VIII.* ‘For that the most expert and best learned cannot escape the danger of such captious interrogatories (as the law calleth them) which are accustomed to be administered by the ordinaries of this realm; as also that it standeth not with the right order of justice, or good equity, that any person should be convicted, or put to the loss of life, good name, or goods, unless it be by due accusation and witness, or by presentment, verdict, confession, or process of outlawry:—and farther, for the avoiding untrue accusations and presentments which might be maliciously conspired, and kept secret and unrevealed, till time might be espied to have men thereof by malice convicted,’ it was ordained, that none should be put to answer but upon accusation and presentments taken in open and manifest courts, by the oath of twelve men †.

* An. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 14.

† An. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 15. § 3.

Schism.

“As to the charge of schism, and that we so far condemned the state of the church, that we hold it not for any true, visible church of God, as it is established by public authority within the land, and therefore refuse to have any part or communion with it in public prayers, or in the ministry of the word and sacraments: if this were true, we were of all men living the most unthankful, first to Almighty God, and next, to your excellent majesty, by whose blessed means we are partakers of that happy liberty of the profession of the gospel, and of the true service of God, that by your highness’s gracious government we do enjoy. We acknowledge unfeignedly, as in the sight of God, that this our church, as it is by your highness’s laws and authority established amongst us, having that faith professed and taught publicly in it, that was agreed of in the convocation of 1562, and such form of public prayers and administration of the sacraments, as in the first year of your most gracious reign was established (notwithstanding any thing that may need to be revised and farther reformed) is a true visible church of Christ, from the holy communion whereof, by way of schism, it is not lawful to depart.

“Our whole life may shew the evident proof hereof; for always before the time of our trouble, we have lived in the daily communion of it, not only as private men, but at the time of our restraint (as many years before) preached and exercised our ministry in the same; and at this present, most earnestly beseech all in authority that is set over us, especially your excellent majesty, that we may so proceed to serve God and your highness all the days of our life.

Rebellion.

“Another crime suggested against us is, that we should practise or purpose rebelliously to procure such farther reformation of our church as we desire, by violent and undutiful means. Whereunto our answer is, that we think it not lawful to make a schism in the church for any thing that we esteem needful to be reformed in it, so do we, in all simplicity and sincerity of heart, declare, in the presence of Almighty God, to whom all secrets are known, and of your excellent majesty, to whom the sword is given of God for just vengeance and punishment of transgressors, that for procuring reformation of any thing that we desire to be redressed in the state of our church, we judge it most unlawful and damnable by the word of God to rebel, and by force of arms or any violent means to seek redress thereof: and moreover, that we never intended to use or procure any other means for the furtherance of such reformation, than only prayer to Almighty God, and most humble suit to your excellent majesty, and others in authority, with such-like dutiful and peaceable means as might give information of this our suit, and of the reasons moving us thereunto.

Supremacy.

“The third crime misinformed against us is, that we impeach your majesty’s supremacy. For answer whereunto we unfeignedly protest (God being witness, that we speak the truth herein from our hearts), that we acknowledge your highness’s sovereignty and supreme power, next and immediately under God, over all persons, and in all causes, as

well ecclesiastical as civil, in as large and ample manner as it is agnized by the high court of parliament in the statute of recognition, as is set down in the oath of supremacy enacted by the same: and as it is farther declared in your majesty's injunctions, and also in the articles of religion agreed in the convocation, and in sundry books of learned men of our nation, published and allowed by public authority. We add yet hereunto, that we acknowledge the same as fully as ever it was in old time acknowledged by the prophets to belong to the virtuous kings of Judah; and as all the reformed churches in Christendom acknowledge the same to their sovereign princes, in the confessions of their faith exhibited unto them, as they are set down in a book named the Harmony of Confessions, and the observations annexed thereunto.

“And besides the protestation, we appeal to the former whole course of our lives, wherein it cannot be shewed, that we ever made question of it; and more particularly by our public doctrine, declaring the same; and by our taking the oath of supremacy as occasion hath required.

Excommunication.

“It hath been odiously devised against us, concerning the persons subject to excommunication, and the power thereof, how far it extendeth; touching the former—we judge not otherwise herein, than all the reformed churches that are this day in the Christian world, nor than our own English church, both always heretofore hath judged, and doth still at this present, as may appear by the articles of religion agreed by the convocation, and by a book of homilies allowed by the same, and also by sundry other books of greatest credit and authority in our church; which is, that the word of God, the sacraments, and the power of binding and loosing, are all ordinances of Almighty God, graciously ordained for the comfort and salvation of the whole church; and that therefore no part or member of it is to be denied the comfortable, wholesome aid and benefit thereof, for the furtherance of their faith, and (as need may require) of their repentance, &c.

“For the other part, how far this censure extendeth, we profess that it depriveth a man only of spiritual comforts, as of being partaker of the Lord's table, and being present at the public prayers of the church, or such like, without taking away either liberty, goods, lands, government private or public whatsoever, or any other civil or earthly commodity of this life. Wherefore, from our hearts we detest and abhor that intolerable presumption of the bishop of Rome, taking upon him, in such cases, to depose sovereign princes from their highest seats of supreme government, and discharging their subjects from that dutiful obedience, that by the laws of God they ought to perform.

Conferences.

“Concerning our conferences, we have been charged to have given orders, and made ministers, and to have administered the censures of the church, and finally to have exercised all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. To which suggestion we answer, that indeed of long time we have used, as other ministers have done (as we think in most parts of the land), to meet sometimes and confer together; which being granted to all good and dutiful subjects upon occasion to resort and meet together, we esteem it is lawful for us to do so.

“ For besides the common affairs of all men, which may give them just cause to meet with their acquaintance and friends, mutually to communicate for their comfort and help one with another ; men professing learning have more necessary and special use of such conferences, for their furtherance in such knowledge as they profess.— But such as are professed ministers of the word have sundry great and necessary causes so to do more than others, because of the manifold knowledge both of divinity, and also of divers tongues and sciences, that are of great use for the better enabling them for their ministry ; in which respect the conferences of the ministers were allowed by many bishops within their diocesses, and to our knowledge never disallowed or forbidden by any. Some late years also have given us more special cause of conferring together, where Jesuits, Seminarists, and other heretics, sought to seduce many ; and wherein also some schismatics condemned the whole state of our church, as no part of the true visible church of Christ, and therefore refused to have any part or communion with it : upon which occasion, it is needful for us to advise of the best way and means we could, to keep the people that we had charge to instruct from such damnable errors.

“ Farther also particularly, because some reckoned us to have part with their schism, and reported us to agree in nothing, but to differ one from another in the reformation we desire ; we have special cause to confer together, that we might set down some things touching such matters, which at all times, whensoever we should be demanded, might be our true and just defence, both to clear us from partaking with the schism, and to witness for us that we agreed in the reformation we desire.

“ But as touching the thing surmised of our meetings, that we exercise in them all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in making ministers, in censuring and excommunicating, in ordaining constitutions and orders upon such censures to bind any ; we protest before God and the holy angels, that we never exercised any part of such jurisdiction, nor had any purpose agreed among us to exercise the same, before we should by public law be authorized thereunto.

“ Farther also, touching such our meetings, we affirm that they were only of ministers (saving in some parts where a schoolmaster, two or three, desirous to train themselves to the ministry joined with us), and the same, but of six or seven, or like small number in a conference, without all deed of appearance that might be offensive to any.

Singularity.

“ Which though it be not subject to any punishment of law, yet is suggested against us by such as favour not our most humble desire of a farther reformation, to disgrace us, and make us odious with others, and chiefly with your excellent majesty ; whereunto our answer is, that the discipline of the primitive church is ancient and so acknowledged by the book of Common Prayer—in these words, “ that there was a godly discipline in the primitive church ; instead whereof, until the said discipline may be restored again (which thing is much to be wished), it is thought convenient to use such a form of commination as is prescribed.

“ Farther also, if it please your majesty with favour to understand it from us, we are ready to shew, that in such points of ecclesiastical discipline of our church, which we desire most humbly may be reformed, we hold no singular or private opinion, but the truth of the word of God, acknowledged to be such by all the best churches and writers of ancient time, and of this present age.

“ Thus have we declared, right gracious sovereign, truly and sincerely, as we will answer it before God, and to your majesty upon our allegiance, what judgment we are of concerning the matters informed against us; and farther testify, that no minister within this land desiring a farther reformation, with whom we have had any private acquaintance or conference of these matters (whosoever may be otherwise informed), is of any other mind or opinion in these cases that have been named; by which declaration, if (according to our earnest prayers to Almighty God) your majesty shall clearly discern us to stand free from all such matters as we are charged with, our most humble suit is, that your majesty’s gracious favour (which is more dear and precious to us than our lives) may be extended to us, and that by means thereof we may enjoy the comfortable liberty of our persons and ministry, as we did before our troubles; which if by your highness’s special mercy and goodness we may obtain, we promise and vow to Almighty God, and your excellent majesty, to behave ourselves in so peaceable and dutiful sort in every respect, as may give no just cause of your highness’s offence, but according to our callings, both in doctrine and example as heretofore, so always hereafter, to teach due obedience to your majesty among other parts of holy doctrine; and to pray for your majesty’s long and blessed reign over us,” &c.*

No. VI.

Articles of religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops, and the rest of the clergy of Ireland, in the convocation holden at Dublin, in the year of our Lord 1615, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching true religion.

N. B. In these articles are comprehended, almost word for word, the nine articles agreed on at Lambeth, the 20th of November, 1595. This mark * points at each of them, and their number.

Of the Holy Scriptures and the Three Creeds.

1. THE ground of our religion, and the rule of faith, and all saving truth, is the word of God, contained in the Holy Scripture.

2. By the name of Holy Scripture we understand all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, viz.

* Strype’s Ann. vol. ult. p. 85, &c.

Of the Old Testament.

The five books of Moses,	The first and second of	Ecclesiastes,
Joshua,	Chronicles,	The Song of Solomon,
Judges,	Ezra,	Isaiah,
Ruth,	Nehemiah,	Jeremiah, his prophecy and
The first and second of Sa-	Esther,	Lamentation,
muel,	Job,	Ezekiel,
The first and second of	Psalms,	Daniel,
Kings,	Proverbs,	The twelve less prophets.

Of the New Testament.

The Gospels according to	Galatians,	Hebrews,
Matthew,	Ephesians,	The Epistle of St. James,
Mark,	Philippians,	The two Epistles of St. Pe-
Luke,	Colossians,	ter,
John,	The First and Second Epis-	The three Epistles of St.
The Acts of the Apostles.	tle to the Thessalonians,	John,
The Epistle of St. Paul to	The First and Second Epis-	St. Jude,
the Romans,	tle to Timothy,	The Revelation of St. John.
The First and Second Epis-	Titus,	
tle to the Corinthians,	Philemon,	

All which we acknowledge to be given by the inspiration of God, and in that regard to be of most certain credit and highest authority.

3. The other books, commonly called Apocryphal, did not proceed from such inspiration, and therefore are not of sufficient authority to establish any point of doctrine; but the church doth read them as books containing many worthy things for example of life and instruction of manners.

Such are these following :

The third book of Esdras,	The book of Jesus the Son	Susannah,
The fourth book of Esdras,	of Sirach, called Eccle-	Bel and the Dragon,
The book of Tobias,	siasticus,	The Prayer of Manasses,
The book of Judith,	Baruch, with the epistle of	The first book of Macca-
Additions to the book of	Jeremiah,	bees,
Esther,	The Song of the Three Chil-	The Second book of Mac-
The book of Wisdom,	dren,	cabees.

4. The Scriptures ought to be translated out of the original tongues into all languages, for the common use of all men. Neither is any person to be discouraged from reading the Bible in such a language as he doth understand, but seriously exhorted to read the same with great humility and reverence, as a special means to bring him to the true knowledge of God, and of his own duty.

5. Although there be some hard things in the Scripture (especially such as have proper relation to the times in which they were first uttered, and prophecies of things which were afterward to be fulfilled), yet all things necessary to be known unto everlasting salvation, are clearly delivered therein; and nothing of that kind is spoken under dark mysteries in one place, which is not in other places spoken more familiarly and plainly to the capacity both of learned and unlearned.

6. The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, and are able to instruct sufficiently in all points of faith that we are bound to believe, and all duties that we are bound to practise.

7. All and every the articles contained in the Nicene creed, the creed of Athanasius, and that which is commonly called the Apostles'

creed, ought firmly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

8. There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons of one and the same substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

9. The essence of the Father doth not beget the essence of the Son; but the person of the Father begetteth the person of the Son, by communicating his whole essence to the person begotten from eternity.

10. The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

Of God's eternal Decree and Predestination.

11. God from all eternity did, by his unchangeable counsel, ordain whatsoever in time should come to pass; yet so, as thereby no violence is offered to the wills of the reasonable creatures, and neither the liberty nor the contingency of the second cause is taken away, but established rather.

* 12. "By the same eternal counsel God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death; of both which there is a certain number, known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished."

13. Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed in his secret counsel, to deliver from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ unto everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour.

* II. 14. "The cause moving God to predestinate unto life, is not the foreseeing of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything which is in the person predestinated, but only the good pleasure of God himself."

For all things being ordained for the manifestation of his glory, and his glory being to appear, both in the works of his mercy and of his justice, it seemed good to his heavenly wisdom to choose out a certain number, towards whom he would extend his undeserved mercy, leaving the rest to be spectacles of his justice.

15. Such as are predestinated unto life be called according unto God's purpose (his spirit working in due season), and through grace they obey the calling; they be justified freely; they be made sons of God by adoption; they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ; they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's mercy they attain to everlasting felicity.

* IV. "But such as are not predestinated to salvation, shall finally be condemned for their sins."

16. The godly consideration of predestination, and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things, as well

because it doth greatly confirm and establish their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God; and on the contrary side, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is very dangerous.

17. We must receive God's promises in such wise as they he generally set forth unto us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

Of the Creation and Government of all Things.

18. In the beginning of time, when no creature had any being, God by his word alone, in the space of six days, created all things; and afterward by his Providence doth continue, propagate, and order them, according to his own will.

19. The principal creatures are angels and men.

20. Of angels, some continued in that holy state wherein they were created, and are by God's grace for ever established therein; others fell from the same, and are reserved in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day.

21. Man being at the beginning created according to the image of God (which consisted especially in the wisdom of his mind, and the true holiness of his free-will), had the covenant of the law ingrafted in his heart, whereby God did promise unto him everlasting life, upon condition that he performed entire and perfect obedience unto his commandments, according to that measure of strength wherewith he was endued in his creation, and threatened death unto him if he did not perform the same.

Of the Fall of Man, Original Sin, and the State of Man before Justification.

22. By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death went over all men, forasmuch as all have sinned.

23. Original sin standeth not in the imitation of Adam (as the Pelagians dream), but is the fault and corruption of the nature of every person that naturally is engendered and propagated from Adam, whereby it cometh to pass, that man is deprived of original righteousness, and by nature is bent unto sin; and therefore in every person born into the world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.

24. This corruption of nature doth remain even in those that are regenerated, whereby the flesh always lusteth against the Spirit, and cannot be made subject to the law of God. And howsoever, for Christ's sake, there be no condemnation to such as are regenerate and do believe; yet doth the apostle acknowledge, that in itself this concupiscence hath the nature of sin.

* IX. 25. "The condition of man, after the fall of Adam, is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God."

Wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasing and acceptable unto God, without the grace of God preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

26. Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasing unto God, forasmuch as they spring not of

faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace (or, as the school authors say, to deserve grace of congruity); yea rather, for that they are not done in such sort that God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they are sinful.

27. All sins are not equal, but some far more heinous than others yet the very least is of its own nature mortal, and without God's mercy maketh the offender liable unto everlasting damnation.

28. God is not the author of sin: howbeit he doth not only permit, but also by his providence govern and order the same, guiding it in such sort by his infinite wisdom, as it turneth to the manifestation of his own glory, and to the good of his elect.

Of Christ, the Mediator of the Second Covenant.

29. The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the true and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were inseparably joined in one person, making one Christ, very God and very man.

30. Christ, in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted, from which he was clearly void, both in his life and in his nature. He came as a lamb without spot to take away the sins of the world, by the sacrifice of himself once made, and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. He fulfilled the law for us perfectly; for our sakes he endured most grievous torments immediately in his soul, and most painful sufferings in his body. He was crucified, and died to reconcile his Father unto us; and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all our transgressions. He was buried, and descended into hell, and the third day rose from the dead, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

Of the communicating of the Grace of Christ.

31. They are to be condemned that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature; for Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ whereby men must be saved.

32. * VIII. "None can come unto Christ unless it be given unto him, and unless he draw him. And all men are not so drawn by the Father, that they may come unto the Son; [* VII.] neither is there such a sufficient measure of grace vouchsafed unto every man, whereby he is enabled to come unto everlasting life."

33. All God's elect are in their time inseparably united unto Christ, by the effectual and vital influence of the Holy Ghost, derived from him, as from the head, unto every true member of his mystical body. And being thus made one with Christ, they are truly regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his benefits.

Of Justification and Faith.

34. We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, applied by faith, and not for our own

works or merits. And this righteousness, which we so receive of God's mercy, and Christ's merits, embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full justification.

35. Although this justification be free unto us, yet it cometh not so freely unto us, that there is no ransom paid therefore at all. God shewed his mercy in delivering us from our former captivity, without requiring any ransom to be paid, or amends to be made, on our parts, which thing by us had been impossible to be done. And whereas all the world was not able of themselves to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased our heavenly Father, of his infinite mercy, without any desert of ours, to provide for us the most precious merits of his own Son, whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied; so that Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly believe in him: he for them paid their ransom by his death; he for them fulfilled the law in his life; that now in him, and by him, every true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the law; forasmuch as that which our infirmity was not able to effect, Christ's justice hath performed; and thus the justice and mercy of God do embrace each other, the grace of God not shutting out the justice of God in the matter of our justification, but only shutting out the justice of man (that is to say, the justice of our own works) from being any cause of deserving our justification.

36. When we say, that we are justified by faith only, we do not mean, that the said justifying faith is alone in man without true repentance, hope, charity, and the fear of God (for such a faith is dead, and cannot justify;) neither do we mean, that this our act to believe in Christ, or this our faith in Christ, which is within us, doth of itself justify us, or deserve our justification unto us (for that were to account ourselves to be justified by the virtue or dignity of something that is within ourselves;) but the true understanding and meaning thereof is, that although we hear God's word, and believe it; although we have faith, hope, charity, repentance, and the fear of God, within us, and add never so many good works thereunto, yet we must renounce the merit of all our said virtues, of faith, hope, charity, and all our other virtues and good deeds, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as things that be far too weak, and imperfect, and insufficient, to deserve remission of our sins, and our justification; and therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and the merits of his most dearly beloved Son, our only Redeemer, Saviour and Justifier, Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, because faith doth directly send us to Christ for our justification, and that by faith, given us of God, we embrace the promise of God's mercy and the remission of our sins (which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doth,) therefore the Scripture useth to say, that faith without works, and the ancient fathers of the church to the same purpose, that only faith doth justify us.

37. By justifying faith we understand, not only the common belief of the articles of the Christian religion, and a persuasion of the truth of God's word in general, but also a particular application of the gracious promises of the gospel to the comfort of our own souls, whereby we lay hold on Christ with all his benefits, having an earnest trust and confidence in God, that he will be merciful unto us for his only Son's sake.

* VI. "So that a true believer may be certain, by the assurance of faith of the forgiveness of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ."

38. * V. "A true, lively, justifying faith, and the sanctifying Spirit of God, is not extinguished, nor vanisheth away in the regenerate, either finally or totally."

Of Sanctification and Good Works.

39. All that are justified are likewise sanctified, their faith being always accompanied with true repentance and good works.

40. Repentance is a gift of God, whereby a godly sorrow is wrought in the heart of the faithful for offending God, their merciful Father, by their former transgressions, together with a constant resolution for the time to come to cleave unto God, and to lead a new life.

41. Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot make satisfaction for our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they pleasing to God, and accepted of him in Christ, and do spring from a true and lively faith, which by them is to be discerned as a tree by the fruit.

42. The works which God would have his people to walk in, are such as he hath commanded in his Holy Scripture, and not such works as men have devised out of their own brain, of a blind zeal and devotion, without the warrant of the word of God.

43. The regenerate cannot fulfil the law of God perfectly in this life, for in many things we offend all; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

44. Not every heinous sin willingly committed after baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost and unpardonable; and therefore, to such as fall into sin after baptism, place for repentance is not to be denied.

45. Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogance and impiety; for by them men do declare, that they not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required.

Of the Service of God.

46. Our duty towards God, is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him, with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our soul, and with all our strength: to worship him, and to give him thanks, to put our whole trust in him, to call upon him, to honour his holy name and his word, and to serve him truly all the days of our life.

47. In all our necessities we ought to have recourse unto God by prayer, assuring ourselves, that whatsoever we ask of the Father in the name of his Son (our only mediator and intercessor) Christ Jesus, and according to his will, he will undoubtedly grant it.

48. We ought to prepare our hearts before we pray, and understand the things that we ask when we pray, that both our hearts and voices may together sound in the ears of God's majesty.

49. When Almighty God smiteth us with affliction, or some great calamity hangeth over us, or any other weighty cause so requireth, it is our duty to humble ourselves in fasting, to bewail our sins with a sorrowful heart, and to addict ourselves to earnest prayer, that it might please God to turn his wrath from us, or supply us with such graces as we greatly stand in need of.

50. Fasting is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food, with other outward delights, from the body, for the determined time of fasting. "As for those abstinences which are appointed by public order

of our state, for eating of fish, and forbearing of flesh at certain times and days appointed, they are no ways meant to be religious fasts, nor intended for the maintenance of any superstition in the choice of meats, but are grounded merely upon politic considerations, for provision of things tending to the better preservation of the commonwealth."

51. We must not fast with this persuasion of mind, that our fasting can bring us to heaven, or ascribe outward holiness to the work wrought; for God alloweth not our fast for the work's sake (which of itself is a thing merely indifferent,) but chiefly respecteth the heart, how it is affected therein; it is therefore requisite, that first before all things we cleanse our hearts from sin, and then direct our fast to such ends as God will allow to be good; that the flesh may thereby be chastised, the spirit may be more fervent in prayer, and that our fasting may be a testimony of our humble submission to God's majesty when we acknowledge our sins unto him, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of heart, bewailing the same in the affliction of our bodies.

52. All worship devised by man's fantasy, besides or contrary to the Scriptures (as wandering on pilgrimages, setting up of candles, stations, and jubilees, pharisaical sects, and feigned religions, praying upon beads, and such like superstition,) hath not only no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise threatenings and maledictions.

53. All manner of expressing God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in an outward form, is utterly unlawful; as also all other images devised or made by man to the use of religion.

54. All religious worship ought to be given to God alone, from whom all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for, as from the very author and giver of the same, and from none other.

55. The name of God is to be used with all reverence and holy respect, and therefore all vain and rash swearing is utterly to be condemned; yet notwithstanding, upon lawful occasions, an oath may be given and taken, according to the word of God, justice, judgment, and truth.

56. The first day of the week, which is the Lord's day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God, and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy exercises, both public and private.

Of the Civil Magistrate.

57. The king's majesty under God hath the sovereign and chief power, within his realms and dominions, over all manner of persons, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or civil, soever they be, so as no other foreign power hath or ought to have any superiority over them.

58. We do profess, that the supreme government of all estates within the said realms and dominions, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, doth of right appertain to the king's highness. Neither do we give unto him hereby the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keys, but that prerogative only which we see to have been always given unto all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God himself; that is, that he should contain all estates and degrees committed to his charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, within their duty, and restrain the stubborn and evil-doers with the power of the civil sword.

59. The pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or dispose of any of his kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any other prince to invade or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his royal person, state, or government, or to any of his subjects within his majesty's dominions.

60. That princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever, is impious doctrine.

61. The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences.

62. It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to bear arms, and to serve in just wars.

Of our Duty towards our Neighbours.

63. Our duty towards our neighbours, is to love them as ourselves, and to do to all men as we would they should do to us: to honour and obey our superiors, to preserve the safety of men's persons, as also their chastity, goods, and good names; to bear no malice nor hatred in our hearts; to keep our bodies in temperance, soberness, and chastity; to be true and just in all our doings; not to covet other men's goods, but labour truly to get our own living, and to do our duty in that estate of life unto which it pleaseth God to call us.

64. For the preservation of the chastity of men's persons, wedlock is commanded unto all persons that stand in need thereof. Neither is there any prohibition by the word of God, but that the ministers of the church may enter into the state of matrimony, they being no where commanded by God's law, either to vow the state of single life, or to abstain from marriage; therefore it is lawful also for them, as well as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

65. The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession, of the same, as certain Anabaptists falsely affirm; notwithstanding every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

66. Faith given is to be kept, even with heretics and infidels.

67. The Popish doctrine of equivocation and mental reservation is most ungodly, and tendeth plainly to the subversion of all human society.

Of the Church and outward Ministry of the Gospel.

68. There is but one catholic church, (out of which there is no salvation,) containing the universal company of all the saints that ever were, are, or shall be, gathered together in one body, under one head, Christ Jesus; part whereof is already in heaven triumphant, part as yet militant here upon earth. And because this church consisteth of all those, and those alone, which are elected by God unto salvation, and regenerated by the power of his Spirit, the number of whom is known only unto God himself, therefore it is called the catholic or universal, and the invisible church.

69. But particular and visible churches, (consisting of those who make profession of the faith of Christ, and live under the outward means of salvation) be many in number ; wherein, the more or less sincerely, according to Christ's institution, the word of God is taught, the sacraments are administered, and the authority of the keys used is, the more or less pure are such churches to be accounted.

70. Although in the visible church the evil be ever mingled with the good ; and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the word and sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and minister by his own commission and authority, we may use their ministry both in hearing the word, and in receiving the sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith do rightly receive the sacraments ministered unto them, which are effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men. Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the church, that inquiry be made of evil ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences, and finally, being found guilty by just judgment, be deposed.

71. It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments of the church, unless he be first lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be 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.

72. To have public prayer in the church, or to administer the sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people, is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive church.

73. That person which by public denunciation of the church, is rightly cut off from the unity of the church, and excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as a heathen and publican, until by repentance he be openly reconciled and received into the church, by the judgment of such as have authority in that behalf.

74. God hath given power to his ministers not simply to forgive sins (which prerogative he hath reserved only to himself,) but in his name to declare and pronounce unto such as truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy gospel, the absolution and forgiveness of sins. Neither is it God's pleasure that his people should be tied to make a particular confession of all their known sins unto any mortal man ; howsoever, any person, grieved in his conscience upon any special cause, may well resort unto any godly and learned minister, to receive advice and comfort at his hands.

Of the Authority of the Church, general Councils, and Bishop of Rome.

75. It is not lawful for the church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word ; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the church be a witness, and a keeper of holy writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed upon necessity of salvation.

76. General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes ; and when they be gathered together

(forasmuch as they be an assembly of men not always governed with the Spirit and word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining to the rule of piety; wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation, have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be shewed that they be taken out of the Holy Scriptures.

77. Every particular church hath authority to institute, to change, and clean to put away, ceremonies and other ecclesiastical rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused, and to constitute other, making more to seemliness, to order, or edification.

78. As the churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred, so also the church of Rome hath erred, not only in those things which concern matters of practice and point of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

79. The power which the bishop of Rome now challengeth, to be the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, and to be above all emperors, kings, and princes, is a usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the primitive church, and therefore is for most just causes taken away and abolished, within the king's majesty's realms and dominions.

80. The bishop of Rome is so far from being the supreme head of the universal church of Christ, that his works and doctrine do plainly discover him to be that man of sin foretold in the Holy Scriptures, "whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightness of his coming."

Of the State of the Old and New Testament.

81. In the Old Testament the commandments of the law were more largely, and the promises of Christ more sparingly and darkly, propounded; shadowed with a multitude of types and figures, and so much more generally and obscurely delivered, as the manifesting of them was farther off.

82. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man; wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises, for they looked for all the benefits of God the Father, through the merits of his son Jesus Christ, as we now do; only they believed in Christ which should come, we in Christ already come.

83. The New Testament is full of grace and truth, bringing joyful tidings unto mankind, that whatsoever formerly was promised of Christ is now accomplished; and so instead of the ancient types and ceremonies exhibiteth the things themselves, with a large and clear declaration of all the benefits of the gospel. Neither is the ministry thereof restrained any longer to one circumcised nation, but is indifferently propounded unto all people, whether they be Jews or Gentiles: so that there is now no nation, which can truly complain that they be shut forth from the communion of saints, and the liberties of the people of God.

84. Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, be abolished, and the civil precepts thereof be not of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is freed from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

Of the Sacraments of the New Testament.

85. The sacraments ordained by Christ are not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather certain sure witnesses. and effectual or powerful signs, of grace and God's good-will towards us, by which he doth work invisibly in us, and not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm, our faith in him.

86. There be two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the gospel, that is to say, baptism and the Lord's supper.

87. Those five which by the church of Rome are called sacraments, to wit, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction, are not to be accounted sacraments of the gospel, being such as have partly grown from corrupt imitation of the apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of sacraments with baptism and the Lord's supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God, together with a promise of saving grace annexed thereunto.

88. The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect and operation; but they that receive them unworthily, thereby draw judgment upon themselves.

Of Baptism.

89. Baptism is not only an outward sign of our profession, and a note of difference, whereby Christians are discerned from such as are no Christians; but much more, a sacrament of our admission into the church, sealing unto us our new birth (and consequently our justification, adoption, and sanctification) by the communion which we have with Jesus Christ.

90. The baptism of infants is to be retained in the church, as agreeable to the word of God.

91. In the administration of baptism, exorcism, oil, salt, spittle, and superstitious hallowing of the water, are for just causes abolished; and without them the sacrament is fully and perfectly administered to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Saviour Christ.

Of the Lord's Supper.

92. The Lord's supper is not only a sign of the mutual love which Christians ought to bear one towards another, but much more, a sacrament of our preservation in the church, sealing unto us our spiritual nourishment, and continual growth in Christ.

93. The change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, commonly called transubstantiation, cannot be proved by holy writ, but is repugnant to plain testimonies of the Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to most gross idolatry and manifold superstitions.

94. In the outward part of the holy communion, the body and blood of Christ is in a most lively manner represented, being no otherwise present with the visible elements than things signified and sealed are present with the signs and seals; that is to say, symbolically and relatively. But in the inward and spiritual part, the same body and blood is really and substantially presented unto all those who have grace to receive the Son of God, even to all those that believe in his name. And

unto such as in this manner do worthily and with faith repair unto the Lord's table, the body and blood of Christ is not only signified and offered, but also truly exhibited and communicated.

95. The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Lord's supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner; and the mean whereby the body of Christ is thus received and eaten, is faith.

96. The wicked, and such as want a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly, as St. Augustine speaketh, press with their teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they made partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.

97. Both the parts of the Lord's sacrament, according to Christ's institution and the practice of the ancient church, ought to be ministered unto all God's people; and it is plain sacrilege to rob them of the mystical cup, for whom Christ hath shed his most precious blood.

98. The sacrament of the Lord's supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

99. The sacrifice of the mass, wherein the priest is said to offer up Christ for obtaining the remission of pain or guilt for the quick and the dead, is neither agreeable to Christ's ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine apostolic: but contrariwise most ungodly, and most injurious to that all-sufficient sacrifice of our Saviour Christ, offered once for ever upon the cross, which is the only propitiation and satisfaction for all our sins.

100. Private mass, that is, the receiving the eucharist by the priest alone, without a competent number of communicants, is contrary to the institution of Christ.

Of the State of the Souls of Men, after they be departed out of this Life, together with the general Resurrection and the last Judgment.

101. After this life is ended, the souls of God's children are presently received into heaven, there to enjoy unspeakable comforts; the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, there to endure endless torments.

102. The doctrine of the church of Rome concerning *limbus patrum*, *limbus puerorum*, purgatory, prayer for the dead, pardons, adoration of images and relics, and also invocation of saints, is vainly invented, without all warrant of Holy Scripture, yea, and is contrary to the same.

103. At the end of this world the Lord Jesus shall come in the clouds with the glory of his Father; at which time, by the almighty power of God, the living shall be changed, and the dead shall be raised, and all shall appear both in body and soul before his judgment-seat, to receive according to that which they have done in their bodies, whether good or evil.

104. When the last judgment is finished, Christ shall deliver up the kingdom to his Father, and God shall be all in all.

The Decree of the Synod.

If any minister, of what degree or quality soever he be, shall publicly teach any doctrine contrary to these articles agreed upon; if after due admonition he do not conform himself, and cease to disturb the peace of the church let him be silenced, and deprived of all spiritual promotions he doth enjoy.

No. VII.

ARTICLES

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

Revised and altered by the assembly of divines at Westminster, in the year 1643, with Scripture references.

ARTICLE I.

Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

THERE is but one^a living and true God,^b everlasting,^c without body, parts,^d or passions,^e of infinite power,^f wisdom,^g and goodness;^h the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. I And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.^k

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father,^l the very^m and eternal God,ⁿ of one substance with the Father,^o took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance;^p so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man,^q who for our sakes truly suffered most grievous torments in his soul from God,^r was crucified, dead, and buried,^s to reconcile his Father to us,^t and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.^u

ARTICLE III.

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so it is to be believed that he continued in the state of the dead, and under the power and dominion of death,^w from the time of his death and burial until his

THE ARTICLES

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CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

ARTICLE I.

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THERE is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

ARTICLE II

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

ARTICLE III.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried: so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell.

^a Isa. xlv. 9. 1 Cor. viii. 4. 6. ^b Jer. x. 10. 1 Thes. i. 9. ^c Psal. xc. 2. Rom. xvi. 26. ^d Deut. iv. 15, 16. John iv. 24, with Luke xxiv. 39. ^e Acts xiv. 15. James i. 17. ^f Jer. xxxii. 17, 27. Mark x. 27. ^g Psal. cxlvii. 5. Rom. xi. 33. ^h Psal. cxix. 68, with Matt. xix. 17. ⁱ Neh. ix. 6. Col. i. 16, 17. ^k Matt. iii. 16, 17, xxviii. 19. 1 John iv. 7. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. ^l Prov. vii. 22—31. John i. 12. 14. ^m 1 John v. 20. Rom. ix. 5. ⁿ John xvii. 5. Heb. i. 8, with Psal. xlv. 6. ^o John x. 30. Heb. i. 3. ^p John i. 14. Isa. vii. 14. Luke i. 35. Gal. iv. 4. ^q Isa. vii. 14, with Matt. i. 23. Rom. i. 3, 4. Heb. xiii. 8. ^r Isa. liii. 10, 11. Mark xiv. 33, 34. ^s 1 Peter ii. 24. Phil. ii. 1. 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4. ^t Ezek. xvi. 63. Rom. iii. 25. 2 Cor. v. 12. ^u Isa. liii. 10. Eph. v. 2. 1 John i. 7. Heb. ix. 26. ^w Psal. xvi. 10, with Acts ii. 24—27. 31.

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resurrection; which hath been otherwise expressed thus: he went down into hell.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature,² wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth,³ until he return to judge^b all men at the general resurrection of the body at the last day.⁴

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost is very and eternal God, of one substance,^e majesty,^f and glory, with the Father and the Son,^g proceeding from the Father and the Son.^h

ARTICLE VI.

Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation^k, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be believed as an article of faith, or necessary to salvation.^l

By the name of Holy Scripture we understand all the canonical Books of the Old and New Testament which follow:

Of the Old Testament.

Genesis, Exodus, &c.

Of the New Testament.

The Gospel of St. Matthew, &c.

All which books, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and acknowledge them to be given by the inspiration of God; and in that regard, to be of most

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ARTICLE IV.

Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture, we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis, Leviticus,
Exodus, Numbers, &c.

And the other books, as Hierome saith, the church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish

^{*} Rom. vi. 9. Matt. xii. 40. ^y 1 Cor. xv. 4. Rom. viii. 34. Psal. xvi. 10, with Acts ii. 31. Luke xxiv. 34. ^z Luke xxiv. 39, with John xx. 25. 27. ^a Psal. lxxviii. 18, with Eph. iv. 8. Psal. cx. 1, with Acts ii. 34, 35. Mark xix. 10. Rom. viii. 34. ^b Acts iii. 21. Psal. cx. 1, with 1 Cor. xv. 25, 26. Acts i. 11. ^c 2 Cor. v. 20. Acts xvii. 34. ^d Exod. iii. 6, with Luke xx. 37, 38. Acts xxiv. 14, 15. 1 Cor. xv. 12, to the end. John v. 28, 29. ^e 2 Sam. xxiii. 2, 3. Isa. vi. 5, 8, with Acts xxviii. 25, and v. 3, 4. 1 Cor. iii. 16, and vi. 19. ^f Job xxvi. 13, 33, 34. 1 Cor. xii. Matt. xxviii. 19. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. ^g 1 Cor. xii. 11. Eph. i. 17, and 1 Cor. ii. 8, with 1 Pet. iv. 14. ^h John xv. 26, and Matt. x. 20, and 1 Cor. ii. 11, 12, with Gal. iv. 6, and Rom. viii. 9, and Phil. i. 9. John xvi. 14. Isa. xi. 2. Isa. lxi. 1. Gen. i. 2. 2 Chron. xv. 1. ⁱ Rom. i. 2. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. ^k Psal. xix. 7. 2 Tim. iii. 15—17. James i. 21. 25. Acts xx. 32. ^l Prov. xxx. 5, 6. Isa. viii. 20. Acts xxvi. 22, with ver. 20. 27. Gal. i. 8, 9. John v. 39.

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certain credit, and highest authority.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, in the doctrine contained in them;^m for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ,ⁿ who is the only mediator between God and man,^o being both God and man.^p Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign, that the old fathers did look only for temporary promises.^q

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christians;^r nor the civil precepts given by Moses, such as were peculiarly fitted to the commonwealth of the Jews, are of necessity to be received in any commonwealth;^s yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.^t By the moral law, we understand all the ten commandments taken in their full extent.

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original sin^u standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk;^w but together with his first sin imputed, it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is propagated from Adam;^x whereby man is wholly deprived of original righteousness,^y and is of his own nature

^m Acts xxvi. 21, 23. 2 Pet. iii. 2. Luke xxiv. 44. Rom. iii. 31. Gal. iii. 21, 23, 24. ⁿ Gen. iii. 15. xxii. 18, with Gal. iii. 8, 14. 1 Cor. x. 2—4. Luke i. 69, 70. Acts iii. 24. Isa. liii. ^o Dan. ix. 17. Rom. viii. 34. 1 John ii. 1. Heb. vii. 25. 1 Tim. ii. 5. John xiv. 6. ^p Gal. iv. 4, 5. Acts xx. 28. Phil. ii. 7, 8. ^q Acts xxvi. 6, 7. Rom. iv. 11. Gal. iii. 9. Heb. xi. 10, 16, 35. ^r Gal. iv. 9, 10. Col. ii. 14, 16, 17. Heb. ix. 9, 10. ^s Acts xxv. 9, 10, 25, with Deut. xvii. 8—13. Rom. xiii. 1, 5. Tit. iii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. ^t Matt. v. 17, to the end. Rom. xiii. 8—10. Eph. vi. 1—3. James ii. 8—12. Rom. vii. 25, iii. 31. Matt. vii. 12. ^u Psal. li. 5. John iii. 5, 6. ^v Job xiv. 4. xv. 14. Rom. vi. 6. John iii. 3, 5, 7. ^w Rom. v. 12—19. Gen. ii. 17, with 1 Cor. xv. 22. ^x Col. ii. 13. Rom. vii. 18. Eccl. vii. 29.

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any doctrine : such are these following,
Third of Esdras, Book of Tobias,
Fourth of Esdras, Judith, &c.

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them for canonical.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New ; for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign, that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men ; nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth ; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

ARTICLE VIII.

Of the three Creeds.

The three creeds, Nice creed, Athanasius' creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed : for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy writ.

ARTICLE IX.

Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk, but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that

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inclined only to evil.^a So that the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σαρκός*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God;^b and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation^b. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate, whereby the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit.^d And although there is no condemnation for them that are regenerate, and do believe,^e yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust is truly and properly sin.^f

ARTICLE X.

Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn or prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God;^g wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasing and acceptable to God,^h without the grace of God by Christ, both preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working so effectually in us, as that it determineth our will to do that which is good,ⁱ and also working with us when we have that will unto good.^k

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man before God.

We are justified, that is, we are accounted righteous before God, and have remission of sins,^l not for nor by our own works or deservings,^m but freely by his grace,ⁿ only for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake,^o his whole obedience and satisfaction being by God imputed unto us,^p and Christ with his righteousness, being apprehended and rested on by faith only.^q The doctrine of justification by faith only, is a wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort;^r notwithstanding God doth not forgive them that are impenitent, and go on still in their trespasses.^s

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the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit, and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φρόνημα σαρκός*, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

ARTICLE X.

Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

ARTICLE XI.

Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely expressed in the homily of justification.

^a Gen. vi. 5. viii. 21. Jer. xvii. 9. Rom. vii. 8. James i. 14. ^b Rom. viii. 7.
¹ Cor. ii. 14. Col. i. 21. ^b Eph. ii. 3. Rom. viii. 6, 7. ^c Prov. xx. 9. Rom.
vii. 17. 20. 23. 25. ^d Gal. v. 17. ^e Rom. viii. 1. 13. John iii. 13. ^f Rom.
viii. 17. 20. ^g Eph. ii. 1. 5. ¹ Cor. ii. 14. Eph. ii. 3—10. John vi. 44. 65. ^h Rom.
viii. 8. ⁱ Heb. xi. 6. ^j Ezek. xi. 19. 20. xxxvi. 26, 27. Jer. xxxi. 32, 33, with
Heb. x. 11. Phil. ii. 12, 13. John vi. 45. Eph. i. 19, 20. ¹ Cor. iv. 7. ^k Heb.
xiii. 21. Phil. viii. 1. 6. Heb. xii. 22. ¹ Pet. v. 10. ¹ Thes. v. 23, 24. ¹ Kings viii.
57, 58. ^l Rom. iv. 5—7. Psal. xxxii. 1, 2. ^m Rom. iii. 20. Gal. ii. 16. iii. 10.
11. Phil. iii. 9. ⁿ Rom. iii. 24. Tit. iii. 7. ^o Rom. iii. 24, 25. v. 1. ² Cor.
v. 18, 19. ^p Rom. v. 9. 17—19. iii. 25, 26. iv. 6. 24. ² Cor. v. 21. ^q Rom.
iii. 22, 25, 26. 28. Gal. ii. 16. Isa. xxviii. 16, with Rom. ix. 33, and ¹ Pet. ii. 6.
Phil. iii. 9. ^r 2 Tim. i. 13. Rom. v. 1, 2, 8. 11, xv. 13. ¹ Pet. i. 8. ^s Psal.
lxxviii. 20, 21. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Luke xiii. 3. 5.

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ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Good works, which are the fruits of faith,^a and follow after justification,^b cannot put away our sins,^c and endure the severity of God's judgment;^d yet are they, notwithstanding their imperfections, in the sight of God pleasing and acceptable unto him in and for Christ,^e and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith,^f insomuch that by them a lively faith may be evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruits^g.

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before justification by Christ, and regeneration by his Spirit, are not pleasing unto God,^b forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ:^c neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, they are sinful.^d

ARTICLE XIV.

Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety;^e for by them we do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do; but that they do more for his sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, "When ye have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do."^h

ARTICLE XV.

Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted,ⁱ from which he was clearly

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ARTICLE XII.

Of Good Works.

Albeit, that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

ARTICLE XIII.

Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

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Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void,

^a Gal. v. 6. James ii. 17, 18, 22.^b Tit. ii. 14. iii. 7, 8. Eph. ii. 8, 9.18. ^c Rom. iii. 20, 21. iv. 4—9. Dan. ix. 18, 19. ^d Neh. xiii. 22. Psal.cxliii. 2. Job ix. 14, 15, 19, 20. Exod. xxviii. 38. Rev. viii. 3, 4. ^e 1 Peter ii. 5.Heb. xiii. 16, 20, 21. Col. i. 10. Phil. iv. 18. ^f James ii. 16. 1 John i. 4. ^g Jamesii. 18, 19. John xv. 4, 5. 1 John ii. 3, 5. Matt. xii. 33. ^h Tit. i. 15, 16. Matt.vii. 18. Rom. viii. 8. Prov. xv. 8, 26, xxi. 27. Rom. iii. 12. ⁱ Heb. xi. 5, 6. Gal.v. 6. ¹ 2 Tim. 1. 9. John i. 13. Rom. viii. 7, 8. Hag. ii. 14. Isa. lviii. 1—5.lxvi. 2, 3. ² Matt. v. 48. Mark xii. 30, 31. Phil. iv. 8, 9. ³ Job ix. 2, 3.20, 21. Psal. cxliii. 2. Prov. xx. 9. Phil. iii. 8—15. ⁴ Luke xvii. 10, with ver.7—9. ⁵ Isa. liii. 3—5. Heb. ii. 17, with v. 15.

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void both in his flesh and in his spirit ; he came to be the Lamb without spot,¹ who by sacrifice of himself^m once madeⁿ, should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him.^p But all we the rest, although baptized and regenerate, yet offend in many things ; and “ if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.”^p

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both in his flesh and in his spirit. He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world ; and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. But all the rest (although baptized, and born again in Christ) yet offend in many things ; and “ if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.”

Charles Herle, prolocutor.
Henry Roborough, scribe.
Adouiram Byfield, scribe.

N. B. The assembly proceeded no farther in the revision.

No. VIII.

THE DIRECTORY FOR THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF GOD

Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster ; examined and approved, Anno 1654, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland ; and ratified by Act of Parliament the same Year.

THE PREFACE.

IN the beginning of the blessed Reformation, our wise and pious ancestors took care to set forth an order for redress of many things, which they then by the word discovered to be vain, erroneous, superstitious, and idolatrous, in the public worship of God. This occasioned many godly and learned men to rejoice much in the Book of Common Prayer, at that time set forth ; because the mass, and the rest of the Latin service, being removed, the public worship was celebrated in our own tongue ; many of the common people also received benefit by hearing the Scriptures read in their own language, which formerly were unto them as a book that is sealed.

Howbeit, long and sad experience hath made it manifest, that the liturgy used in the church of England (notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers of it) hath proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the reformed churches abroad. For not to speak of urging the reading of all the prayers, which very greatly increased the burden of it: the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies contained in it, have occasioned much mischief, as well by disquieting the consciences of many godly ministers and people, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or subscribing to those ceremonies. Sundry good Christians have been, by means thereof, kept from the Lord's table, and divers able and faithful ministers debarred from the exercise of their ministry (to the endangering of many thousand souls, in a time of such scarcity of faithful pastors), and spoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their families. Prelates and their faction have

^k Luke i. 35, with Acts iii. 14. John xiv. 30. 2 Cor. v. 21. Heb. vii. 26. ^l 1 Pet. i. 19. ^m Eph. v. 2. ⁿ Heb. ix. 26. 28. x. 10. 12. ^o John i. 29. ^p 1 John iii. 5. James iii. 2. 1 John i. 8. 10

laboured to raise the estimation of it to such a height, as if there were no other worship or way of worship of God amongst us, but only the service-book; to the great hinderance of the preaching of the word, and (in some places, especially of late) to the justling of it out, as unnecessary, or, at best, as far inferior to the reading of common prayer, which was made no better than an idol by many ignorant and superstitious people, who, pleasing themselves in their presence at that service, and their lip-labour in bearing a part of it, have thereby hardened themselves in their ignorance and carelessness, of saving knowledge and true piety.

In the mean time, Papists boasted, that the book was a compliance with them in a great part of their service; and so were not a little confirmed in their superstition and idolatry, expecting rather our return to them, than endeavouring the reformation of themselves: in which expectation they were of late very much encouraged, when, upon the pretended warrantableness of imposing the former ceremonies, new ones were daily obtruded upon the church.

Add hereunto (which was not foreseen, but since hath come to pass), that the liturgy hath been a great means, as on the one hand to make and increase an idle and unedifying ministry, which contented itself with set forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer, with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all his servants, whom he calls to that office: so on the other side it hath been (and ever would be, if continued) a matter of endless strife and contention in the church, and a snare both to many godly and faithful ministers, who have been persecuted and silenced upon that occasion, and to others of hopeful parts, many of which have been, and more still would be, diverted from all thoughts of the ministry to other studies; especially in these later times, wherein God vouchsafeth to his people more and better means for the discovery of error and superstition, and for attaining of knowledge in the mysteries of godliness, and gifts in preaching and prayer.

Upon these, and many the like weighty considerations, in reference to the whole book in general, and because of divers particulars contained in it; not from any love to novelty, or intention to disparage our first reformers (of whom we are persuaded, that, were they now alive, they would join with us in this work, and whom we acknowledge as excellent instruments, raised by God, to begin the purging and building of his house, and desire that they may be had of us and posterity in everlasting remembrance, with thankfulness and honour), but that we may, in some measure, answer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for farther reformation, and may satisfy our own consciences, and answer the expectation of other reformed churches, and the desires of many of the godly among ourselves, and withal give some public testimony of our endeavours for uniformity in divine worship, which we have promised in our solemn league and covenant: we have, after earnest and frequent calling upon the name of God, and after much consultation, not with flesh and blood, but with his holy word, resolved to lay aside the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God; and have agreed upon this following directory for all the parts of public worship, at ordinary and extraordinary times.

Wherein our care hath been, to hold forth such things as are of

divine institution in every ordinance ; and other things we have endeavoured to set forth according to the rules of Christian prudence, agreeable to the general rules of the word of God : our meaning therein being only, that the general heads, the sense and scope of the prayers, and other parts of public worship, being known to all, there may be a consent of all the churches, in those things that contain the substance of the service and worship of God ; and the ministers may be hereby directed in their administrations, to keep like soundness in doctrine and prayer ; and may, if need be, have some help and furniture ; and yet so, as they become not hereby slothful and negligent, in stirring up the gifts of Christ in them ; but that each one, by meditation, by taking heed to himself, and the flock of God committed to him, and by wise observing the ways of Divine Providence, may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with farther or other materials of prayer and of exhortation, as shall be needful upon all occasions.

Of the assembling of the Congregation, and their Behaviour in the Public Worship of God.

When the congregation is to meet for public worship, the people (having before prepared their hearts thereunto) ought all to come, and join therein ; not absenting themselves from the public ordinances through negligence, or upon pretence of private meetings.

Let all enter the assembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and seemly manner, taking their seats or places without adoration, or bowing themselves towards one place or other.

The congregation being assembled, the minister, after solemn calling on them to the worshipping of the great name of God, is to begin with prayer.

“ In all reverence and humility acknowledging the incomprehensible greatness and majesty of the Lord (in whose presence they do then in a special manner appear), and their own vileness and unworthiness to approach so near him, with their utter inability of themselves to so great a work ; and humbly beseeching him for pardon, assistance, and acceptance, in the whole service then to be performed ; and for a blessing on that particular portion of his word then to be read : and all in the name and mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ.”

The public worship being begun, the people are wholly to attend upon it, forbearing to read any thing, except what the minister is then reading or citing : and abstaining much more from all private whisperings, conferences, salutations, or doing reverence to any persons present, or coming in ; as also from all gazing, sleeping, or other indecent behaviour, which may disturb the minister or people, or hinder themselves and others in the service of God.

If any, through necessity, be hindered from being present at the beginning, they ought not, when they come into the congregation, to betake themselves to their private devotions, but reverently to compose themselves to join with the assembly, in that ordinance of God which is then in hand.

Of Public Reading of the Holy Scriptures.

Reading of the word in the congregation, being part of the public worship of God (wherein we acknowledge our dependence upon him,

and subjection to him), and one means sanctified by him for the edifying of his people, is to be performed by the pastors and teachers.

Howbeit, such as intend the ministry, may occasionally both read the word, and exercise their gift in preaching in the congregation, if allowed by the presbytery thereunto.

All the canonical books of the Old and New Testament (but none of those which are commonly called Apocrypha) shall be publicly read in the vulgar tongue, out of the best allowed translation, distinctly, that all may hear and understand.

How large a portion shall be read at once, is left to the wisdom of the minister: but it is convenient, that ordinarily one chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the chapters be short, or the coherence of matter requireth it.

It is requisite that all the canonical books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the Scriptures; and, ordinarily, where the reading in either Testament endeth on one Lord's day, it is to begin the next.

We commend also the more frequent reading of such scriptures, as he that readeth shall think best for edification of his hearers, as the book of Psalms, and such-like.

When the minister who readeth shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or psalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time, that neither preaching, nor other ordinances, be straitened, or rendered tedious. Which rule is to be observed in all other public performances.

Beside public reading of the Holy Scriptures, every person that can read is to be exhorted to read the Scriptures privately (and all others that cannot read, if not disabled by age, or otherwise, are likewise to be exhorted to learn to read), and to have a Bible.

Of Public Prayer before the Sermon.

After reading of the word (and singing of the psalm), the minister who is to preach, is to endeavour to get his own and his hearers' hearts to be rightly affected with their sins, that they may all mourn in sense thereof before the Lord, and hunger and thirst after the grace of God in Jesus Christ, by proceeding to a more full confession of sin, with shame and holy confusion of face, and to call upon the Lord to this effect:

“ To acknowledge our great sinfulness; first by reason of original sin, which (beside the guilt that makes us liable to everlasting damnation) is the seed of all other sins, hath depraved and poisoned all the faculties and powers of soul and body, doth defile our best actions, and (were it not restrained, or our hearts renewed by grace) would break forth into innumerable transgressions, and greatest rebellions against the Lord, that ever were committed by the vilest of the sons of men. And, next, by reason of actual sins, our own sins, the sins of magistrates, of ministers, and of the whole nation, unto which we are many ways accessory; which sins of ours receive many fearful aggravations, we having broken all the commandments of the holy, just, and good law of God, doing that which is forbidden, and leaving undone what is enjoined; and that not only out of ignorance and infirmity, but also more presumptuously, against the light of our minds, checks of

our consciences, and motions of his own Holy Spirit, to the contrary, so that we have no cloak for our sins; yea, not only despising the riches of God's goodness, forbearance, and long-suffering, but standing out against many invitations and offers of grace in the gospel; not endeavouring, as we ought, to receive Christ into our hearts by faith, or to walk worthy of him in our lives.

“ To bewail our blindness of mind, hardness of heart, unbelief, impenitency, security, lukewarmness, barrenness; our not endeavouring after mortification and newness of life, nor after the exercise of godliness in the power thereof: and that the best of us have not so steadfastly walked with God, kept our garments so unspotted, nor been so zealous of his glory, and the good of others, as we ought: and to mourn over such other sins as the congregation is particularly guilty of, notwithstanding the manifold and great mercies of our God, the love of Christ, the light of the gospel, and reformation of religion, our own purposes, promises, vows, solemn covenant, and other special obligations, to the contrary.

“ To acknowledge and confess, that, as we are convinced of our guilt, so, out of a deep sense thereof, we judge ourselves unworthy of the smallest benefits, most worthy of God's fiercest wrath, and of all the curses of the law, and heaviest judgments inflicted upon the most rebellious sinners; and that he might most justly take his kingdom and gospel from us, plague us with all sorts of spiritual and temporal judgments in this life, and after cast us into utter darkness, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth for evermore.

“ Notwithstanding all which, to draw near to the throne of grace, encouraging ourselves with hope of a gracious answer of our prayers, in the riches and all-sufficiency of that one only oblation, the satisfaction and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, at the right hand of his Father, and our Father; and in confidence of the exceeding great and precious promises of mercy and grace in the new covenant, through the same Mediator thereof, to deprecate the heavy wrath and curse of God, which we are not able to avoid or bear; and humbly and earnestly to supplicate for mercy, in the free and full remission of all our sins; and that only for the bitter sufferings and precious merits of our only Saviour Jesus Christ.

“ That the Lord would vouchsafe to shed abroad his love in our hearts by the Holy Ghost; seal unto us, by the same Spirit of adoption, the full assurance of our pardon and reconciliation; comfort all that mourn in Zion, speak peace to the wounded and troubled spirit, and bind up the broken hearted: and as for secure and presumptuous sinners, that he would open their eyes, convince their consciences, and turn them from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they also may receive forgiveness of sin, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Christ Jesus.

“ With remission of sins through the blood of Christ, to pray for sanctification by his Spirit; the mortification of sin dwelling in, and many times tyrannizing over, us; the quickening of our dead spirits, with the life of God in Christ; grace to fit and enable us for all duties of conversation and calling towards God and men; strength against temptations, the sanctified use of blessings and crosses, and perseverance in faith and obedience unto the end.

“ To pray for the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations, for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the Gentiles, the fall of antichrist, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord; for the deliverance of the distressed churches abroad from the tyranny of the antichristian faction, and from the cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk; for the blessing of God upon all the reformed churches, especially upon the churches and kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, now more strictly and religiously united in the solemn national league and covenant; and for our plantations in the most remote parts of the world; more particularly for that church and kingdom whereof we are members, that therein God would establish peace and truth, the purity of all his ordinances, and the power of godliness; prevent and remove heresy, schism, profaneness, superstition, security, and unfruitfulness, under the means of grace; heal our rents and divisions, and preserve us from breach of our solemn covenant.

“ To pray for all in authority, especially for the king's majesty, that God may make him rich in blessings, both in his person and government; establish his throne in religion and righteousness, save him from evil counsel, and make him a blessed and glorious instrument, for the conservation and propagation of the gospel, for the encouragement and protection of them that do well, the terror of all that do evil, and the great good of the whole church, and of all his kingdoms; for the conversion of the queen, the religious education of the prince, and the rest of the royal seed: for the comforting the afflicted queen of Bohemia, sister to our sovereign: and for the restitution and establishment of the illustrious prince Charles, elector palatine of the Rhine, to all his dominions and dignities; for a blessing on our high court of parliament (when sitting in any of these kingdoms respectively), the nobility, the subordinate judges and magistrates, the gentry, and all the commonalty; for all pastors and teachers, that God would fill them with his Spirit, make them exemplarily holy, sober, just, peaceable, and gracious in their lives; sound, faithful, and powerful, in their ministry; and follow all their labours with abundance of success and blessing; and give unto all his people pastors according to their own heart; for the universities, and all schools and religious seminaries of church and commonwealth, that they may flourish more and more in learning and piety; for the particular city or congregation, that God would pour out a blessing upon the ministry of the word, sacraments, and discipline, upon the civil government, and all the several families and persons therein; for mercy to the afflicted under any inward or outward distress. For seasonable weather, and fruitful seasons, as the time may require; for averting the judgments that we either feel, or fear, or are liable unto, as famine, pestilence, the sword, and such-like.

“ And, with confidence of his mercy to his whole church, and the acceptance of our persons, through the merits and mediation of our high priest the Lord Jesus, to profess that it is the desire of our souls to have fellowship with God, in the reverend and conscionable use of his holy ordinances; and to that purpose, to pray earnestly for his grace and effectual assistance to the sanctification of his holy sabbath, the Lord's day, in all the duties thereof, public and private, both to ourselves, and to all other congregations of his people, according to the riches and excellency of the gospel, this day celebrated and enjoyed.

“ And because we have been unprofitable hearers in times past, and now cannot of ourselves receive, as we should, the deep things of God, the mysteries of Jesus Christ, which require a spiritual discerning ; to pray that the Lord, who teacheth to profit, would graciously please to pour out the Spirit of grace, together with the outward means thereof, causing us to attain such a measure of the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord, and in him, of the things which belong to our peace, that we may account all things but as dross in comparison of him : and that we, tasting the first-fruits of the glory that is to be revealed, may long for a more full and perfect communion with him, that where he is, we may be also, and enjoy the fulness of those joys and pleasures which are at his right hand for evermore.

“ More particularly, that God would in special manner furnish his servant (now called to dispense the bread of life unto his household) with wisdom, fidelity, zeal, and utterance, that he may divide the word of God aright, to every one his portion, in evidence and demonstration of the Spirit and power : and that the Lord would circumcise the ears and hearts of the hearers, to hear, love, and receive with meekness, the ingrafted word, which is able to save their souls ; make them as good ground to receive in the good seed of the word, and strengthen them against the temptations of Satan, the cares of the world, the hardness of their own hearts, and whatsoever else may hinder their profitable and saving hearing ; that so Christ may be so formed in them, and live in them, that all their thoughts may be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ, and their hearts established in every good word and work for ever.”

We judge this to be a convenient order, in the ordinary public prayers ; yet so as the minister may defer (as in prudence he shall think meet) some part of these petitions, till after his sermon, or offer up to God some of the thanksgivings hereafter appointed, in his prayer before his sermon.

Of the Preaching of the Word.

Preaching of the word being the power of God unto salvation, and one of the greatest and most excellent works belonging to the ministry of the gospel, should be so performed, that the workman need not be ashamed, but may save himself, and those that hear him.

It is presupposed (according to the rules for ordination,) that the minister of Christ is in some good measure gifted for so weighty a service, by his skill in the original languages, and in such arts and sciences as are handmaids unto divinity ; by his knowledge in the whole body of theology, but most of all in the Holy Scriptures, having his senses and heart exercised in them above the common sort of believers ; and by the illumination of God's Spirit, and other gifts of edification, which (together with reading and studying of the word) he ought still to seek by prayer, and an humble heart, resolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God shall make it known unto him. All which he is to make use of, and improve in his private preparations, before he deliver in public what he hath provided.

Ordinarily, the subject of his sermon is to be some text of Scripture, holding forth some principle or head of religion, or suitable to some special occasion emergent ; or he may go on in some chapter, psalm, or book of the Holy Scripture, as he shall see fit.

Let the introduction to his text be brief and perspicuous, drawn from the text itself, or context, or some parallel place, or general sentence of Scripture.

If the text be long (as in histories and parables it sometimes must be), let him give a brief sum of it; if short, a paraphrase thereof, if need be: in both, looking diligently to the scope of the text, and pointing at the chief heads and grounds of doctrine which he is to raise from it.

In analysing and dividing his text, he is to regard more the order of matter than of words; and neither to burden the memory of the hearers in the beginning with too many members of division, nor to trouble their minds with obscure terms of art.

In raising doctrines from the text, his care ought to be, first, that the matter be the truth of God. Secondly, that it be a truth contained in or grounded on that text, that the hearers may discern how God teacheth it from thence. Thirdly, that he chiefly insist upon those doctrines which are principally intended, and make most for the edification of the hearers.

The doctrine is to be expressed in plain terms; or, if any thing in it need explication, it is to be opened, and the consequence also from the text cleared. The parallel places of Scripture, confirming the doctrine, are rather to be plain and pertinent, than many; and (if need be), somewhat insisted upon, and applied to the purpose in hand.

The arguments and reasons are to be solid; and, as much as may be, convincing. The illustrations, of what kind soever, ought to be full of light, and such as may convey the truth into the hearer's heart with spiritual delight.

If any doubt, obvious from Scripture, reason, or prejudice of the hearers, seem to arise, it is very requisite to remove it, by reconciling the seeming differences, answering the reasons, and discovering and taking away the causes of prejudice and mistake. Otherwise, it is not fit to detain the hearers with propounding or answering with vain or wicked cavils, which as they are endless, so the propounding and answering of them doth more hinder than promote edification.

He is not to rest in general doctrine, although never so much cleared and confirmed, but to bring it home to special use, by application to his hearers; which albeit it prove a work of great difficulty to himself, requiring much prudence, zeal, and meditation, and to the natural and corrupt man will be very unpleasant; yet he is to endeavour to perform it in such a manner, that his auditors may feel the word of God to be quick and powerful, and a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and that, if any believer or ignorant person be present, he may have the secrets of his heart made manifest, and give glory to God.

In the use of instruction or information in the knowledge of some truth, which is a consequence from his doctrine, he may (when convenient) confirm it by a few firm arguments from the text in hand, and other places of Scripture, or from the nature of that common-place in divinity whereof that truth is a branch.

In confutation of false doctrines, he is neither to raise an old heresy from the grave, nor to mention a blasphemous opinion unnecessarily: but if the people be in danger of an error, he is to confute it soundly.

and endeavour to satisfy their judgments and consciences against all objections.

In exhorting to duties, he is, as he seeth cause, to teach also the means that help to the performance of them.

In dehortation, reprehension, and public admonition (which require special wisdom), let him, as there shall be cause, not only discover the nature and greatness of the sin, with the misery attending it, but also shew the danger his hearers are in to be overtaken and surprised by it, together with the remedies and best way to avoid it.

In applying comfort, whether general against all temptations, or particular against some special troubles or terrors, he is carefully to answer such objections, as a troubled heart and afflicted spirit may suggest to the contrary.

It is also sometimes requisite to give some notes of trial (which is very profitable, especially when performed by able and experienced ministers, with circumspection and prudence, and the signs clearly grounded on the Holy Scripture), whereby the hearers may be able to examine themselves, whether they have attained those graces, and performed those duties, to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the sin reprehended, and in danger of the judgments threatened, or are such to whom the consolations propounded do belong; that accordingly they may be quickened and excited to duty, humbled for their wants and sins, affected with their danger, and strengthened with comfort, as their condition upon examination shall require.

And, as he needeth not always to prosecute every doctrine which lies in his text, so is he wisely to make choice of such uses, as, by his residence and conversing with his flock, he findeth most needful and seasonable; and amongst these, such as may most draw their souls to Christ, the fountain of light, holiness, and comfort.

This method is not prescribed as necessary for every man, or upon every text; but only recommended, as being found by experience to be very much blessed of God, and very helpful for the people's understandings and memories.

But the servant of Christ, whatever his method be, is to perform his whole ministry,

1. Painfully, not doing the work of the Lord negligently.

2. Plainly, that the meanest may understand, delivering the truth, not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect; abstaining also from an unprofitable use of unknown tongues, strange phrases, and cadences of sounds and words, sparingly citing sentences of ecclesiastical or other human writers, ancient or modern, be they never so elegant.

3. Faithfully looking at the honour of Christ, the conversion, edification, and salvation, of the people, not at his own gain or glory, keeping nothing back which may promote those holy ends, giving to every one his own portion, and bearing indifferent respect unto all, without neglecting the meanest, or sparing the greatest, in their sins.

4. Wisely framing all doctrines, exhortations, and especially his reproofs, in such a manner as may be most likely to prevail, shewing all due respect to each man's person and place, and not mixing his own passion or bitterness.

5. Gravely, as becometh the word of God, shunning all such gesture, voice, and expressions, as may occasion the corruptions of men to despise him and his ministry.

6. With loving affection, that the people may see all coming from his godly zeal, and hearty desire to do them good.

7. As taught of God, and persuaded in his own heart, that all that he teacheth is the truth of Christ; and walking before his flock, as an example to them in it: earnestly, both in private and public, recommending his labours to the blessing of God, and watchfully looking to himself and the flock, whereof the Lord hath made him overseer: so shall the doctrine of truth be preserved uncorrupt, many souls converted and built up, and himself receive manifold comforts of his labours, even in this life, and afterward the crown of glory laid up for him in the world to come.

Where there are more ministers in a congregation than one, and they of different gifts, each may more especially apply himself to doctrine or exhortation, according to the gift wherein he most excelleth, and as they shall agree between themselves.

Of Prayer after Sermon.

The sermon being ended, the minister is "to give thanks for the great love of God, in sending his Son Jesus Christ unto us; for the communication of his Holy Spirit; for the light and liberty of the glorious gospel, and the rich and heavenly blessings revealed therein: as namely, election, vocation, adoption, justification, sanctification, and hope of glory: for the admirable goodness of God, in freeing the land from antichristian darkness and tyranny, and for all other national deliverances: for the reformation of religion, for the covenant; and for many temporal blessings.

"To pray for the continuance of the gospel, and all ordinances thereof, in their purity, power, and liberty: to turn the chief and most useful heads of the sermon into some few petitions; and to pray that it may abide in the heart, and bring forth fruit.

"To pray for preparation for death and judgment, and a watching for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: to entreat of God the forgiveness of the iniquities of our holy things, and the acceptance of our spiritual sacrifice, through the merit and mediation of our great High-Priest and Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ.

And because the prayer which Christ taught his disciples is not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the prayers of the church.

And whereas, at the administration of the sacraments, the holding public fasts, and days of thanksgiving, and other special occasions, which may afford matter of special petitions and thanksgivings, it is requisite to express somewhat in our public prayers (as at this time it is our duty to pray for a blessing upon the assembly of divines, the armies by sea and land, for the defence of the king, parliament, and kingdom,) every minister is herein to apply himself in his prayer, before or after sermon, to those occasions: but for the manner he is left to his liberty, as God shall direct and enable him, in piety and wisdom to discharge his duty.

The prayer ended, let a psalm be sung, if with convenience it may be done. After which (unless some other ordinance of Christ, that con-

cerneth the congregation at that time, be to follow,) let the minister dismiss the congregation with a solemn blessing.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

AND FIRST, OF BAPTISM.

Baptism, as it is not unnecessarily to be delayed, so it is not to be administered in any case by any private person, but by a minister of Christ, called to be the steward of the mysteries of God.

Nor is it to be administered in private places, or privately, but in the place of public worship, and in the face of the congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and hear, and not in the places where fonts, in the time of Popery, were unfitly and superstitiously placed.

The child to be baptized, after notice given to the minister the day before, is to be presented by the father, or (in case of his necessary absence) by some Christian friend in his place, in professing his earnest desire that the child may be baptized.

Before baptism, the minister is to use some words of instruction, touching the institution, nature, use, and ends, of this sacrament: shewing,

“ That it is instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; that it is a seal of the covenant of grace of our ingrafting into Christ, and of our union with him, of remission of sins, regeneration, adoption, and life eternal. That the water in baptism, representeth and signifieth, both the blood of Christ, which taketh away all guilt of sin, original and actual; and the sanctifying virtue of the Spirit of Christ against the dominion of sin, and the corruption of our sinful nature: that baptizing, or sprinkling and washing with water, signifieth the cleansing from sin by the blood and for the merit of Christ, together with the mortification of sin, and rising from sin to newness of life, by virtue of the death and resurrection of Christ: that the promise is made to believers and their seed; and that the seed and posterity of the faithful, born within the church, have by their birth, interest in the covenant, and right to the seal of it, and to the outward privileges of the church under the gospel, no less than the children of Abraham in the time of the Old Testament; the covenant of grace, for substance, being the same; and the grace of God, and the consolation of believers, more plentiful than before: that the Son of God admitted little children into his presence, embracing and blessing them, saying, ‘for of such is the kingdom of God:’ that children, by baptism, are solemnly received into the bosom of the visible church, distinguished from the world, and them that are without, and united with believers: and that all who are baptized in the name of Christ, do renounce, and by their baptism are bound to fight against, the devil, the world, and the flesh: that they are Christians, and federally holy before baptism, and therefore they are baptized; that the inward grace and virtue of baptism is not tied to that very moment of time wherein it is administered, and that the fruit and power thereof reacheth to the whole course of our life; and that outward baptism is not so necessary, that through the want thereof the infant is in danger of damnation, or the parents guilty, if they do not condemn or neglect the ordinance of Christ, when and where it may be had.

In these, or the like instructions, the minister is to use his own liberty and godly wisdom, as the ignorance or errors in the doctrine of baptism, and the edification of the people, shall require.

He is also to admonish all that are present :

“To look back to their baptism ; to repent of their sins against their covenant with God ; to stir up their faith ; to improve and make the right use of their baptism, and of the covenant sealed thereby betwixt God and their souls.”

He is to exhort the parent :

“To consider the great mercy of God to him and his child, to bring up the child in the knowledge of the grounds of the Christian religion, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord ; and to let him know the danger of God’s wrath to himself and child, if he be negligent ; requiring his solemn promise for the performance of his duty.”

This being done, prayer is also to be joined with the word of instruction, for sanctifying the water to this spiritual use ; and the minister is to pray to this or the like effect :

“That the Lord, who hath not left us as strangers without the covenant of promise, but called us to the privileges of his ordinances, would graciously vouchsafe to sanctify and bless his own ordinance of baptism at this time : that he would join the inward baptism of his Spirit with the outward baptism of water ; make this baptism to the infant a seal of adoption, remission of sin, regeneration, and eternal life, and all other promises of the covenant of grace : that the child may be planted into the likeness of the death and resurrection of Christ ; and that the body of sin being destroyed in him, he may serve God in newness of life all his days.”

Then the minister is to demand the name of the child, which being told him, he is to say (calling the child by his name,) *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,*

As he pronounceth these words, he is to baptize the child with water ; which, for the manner of doing it, is not only lawful but sufficient, and most expedient to be, by pouring or sprinkling of the water on the face of the child, without adding any other ceremony.

This done, he is to give thanks, and to pray, to this or the like purpose :

“Acknowledging with all thankfulness, that the Lord is true and faithful in keeping covenant and mercy : that he is good and gracious, not only in that he numbereth us among his saints, but is pleased also to bestow upon our children this singular token and badge of his love in Christ : that in his truth and special providence, he daily bringeth some into the bosom of his church, to be partakers of his inestimable benefits, purchased by the blood of his dear Son, for the continuance and increase of his church.

And praying, that the Lord would still continue and daily confirm more and more this his unspeakable favour ; that he would receive the infant, now baptized, and solemnly entered into the household of faith, into his fatherly tuition and defence, and remember him with the favour that he sheweth to his people : that if he shall be taken out of this life in his infancy, the Lord, who is rich in mercy, would be pleased to receive him up into glory ; and if he live, and attain the years of

discretion, that the Lord would so teach him by his word and Spirit, and make his baptism effectual to him, and so uphold him by his divine power and grace, that by faith he may prevail against the devil, the world, and the flesh, till in the end he obtain a full and final victory, and so be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

*Of the Celebration of the Communion, or Sacrament of the
Lord's Supper.*

The communion, or supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated: but how often, may be considered, and determined by the ministers, and other church-governors of each congregation, as they shall find it most convenient for the comfort and edification of the people committed to their charge. And when it shall be administered, we judge it convenient to be done after the morning sermon.

The ignorant and the scandalous are not fit to receive this sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Where this sacrament cannot with convenience be frequently administered, it is requisite that public warning be given the sabbath-day before the administration thereof: and that either then, or on some day of that week, something concerning that ordinance, and the due preparation thereunto, and participation thereof, be taught, that by the diligent use of all means sanctified of God to that end, both in public and private, all may come better prepared to that heavenly feast.

When the day is come for administration, the minister having ended his sermon and prayer, shall make a short exhortation,

"Expressing the inestimable benefit we have by this sacrament; together with the ends and use thereof: setting forth the great necessity of having our comforts and strength renewed thereby, in this our pilgrimage and warfare: how necessary it is, that we come unto it with knowledge, faith, repentance, love, and with hungering and thirsting souls after Christ and his benefits: how great the danger to eat and drink unworthily.

"Next, he is, in the name of Christ, on the one part, to warn all such as are ignorant, scandalous, profane, or that live in any sin or offence against their knowledge or conscience, that they presume not to come to that holy table; shewing them that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself: and on the other part, he is in especial manner to invite and encourage all that labour under the sense of the burden of their sins, and fear of wrath, and desire to reach out unto a greater progress in grace than yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's table; assuring them, in the same name, of ease, refreshing, and strength, to their weak and wearied souls."

After this exhortation, warning and invitation, the table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it, the minister is to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine set before him (the bread in comely and convenient vessels, so prepared, that being broken by him, and given, it may be distributed amongst the communicants, the wine also in large cups); having first in a few words shewed, that those elements, otherwise common, are now set apart and sanctified to this holy use, by the word of institution and prayer.

Let the words of institution be read out of the evangelists, or out of the First Epistle of the apostle Paul to the Corinthians, chap. xi. verse 23. "I have received of the Lord," &c. to the twenty-seventh verse, which the minister may, when he seeth requisite, explain and apply.

Let the prayer, thanksgiving, or blessing, of the bread and wine, be to this effect :

"With humble and hearty acknowledgment of the greatness of our misery, from which neither man nor angel was able to deliver us, and of our great unworthiness of the least of all God's mercies; to give thanks to God for all his benefits, and especially for that great benefit of our redemption, the love of God the Father, the sufferings and merits of the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, by which we are delivered; and for all means of grace, the word, and sacraments; and for this sacrament in particular, by which Christ, and all his benefits, are applied and sealed up unto us, which, notwithstanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy continued unto us, after so much and long abuse of them all.

"To profess, that there is no other name under heaven by which we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ, by whom alone we receive liberty and life, have access to the throne of grace, are admitted to eat and drink at his own table, and are sealed up by his Spirit to an assurance of happiness and everlasting life.

"Earnestly to pray to God, the Father of all mercies, and God of all consolation, to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his Spirit in us, and so to sanctify these elements, both of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance, that we may receive by faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and we with him; that he may live in us, and we in him, and to him, who hath loved us, and given himself for us."

All which he is to endeavour to perform with suitable affections, answerable to such a holy action, and to stir up the like in the people.

The elements being now sanctified by the word and prayer, the minister, being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and say, in these expressions (or other the like, used by Christ, or his apostle, upon this occasion) :

"According to the holy institution, command, and example, of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this bread, and having given thanks, I break it, and give it unto you [there the minister, who is also himself to communicate, is to break the bread and give it to the communicants]: 'Take ye, eat ye; this is the body of Christ which is broken for you; do this in remembrance of him.'"

In like manner the minister is to take the cup, and say, in these expressions (or other the like, used by Christ, or the apostle, upon the same occasion) ;

"According to the institution, command, and example, of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this cup, and give it unto you [here he giveth it to the communicants]; 'This cup is the New Testament in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many; drink ye all of it.'"

After all have communicated, the minister may, in a few words, put them in mind,

"Of the grace of God, in Jesus Christ, held forth in this sacrament; and exhort them to walk worthy of it."

The minister is to give solemn thanks to God,

“ For his rich mercy and invaluable goodness vouchsafed to them in that sacrament ; and to entreat for pardon for the defects of the whole service, and for the gracious assistance of his good Spirit, whereby they may be enabled to walk in the strength of that grace, as becometh those who have received so great pledges of salvation.”

The collection for the poor is so to be ordered, that no part of the public worship be thereby hindered.

Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

The Lord's day ought to be so remembered beforehand, as that all worldly business of our ordinary callings may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be impediments to the due sanctifying of the day when it comes.

The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in public and private, as being the Christian sabbath. To which end it is requisite, that there be a holy cessation, or resting all the day, from all unnecessary labours ; and an abstaining, not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts.

That the diet on that day be so ordered, as that neither servants be unnecessarily detained from the public worship of God, nor any other persons hindered from the sanctifying that day.

That there be private preparation of every person and family, by prayer for themselves, and for God's assistance of the minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry ; and by such other holy exercises as may farther dispose them to a more comfortable communion with God in his public ordinances.

That all the people meet so timely for public worship, that the whole congregation may be present at the beginning, and with one heart solemnly join together in all parts of the public worship, and not depart till after the blessing.

That what time is vacant, between or after the solemn meetings of the congregation in public, be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons (especially by calling their families to an account of what they have heard) ; and catechising of them, holy conferences, prayer for a blessing upon the public ordinances, singing of psalms, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and such-like duties of piety, charity, and mercy, accounting the sabbath a delight.

The Solemnization of Marriage.

Although marriage be no sacrament, nor peculiar to the church of God, but common to mankind, and of public interest in every commonwealth ; yet because such as marry are to marry in the Lord, and have special need of instruction, direction, and exhortation, from the word of God, at their entering into such a new condition ; and of the blessing of God upon them therein ; we judge it expedient that marriage be solemnized by a lawful minister of the word, that he may accordingly counsel them, and pray for a blessing upon them.

Marriage is to be betwixt one man and one woman only ; and they such as are not within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity prohibited by the word of God ; and the parties are to be of years of discretion, fit to make their own choice, or upon good grounds to give their mutual consent.

Before the solemnizing of marriage between any persons, their purpose of marriage shall be published by the minister, three several sabbath-days, in the congregation at the place or places of their most usual and constant abode respectively. And of this publication, the minister who is to join them in marriage shall have sufficient testimony, before he proceed to solemnize the marriage.

Before that publication of such their purpose (if the parties be under age), the consent of the parents, or others under whose power they are (in case the parents be dead), is to be made known to the church-officers of that congregation, to be recorded.

The like is to be observed in the proceedings of all others, although of age, whose parents are living, for their first marriage. And in after marriages of either of those parties, they shall be exhorted not to contract marriage without first acquainting their parents with it (if with conveniency it may be done), endeavouring to obtain their consent.

Parents ought not to force their children to marry without their free consent, nor deny their own consent without just cause.

After the purpose or contract of marriage hath been thus published, the marriage is not to be long deferred. Therefore the minister, having had convenient warning, and nothing being objected to hinder it, is publicly to solemnize it in the place appointed by authority for public worship, before a competent number of credible witnesses, at some convenient hour of the day, at any time of the year, except on a day of public humiliation. And we advise that it be not on the Lord's day.

And because all relations are sanctified by the word and prayer, the minister is to pray for a blessing upon them to this effect :

“ Acknowledging our sins, whereby we have made ourselves less than the least of all the mercies of God, and provoked him to imbitter all our comforts ; earnestly, in the name of Christ, to entreat the Lord (whose presence and favour is the happiness of every condition, and sweetens every relation) to be their portion, and to own and accept them in Christ, who are now to be joined in the honourable estate of marriage, the covenant of their God : and that, as he hath brought them together by his providence, he would sanctify them by his Spirit, giving them a new frame of heart, fit for their new estate ; enriching them with all graces, whereby they may perform the duties, enjoy the comforts, undergo the cares, and resist the temptations, which accompany that condition, as becometh Christians.”

The prayer being ended, it is convenient that the minister do briefly declare unto them out of the Scripture,

“ The institution, use, and ends, of marriage, with the conjugal duties, which, in all faithfulness, they are to perform each to other ; exhorting them to study the holy word of God, that they may learn to live by faith, and to be content in the midst of all marriage-cares and troubles, sanctifying God's name, in a thankful, sober, and holy use of all conjugal comforts ; praying much with and for one another ; watching over and provoking each other to love and good works ; and to live together as the heirs of the grace of life.”

After solemn charging of the persons to be married before the great God, who searcheth all hearts, and to whom they must give a strict account at the last day, that if either of them know any cause, by pre-contract or otherwise, why they may not lawfully proceed to marriage,

that they now discover it: the minister (if no impediment be acknowledged) shall cause first the man to take the woman by the right hand, saying these words,

“ I, N. do take thee N. to be my married wife, and do, in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving and faithful husband unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.”

Then the woman shall take the man by his right hand, and say these words,

“ I, N. do take thee N. to be my married husband, and I do, in the presence of God, and before this congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving, faithful, and obedient wife unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.”

Then, without any farther ceremony, the minister shall, in the face of the congregation, pronounce them to be husband and wife, according to God’s ordinance; and so conclude the action with prayer to this effect:

“ That the Lord would be pleased to accompany his own ordinance with his blessing, beseeching him to enrich the persons now married, as with other pledges of his love, so particularly with the comforts and fruits of marriage, to the praise of his abundant mercy, in and through Christ Jesus.”

A register is to be carefully kept, wherein the names of the parties so married, with the time of their marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a book, provided for that purpose, for the perusal of all whom it may concern.

Concerning Visitation of the Sick.

It is the duty of the minister, not only to teach the people committed to his charge, in public; but privately and particularly to admonish, exhort, reprove, and comfort them, upon all seasonable occasions, so far as his time, strength, and personal safety, will permit.

He is to admonish them, in time of health, to prepare for death; and for that purpose, they are often to confer with their minister about the estate of their souls; and in times of sickness, to desire his advice and help, timely and seasonably, before their strength and understanding fail them.

Times of sickness and affliction are special opportunities put into his hand by God, to minister a word in season to weary souls, because then the consciences of men are or should be more awakened to bethink themselves of their spiritual estates for eternity; and Satan also takes advantage then, to load them more with sore and heavy temptations: therefore the minister being sent for, and repairing to the sick, is to apply himself with all tenderness and love, to administer some spiritual good to his soul to this effect.

He may, from the consideration of the present sickness, instruct him out of Scripture, that diseases come not by chance, or by distempers of body only, but by the wise and orderly guidance of the good hand of God, to every particular person smitten by them. And that, whether it be laid upon him out of displeasure for sin, for his correction and amendment, or for trial and exercise of his graces, or for other special and excellent ends, all his sufferings shall turn to his profit, and work together for his good, if he sincerely labour to make a sanctified

use of God's visitation, neither despising his chastening, nor waxing weary of his correction.

If he suspect him of ignorance, he shall examine him in the principles of religion, especially touching repentance and faith; and as he seeth cause, instruct him in the nature, use, excellency, and necessity, of those graces; as also touching the covenant of grace, and Christ the Son of God, the mediator of it, and concerning remission of sins by faith in him.

He shall exhort the sick person to examine himself, to search and try his former ways, and his estate towards God.

And if the sick person shall declare any scruple, doubt, or temptation, that is upon him, instructions and resolutions shall be given to satisfy and settle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due sense of his sins, endeavours ought to be used to convince him of his sins, of the guilt and desert of them: of the filth and pollution which the soul contracts by them; and of the curse of the law, and wrath of God, due to them: that he may be truly affected with and humbled for them: and withal to make known the danger of deferring repentance, and of neglecting salvation at any time offered; to awaken his conscience, and rouse him up out of a stupid and secure condition, to apprehend the justice and wrath of God, before whom none can stand, but he that, being lost to himself, layeth hold upon Christ by faith.

If he have endeavoured to walk in the ways of holiness, and to serve God in uprightness, although not without many failings and infirmities; or if his spirit be broken with the sense of sin, or cast down through want of the sense of God's favour, then it will be fit to raise him up, by setting before him the freeness and fulness of God's grace, the sufficiency of righteousness in Christ, the gracious offers in the gospel, that all who repent and believe with all their heart in God's mercy through Christ, renouncing their own righteousness, shall have life and salvation in him: it may also be useful to shew him, that death hath in it no spiritual evil to be feared by those that are in Christ, because sin, the sting of death, is taken away by Christ, who hath delivered all that are his, from the bondage of the fear of death, triumphed over the grave, given us victory, is himself entered into glory, to prepare a place for his people: so that neither life nor death shall be able to separate them from God's love in Christ, in whom such are sure, though now they must be laid in the dust, to obtain a joyful and glorious resurrection to eternal life.

Advice also may be given, as to beware of an ill-grounded persuasion on mercy, or on the goodness of his condition for heaven, so to disclaim all merit in himself, and to cast himself wholly upon God for mercy, in the sole merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, who hath engaged himself never to cast off them, who in truth and sincerity come unto him. Care also must be taken, that the sick person be not cast down into despair, by such a severe representation of the wrath of God due to him for his sins, as is not mollified by a seasonable propounding of Christ and his merit, for a door of hope to every penitent believer.

When the sick person is best composed, may be least disturbed, and other necessary offices about him least hindered, the minister, if desired, shall pray with him, and for him, to this effect;

“Confessing and bewailing of sin original and actual, the miserable

condition of all by nature, as being children of wrath, and under the curse; acknowledging that all diseases, sicknesses, death, and hell itself, are the proper issues and effects thereof; imploring God's mercy for the sick person through the blood of Christ; beseeching that God would open his eyes, discover unto him his sins, cause him to see himself lost in himself, make known to him the cause why God smiteth him, reveal Jesus Christ to his soul for righteousness and life, give unto him his Holy Spirit to create and strengthen faith, to lay hold upon Christ, to work in him comfortable evidences of his love, to arm him against temptations, to take off his heart from the world, to sanctify his present visitation, to furnish him with patience and strength to bear it, and to give him perseverance in faith to the end.

“That if God shall please to add to his days, he would vouchsafe to bless and sanctify all means of his recovery, to remove the disease, renew his strength, and enable him to walk worthy of God, by a faithful remembrance and diligent observing of such vows and promises of holiness and obedience, as men are apt to make in times of sickness, that he may glorify God in the remaining part of his life.

“And if God have determined to finish his days by the present visitation, he may find such evidence of the pardon of all his sins, of his interest in Christ, and eternal life by Christ, as may cause his inward man to be renewed, while his outward man decayeth; that he may behold death without fear, cast himself wholly upon Christ without doubting, desire to be dissolved and be with Christ, and so receive the end of his faith, the salvation of his soul, through the only merits and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, our alone Saviour, and all-sufficient Redeemer.”

The minister shall admonish him also (as there shall be cause) to set his house in order, thereby to prevent inconveniences; to take care for the payment of his debts, and to make restitution or satisfaction where he hath done any wrong, to be reconciled to those with whom he hath been at variance, and fully to forgive all men their trespasses against him, as he expects forgiveness at the hand of God.

Lastly, the minister may improve the present occasion to exhort those about the sick person, to consider their own mortality, to return to the Lord and make peace with him; in health to prepare for sickness, death, and judgment; and all the days of their appointed time so to wait until their change come, that when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, they may appear with him in glory.

Concerning Burial of the Dead.

When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony.

And because the customs of kneeling down, and praying by or towards the dead corpse, and other such usages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to burial, are superstitious; and for that, praying, reading, and singing, both in going to, and at the grave, have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all such things be laid aside.

Howbeit, we judge it very convenient, that the Christian friends, which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for public burial, do apply themselves to meditations, and conferences suitable to the occasion: and that the minister, as upon other occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in remembrance of their duty.

That this shall not extend to deny any civil respects or deferences at the burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased while he was living.

Concerning public solemn Fasting.

When some great and notable judgments are either inflicted upon a people, or apparently imminent, or by some extraordinary provocations notoriously deserved; as also, when some special blessing is to be sought and obtained, public solemn fasting (which is to continue the whole day) is a duty that God expecteth from that nation or people.

A religious fast requires total abstinence, not only from all food (unless bodily weakness do manifestly disable from holding out till the fast be ended, in which case somewhat may be taken, yet very sparingly, to support nature, when ready to faint), but also from all worldly labour, discourses, and thoughts, and from all bodily delights (although at other times lawful), rich apparel, ornaments, and such-like, during the fast; and much more from whatever is, in the nature or use, scandalous and offensive, as gaudish attire, lascivious habits and gestures, and other vanities of either sex; which we recommend to all ministers, in their places, diligently and zealously to reprove, as at other times, so especially at a fast, without respect of persons, as there shall be occasion.

Before the public meeting, each family and person apart are privately to use all religious care to prepare their hearts to such solemn work, and to be early at the congregation.

So large a portion of the day, as conveniently may be, is to be spent in public reading and preaching of the word, with singing of psalms, fit to quicken affections suitable to such a duty, but especially in prayer, to this or the like effect:

“Giving glory to the great majesty of God, the creator, preserver, and supreme ruler, of all the world, the better to affect us thereby with a holy reverence and awe of him; acknowledging his manifold, great, and tender mercies, especially to the church and nation, the more effectually to soften and abase our hearts before him; humbly confessing of sins of all sorts, with their several aggravations; justifying God’s righteous judgments, as being far less than our sins do deserve; yet humbly and earnestly imploring his mercy and grace for ourselves, the church, and nation, for our king, and all in authority, and for all others for whom we are bound to pray (according as the present exigence requireth), with more special importunity and enlargement than at other times; applying by faith, the promises and goodness of God, for pardon, help, and deliverance from the evils felt, feared, or deserved; and for obtaining the blessings which we need and expect; together with a giving up of ourselves wholly and for ever unto the Lord.”

In all these, the ministers, who are the mouths of the people unto God, ought so to speak from their hearts, upon serious and thorough premeditation of them, that both themselves and the people may be

much affected, and even melted thereby; especially with sorrow for their sins, that it may be indeed a day of deep humiliation and affliction of the soul.

Special choice is to be made of such scriptures to be read, and of such texts for preaching, as may best work the hearts of the hearers to the special business of the day, and most dispose them to humiliation and repentance; insisting most on those particulars, which each minister's observation and experience tell him, are most conducing to the edification and reformation of that congregation to which he preacheth.

Before the close of the public duties the minister is, in his own and the people's names, to engage his and their hearts to be the Lord's, with professed purpose and resolution to reform whatever is amiss amongst them, and more particularly such sins as they have been more remarkably guilty of; and, to draw nearer unto God, and to walk more closely and faithfully with him in new obedience, than ever before.

He is also to admonish the people, with all importunity, that the work of that day doth not end with the public duties of it, but that they are so to improve the remainder of the day, and of their whole life, in reinforcing upon themselves and their families in private, all those godly affections and resolutions which they professed in public, as that they may be settled in their hearts for ever, and themselves may more sensibly find, that God hath smelt a sweet savour in Christ from their performances, and is pacified towards them, by answers of grace, in pardoning of sin, in removing of judgments, in averting or preventing of plagues, and in conferring of blessings, suitable to the conditions and prayers of his people by Jesus Christ.

Besides solemn and general fasts enjoined by authority, we judge, that at other times congregations may keep days of fasting, as Divine Providence shall administer unto them special occasions. And also, that families may do the same, so it be not on days wherein the congregation to which they do belong is to meet for fasting, or other public duties of worship.

Concerning the Observation of Days of Public Thanksgiving.

When any such day is to be kept, let notice be given of it, and of the occasion thereof, some convenient time before, that the people may the better prepare themselves thereunto.

The day being come, and the congregation (after private preparations) being assembled, the minister is to begin with a word of exhortation, to stir up the people to the duty for which they are met, and with a short prayer for God's assistance and blessing (as at other conventions for public worship), according to the particular occasion of their meeting.

Let him then make some pithy narration of the deliverance obtained, or mercy received, or of whatever hath occasioned that assembling of the congregation, that all may better understand it, or be minded of it, and more affected with it.

And because singing of psalms is of all other the most proper ordinance for expressing of joy and thanksgiving, let some pertinent psalm or psalms be sung for that purpose, before or after the reading of some portion of the word, suitable to the present business.

Then let the minister who is to preach, proceed to farther exhortation and prayer before his sermon, with special reference to the present work : after which, let him preach upon some text of Scripture pertinent to the occasion.

The sermon ended, let him not only pray, as at other time after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the necessities of the church, king, and state (if before the sermon they were omitted), but enlarge himself in due and solemn thanksgiving for former mercies and deliverances, but more especially for that which at the present calls them together to give thanks: with humble petition for the continuance and renewing of God's wonted mercies, as need shall be, and for sanctifying grace to make a right use thereof. And so, having sung another psalm suitable to the mercy, let him dismiss the congregation with a blessing, that they have some convenient time for their repast and refreshment.

But the minister (before their dismissal) is solemnly to admonish them, to beware of all excess and riot, tending to gluttony or drunkenness, and much more of these sins themselves, in their eating and refreshing ; and to take care that their mirth and rejoicing be not carnal, but spiritual, which may make God's praise to be glorious, and themselves humble and sober ; and that both their feeding and rejoicing may render them more cheerful and enlarged, farther to celebrate his praises in the midst of the congregation, when they return unto it, in the remaining part of that day.

When the congregation shall be again assembled, the like course in praying, reading, preaching, singing of psalms, and offering up of more praise and thanksgiving, that is before directed for the morning, is to be renewed and continued so far as the time will give leave.

At one or both of the public meetings that day, a collection is to be made for the poor (and in the like manner upon the day of public humiliation), that their loins may bless us, and rejoice the more with us. And the people are to be exhorted, at the end of the latter meeting, to spend the residue of that day in holy duties, and testifications of Christian love and charity one towards another, and of rejoicing more and more in the Lord, as becometh those who make the joy of the Lord their strength.

Of Singing of Psalms.

It is the duty of Christians to praise God publicly, by singing of psalms together in the congregation, and also privately in the family.

In singing of psalms the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered ; but the chief must be, to sing with understanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

That the whole congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a psalm-book ; and all others, not disabled by age, or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister, or some other fit person appointed by him, and the other ruling officers, do read the psalm line by line, before the singing thereof.

An Appendix, touching Days and Places of public Worship.

There is no day commanded in Scripture to be kept holy under the gospel but the Lord's day, which is the Christian sabbath.

Festival days, vulgarly called holidays, having no warrant in the word of God, are not to be continued.

Nevertheless, it is lawful and necessary, upon special emergent occasions, to separate a day or days for public fasting or thanksgiving, as the several eminent and extraordinary dispensations of God's providence shall administer cause and opportunity to his people.

As no place is capable of any holiness, under pretence of whatsoever dedication or consecration; so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition formerly used, and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the public worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite, that the places of public assembling for worship amongst us, should be continued, and employed to that use.

THE CONTENTS OF THE DIRECTORY FOR THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF GOD.

The preface.	Of the solemnization of marriage.
Of the assembling of the congregation.	Of the visitation of the sick.
Of public reading of the Holy Scripture.	Of burial of the dead.
Of public prayer before sermon.	Of public solemn fasting.
Of preaching of the word.	Of the observation of days of public thanksgiving.
Of prayer after the sermon.	Of singing of psalms.
Of the sacrament of baptism.	An Appendix, touching days and places of public worship.
Of the sacrament of the Lord's supper.	
Of the sanctification of the Lord's day.	

No. IX.

THE FORM OF PRESBYTERIAL CHURCH-GOVERNMENT

Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; examined and approved, Anno 1645, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, &c.

THE PREFACE.

JESUS CHRIST, upon whose shoulders the government is, whose name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace *, of the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end, who sits upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and justice, from henceforth even for ever, having all power given unto him even in heaven and in earth by the Father, who raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand, far above all principalities, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all

* Isa. ix. 6, 7.

things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all: he being ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things, received gifts for his church, and gave offices necessary for the edification of his church, and perfecting of his saints.

Of the Church.

There is one general church visible held forth in the New Testament, 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13, 28, together with the rest of the chapter.

The ministry, oracles, and ordinances, of the New Testament, given by Jesus Christ to the general church visible, for the gathering and perfecting of it in this life, until his second coming, 1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 4, 5, compared with ver. 10—16 of the same chapter.

Particular visible churches, members of the general church, are also held forth in the New Testament, Gal. i. 21, 22, Rev. i. 4, 20, and Rev. ii. 1. Particular churches, in the primitive times, were made up of visible saints, viz. of such as, being of age, professed faith in Christ, and obedience unto Christ, according to the rules of faith and life taught by Christ and his apostles; and of their children, Acts ii. 38, 41; and ver. last, compared with v. 14, 1 Cor. i. 2, compared with 2 Cor. ix. 13, Acts ii. 39, 1 Cor. vii. 14, Rom. ix. 16, and so forward; Mark x. 14, compared with Matt. xix. 13, 14, Luke xviii. 15, 16*.

Of the Officers of the Church.

The officers which Christ hath appointed for the edification of his church, and the perfecting of the saints, are,

Some extraordinary, as apostles, evangelists, and prophets, which are ceased.

Others ordinary and perpetual, as pastors, teachers, and other church-governors, and deacons.

Pastors.

The pastor is an ordinary and perpetual officer in the church. Jer. iii. 15—17; prophesying of the time of the gospel. 1 Pet. v. 2—4. Eph. iv. 11—13.

First, it belongs to his office:

To pray for and with his flock, as the mouth of the people unto God. Acts vi. 2—4, Acts xx. 36; where preaching and prayer are joined as several parts of the same office, James v. 15. The office of the elder, that is, the pastor, is to pray for the sick, even in private, to which a blessing is especially promised: much more therefore ought he to perform this in the public execution of his office, as a part thereof. 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16.

To read the Scripture publicly; for the proof of which,

1. That the priests and Levites in the Jewish church were trusted with the public reading of the word, as is proved, Deut. xxxi. 9—11, Neh. viii. 1, 2, 13.

2. That the ministers of the gospel have as ample a charge and commission to dispense the word as well as other ordinances, as the priests and Levites had under the law, proved, Isa. lxvi. 21, and Matt. xxiii. 34, where our Saviour entitleth the officers of the New Testament,

* Matt. xxviii. 18—20, Eph. i. 20—22, compared with iv. 8—11, and Psalm lxxviii, 18.

whom he will send forth, by the same names as the teachers of the Old.

Which propositions prove, that therefore (the duty being of a moral nature) it followeth by just consequence, that the public reading of the Scriptures belongeth to the pastor's office.

To feed the flock, by preaching of the word, according to which he is to teach, convince, reprove, exhort, and comfort. 1 Tim. iii. 2. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. Tit. i. 9.

To catechise, which is a plain laying down the first principles of the oracles of God, Heb. v. 12; or of the doctrine of Christ, and is a part of preaching.

To dispense other divine mysteries, 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

To administer the sacraments, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Mark xvi. 15, 16. 1 Cor. xi. 23—25, compared with x. 16.

To bless the people from God, Numb. vi. 23—26, compared with Rev. xiv. 5. (where the same blessings, and persons from whom they come, are expressly mentioned), Isa. lxvi. 21, where, under the names of priests and Levites to be continued under the gospel, are meant evangelical pastors, who therefore are by office to bless the people, Deut. x. 8. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. Eph. i. 2.

To take care of the poor, Acts xi. 30; iv. 34—37; vi. 2—4. 1 Cor. xvi. 1—4. Gal. ii. 9, 10.

And he hath also a ruling power over the flock as a pastor, 1 Tim. v. 17. Acts xx. 17, 28. 1 Thess. v. 12. Heb. xiii. 7, 17.

Teacher or Doctor.

The Scripture doth hold out the name and title of teacher, as well as of pastor, 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11.

Who is also a minister of the word as well as the pastor, and hath power of administration of the sacraments.

The Lord having given different gifts, and divers exercises according to these gifts, in the ministry of the word, Rom. xii. 6—8. 1 Cor. xii. 1, 4—7, though these different gifts may meet in, and accordingly be exercised by, one and the same minister, 1 Cor. xiv. 3. 2 Tim. iv. 2. Tit. i. 9; yet, where be several ministers in the same congregation, they may be designed to several employments, according to the different gifts in which each of them doth most excel. Rom. xii. 6—8. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. And he that doth more excel in exposition of Scriptures, in teaching sound doctrine, and in convincing gainsayers, than he doth in application, and is accordingly employed therein, may be called a teacher, or doctor (the places alleged by the notation of the word do prove the proposition), nevertheless, where is but one minister in a particular congregation, he is to perform, so far as he is able, the whole work of the ministry, as appeareth in 2 Tim. vi. 2. Tit. i. 9, before alleged, 1 Tim. vi. 2.

A teacher or doctor is of most excellent use in schools and universities: as of old in the schools of the prophets, and at Jerusalem, where Gamaliel and others taught as doctors.

Other Church Governors.

As there were in the Jewish church, elders of the people joined with the priests and Levites in the government of the church, (as appeareth 1 Chron. xix. 8—10.) so Christ, who hath instituted a government

and governors ecclesiastical in the church, hath furnished some in his church, beside the ministers of the word, with gifts for government, and with commission to execute the same when called thereunto, who are to join with the minister in the government of the church, Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Which officers reformed churches commonly call elders.

Deacons.

The Scripture doth hold out deacons as distinct officers in the church Phil. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 8.

Whose office is perpetual. 1 Tim. iii. 8, to verse 15. Acts vi. 1—4. To whose office it belongs not to preach the word, or administer the sacraments, but to take special care in distributing to the necessities of the poor. Acts vi. 1—4, and the verses following.

Of particular Congregations.

It is lawful and expedient that there be fixed congregations, that is, a certain company of Christians to meet in one assembly ordinarily for public worship. When believers multiply to such a number that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, it is lawful and expedient that they should be divided into distinct and fixed congregations, for the better administration of such ordinances as belong unto them, and the discharge of mutual duties. 1 Cor. xiv. 26. "Let all things be done unto edifying;" and 33 and 40.

The ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by the respective bounds of their dwellings.

1st. Because they who dwell together, being bound to all kind of moral duties one to another, have the better opportunity thereby to discharge them; which moral tie is perpetual, for Christ came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. Deut. xv. 7. 11. Matt. xxii. 39. v. 17.

2dly. The communion of saints must be so ordered, as may stand with the most convenient use of the ordinances, and discharge of moral duties, without respect of persons. 1 Cor. xiv. 26. "Let all things be done unto edifying." Heb. x. 24, 25. James ii. 1, 2.

3dly. The pastor and people must so nearly cohabit together, as that they may mutually perform their duties each to other with most conveniency.

In this company some must be set apart to bear office.

Of the Officers of a particular Congregation.

For officers in a single congregation, there ought to be one at the least, both to labour in the word and doctrine, and to rule. Prov. xxix. 18. 1 Tim. v. 17. Heb. xiii. 7.

It is also requisite that there should be others to join in government. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

And likewise it is requisite that there should be others to take special care for the relief of the poor. Acts. vi. 2, 3.

The number of each of which is to be proportioned according to the condition of the congregation.

These officers are to meet together at convenient and set times, for the well ordering the affairs of that congregation, each according to his office.

It is most expedient that in these meetings, one whose office is to labour in the word and doctrine, do moderate in their proceedings. 1 Tim. v. 17.

Of the Ordinances in a particular Congregation.

The ordinances in a single congregation are, prayer, thanksgiving, and singing of psalms, (1 Tim. ii. 1. 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16.) the word read (although there follow no immediate explication of what is read), the word expounded and applied, catechising, the sacraments administered, collection made for the poor, dismissing the people with a blessing.

Of Church-Government, and the several sorts of Assemblies for the same.

Christ hath instituted a government, and governors ecclesiastical in the church: to that purpose the apostles did immediately receive the keys from the hand of Jesus Christ, and did use and exercise them in all the churches of the world, upon all occasions.

And Christ hath since continually furnished some in his church with gifts of government, and with commission to execute the same, when called thereunto.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by several sorts of assemblies, which are congregational, classical, and synodical.

Of the Power in common of all these Assemblies.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the several assemblies before mentioned have power to convene, and call before them, any person within their several bounds whom the ecclesiastical business which is before them doth concern; proved by Matt. xviii.

They have the power to hear and determine such causes and differences as do orderly come before them.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that all the said assemblies have some power to dispense church censures.

Of Congregational Assemblies, that is, the Meeting of the ruling Officers of a particular Congregation for the Government thereof.

The ruling officers of a particular congregation have power, authoritatively, to call before them any member of the congregation, as they shall see just occasion.

To inquire into the knowledge and spiritual estate of the several members of the congregation.

To admonish and rebuke.

Which three branches are proved by Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. Ezek. xxxiv. 4.

Authoritative suspension from the Lord's table, of a person not yet cast out of the church, is agreeable to the Scripture;

1st. Because the ordinance itself must not be profaned.

2dly. Because we are charged to withdraw from those that walk disorderly.

3dly. Because of the great sin and danger, both to him that comes unworthily, and also to the whole church. Matt. vii. 6. 2 Thess. iii.

6. 14, 15. 1 Cor. xi. 27, to the end of the chapter, compared with Jude 23. 1 Tim. v. 22. And there was power and authority, under the Old Testament, to keep unclean persons from holy things. Levit. xiii. 5. Numb. ix. 7. 2 Chron. xxiii. 19.

The like power and authority, by way of analogy, continues under the New Testament.

The ruling officers of a particular congregation have power, authoritatively, to suspend from the Lord's table a person not yet cast out of the church.

1st. Because those who have authority to judge of and admit such as are fit to receive the sacrament, have authority to keep back such as shall be found unworthy.

2dly. Because it is an ecclesiastical business of ordinary practice belonging to that congregation.

When congregations are divided and fixed, they need all mutual help one from another, both in regard of their intrinsical weaknesses, and mutual dependance ; as also, in regard of enemies from without.

Of Classical Assemblies.

The Scripture doth hold out a presbytery in the church, both in the First Epistle to Timothy, iv. 14, and in Acts xv. 2. 4. 6.

A presbytery consisteth of ministers of the word, and such other public officers as are agreeable to, and warranted by, the word of God, to be church-governors, to join with the ministers in the government of the church ; as appeareth, Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28.

The Scripture doth hold forth, that many particular congregations may be under one presbyterial government.

This proposition is proved by instances ;

I. First. Of the church of Jerusalem, which consisted of more congregations than one, and all these congregations were under one presbyterial government.

This appeareth thus :

1. First. The church of Jerusalem consisted of more congregations than one, as is manifest,

1st. By the multitude of believers mentioned in divers places : both before the dispersion of the believers there by the persecution (mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. viii. in the beginning thereof, witness chap. i. verse 11 ; ii. 41. 46, 47 ; iv. 4 ; v. 14, and vi. of the same book of the Acts, verses 1 and 7 ; and also after the dispersion, ix. 31, xii. 24, and xxi. 20, of the same book.

2dly. By the many apostles and other preachers in the church of Jerusalem : and if there were but one congregation there, then each apostle preached but seldom ; which will not consist with chap. vi. verse 2, of the same book of the Acts of the Apostles.

3dly. The diversity of languages amongst the believers, mentioned both in the second and sixth chapters of the Acts, doth argue more congregations than one in that church.

2. Secondly. All those congregations were under one presbyterial government ; because, 1st. They were one church, Acts viii. 1, ii. 47, compared with v. 11, xii. 5, and xv. 4, of the same book.

2dly. The elders of the church are mentioned, Acts xi. 30, xv. 4. 6. 22, and xxi. 17, 18, of the same book.

3dly. The apostles did the ordinary acts of presbyters, as presbyters

in that kirk ; which proveth a presbyterial church before the dispersion. Acts vi.

4thly. The several congregations in Jerusalem being one church, the elders of that church are mentioned as meeting together for acts of government, Acts xi. 30, xv. 4. 6. 22, and xxi. 17, 18, and so forward : which proves that those several congregations were under one presbyterial government.

And whether these congregations were fixed, or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is all one as to the truth of the proposition.

Nor doth there appear any material difference betwixt the several congregations in Jerusalem, and the many congregations now in the ordinary condition of the church, as to the point of fixedness required of officers or members.

3. Thirdly. Therefore the Scripture doth hold forth, that many congregations may be under one presbyterial government.

II. Secondly. By the instance of the church of Ephesus ; for,

1. That they were more congregations than one in the church of Ephesus, appears by Acts xx. 31, where is mention of Paul's continuance at Ephesus in preaching for the space of three years ; and Acts xix. 18—20, where the special effect of the word is mentioned ; and verses 10 and 17 of the same chapter, where is a distinction of Jews and Greeks ; and 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9, where is a reason of Paul's stay at Ephesus until Pentecost ; and verse 19, where is mention of a particular church in the house of Aquilla and Priscilla then at Ephesus ; as appears, Acts xviii. 19. 24. 26. All which laid together doth prove, that the multitude of believers did make more congregations than one in the church of Ephesus.

2. That there were many elders over these many congregations, as one flock, appeareth Acts xx. 17. 25. 28. 30. 36, 37.

3. That these many congregations were one church, and that they were under one presbyterial government, appeareth Rev. ii. the first six verses, joined with Acts xx. 17, 18.

Of Synodical Assemblies.

The Scripture doth hold out another sort of assemblies, for the government of the church, beside classical and congregational, all which we call synodical, Acts xv. Pastors and teachers, and other church-governors (as also other fit persons, when it shall be deemed expedient), are members of those assemblies which we call synodical, where they have a lawful calling thereunto.

Synodical assemblies may lawfully be of several sorts, as provincial, national, and œcumenical.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that there be a subordination of congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies, for the government of the church.

OF THE ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.

Under the head of ordination of ministers is to be considered, either the doctrine of ordination, or the power of it.

Touching the Doctrine of Ordination.

No man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the word, without a lawful calling. John iii. 27. Rom. x. 14, 15. Jer. xiv. 14. Heb. v. 4.

Ordination is always to be continued in the church. Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church-office. Numb. viii. 10, 11. 14. 19. 22. Acts vi. 3. 5, 6.

Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong. 1 Tim. v. 12. Acts iv. 23, and xiii. 3.

It is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge. Acts iv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Acts xx. 17. 28.

He that is to be ordained minister, must be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to the rules of the apostle. 1 Tim. iii. 2—6, and Tit. i. 5—9.

He is to be examined and approved by those by whom he is to be ordained. 1 Tim. iii. 7. 10, and v. 22.

No man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can shew just cause of exception against him. 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7.

Touching the Power of Ordination.

Ordination is the act of a presbytery, 1 Tim. iv. 14. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination, is in the whole presbytery, which when it is over more congregations than one, whether those congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

It is very requisite that no single congregation, that can conveniently associate, do assume to itself all and sole power in ordination.

1. Because there is no example in Scripture, that any single congregation, which might conveniently associate, did assume to itself all and sole power in ordination; neither is there any rule which may warrant such a practice.

2. Because there is in Scripture, example of an ordination in a presbytery over divers congregations: as in the church of Jerusalem, where were many congregations, these many congregations were under one presbytery, and this presbytery did ordain.

The preaching presbyters orderly associated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are those to whom the imposition of hands doth appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively.

 CONCERNING THE DOCTRINAL PART OF ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.

1. No man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the word, without a lawful calling. John iii. 27. Rom. x. 14, 15. Jer. xiv. 14. Heb. v. 4.

2. Ordination is always to be continued in the church. Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.

3. Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church-office. Numb. viii. 10, 11. 14. 19. 22. Acts vi. 3. 5, 6.

4. Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong. 1 Tim. v. 22. Acts xiv. 23, xiii. 3.

5. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole presbytery, which, when it is over more congregations than one, whether those congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

6. It is agreeable to the word, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge. Acts xiv. 23. Tit. i. 5. Acts xx. 17. 28.

7. He that is to be ordained minister, must be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to the rules of the apostle. 1 Tim. iii. 2—6. Tit. i. 5—9.

8. He is to be examined and approved of by those by whom he is to be ordained. 1 Tim. iii. 7. 10, v. 22.

9. No man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can shew just cause of exception against him. 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 7.

10. Preaching presbyters orderly associated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are those to whom the imposition of hands do appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

11. In extraordinary cases, something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order may be had, yet keeping as near as possible may be to the rule. 2 Chron. xxix. 34—36, xxx. 2—5.

12. There is at this time (as we humbly conceive) an extraordinary occasion for a way of ordination for the present supply of ministers.

The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers.

It being manifest, by the word of God, that no man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the gospel, until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto; and that the work of ordination is to be performed with all due care, wisdom, gravity, and solemnity; we humbly tender these directions as requisite to be observed.

1. He that is to be ordained, being either nominated by the people, or otherwise commended to the presbytery for any place, must address himself to the presbytery, and bring with him a testimonial of his taking the covenant of the three kingdoms; of his diligence and proficiency in his studies; what degrees he hath taken in the university, and what hath been the time of his abode there; and withal of his age, which is to be twenty-four years; but especially of his life and conversation.

2. Which being considered by the presbytery, they are to proceed to inquire touching the grace of God in him, and whether he be of such holiness of life as is requisite in a minister of the gospel; and to examine him touching his learning and sufficiency, and touching the evidences of his calling to the holy ministry, and in particular, his fair and direct calling to that place.

THE RULES FOR EXAMINATION ARE THESE.

1. That the party examined be dealt withal in a brotherly way, with mildness of spirit, and with special respect to the gravity, modesty, and quality, of every one.

2. He shall be examined touching his skill in the original tongues, and his trial to be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, and rendering some portion of some into Latin; and if he be defective in them, inquiry shall be made more strictly after his other learning, and whether he hath skill in logic and philosophy.

3. What authors in divinity he hath read, and is best acquainted with. And trial shall be made in his knowledge of the grounds of religion, and of his ability to defend the orthodox doctrine contained in them, against all unsound and erroneous opinions, especially those of the present age; of his skill in the sense and meaning of such places of scripture as shall be proposed unto him, in cases of conscience, and in the chronology of the Scripture, and the ecclesiastical history.

4. If he hath not before preached in public, with approbation of such as are able to judge, he shall, at a competent time assigned him, expound before the presbytery such a place of Scripture as shall be given him.

5. He shall also, within a competent time, frame a discourse in Latin, upon such a common-place or controversy in divinity as shall be assigned him, and exhibit to the presbytery such theses as express the sum thereof, and maintain a dispute upon them.

6. He shall preach before the people, the presbytery, or some of the ministry of the word appointed by them, being present.

7. The proportion of his gifts, in relation to the place unto which he is called, shall be considered.

8. Beside the trial of his gifts in preaching, he shall undergo an examination in the premises two several days, and more, if the presbytery shall judge it necessary.

9. And as for him that hath formerly been ordained a minister, and is to be removed to another charge, he shall bring a testimonial of his ordination, and of his abilities and conversation, whereupon his fitness for that place shall be tried by his preaching there (if it shall be judged necessary) by a farther examination of him.

3. In which he being approved, he is to be sent to the church, where he is to serve, there to preach three several days, and to converse with the people, that they may have trial of his gifts for their edification, and may have time and occasion to inquire into, and the better to know his life and conversation.

4. In the last of these three days appointed for the trial of his gifts in preaching, there shall be sent from the presbytery to the congregation, a public intimation in writing, which shall be publicly read before the people, and after affixed to the church door, to signify that such a day, a competent number of the members of that congregation, nominated by themselves, shall appear before the presbytery, to give their consent and approbation to such a man to be their minister; or otherwise to put in, with all Christian discretion and meekness, what exceptions they have against him; and if, upon the day appointed, there be no just exception against him, but the people give their consent, then the presbytery shall proceed to ordination.

5. Upon the day appointed for ordination, which is to be performed in that church, where he that is to be ordained is to serve, a solemn fast shall be kept by the congregation, that they may the more earnestly join in prayer for a blessing upon the ordinance of Christ, and the labours of his servant for their good. The presbytery shall come to the place, or at least three or four ministers of the word shall be sent thither from the presbytery; of which one, appointed by the presbytery, shall preach to the people concerning the office and duty of ministers of Christ, and how the people ought to receive them for their work's sake.

6. After the sermon, the minister who hath preached shall, in the face of the congregation, demand of him who is now to be ordained, concerning his faith in Christ Jesus, and his persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion according to the Scripture; his sincere intentions and ends in desiring to enter into this calling; his diligence in prayer, reading, meditation, preaching, ministering the sacraments, discipline, and doing all ministerial duties towards his charge: his zeal and faithfulness in maintaining the truth of the gospel, and unity of the church against error and schism; his care that himself and his family may be unblameable, and examples to the flock; his willingness and humility, in meekness of spirit, to submit unto the admonitions of his brethren and discipline of the church; and his resolution to continue in his duty against all trouble and persecution.

7. In all which having declared himself, professed his willingness, and promised his endeavours, by the help of God; the minister likewise shall demand of the people, concerning their willingness to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ; and to obey, and submit unto him, as having rule over them in the Lord; and to maintain, encourage, and assist him in all parts of his office.

8. Which being mutually promised by the people, the presbytery, or the ministers sent from them for ordination, shall solemnly set him apart to the office and work of the ministry, by laying their hands on him, which is to be accompanied with a short prayer or blessing, to this effect:

“Thankfully acknowledging the great mercy of God, in sending Jesus Christ for the redemption of his people; and for his ascension to the right hand of God the Father, and thence pouring out his Spirit, and giving gifts to men, apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors, and teachers, for the gathering and building up of his church; and for fitting and inclining this man to this great work*; to entreat him to fit him with his Holy Spirit, to give him (who in his name we thus set apart to this holy service) to fulfil the work of his ministry in all things, that he may both save himself, and his people committed to his charge.”

9. This, or the like form of prayer and blessing being ended, let the minister who preached briefly exhort him, to consider of the greatness of his office and work, the danger of negligence both to himself and his people, the blessing which will accompany his faithfulness in this life, and that to come; and withal exhort the people to carry themselves to him, as to their minister in the Lord, according to their solemn promise made before; and so by prayer commending both him and his

* Here let them impose hands on his head.

flock to the grace of God, after singing of a psalm, let the assembly be dismissed with a blessing.

10. If a minister be designed to a congregation who hath been formerly ordained presbyter, according to the form or ordination which hath been in the church of England, which we hold for substance to be valid, and not to be disclaimed by any who have received it; then there being a cautious proceeding in matters of examination, let him be admitted without any new ordination.

11. And in case any person already ordained minister in Scotland, or in any other reformed church, be designed to another congregation in England, he is to bring from that church to the presbytery here, within which that congregation is, a sufficient testimonial of his ordination, of his life and conversation while he lived with them, and of the causes of his removal; and to undergo such a trial of his fitness and sufficiency, and to have the same course held with him in other particulars, as is set down in the rule immediately going before, touching examination and admission.

12. That records be carefully kept in the several presbyteries, of the names of the persons ordained, with their testimonials, the time and place of their ordination, of the presbyters who did impose hands upon them, and of the charge to which they are appointed.

13. That no money or gift of what kind soever shall be received from the person to be ordained, or from any on his behalf, for ordination, or ought else belonging to it, by any of the presbytery, or any appertaining to any of them, upon what pretence soever.

Thus far of ordinary rules, and course of ordination in the ordinary way; that which concerns the extraordinary way, requisite to be now practised, followeth.

1. In these present exigencies, while we cannot have any presbyteries formed up to their whole power and work, and that many ministers are to be ordained for the service of the armies and navy, and to many congregations where there is no minister at all; and where (by reason of the public troubles) the people cannot either themselves inquire, and find out one who may be a faithful minister for them, or have any with safety sent unto them, for such a solemn trial as was before mentioned in the ordinary rules, especially when there can be no presbytery near unto them, to whom they may address themselves, or which may come or send to them a fit man to be ordained in that congregation, and for that people; and yet, notwithstanding, it is requisite that ministers be ordained for them, by some, who being set apart themselves for the work of the ministry, have power to join in the setting apart others who are found fit and worthy. In those cases, until, by God's blessing, the aforesaid difficulties may be in some good measure removed, let some godly ministers, in or about the city of London, be designed by public authority, who, being associated, may ordain ministers for the city and the vicinity, keeping as near to the ordinary rules forementioned as possibly they may; and let this association be for no other intent or purpose but only for the work of ordination.

2. Let the like association be made by the same authority in great towns, and the neighbouring parishes in the several counties, which

are at the present quiet and undisturbed, to do the like for the parts adjacent.

3. Let such as are chosen, or appointed for the service of the armies or navy, be ordained as aforesaid, by the associated ministers of London, or some others in the country.

4. Let them do the like when any man shall duly and lawfully be recommended to them for the ministry of any congregation, who cannot enjoy liberty to have a trial of his parts and abilities, and desire the help of such ministers so associated, for the better furnishing of them with such a person, as by them shall be judged fit for the service of that church and people.

THE CONTENTS OF THE FORM OF PRESBYTERIAL CHURCH-GOVERNMENT.

The preface.	Of the power in common of all these assemblies.
Of the church.	Of congregational assemblies, that is, the meeting of the ruling officers of a particular congregation, for the government thereof.
Of the officers of the church.	Of classical assemblies.
Pastors.	Of synodical assemblies.
Teacher or doctor.	Of ordination of ministers.
Other church-governors.	Touching the doctrine of ordination.
Deacons.	Touching the power of ordination.
Of particular congregations.	Concerning the doctrinal part of the ordination of ministers.
Of the officers of a particular congregation.	The directory for the ordination of ministers.
Of the ordinances in a particular congregation.	
Of church-government, and the several sorts of assemblies for the same.	

No. X.

The Assembly's Declaration of the Falsehood and Forgery of a lying scandalous Pamphlet, put forth under the Name of their Reverend Brother Master Alexander Henderson, after his Death.

THE general assembly of this kirk having seen a printed paper, entitled, "The Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, principal minister of the word of God at Edinburgh, and chief-commissioner for the kirk of Scotland to the parliament and synod of England, made upon his death-bed;" and taking into their serious consideration how many gross lies and impudent calumnies are therein contained; out of the tender respect which they do bear to his name (which ought to be very precious to them and all posterity, for his faithful service in the great work of reformation in these kingdoms, wherein the Lord was pleased to make him eminently instrumental); and lest through the malice of some, and ignorance of others, the said pamphlet should gain belief among the weaker sort, they have thought fit to make known and declare, concerning the same, as followeth:

That, after due search and trial, they do find, that their worthy brother Master Alexander Henderson did, from the time of his coming from London to Newcastle, till the last moment of his departure out of this life, upon all occasions manifest the constancy of his judgment touching the work of reformation in these kingdoms; namely, in all

his discourses and conferences with his majesty, and with his brethren, who were employed with him in the same trust at Newcastle: in his letters to the commissioners at London, and particularly in his last discourse to his majesty, at his departing from Newcastle, being very weak, and greatly decayed in his natural strength. When he was come from Newcastle by sea to this kingdom, he was in such a weak, worn, and failed condition, as it was evident to all who saw him, that he was not able to frame any such declaration: for he was so spent, that he died within eight days after his arrival; and all that he was able to speak in that time, did clearly shew his judgment of, and affection to, the work of reformation, and cause of God, to be every way the same then that it was in the beginning and progress thereof; as divers reverend brethren, who visited him, have declared to this assembly, and particularly two brethren who constantly attended him from the time he came home till his breath expired. A farther testimony may be brought from a short confession of faith under his hand, found amongst his papers, which is expressed as his last words, wherein, among other mercies, he declareth himself most of all obliged to the care and goodness of God, for calling him to believe the promises of the gospel, and for exalting him to be a preacher of them to others; and to be a willing, though a weak instrument in this great and wonderful work of reformation, which he earnestly beseeched the Lord to bring to a happy conclusion. Other reasons may be added from the levity of the style, and manifest absurdities contained in that paper. Upon consideration of all which, this assembly doth condemn the said pamphlet as forged, scandalous, and false. And farther declare the author and contriver of the same, to be void of charity and a good conscience, and a gross liar and calumniator, led by the spirit of the accuser of the brethren.

August 7, 1648. Ante meridiem. Sess. 31.

No. XI.

A Confession of Faith of Seven Congregations, or Churches of Christ in London, which are commonly, but unjustly, called Anabaptists; published for the Vindication of the Truth, and Information of the Ignorant: likewise for the taking off those Aspersion, which are frequently, both in Pulpit and Print, unjustly cast upon them. Printed at London, Anno 1646.

I. THE Lord our God is but one God, whose subsistence is in himself; whose essence cannot be comprehended by any but himself; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; who is in himself most holy, every way infinite, in greatness, wisdom, power, love; merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth: who giveth being, moving, and preservation, to all creatures.*

II. In this divine and infinite Being there is the Father, the Word,

* 1 Cor. viii. 6. Isa. xliv. 6; and xlvi. 9. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Isa. xliii. 15. Psalm cxlvii. 5. Dent. xxxii. 3. Job xxxvi. 5. Jer. x. 12. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Acts xvii. 28. Rom. xi. 36.

and the Holy Spirit; each having the whole divine essence, yet the essence undivided; all infinite without any beginning, therefore but one God; who is not to be divided in nature and being, but distinguished by several peculiar relative properties*.

III. God hath decreed in himself, before the world was, concerning all things, whether necessary, accidental, or voluntary, with all the circumstances of them, to work, dispose, and bring about, all things according to the counsel of his own will, to his glory (yet without being the author of sin, or having fellowship with any therein): in which appears his wisdom in disposing all things, unchangeableness, power, and faithfulness in accomplishing his decree: and God hath, before the foundation of the world, fore-ordained some men to eternal life, through Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of his grace: leaving the rest in their sin, to their just condemnation, to the praise of his justice †.

IV. In the beginning God made all things very good: created man after his own image, filled with all meet perfection of nature, and free from all sin: but long he abode not in this honour; Satan using the subtlety of the serpent to seduce first Eve, then by her seducing Adam; who, without any compulsion, in eating the forbidden fruit, transgressed the command of God, and fell, whereby death came upon all his posterity: who now are conceived in sin, and by nature the children of wrath, the servants of sin, the subjects of death, and other miseries in this world, and for ever, unless the Lord Jesus Christ set them free ‡.

V. God, in his infinite power and wisdom, doth dispose all things to the end for which they were created; that neither good nor evil befalls any by chance, or without his providence; and that whatsoever befalls the elect, is by his appointment, for his glory, and their good §.

VI. All the elect, being loved of God with an everlasting love, are redeemed, quickened, and saved, not by themselves, nor their own works, lest any man should boast, but only and wholly by God, of his free grace and mercy, through Jesus Christ, who is made unto us by God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and all in all, that he that rejoiceth might rejoice in the Lord ||.

VII. And this is life eternal, that we might know him the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. And on the contrary, the Lord will render vengeance, in flaming fire, to them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ ¶.

VIII. The rule of this knowledge, faith, and obedience, concerning the worship of God, in which is contained the whole duty of man, is

* 1 Cor. i. 3. John i. 1; and xv. 26. Exod. iii. 14. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

† Isa. xlvi. 10. Eph. i. 11. Rom. xi. 33. Psalm. lxxiii. 15; cxv. 3; cxxxv. 6; and cxliv. 1 Sam. x. 9. 26. Prov. xvi. 4. 33; and xxi. 6. Exod. xxi. 13. Isa. xlv. 7. Matt. vi. 28. 30. Col. i. 16, 17. Numb. xxiii. 19, 20. Rom. iii. 4. Jer. x. 10; xiv. 22. Eph. i. 4, 5. Jude 4. 6.

‡ Gen. i. 1; and iii. 1. 4, 5. Col. i. 16. Isa. xlv. 12. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 46. Eccles. vii. 29. 2 Cor. xi. 3. 1 Tim. ii. 14. Gal. iii. 22. Rom. v. 12; vi. 22; and xviii. 19. Eph. ii. 3.

§ Job xxxviii. 11. Isa. xlvi. 10, 11. Eccles. iii. 14. Mark x. 29, 30. Exod. xxi. 13. Prov. xvi. 33. Rom. viii. 28.

|| Jer. xxiii. 6; and xxxi. 2. Eph. i. 3. 7; and ii. 8, 9. 1 Thess. v. 9. Acts xiii. 38. 2 Cor. v. 21. Jer. xi. 23, 24. 1 Cor. i. 30, 31.

¶ John vi. 36; and xvii. 3. Heb. v. 9. 1 Thess. i. 8.

(not men's laws, or unwritten traditions, but) only the word of God contained in the Holy Scriptures; in which is plainly recorded whatsoever is needful for us to know, believe, and practise; which are the only rule of holiness and obedience for all saints, at all times, in all places, to be observed*.

IX. The Lord Jesus Christ, of whom Moses and the prophets wrote, the apostles preached, he is the Son of God, the brightness of his glory, &c. by whom he made the world; who upholdeth and governeth all things that he hath made; who also, when the fulness of time was come, was made of a woman, of the tribe of Judah, of the seed of Abraham and David; to wit, of the Virgin Mary, the Holy Spirit coming down upon her, the power of the Most High overshadowing her; and he was also tempted as we are, yet without sin†.

X. Jesus Christ is made the mediator of the new and everlasting covenant of grace between God and man, ever to be perfectly and fully the prophet, priest, and king, of the church of God for evermore‡.

XI. Unto this office he was appointed by God from everlasting; and in respect of his manhood, from the womb called, separated, and anointed, most fully and abundantly with all gifts necessary, God having without measure poured out his Spirit upon him§.

XII. Concerning his mediatorship, the Scripture holds forth Christ's call to his office; for none takes this honour upon him, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron, it being an action of God, whereby a special promise being made, he ordains his Son to this office; which promise is, that Christ should be made a sacrifice for sin; that he should see his seed, and prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand; all of mere free and absolute grace towards God's elect, and without any condition foreseen in them to procure it||.

XIII. This office to be mediator, that is, to be prophet, priest, and king, of the church of God, is so proper to Christ, that neither in whole, or any part thereof, it can be transferred from him to any other ¶.

XIV. This office, to which Christ is called, is threefold; a prophet, priest, and king: this number and order of offices is necessary, for in respect of our ignorance, we stand in need of his prophetic office; and in respect of our great alienation from God, we need his priestly office to reconcile us; and in respect of our averseness and utter inability to return to God, we need his kingly office, to convince, subdue, draw, uphold, and preserve, us to his heavenly kingdom**.

XV. Concerning the prophecy of Christ, it is that whereby he hath revealed the will of God, whatsoever is needful for his servants to know

* Col. ii. 23. Matt. xv. 9. 6. John v. 39. 2 Tim. iii. 15—17. Isa. viii. 20. Gal. i. 8, 9. Acts iii. 22, 23.

† Gen. iii. 15; xxii. 18; and xlix. 9, 10. Dan. vii. 13; and ix. 24, &c. Prov. viii. 23. John i. 1—3. Heb. i. 8; ii. 16; iv. 15; and vii. 14. Gal. iv. 4. Rev. v. 1. Rom. i. 3; and ix. 10. Matt. i. 16. Luke iii. 23, 26. Isa. liii. 3—5.

‡ 1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. ix. 15. John xiv. 6. Isa. ix. 6, 7.

§ Prov. viii. 23. Isa. xi. 2—5; xliii. 6; xlix. 15; and lxi. 1, 2. Luke iv. 17, 22. John i. 14, 26; and iii. 34.

|| Heb. v. 4—6. Isa. lii. 10, 11. John iii. 16. Rom. viii. 32.

¶ 1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. vii. 24. Dan. vii. 14. Acts iv. 12. Luke i. 33. John xiv. 6.

** Deut. viii. 15. Acts iii. 22, 23; and xxvi. 18. Heb. iii. 3; and iv. 14, 15. Psalm ii. 6. 2 Cor. v. 20. Col. i. 21. John xvi. 8. Psalm cx. 3. Cant. i. 3, John vi. 44. Phil. iv. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

and obey ; and therefore he is called not only a prophet and doctor, and the apostle of our profession, and the angel of the covenant, but also the very wisdom of God, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, who for ever continueth revealing the same truth of the gospel to his people*.

XVI. That he might be a prophet every way complete, it was necessary he should be God, and also that he should be man : for unless he had been God, he could never have perfectly understood the will of God ; and unless he had been man, he could not suitably have unfolded it in his own person to men†.

That Jesus Christ is God, is wonderfully clearly expressed in the Scriptures. He is called the mighty God, Isa. ix. 6. That Word was God, John i. 1. Christ, who is God over all, Rom. ix. 5. God manifested in the flesh, 1 Tim. iii. 16. The same is very God, John v. 20. He is the first, Rev. i. 8. He gives being to all things, and without him was nothing made, John i. 2. He forgiveth sins, Matt. ix. 6. He is before Abraham, John viii. 58. He was, and is, and ever will be the same, Heb. xiii. 8. He is always with his to the end of the world, Matt. xxviii. 20. Which could not be said of Jesus Christ, if he were not God. And to the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, Heb. i. 8. John i. 18.

Also, Christ is not only perfectly God, but perfect man, made of a woman, Gal. iv. 4. Made of the seed of David, Rom. i. 3. Coming out of the loins of David, Acts ii. 30. Of Jesse and Judah, Acts xiii. 23. In that the children were partakers of flesh and blood, he himself likewise took part with them, Heb. ii. 14. He took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, ver. 16. So that we are bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, Eph. v. 30. So that he that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one, Heb. ii. 11. See Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

XVII. Concerning his priesthood, Christ, having sanctified himself, hath appeared once to put away sin by that one offering of himself a sacrifice for sin, by which he hath fully finished and suffered all things. God required for the salvation of his elect, and removed all rites and shadows, &c. and is now entered within the veil into the holy of holies, which is the presence of God. Also, he makes his people a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifice acceptable to God through him. Neither doth the Father accept, or Christ offer to the Father, any other worship or worshippers ‡.

XVIII. This priesthood was not legal or temporary, but according to the order of Melchisedeck, and is stable and perfect, not for a time, but for ever, which is suitable to Jesus Christ, as to him that ever liveth. Christ was the priest, sacrifice, and altar ; he was a priest according to both natures ; he was a sacrifice according to his human nature ; whence in Scripture it is attributed to his body, to his blood ; yet the effectualness of this sacrifice did depend upon his divine nature ; therefore it is called the blood of God. He was the altar according to his divine nature, it belonging to the altar to sanctify that

* John i. 18 ; xii. 49, 50 ; and xvii. 8. Matt. xxiii. 10. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. iii. 1. Gal. iii. 1. 1 Cor. i. 24. Col. ii. 3. Mal. iii. 2.

† John i. 18. Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15. Heb. i. 1.

‡ John xvii. 19. Heb. v. 7—10. 12. Rom. v. 19. Eph. v. 2. Col. i. 20. Eph. ii. 14, &c. Rom. viii. 34. Heb. viii. 1 ; and ix. 24. 1 Pet. ii. 5. John iv. 23, 24.

which is offered upon it, and so it ought to be of greater dignity than the sacrifice itself*.

XIX. Concerning his kingly office, Christ being risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and having all power in heaven and earth, he doth spiritually govern his church, and doth exercise his power over all, angels and men, good and bad, to the preservation and salvation of the elect, and to the overruling and destruction of his enemies. By this kingly power he applieth the benefits, virtue, and fruits, of his prophecy and priesthood to his elect, subduing their sins, preserving and strengthening them in all their conflicts against Satan, the world, and the flesh, keeping their hearts in faith and filial fear by his Spirit: by this his mighty power he ruleth the vessels of wrath, using, limiting, and restraining them, as it seems good to his infinite wisdom†.

XX. This his kingly power shall be more fully manifested when he shall come in glory to reign among his saints, when he shall put down all rule and authority under his feet, that the glory of the Father may be perfectly manifested in his Son, and the glory of the Father and the Son in all his members‡.

XXI. Jesus Christ by his death did purchase salvation for the elect that God gave unto him; these only have interest in him, and fellowship with him, for whom he makes intercession to his Father in their behalf, and to them alone doth God by his Spirit apply this redemption; as also the free gift of eternal life is given to them, and none else§.

XXII. Faith is the gift of God, wrought in the hearts of the elect by the Spirit of God; by which faith they come to know and believe the truth of the Scriptures, and the excellency of them above all other writings, and all things in the world, as they hold forth the glory of God in his attributes, the excellency of Christ in his nature and offices, and of the power and fulness of the Spirit in his workings and operations; and so are enabled to cast their souls upon this truth thus believed||.

XXIII. All those that have this precious faith wrought in them by the Spirit, can never finally nor totally fall away; seeing the gifts of God are without repentance; so that he still begets and nourisheth in them faith, repentance, love, joy, hope, and all the graces of the Spirit, unto immortality; and though many storms and floods arise, and beat against them, yet they shall never be able to take them off that foundation and rock, which by faith they are fastened upon; notwithstanding, through unbelief, and the temptations of Satan, the sensible sight of this light and love be clouded and overwhelmed for a time; yet God is still the same, and they shall be sure to be kept by the

* Heb. v. 6; vii. 16, &c.; ix. 13, 14; x. 10; and xiii. 10. 12. 15. 1 Pet. i. 18, 19. Col. i. 20. 22. Acts xx. 28. Matt. xxiii. 17. John xvii. 19.

† 1 Cor. xv. 4. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. Luke xxiv. 51. Acts i. 1; and v. 30, 31. John v. 26, 27; xix. 36; and xvi. 15. Rom. i. 21; v. 6—8; xiv. 9. 17; and xvii. 18. Gal. v. 22, 23. Mark i. 27. Heb. i. 14. Job ii. 8; and xvii. 18. Eph. iv. 17, 18. 2 Pet. ii.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 24. 28. Heb. ix. 28. 1 Thess. iv. 15—17. 2 Thess. i. 9, 10. John xii. 21, 26.

§ Eph. i. 14. Heb. v. 19; and vii. 25. Matt. i. 21. John xvii. 6. 1 Cor. ii. 12. Rom. viii. 29, 30. 1 John v. 12. John xv. 13; and iii. 16.

|| Eph. ii. 8. John ix. 10; vi. 29. 63; and xvii. 17. Phil. i. 29. Gal. v. Heb. iv. 11, 12.

power of God unto salvation, where they shall enjoy their purchased possession, they being engraved upon the palms of his hands, and their names having been written in the book of life from all eternity*.

XXIV. Faith is ordinarily begotten by the preaching of the gospel, or word of Christ, without respect to any power or agency in the creature; but it being wholly passive, and dead in trespasses and sins, doth believe and is converted by no less power than that which raised Christ from the dead†.

XXV. The preaching of the gospel to the conversion of sinners, is absolutely free; no way requiring, as absolutely necessary, any qualifications, preparations, or terrors of the law, or preceding ministry of the law, but only and alone the naked soul, a sinner, and ungodly, to receive Christ crucified, dead, and buried, and risen again; who is made a prince and saviour for such sinners as through the gospel shall be brought to believe on him‡.

XXVI. The same power that converts to faith in Christ, carrieth on the soul through all duties, temptations, conflicts, sufferings; and whatsoever a believer is, he is by grace, and is carried on in all obedience and temptations by the same§.

XXVII. All believers are by Christ united to God; by which union God is one with them, and they are one with him; and that all believers are the sons of God, and joint heirs with Christ, to whom belong all the promises of this life, and that which is to come||.

XXVIII. Those that have union with Christ, are justified from all their sins by the blood of Christ, which justification is a gracious and full acquittance of a guilty sinner from all sin, by God, through the satisfaction that Christ hath made by his death for all their sins, and this applied (in the manifestation of it) through faith¶.

XXIX. All believers are a holy and sanctified people, and that sanctification is a spiritual grace of the new covenant, and an effect of the love of God manifested in the soul, whereby the believer presseth after a heavenly and evangelical obedience to all the commands which Christ, as head and king in his new covenant, hath prescribed to them**.

XXX. All believers, through the knowledge of that justification of life given by the Father, and brought forth by the blood of Christ, have, as their great privilege of that new covenant, peace with God, and reconciliation, whereby they that were afar off are made nigh by that blood, and have peace passing all understanding; yea, joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the atonement ††.

* Matt. vii. 24, 25. John xiii. 10; and x. 28, 29. 1 Pet. i. 4—6. Isa. xlix. 13—16.

† Rom. x. 17. 1 Cor. i. 28. Rom. i. 16; iii. 12; and ix. 16. Ezek. xvi. 16. Eph. i. 19. Col. ii. 12.

‡ John i. 12; and iii. 14, 15. Isa. lv. 1. John vii. 37. 1 Tim. i. 15. Rom. iv. 5; and v. 8. Acts v. 30, 31; and ii. 36. 1 Cor. i. 22, 24.

§ 1 Pet. i. 5. 1 Cor. xv. 10. 2 Cor. xii. 9. Phil. ii. 12, 13. John xv. 5. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

|| 1 Thess. i. 1. John xvii. 21; and xx. 17. Heb. ii. 11. 1 John iv. 16. Gal. ii. 19, 20.

¶ 1 John i. 7. Heb. x. 14; and ix. 26. 2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. iii. 23, 25, 30; and v. 1. Acts xiii. 38, 39.

** 1 Cor. xii. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Eph. i. 4. 1 John iv. 16. Matt. xxviii. 20.

†† 2 Cor. v. 19. Rom. v. 9, 10. Isa. xx; and liv. 10. Eph. ii. 13, 14; and iv. 7. Rom. v. 10, 11.

XXXI. All believers, in the time of this life, are in a continual warfare and combat against sin, self, the world, and the devil; and are liable to all manner of afflictions, tribulations, and persecutions, being predestinated and appointed thereunto; and whatsoever the saints possess or enjoy of God spiritually, is by faith; and outward and temporal things are lawfully enjoyed by a civil right by them who have no faith*.

XXXII. The only strength by which the saints are enabled to encounter with all oppositions and trials is, only by Jesus Christ, who is the captain of their salvation, being made perfect through sufferings; who hath engaged his faithfulness and strength to assist them in all their afflictions, and to uphold them in all their temptations, and to preserve them by his power to his everlasting kingdom †.

XXXIII. Jesus Christ hath here on earth a spiritual kingdom, which is his church, whom he hath purchased and redeemed to himself as a peculiar inheritance; which church is a company of visible saints, called and separated from the world by the word and Spirit of God, to the visible profession of the faith of the gospel, being baptized into that faith, and joined to the Lord, and each to other, by mutual agreement in the practical enjoyment of the ordinances commanded by Christ their head and king ‡.

XXXIV. To this church he hath made his promises, and giveth the signs of his covenant, presence, acceptation, love, blessing, and protection. Here are the fountains and springs of his heavenly graces flowing forth to refresh and strengthen them §.

XXXV. And all his servants of all estates are to acknowledge him to be their prophet, priest, and king; and called thither to be enrolled among his household servants, to present their bodies and souls, and to bring their gifts God hath given them, to be under his heavenly conduct and government, to lead their lives in this walled sheepfold, and watered garden, to have communion here with his saints, that they may be assured that they are made meet to be partakers of their inheritance in the kingdom of God; and to supply each other's wants, inward and outward (and although each person hath a property in his own estate, yet they are to supply each other's wants, according as their necessities shall require, that the name of Jesus Christ may not be blasphemed through the necessity of any in the Church); and also being come, they are here by himself to be bestowed in their several order, due place, peculiar use, being fitly compact and knit together, according to the effectual working of every part, to the edifying of itself in love ||.

XXXVI. Being thus joined, every church hath power given them from Christ, for their well-being to choose among themselves meet persons for elders and deacons, being qualified according to the word, as those which Christ hath appointed in his Testament, for the feeding,

* Rom. vii. 23, 24; and viii. 29. Eph. vi. 10, 11, &c. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iii. 13. 1 Thess. iii. 3. Gal. ii. 19, 20. 2 Cor. v. 7. Deut. ii. 5.

† John xv. 5; and xvi. 33. Phil. iv. 11. Heb. ii. 9, 10. 2 Tim. iv. 18.

‡ Matt. xi. 11; xviii. 19, 20. 2 Thess. i. 1. 1 Cor. i. 2. Eph. i. 1. Rom. i. 7. Acts xix. 8, 9; and xxvi. 18. 2 Cor. vi. 17. Rev. xviii. 4. Acts ii. 37. 42; ix. 26; and x. 37. Rom. x. 10. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

§ Matt. xxviii. 18, &c. 1 Cor. iii. 21; and xi. 24. 2 Cor. vi. 18. Rom. ix. 4, 5. Psalm cxxxiii. 3. Rom. iii. 7, 10. Ezek. xlvii. 2.

|| Acts ii. 41, 44, 45, 47. Isa. iv. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 6, 7, &c. Ezek. xx. 37, 40. Cant. iv. 12. Eph. ii. 19. Rom. xii. 4—6. Col. i. 12; and ii. 5, 6, 19. Acts iv. 34, 35; v. 4; and xx. 32. Luke xiv. 26. 1 Tim. vi. 1. Eph. iv. 16.

governing, serving, and building up, of his church: and that none have any power to impose on them either these or any other*.

XXXVII. That the ministers lawfully called, as aforesaid, ought to continue in their calling and place, according to God's ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of God committed to them, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind †.

XXXVIII. The ministers of Christ ought to have whatsoever they shall need, supplied freely by the church, that, according to Christ's ordinances, they that preach the gospel should live of the gospel by the law of Christ ‡.

XXXIX. Baptism is an ordinance of the New Testament, given by Christ, to be dispensed upon persons professing faith, or that are made disciples; who, upon profession of faith, ought to be baptized, and after to partake of the Lord's supper §.

XL. That the way and manner of the dispensing this ordinance, is dipping or plunging the body under water; it being a sign, must answer the things signified, which is, that interest the saints have in the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ: and that as certainly as the body is buried under water, and risen again; so certainly shall the bodies of the saints be raised by the power of Christ, in the day of the resurrection, to reign with Christ ||.

The word *baptizo* signifies to dip or plunge (yet so as convenient garments be both upon the administrator and subject with all modesty.)

XLI. The person designed by Christ to dispense baptism, the Scripture holds forth to be a disciple; it being no where tied to a particular church-officer, or person extraordinarily sent, the commission enjoining the administration being given to them as considered disciples, being men able to preach the gospel ¶.

XLII. Christ hath likewise given power to his church to receive in, and cast out, any member that deserves it; and this power is given to every congregation, and not to one particular person, either member or officer, but in relation to the whole body, in reference to their faith and fellowship**.

XLIII. And every particular member of each church, how excellent, great, or learned soever, is subject to this censure and judgment; and that the church ought not, without great care and tenderness, and due advice, but by the rule of faith, to proceed against her members ††.

XLIV. Christ, for the keeping of this church in holy and orderly communion, placeth some special men over the church; who, by their office, are to govern, oversee, visit, watch; so likewise for the better

* Acts i. 23. 26; vi. 3; and xv. 22. 25. Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Tim. iii. 2. 6, 7. 1 Cor. xii. 8. 23. Heb. xiii. 7. 17. 1 Pet. v. 1—3; and iv. 15.

† Heb. v. 4. John x. 3, 4. Acts xx. 28, 29. Rom. xii. 7, 8. Heb. xiii. 7. 17. 1 Pet. v. 1—3.

‡ 1 Cor. ix. 7. 14. Gal. vi. 8. Phil. iv. 15, 16. 2 Cor. x. 4. 1 Tim. i. 2. Psalm cx. 3.

§ Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. John iv. 1. Mark xvi. 15, 16. Acts ii. 37, 38; and viii. 36, 37, &c.

|| Matt. iii. 6. 16. Mark xv. 9, reads [into Jordan] in Greek. John iii. 23. Acts viii. 33. Rev. i. 5; and vii. 14. Heb. x. 22. Rom. vi. 3—6. 1 Cor. xv. 28, 29.

¶ Isa. viii. 16. Eph. ii. 7. Matt. xxviii. 19. John iv. 2. Acts xx. 7; and xi. 10. 1 Cor. xi. 2; and x. 16, 17. Rom. xvi. 2. Matt. xviii. 17.

** Rom. xvi. 2. Matt. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4. 11. 13; xii. 6; and ii. 3. 2 Cor. ii. 6, 7.

†† Matt. xviii. 16; and xvii. 18. Acts xi. 2, 3. 1 Tim. v. 19, &c. Col. iv. 17. Acts xv. 1—3.

keeping thereof, in all places by the members, he hath given authority, and laid duty upon all to watch over one another*.

XLV. Also such, to whom God hath given gifts in the church, may and ought to prophesy, according to the proportion of faith, and so to teach publicly the word of God, for the edification, exhortation, and comfort, of the church.

XLVI. Thus, being rightly gathered, and continuing in the obedience of the gospel of Christ, none are to separate for faults and corruptions, (for as long as the church consists of men subject to failings, there will be difference in the true constituted church) until they have in due order and tenderness sought redress thereof †.

XLVII. And although the particular congregations be distinct, and several bodies, every one as a compact and knit city within itself: yet are they all to walk by one rule of truth: so also they (by all means convenient) are to have the counsel and help one of another, if necessity require it, as members of one body, in the common faith, under Christ, their head §.

XLVIII. A civil magistracy is an ordinance of God, set up by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well; and that in all lawful things, commanded by them, subjection ought to be given by us in the Lord, not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake; and that we are to make supplications and prayers for kings, and all that are in authority, that under them we may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty ||.

The supreme magistracy of this kingdom we acknowledge to be the king and parliament (now established) freely chosen by the kingdom, and that we are to maintain and defend all civil laws and civil officers made by them, which are for the good of the commonwealth. And we acknowledge with thankfulness, that God hath made this present king and parliament honourable in throwing down the prelatical hierarchy, because of their tyranny and oppression over us, under which this kingdom long groaned, for which we are ever engaged to bless God, and honour them for the same. And concerning the worship of God; there is but one lawgiver, which is able to save and destroy, James iv. 12, which is Jesus Christ, who hath given laws and rules sufficient in his word for his worship; and for any to make more, were to charge Christ with want of wisdom, or faithfulness, or both, in not making laws enough, or not good enough for his house: surely it is our wisdom, duty, and privilege, to observe Christ's laws only, Psalm ii. 6. 9, 10. 12. So it is the magistrates' duty to tender the liberty of men's consciences. Eccles. viii. 8. (which is the tenderest thing to all conscientious men, and most dear unto them, and without which all other liberties will not be worth the naming, much less enjoying), and to protect all under them from all wrong, injury, oppression, and molestation; so it is our duty not to be wanting in any thing which is for their honour and

* Acts xx. 27, 28. Heb. xiii. 17. 24. Matt. xxiv. 45. 1 Thess. v. 2. 14. Jude 3. 20. 11eb. x. 34, 35; and xii. 15.

† 1 Cor. xiv. 3, &c. Rom. xii. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. 1 Cor. xii. 7. 1 Thess. v. 19, &c. ‡ Rev. ii. and iii. Acts xv. 12. 1 Cor. i. 10. Heb. x. 25. Jude 19. Rev. ii. 20, 21. 27. Acts xv. 1, 2. Rom. xiv. 1; and xv. 1—3.

§ 1 Cor. iv. 17; xiv. 33. 36; and xvi. 1. Psalm cxxii. 3. Eph. ii. 12. 19. Rev. xxi. 1 Tim. iii. 15; vi. 13, 14. 1 Cor. iv. 17. Acts xv. 2, 3. Cant. viii. 8, 9. 2 Cor. viii. 1. 4; and xiii. 14.

|| Rom. xiii. 1, 2, &c. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. 1 Tim. ii. 1—3.

comfort, and whatsoever is for the well-being of the commonwealth wherein we live ; it is our duty to do, and we believe it to be our express duty, especially in matters of religion, to be fully persuaded in our minds of the lawfulness of what we do, as knowing whatsoever is not of faith is sin. And as we cannot do any thing contrary to our understandings and consciences, so neither can we forbear the doing of that which our understandings and consciences bind us to do. And if the magistrates should require us to do otherwise, we are to yield our persons in a passive way to their power, as the saints of old have done, James v. 4. And thrice happy shall he be, that shall lose his life for witnessing (though but for the least tittle) of the truth of the Lord Jesus Christ, 1 Pet. v., Gal. v.

XLIX. But in case we find not the magistrate to favour us herein ; yet we dare not suspend our practice, because we believe we ought to go in obedience to Christ, in professing the faith which was once delivered to the saints, which faith is declared in the Holy Scriptures, and this our confession of faith a part of them, and that we are to witness to the truth of the Old and New Testament unto the death, if necessity require, in the midst of all trials and afflictions, as his saints of old have done ; not accounting our goods, lands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, brethren, sisters, yea, and our own lives, dear to us, so we may finish our course with joy ; remembering always, that we ought to obey God rather than men, who will, when we have finished our course, and kept the faith, give us the crown of righteousness ; to whom we must give an account of all our actions, and no man being able to discharge us of the same *.

L. It is lawful for a Christian to be a magistrate or civil officer ; and also it is lawful to take an oath, so it be in truth, and in judgment, and in righteousness, for confirmation of truth, and ending of all strife ; and that by rash and vain oaths the Lord is provoked, and this land mourns †.

LI. We are to give unto all men whatsoever is their due, as their place, age, estate, requires ; and that we defraud no man of any thing, but to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us ‡.

LII. There shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust, and every one shall give an account of himself to God, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad §.

THE CONCLUSION.

Thus we desire to give unto Christ that which is his ; and unto all lawful authority that which is their due ; and to owe nothing to any man but love ; to live quietly and peaceably, as it becometh saints, endeavouring in all things to keep a good conscience, and to do unto every man (of what judgment soever) as we would they should do unto us, that as our practice is, so it may prove us to be a conscionable,

* Acts ii. 40, 41 ; iv. 19 ; v. 28, 29 ; and xx. 23. 1 Thess. iii. 3. Phil. i. 28, 29. Dan. iii. 16, 17 ; and vi. 7. 10, 22, 23. 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. Rom. xii. 1. 8. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. Rev. ii. 20. 2 Tim. iv. 6—8. Rom. xiv. 10, 12. 2 Cor. v. 10. Psal. xlix. 7 ; and 1. 22.

† Acts viii. 38 ; and x. 1. 2. 35. Rom. xvi. 23. Deut. vi. 13. Rom. i. 9. 2 Cor. x. 11. Jer. iv. 2. Heb. vi. 16.

‡ 1 Thess. iv. 6. Rom. xiii. 5—7. Matt. xxii. 21. Titus iii. 1 Pet. ii. 15. 17 ; and v. 5. Eph. v. 21. 23 ; and vi. 1. 9. Titus iii. 1—3.

§ Acts xxiv. 15. 1 Cor. v. 10. Rom. xiv. 12.

quiet, and harmless people (no ways dangerous or troublesome to human society), and to labour and work with our hands, that we may not be chargeable to any, but to give to him that needeth, both friends and enemies, accounting it more excellent to give than to receive. Also we confess, that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we desire and seek to know; and if any shall do us that friendly part, to shew us from the word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and them; but if any man shall impose upon us any thing that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should in his strength rather embrace all reproaches and tortures of men, to be stripped of all outward comforts, and if it were possible, to die a thousand deaths, rather than to do any thing against the least tittle of 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, worship we the God of our fathers, disclaiming all heresies, rightly so called, because they are against Christ, and to be steadfast and immoveable, always abounding in obedience to Christ, as knowing our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord*.

Arise, O God, plead thine own cause; remember how the foolish man blasphemeth thee daily. O let not the oppressed return ashamed, but let the poor and needy praise thy name.

Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.

No. XII.

A CONCISE VIEW OF THE CHIEF PRINCIPLES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, AS PROFESSED BY THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.—
BY ROBERT BARCLAY.

THE FIRST PROPOSITION.

Concerning the true Foundation of Knowledge.

SEEING the height of all happiness is placed in the true knowledge of God, (this is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hath sent †): the true and right understanding of this foundation and ground of knowledge, is that which is most necessary to be known and believed in the first place.

THE SECOND PROPOSITION.

Concerning immediate Revelation.

Seeing no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth him; ‡ and seeing the revelation of the Son is in and by the Spirit; therefore the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be, only revealed; who as, by the moving of his own Spirit, he converted the chaos of this world into that wonderful order wherein it was in the beginning, and created man a living soul, to rule and govern it, so by the revelation of the same Spirit he hath manifested himself all along

* Psalm lxxiv. 21, 22.

† John xvii. 3.

‡ Matt. xi. 27.

unto the sons of men, both patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; which revelations of God by the Spirit, whether by outward voices and appearances, dreams, or inward objective manifestations in the heart, were of old the formal object of their faith, and remain yet so to be; since the object of the saints' faith is the same in all ages, though set forth under divers administrations. Moreover, these divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can contradict the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination either of the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule or touchstone; for this divine revelation, and inward illumination, is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto; even as the common principles of natural truths move and incline the mind to a natural assent; as that the whole is greater than its parts; that two contradictory sayings cannot be both true, nor both false: which is also manifest according to our adversaries' principle; who (supposing the possibility of inward divine revelations) will nevertheless confess with us, that neither Scripture nor sound reason will contradict it: and yet it will not follow, according to them, that the Scripture, or sound reason, should be subjected to the examination of the divine revelations in the heart.

THE THIRD PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Scriptures.

From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints, have proceeded the Scriptures of truth, which contain, 1. A faithful historical account of the actings of God's people in divers ages, with many singular and remarkable providences attending them. 2. A prophetic account of several things, whereof some are already past, and some yet to come. 3. A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Christ, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and sentences, which, by the moving of God's Spirit, were at several times, and upon sundry occasions, spoken and written unto some churches and their pastors: nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the Fountain, and not the Fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners. Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty: for as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify, that the Spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into all truth*; therefore, according to the Scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principal leader. And seeing we do therefore receive and believe the Scriptures, because they proceeded from the Spirit; therefore also the Spirit is more originally and principally the rule, according to that received maxim in the schools, "Propter quod

* John xvi. 13; Rom. viii. 14.

unumquodque est tale, illud ipsum est magis tale." Englished thus :
That for which a thing is such, that thing itself is more such.

THE FOURTH PROPOSITION,

Concerning the Condition of Man in the Fall.

All Adam's posterity (or mankind *), both Jews and Gentiles, as to the first Adam or earthly man, is fallen, degenerated, and dead, deprived of the sensation or feeling of this inward testimony or seed of God ; and is subject unto the power, nature, and seed, of the serpent, which he sows in men's hearts, while they abide in this natural and corrupted state ; from whence it comes, that not their words and deeds only, but all their imaginations, are evil perpetually in the sight of God, as proceeding from this depraved and wicked seed. Man therefore, as he is in this state, can know nothing aright ; yea, his thoughts and conceptions concerning God and things spiritual, until he be disjoined from this evil seed, and united to the divine light, are unprofitable both to himself and others. Hence are rejected, the Socinian and Pelagian errors, in exalting a natural light ; as also those of the Papists, and most Protestants, who affirm, that man, without the true grace of God, may be a true minister of the gospel. Nevertheless, this seed is not imputed to infants, until by transgression they actually join themselves therewith : for " they are by nature the children of wrath, who walk according to the power of the prince of the air †."

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning the Universal Redemption by Christ, and also the Saving and Spiritual Light, wherewith every Man is enlightened.

THE FIFTH PROPOSITION.

God, out of his infinite love, who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but that all should live and be saved, hath so loved the world, that he hath given his only Son a light, that whosoever believeth in him should be saved ; who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, and maketh manifest all things that are reprobable, and teacheth all temperance, righteousness, and godliness ‡ ; and this light enlighteneth the hearts of all in a day §, in order to salvation, if not resisted. Nor is it less universal than the seed of sin, being the purchase of his death, who " tasted death for every man : " " for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive ||."

THE SIXTH PROPOSITION.

According to which principle, or hypothesis, all the objections against the universality of Christ's death are easily solved ; neither is it needful to recur to the ministry of angels, and those other miraculous means, which, they say, God makes use of to manifest the doctrine and history of Christ's passion unto such who (living in those places of

* Rom. v. 12. 15.

† Eph. ii. 1.

‡ Ezek. xviii. 23. Isa. xlix. 6. John iii. 16 ; and i. 9. Titus ii. 11. Eph. v. 13. Heb. ii. 9.

§ *Pro tempore*, for a time.

|| 1 Cor. xv. 22.

the world where the outward preaching of the gospel is unknown) have well improved the first and common grace: for hence it well follows, that as some of the old philosophers might have been saved, so also may now some (who by providence are cast into those remote parts of the world, where the knowledge of the history is wanting) be made partakers of the divine mercy, if they receive and resist not that grace, a manifestation whereof is given to every man to profit withal*. This certain doctrine then being received, to wit, that there is an evangelical and saving light and grace in all, the universality of the love and mercy of God towards mankind, both in the death of his beloved Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the manifestation of the light in the heart, is established and confirmed, against all the objections of such as deny it. Therefore Christ "hath tasted death for every man †;" not only for all kinds of men, as some vainly talk, but for every one, of all kinds; the benefit of whose offering is not only extended to such who have the distinct outward knowledge of his death and sufferings, as the same is declared in the Scriptures, but even unto those who are necessarily excluded from the benefit of this knowledge by some inevitable accident; which knowledge we willingly confess to be very profitable and comfortable, but not absolutely needful unto such, from whom God himself hath withheld it: yet they may be made partakers of the mystery of his death, though ignorant of the history, if they suffer his seed and light, enlightening their hearts, to take place, in which light, communion with the Father and Son is enjoyed, so as of wicked men to become holy, and lovers of that power, by whose inward and secret touches they feel themselves turned from the evil to the good, and learn to do to others as they would be done by; in which Christ himself affirms all to be included. As they then have falsely and erroneously taught, who have denied Christ to have died for all men; so neither have they sufficiently taught the truth, who, affirming him to have died for all, have added the absolute necessity of the outward knowledge thereof, in order to the obtaining its saving effect: among whom the remonstrants of Holland have been chiefly wanting, and many other assertors of universal redemption, in that they have not placed the extent of this salvation in that divine and evangelical principle of light and life, wherewith Christ hath enlightened every man that comes into the world; which is excellently and evidently held forth in these scriptures: Gen. vi. 3. Deut. xxx. 14. John i. 7—9. Rom. x. 8. Tit. ii. 11.

THE SEVENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Justification.

As many as resist not this light, but receive the same, in them is produced a holy, pure, and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all those other blessed fruits which are acceptable to God, by which holy birth (to wit, Jesus Christ formed within us, and working his works within us), as we are sanctified, so are we justified in the sight of God, according to the apostle's words: "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the

* I Cor. xii. 7.

† Heb. ii. 9.

name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God*." Therefore it is not by our works wrought in our will, nor yet by good works, considered as of themselves, but by Christ, who is both the gift and the giver, and the cause producing the effects in us: who, as he hath reconciled us while we were enemies, doth also in his wisdom save us, and justify us after this manner, as saith the same apostle elsewhere, "According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost †."

THE EIGHTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Perfection.

In whom this holy and pure birth is fully brought forth, the body of death and sin comes to be crucified and removed, and their hearts united and subjected to the truth, so as not to obey any suggestion or temptation of the evil one, but to be free from actual sinning, and transgressing of the law of God, and in that respect perfect ‡. Yet doth this perfection still admit of a growth; and there remaineth a possibility of sinning, where the mind doth not most diligently and watchfully attend unto the Lord.

THE NINTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Perseverance, and the Possibility of falling from Grace.

Although this gift, and inward grace of God, be sufficient to work out salvation; yet in those in whom it is resisted, it both may and doth become their condemnation. Moreover, in whom it hath wrought in part, to purify and sanctify them, in order to their farther perfection, by disobedience such may fall from it, and turn it to wantonness, making shipwreck of faith; and after having tasted of the heavenly gift, and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, again fall away §. Yet such an increase and stability in the truth may in this life be attained, from which there cannot be a total apostacy.

THE TENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Ministry.

As by this gift, or light of God, all true knowledge in things spiritual is received and revealed; so by the same, as it is manifested and received in the heart, by the strength and power thereof, every true minister of the gospel is ordained, prepared, and supplied, in the work of the ministry: and by the leading, moving, and drawing, hereof, ought every evangelist and Christian pastor to be led and ordered in his labour and work of the gospel, both as to the place where, as to the persons to whom, and as to the times when, he is to minister. Moreover, those who have this authority may and ought to preach the gospel, though without human commission or literature, as, on the other hand, those who want the authority of this divine gift, however learned or authorized by the commissions of men and churches,

* 1 Cor. vi. 11.

† Tit. iii. 5.

‡ Rom. vi. 2. 14. 18; and viii. 13. 1 John iii. 6.

§ Tim. i. 6. Heb. vi. 4-6.

are to be esteemed but as deceivers, and not true ministers of the gospel. Also, who have received this holy and unspotted gift, as they have freely received, so are they freely to give *, without hire or bargaining, far less to use it as a trade to get money by it: yet if God hath called any from their employments or trades, by which they acquire their livelihood, it may be lawful for such, according to the liberty which they feel given them in the Lord, to receive such temporals, to wit, what may be needful to them for meat and clothing, as are freely given them by those to whom they have communicated spirituals.

THE ELEVENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Worship.

All true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, or persons: for though we be to worship him always, in that we are to fear before him; yet as to the outward signification thereof in prayers, praises, and preachings, we ought not to do it where and when we will, but where and when we are moved thereunto by the secret inspirations of his Spirit in our hearts; which God heareth and accepteth of, and is never wanting to move us thereunto, when need is, of which he himself is the alone proper judge. All other worship then, both praises, prayers, and preachings, which man sets about in his own will, and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone as himself sees meet; whether they be a prescribed form, as a liturgy, or prayers conceived extemporarily, by the natural strength and faculty of the mind; they are all but superstitions, will-worship, and abominable idolatry, in the sight of God †; which are to be denied, rejected, and separated from, in this day of his spiritual arising; however it might have pleased him, who winked at the times of ignorance, with respect to the simplicity and integrity of some, and of his own innocent seed, which lay as it were buried in the hearts of men, under the mass of superstition, to blow upon the dead and dry bones, and to raise some breathings, and answer them, and that until the day should more clearly dawn and break forth.

THE TWELFTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Baptism.

As there is one Lord and one faith, so there is one baptism; which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ †. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the Spirit and fire, by which we are buried with him, that being washed and purged from our sins, we may walk in newness of life §; of which

* Matt. x. 8.

† Ezek. xiii. Mark x. 20. Acts ii. 4; and xviii. 5. John iii. 6; and iv. 21. Jude 19. Acts xvii. 23.

‡ Eph. iv. 5. 1 Pet. iii. 21. Rom vi. 4. Gal. iii. 27. Col. ii. 12. John iii. 30. § 1 Cor. i. 17.

the baptism of John was a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever. As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the Scripture.

THE THIRTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ.

The communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual *, which is the participation of his flesh and blood †, by which the inward man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells; of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which they even used in the church for a time, who had received the substance, for the cause of the weak; even as abstaining from things strangled, and from blood, the washing one another's feet, and the anointing of the sick with oil ‡; all which are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are but the shadows of better things, they cease in such as have obtained the substance.

THE FOURTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in Matters purely religious, and pertaining to the Conscience.

Since God hath assumed to himself the power and dominion of the conscience, who alone can rightly instruct and govern it, therefore it is not lawful for any whatsoever, by virtue of any authority or principality they bear in the government of this world, to force the consciences of others §; and therefore all killing, banishing, fining, imprisoning, and other such things, which men are afflicted with, for the alone exercise of their conscience, or difference in worship or opinion, proceedeth from the spirit of Cain the murderer, and is contrary to the truth: provided always, that no man, under the pretence of conscience, prejudice his neighbour in his life or estate; or do any thing destructive to, or inconsistent with, human society; in which case the law is for the transgressor, and justice to be administered upon all, without respect of persons.

THE FIFTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Salutations and Recreations, &c.

Seeing the chief end of all religion is to redeem man from the spirit and vain conversation of this world, and to lead into inward communion with God ||, before whom if we fear always, we are accounted happy; therefore all the vain customs and habits thereof, both in word and deed, are to be rejected and forsaken by those who come to this fear;

* 1 Cor. x. 16, 17.

† John vi. 32, 33. 35. 1 Cor. v. 8.

‡ Acts xv. 20. John xiii. 14. James v. 14.

§ Luke ix. 55, 56. Matt. vii. 12, 29. Titus iii. 10.

|| Eph. v. 11. 1 Pet. i. 14. John v. 44. Jer. x. 3. Acts x. 26. Matt. xv. 13. Col. ii. 8.

such as the taking off the hat to a man, the bowings and cringings of the body, and such other salutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them; all which man has invented in his degenerate state, to feed his pride in the vain pomp and glory of this world; as also the unprofitable plays, frivolous recreations, sportings and gamings, which are invented to pass away the precious time, and divert the mind from the witness of God in the heart, and from the living sense of his fear, and from that evangelical spirit wherewith Christians ought to be leavened, and which leads into sobriety, gravity, and godly fear; in which as we abide, the blessing of the Lord is felt to attend us in those actions in which we are necessarily engaged, in order to the taking care for the sustenance of the outward man.

No. XIII.

The toleration act, entitled, "An act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws."

FORASMUCH as some ease to scrupulous consciences, in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite their majesties' Protestant subjects in interest and affection*.

I. Be it enacted by the king and queen's most excellent majesties, and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that neither the statute made in the twenty-third year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth †, entitled, "An act to retain the queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience;" nor that statute made in the twenty-ninth year of the said queen ‡, entitled, "An act for the more speedy and due execution of certain branches of the statute, made in the twenty-third year of the queen's majesty's reign," viz. the aforesaid acts; nor that branch or clause of a statute made in the first year of the reign of the said queen, entitled, "An act for the uniformity of common-prayer and service in the church and administration of the sacraments §;" whereby all persons, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, are required to resort to their parish-church or chapel, or some usual place where the common-prayer shall be used, upon pain of punishment by the censures of the church; and also, upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offence twelve-pence. Nor that statute made in the third year of the late king James the First ||, entitled, "An act for the better discovering and repressing Popish recusants." Nor that after statute made in the same year ¶, entitled, "An act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by Popish recusants." Nor any other law or statute of this realm made against Papists or Popish recusants, except the statute made in the twenty-fifth year of king Charles II.** entitled, "An act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants." And except also the statute made in the thirtieth year of the

* 1 Will and Mary, cap. 18.

† 23 Eliz. cap. 1.

|| 3 Jac. I. cap. 4.

‡ 29 Eliz. cap. 6.

¶ Ibid. cap. 5.

§ Ibid. cap. 2.

** 25 Car. II. cap. 2.

reign of the said king Charles II.* entitled, "An act for the more effectual preserving the king's person and government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either house of parliament," shall be construed to extend to any person or persons dissenting from the church of England, that shall take the oaths mentioned in a statute made this present parliament, entitled, "An act for removing and preventing all questions and disputes concerning the assembling and sitting of the present parliament," shall make and subscribe the declaration mentioned in a statute made in the thirtieth year of the reign of king Charles II.† entitled, "An act to prevent Papists from sitting in either house of parliament." Which oaths and declaration the justices of peace, at the general sessions of the peace to be held for the county or place where such person shall live, are hereby required to tender and administer to such persons as shall offer themselves to take, make, and subscribe, the same, and thereof to keep a register. And likewise none of the persons aforesaid shall give or pay, as any fee or reward, to any officer or officers belonging to the court aforesaid, above the sum of six-pence, nor that more than once, for his or their entry of his taking the said oaths, and making and subscribing the said declaration; nor above the farther sum of six-pence for any certificate of the same, to be made out and signed by the officer or officers of the said court.

II. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person and persons already convicted, or prosecuted in order to conviction, of recusancy, by indictment, information, action of debt, or otherwise grounded upon the aforesaid statutes, or any of them, that shall take the said oaths mentioned in the said statutes made this present parliament, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, in the court of exchequer, or assize, or general or quarter-sessions, to be held for the county where such person lives, and to be thence respectively certified into the exchequer; shall be thenceforth exempted and discharged from all the penalties, seizures, forfeitures, judgments, and executions, incurred by force of any of the aforesaid statutes, without any composition, fee, or farther charge whatsoever.

III. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person and persons that shall, as aforesaid, take the said oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, shall not be liable to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures, mentioned in an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,‡ entitled, "An act to retain the queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience." Nor in an act made in the twenty-second year of the reign of the late king Charles II.§ entitled, "An act to prevent and suppress seditious conventicles." Nor shall any of the said persons be prosecuted in any ecclesiastical court, for or by reason of their nonconforming to the church of England.

IV. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any assembly of persons, dissenting from the church of England, shall be held in any place for religious worship, with the doors locked, barred, or bolted, during any time of such meeting together, all and every person or persons that shall come to and be at such meeting, shall not receive any benefit from this law, but be liable to all the pains

* 30 Car. II. stat. 2. cap. i.

† 35 Eliz. cap. 1.

‡ 30 Car. II. stat. 2. chap. 1.

§ 22 Car. II. cap. 1.

and penalties of all the aforesaid laws recited in this act, for such their meeting, notwithstanding his taking the oaths, and his making and subscribing the declaration aforesaid.

V. Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to exempt any of the persons aforesaid from paying of tithes, or other parochial duties, or any other duties, to the church or minister; nor from any prosecution in any ecclesiastical court, or elsewhere, for the same.

VI. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person dissenting from the church of England, as aforesaid, shall hereafter be chosen, or otherwise appointed to bear the office of high-constable, or petit-constable, churchwarden, overseer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, and such person shall scruple to take upon him any of the said offices, in regard of the oaths, or any other matter or thing required by the law to be taken or done, in respect of such office, every such person shall and may execute such office or employment by a sufficient deputy, by him to be provided, that shall comply with the laws on this behalf; provided always, the said deputy be allowed and approved by such person or persons, in such manner, as such officer or officers respectively should by law have been allowed and approved.

VII. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person dissenting from the church of England, in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congregation of dissenting Protestants, that shall make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid*, and take the said oaths, at the general or quarter-sessions of the peace to be held for the county, town, parts, or division, where such person lives, which court is hereby empowered to administer the same; and shall also declare his approbation of, and subscribe the articles of religion mentioned in the statute made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth†, except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and these words of the 20th article, viz. "the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith;" nor yet, shall be liable to any of the pains or penalties mentioned in an act made in the seventeenth year of the reign of king Charles II.‡ entitled, "An act for restraining Non-conformists from inhabiting in corporations;" nor the penalties mentioned in the aforesaid act made in the twenty-second year of his said late majesty's reign, for or by reason of such persons preaching at any meeting for the exercise of religion. Nor to the penalties of 100*l.* mentioned in an act made in the thirteenth and fourteenth of king Charles II.§ entitled, "An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administering of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating, of bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of England," for officiating in any congregation for the exercise of religion permitted and allowed by this act.

VIII. Provided always, that the making and subscribing the said declaration, and the taking the said oaths, and making the declaration

* 17 Car. II. cap. 2. 13 and 14. Car. II. cap. 4. † 13 Eliz. cap. 12.

‡ 17 Car. II. cap. 2.

§ 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 4.

of approbation and subscription to the said articles, in manner as aforesaid, by every respective person or persons hereinbefore mentioned, at such general or quarter sessions of the peace as aforesaid, shall be then and there entered of record in the said court, for which sixpence shall be paid to the clerk of the peace, and no more; provided that such person shall not at any time preach in any place but with the doors not locked, barred, or bolted, as aforesaid.

IX. And whereas some dissenting Protestants scruple the baptizing of infants, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person in pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, or preacher, or teacher, that shall subscribe the aforesaid articles of religion, except as before excepted: and also except part of the 27th article teaching infant baptism, and shall take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, in manner aforesaid; every such person shall enjoy all the privileges, benefits, and advantages, which any other dissenting minister, as aforesaid, might have or enjoy by virtue of this act.

X. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every teacher or preacher in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, that is, a minister, preacher, or teacher, of a congregation, that shall take the oaths herein required, and make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid; and also subscribe such of the aforesaid articles of the church of England, as are required by this act in manner aforesaid, shall be thenceforth exempted from serving upon any jury, or from being chosen or appointed to bear the office of churchwarden, overseer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, or other office in any hundred, or any shire, city, town, parish, division, or wapentake.

XI. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any justice of the peace may at any time hereafter require any person that goes to any meeting for exercise of religion, to make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, and also to take the said oaths, or declaration of fidelity hereinafter mentioned, in case such person scruple the taking of an oath; and upon the refusal thereof, such justice of the peace is hereby required to commit such person to prison, without bail or mainprize, and to certify the name of such person to the next general or quarter-sessions of the peace to be held for that county, city, town, part or division, where such person then resides; and if such person so committed shall, upon a second tender at the general or quarter-sessions, refuse to make and subscribe the declaration aforesaid, such person refusing shall be then and there recorded, and shall be taken thenceforth to all intents and purposes for a Popish recusant convict, and suffer accordingly, and incur all the penalties and forfeitures of the aforesaid laws.

XII. And whereas there are certain other persons, dissenters from the church of England, who scruple the taking of any oath, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such person shall make and subscribe the aforesaid declaration; and also this declaration of fidelity following*.

I, A. B., do sincerely promise, and solemnly declare before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king William and queen Mary. And I solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart

* 8 Geo. I. cap. 6.

abhor, detest, and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine, and position, that princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.

And shall subscribe a profession of their Christian belief, in these words :

I, A. B., profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for evermore ; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.

Which declaration and subscription shall be made and entered of record at the general quarter sessions of the peace for the county, city, or place, where every such person shall then reside. And every such person that shall make and subscribe the two declarations and profession aforesaid, being thereunto required, shall be exempted from all the pains and penalties of all and every the aforementioned statutes made against Popish recusants, or Protestant Nonconformists ; and also from the penalties of an act made in the fifth year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth,* entitled, "An act for the assurance of the queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions," for or by reason of such persons not taking or refusing to take the oath mentioned in the said act And also from the penalties of an act made in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of king Charles II. † entitled, "An act for preventing mischiefs that may arise by certain persons called Quakers refusing to take lawful oaths ;" and enjoy all other the benefits, privileges, and advantages, under the like limitations, provisoes, and conditions, which any other dissenters should or ought to enjoy by virtue of this act.

XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in case any person shall refuse to take the said oaths when tendered to them, which every justice of the peace is hereby empowered to do, such person shall not be admitted to make and subscribe the two declarations aforesaid, though required thereunto, either before any justice of the peace, or at the general or quarter sessions, before or after any conviction of Popish recusancy, as aforesaid, unless such person can, within thirty-one days after such tender of the declaration to him, produce two sufficient Protestant witnesses to testify upon oath, that they believe him to be a Protestant dissenter, or a certificate under the hands of four Protestants who are conformable to the church of England, or have taken the oaths, and subscribed the declaration above named, and shall produce a certificate under the hands and seals of six or more sufficient men of the congregation to which he belongs, owning him for one of them.

XIV. Provided also, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that until such certificate, under the hands of six of his congregation, as aforesaid, be produced, and two Protestant witnesses come to attest his being a Protestant dissenter, or a certificate under the hands of four Protestants, as aforesaid, be produced, the justice of peace shall, and hereby is required to take a recognizance, with two sureties, in the

* 5 Eliz. cap. 1.

† 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 1.

penal sum of 50*l.* to be levied of his goods and chattels, lands, and tenements, to the use of the king's and queen's majesties, their heirs and successors, for his producing the same; and if he cannot give such security, to commit him to prison, there to remain until he has produced such certificate, or two witnesses as aforesaid.

XV. Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that all the laws made and provided for the frequenting of divine service on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, shall be still in force, and executed against all persons that offend against the said laws, except such persons come to some congregation, or assembly of religious worship, allowed or permitted by this act.

XVI. Provided always, and be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that neither this act, nor any clause, article, or thing, herein contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend, to give any ease, benefit, or advantage, to any Papist or Popish recusant whatsoever, or any person that shall deny, in his preaching or writing, the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, as it is declared in the aforesaid articles of religion.

XVII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons, at any time or times after the 10th day of June, do, and shall willingly, and of purpose, maliciously, or contemptuously, come into any cathedral, or parish-church, chapel, or other congregation, permitted by this act, and disquiet or disturb the same, or misuse any preacher or teacher; such person or persons, upon proof thereof before any justice of the peace, by two or more sufficient witnesses, shall find two sureties to be bound by recognizance in the penal sum of 50*l.*, and in default of such sureties shall be committed to prison, there to remain till the next general or quarter sessions, and upon conviction of the said offence, at the said general or quarter-sessions, shall suffer the pain and penalty of 20*l.* to the use of the king's and queen's majesties, their heirs and successors*.

XVIII. Provided always, that no congregation, or assembly for religious worship, shall be permitted or allowed by this act, until the place of such meeting shall be certified to the bishop of the diocess, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry, or to the justices of the peace, at the general or quarter-sessions of the peace for the county, city, or place, in which such meeting shall be held, and registered in the said bishop's or archdeacon's court respectively, or recorded at the said general or quarter-sessions, the register or clerk of the peace whereof respectively is hereby required to register the same, and to give certificate thereof to such person as shall demand the same, for which there shall be no greater fee or reward taken than the sum of six-pence.

* See Geo. I. stat. 2. cap. 5. sec. 4.

No. XIV.

The occasional conformity act, entitled, "An act for preserving the Protestant religion, by better securing the church of England, as by law established; and for confirming the toleration granted to Protestant dissenters, by an act, entitled, 'An act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws,'" and for supplying the defects

thereof; and for the farther securing the Protestant succession, by requiring the practisers of the law in North Britain to take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned.*

WHEREAS an act was made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late king Charles II. entitled, "An act for the well-governing and regulating of corporations." And another act was made in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of the said late king Charles II. entitled, "An act for the preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants." Both which acts were made for the security of the church of England, as by law established. Now for the better securing the said church, and quieting the minds of her majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, and rendering them secure in the exercise of their religious worship; as also for the farther strengthening the provision already made for the security of the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover; be it enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if any person or persons, after the five-and-twentieth day of March, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twelve, either peers or commoners, who have or shall have any office or offices, civil or military, or receive any pay, salary, fee, or wages, by reason of any patent or grant from or under her majesty, or any of her majesty's predecessors, or of her heirs or successors, or shall have any command or place of trust from or under her majesty, her heirs or successors, or from any of her majesty's predecessors, or by her or their authority, or by authority derived from her or them, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or in the navy, or in the several islands of Jersey or Guernsey, or shall be admitted into any service or employment in the household or family of her majesty, her heirs or successors; or if any mayor, alderman, recorder, bailiff, town-clerk, common-council-man, or other person bearing any office of magistracy, or place of trust, or other employment relating to or concerning the government of any of the respective cities, corporations, boroughs, cinque-ports, and their members, or other port towns within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, town of Berwick, or either of the isles aforesaid, who by the said recited acts, or either of them, were or are obliged to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and usage of the church of England, as aforesaid, shall, at any time after their admission into their respective offices or employments, or after having such patent or grant, command or place of trust, as aforesaid, during his or their continuance in such office or offices, employment or employments, or having such patent or grant, command or place of trust, or any profit or advantage from the same, knowingly or willingly resort to, or be present at, any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, within England, Wales, Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the isles aforesaid, for the exercise of religion in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, in any place within that part of Great Britain called England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the isles aforesaid, at which conventicle, assembly, or meeting, there shall be ten persons or more assembled together, over and besides those

* 10th of Queen Anne.

of the same household, if it be in any house where there is a family inhabiting, or if it be in a house or place where there is no family inhabiting; then where any such ten persons are so assembled, as aforesaid; or shall knowingly and willingly be present at any such meeting, in such house, or place, as aforesaid, although the liturgy be there used, where her majesty, whom God long preserve, and the princess Sophia, or such others as shall from time to time be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, shall not there be prayed for in express words according to the liturgy of the church of England, except where such particular offices of the liturgy are used, wherein there are no express directions to pray for her majesty and the royal family, shall forfeit 40*l.* to be recovered by him or them that shall sue for the same, by any action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any of her majesty's courts at Westminster, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed, or any more than one imparlance.

And be it farther enacted, that every person convicted in any action to be brought, as aforesaid, or upon any information, presentment, or indictment, in any of her majesty's courts at Westminster, or at the assizes, shall be disabled from thenceforth to hold such office or offices, employment or employments, or to receive any profit or advantage by reason of them, or of any grant, as aforesaid, and shall be adjudged incapable to bear any office or employment whatsoever within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the isles of Jersey or Guernsey.

Provided always, and be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons who shall have been convicted as aforesaid, and thereby made incapable to hold any office or employment, or to receive any profit or advantage by reason of them, or of any grant as aforesaid, shall, after such conviction, conform to the church of England, for the space of one year, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the right usage of the church of England, at least three times in the year, every such person or persons shall be capable of the grant of any of the offices or employments aforesaid.

Provided also, and be it further enacted, that every such person so convicted, and afterward conforming, in manner as aforesaid, shall, at the next term after his admission into any such office or employment, make oath in writing, in some one of her majesty's courts at Westminster, in public and open court, or at the next quarter-sessions for that county or place where he shall reside, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, that he hath conformed to the church of England for the space of one year before such his admission, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and that he hath received the sacrament of the Lord's supper at least three times in the year; which oath shall be there enrolled and kept upon record.

Provided, that no person shall suffer any punishment for any offence committed against this act, unless oath be made of such offence before some judge or justice of the peace (who is hereby empowered and required to take the said oath), within ten days after the said offence committed, and unless the said offender be prosecuted for the same within three months after the said offence committed, nor shall any

person be convicted for any such offence, unless upon the oaths of two credible witnesses at the least.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, or any offence against the same, shall not extend or be judged to take away or make void any office of inheritance, nevertheless, so as such person having or enjoying any such office of inheritance, do or shall substitute and appoint his sufficient deputy (which such officer is hereby empowered from time to time to make or change, any former law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding), to exercise the said office, until such time as the person having such office shall conform as aforesaid.

And it is hereby farther enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that the toleration granted to Protestant dissenters, by the act made in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, entitled, "An act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws," shall be, and is hereby ratified and confirmed, and that the same act shall at all times be inviolably observed, for the exempting of such Protestant dissenters as are thereby intended, from the pains and penalties therein mentioned.

And for rendering the said last-mentioned act more effectual, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, be it farther enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that if any person dissenting from the church of England (not in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congregation), who should have been entitled to the benefit of the said last-mentioned act, if such person had duly taken, made, and subscribed, the oaths and declaration, or otherwise qualified him or herself, as required by the said act, and now is or shall be prosecuted upon or by virtue of any of the penal statutes, from which Protestant dissenters are exempted by the said act, shall, at any time during such prosecution, take, make, and subscribe, the said oaths and declaration, or, being of the people called Quakers, shall make and subscribe the aforesaid declaration, and also the declaration of fidelity, and subscribe the profession of their Christian belief according to the said act, or before any two of her majesty's justices of the peace (who are hereby required to take and return the same to the next quarter-sessions of the peace, to be there recorded), such person shall be and is hereby entitled to the benefit of the said act, as fully and effectually as if such person had duly qualified himself within the time prescribed by the said act, and shall be thenceforth exempted and discharged from all the penalties and forfeitures incurred by force of any of the aforesaid penal statutes.

And whereas it is or may be doubted whether a preacher or teacher of any congregation of dissenting Protestants, duly in all respects qualified according to the said act, be allowed, by virtue of the said act, to officiate in any congregation, in any county, other than that in which he so qualified himself, although in a congregation or place of meeting duly certified and registered as is required by the said act; be it declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any such preacher or teacher, so duly qualified according to the said act, shall be and is hereby allowed to officiate in any congregation, although the same be not in the county wherein he was so qualified; provided that

the said congregation, or place of meeting, hath been, before such officiating, duly certified and registered or recorded according to the said act: and such preacher or teacher shall, if required, produce a certificate of his having so qualified himself under the hand of the clerk of the peace for the county or place where he so qualified himself, which certificate such clerk of the peace is hereby required to make; and shall also, before any justice of the peace of such county or place where he shall so officiate, make and subscribe such declaration, and take such oaths as are mentioned in the act, if thereunto required.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that on or before the fifteenth day of June next, all advocates, writers to the signet, notaries public, and other members of the college of justice, within that part of her majesty's kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland, shall be and are hereby obliged to take and subscribe the oath appointed by the act of the sixth year of her majesty's reign, entitled, "An act for the better security of her majesty's person and government," before the lords of session of the aforesaid part of her majesty's kingdom, except such of the said persons who have already taken the same: and if any of the persons aforesaid do or shall neglect or refuse to take and subscribe the said oath, as aforesaid, such person shall be *ipso facto* adjudged incapable, and disabled in law to have, enjoy, or exercise, in any manner his said employment or practice.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in all time coming, no person or persons shall be admitted to the employment of advocate, writer to the signet, notary public, or any other office belonging to the said college of justice, until he or they have taken and subscribed the aforesaid oath, in manner as is above directed.

No. XV.

*The schism act, entitled, "An act to prevent the growth of schism, and for the farther security of the churches of England and Ireland, as by law established." **

WHEREAS by an act of parliament made in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his late majesty king Charles II. entitled, "An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating, bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of England;" it is amongst other things enacted, that every schoolmaster keeping any public or private school, and every person instructing or teaching any youth in any house or private family, as a tutor or schoolmaster, should subscribe, before his or their respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese, a declaration or acknowledgment, in which, amongst other things, was contained as follows, viz. "I, A. B., do declare, that I will conform to the liturgy of the church of England, as it is now by law established;" and if any schoolmaster or other person, instructing or teaching youth in any private house or family, as a tutor or schoolmaster, should instruct or teach any youth as a tutor or schoolmaster, before licence obtained from his respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the diocese,

* 12th of queen Anne.

according to the laws and statutes of this realm, for which he should pay twelve-pence only, and before such subscription and acknowledgment made as aforesaid, then every such schoolmaster and other, instructing and teaching, as aforesaid, should, for the first offence, suffer three months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize: and for every second and other such offence, should suffer three months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and also forfeit to his majesty the sum of five pounds. And whereas, notwithstanding the said act, sundry Papists, and other persons dissenting from the church of England, have taken upon them to instruct and teach youth, as tutors or schoolmasters, and have for such purpose openly set up schools and seminaries, whereby, if due and speedy remedy be not had, great danger might ensue to this church and state: for the making the said recited act more effectual, and preventing the danger aforesaid, be it enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that every person or persons who shall, from and after the first day of August next ensuing, keep any public or private school or seminary, or teach and instruct any youth, as tutor or schoolmaster, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, before such person or persons shall have subscribed so much of the said declaration and acknowledgment as is before recited, and shall have had and obtained a licence from the respective archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the place, under his seal of office (for which the party shall pay one shilling and no more, over and above the duties payable to her majesty for the same), and shall be thereof lawfully convicted, upon an information, presentment, or indictment, in any of her majesty's courts of record at Westminster, or at the assizes, or before justices of oyer and terminer, shall and may be committed to the common jail of such county, riding, city, or town corporate, as aforesaid, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, for the space of three months, to commence from the time that such person or persons shall be received into the said jail.

Provided always, and be it hereby enacted, that no licence shall be granted by an archbishop, bishop, or ordinary, unless the person or persons who shall sue for the same, shall produce a certificate of his or their having received the sacrament according to the usage of the church of England, in some parish-church, within the space of one year next before the grant of such licence, under the hand of the minister and one of the churchwardens of the said parish, nor until such person or persons shall have taken and subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and abjuration, as appointed by law, and shall have made and subscribed the declaration against transubstantiation, contained in the act made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Charles II. entitled, "An act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish recusants," before the said archbishop, bishop, or ordinary; which said oaths and declarations the said archbishop, bishop, or ordinary, is hereby empowered and required to administer and receive; and such archbishops, bishops, and ordinaries, are required to file such certificates, and keep an exact register of the same, and of the taking and subscribing such oath and declarations.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any person

who shall have obtained a licence, and subscribed the declarations, and taken and subscribed the oaths, as above appointed, and shall at any time after, during the time of his or their keeping any public or private school or seminary, or instructing any youth as tutor or schoolmaster, knowingly or willingly resort to or be present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, within England, Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, for the exercise of religion in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, or shall knowingly and willingly be present at any meeting or assembly for the exercise of religion, although the liturgy be there used, where her majesty (whom God long preserve), and the elector of Brunswick, or such others as shall from time to time be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, shall not there be prayed for in express words, according to the liturgy of the church of England, except where such particular offices of the liturgy are used wherein there are no express directions to pray for her majesty and the royal family; shall be liable to the penalties in this act, and from thenceforth be incapable of keeping any public or private school or seminary, or instructing any youth as tutor or schoolmaster.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person licensed as aforesaid, shall teach any other catechism than the catechism set forth in the Book of Common prayer, the licence of such person shall from thenceforth be void, and such person shall be liable to the penalties of this act.

And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the bishop of the diocess, or other proper ordinary, to recite any person or persons whatsoever, keeping school or seminary, or teaching without licence as aforesaid, and to proceed against and punish such person or persons by ecclesiastical censure, subject to such appeals as in cases of ordinary jurisdiction: this act or any other law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, that no person offending against this act shall be punished twice for the same offence.

Provided also, that where any person shall be prosecuted without fraud or covin in any of the courts aforesaid, for any offence contrary to this act, the same person shall not afterward be prosecuted for the same offence in any of the said courts, whilst such former prosecution shall be pending and carried on without any wilful delay; and in case of any such after-prosecution, the person so doubly prosecuted may allege, plead, or shew forth in his defence against the same, such former prosecution, pending, or judgment, or sentence thereupon given, the said pleader first making oath before the judge or judges of the court, where such after-prosecution shall be pending, and which said oath he or they are hereby empowered and required to administer, that the said prior prosecution was not commenced or carried on by his means, or with his consent or procurement, or by any fraud or collusion of any other person to his knowledge or belief.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend, nor be construed to extend, to any tutor, teaching or instructing youth in any college or hall, within either of the universities of that part of Great Britain called England, nor to any tutor who shall be employed by any noblemen or noblewomen, to teach his or her own children, grandchildren, or great-grandchildren only, in his or her family; provided such tutor so teaching any nobleman, or noblewoman's

family, do in every respect qualify himself according to this act, except only in that of taking a licence from the bishop.

Provided also, that the penalties in this act shall not extend to any foreigner or alien of the foreign reformed churches, allowed or to be allowed by the queen's majesty, her heirs or successors, in England, for instructing or teaching any child or children, or any such foreigner or alien only, as a tutor or schoolmaster.

Provided always, and be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person who shall have been convicted as aforesaid, and thereby made incapable to teach or instruct any youth as aforesaid, shall, after such conviction, conform to the church of England for the space of one year, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and usage of the church of England, at least three times in that year, every such person or persons shall be again capable of having and using a licence to teach school, or to instruct youth as a tutor or schoolmaster, he or they also performing all that is made requisite thereunto by this act.

Provided also, and be it farther enacted, that every such person so convicted, and afterward conforming in manner as aforesaid, shall, at the next term after his being admitted to, or taking upon him to, teach or instruct youth as aforesaid, make oath in writing, in some one of her majesty's courts at Westminster, in public and open court, or at the next quarter-sessions for that county or place where he shall reside, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, that he hath conformed to the church of England, for the space of one year before such his admission, without having been present at any conventicle, assembly, or meeting, as aforesaid, and that he hath received the sacrament of the Lord's supper at least three times in the year, which oath shall be there enrolled, and kept upon record.

Provided always, that this act shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to any person who, as a tutor or school-master, shall instruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, or any part of mathematical learning only, so far as such mathematical learning relates to navigation, or any mechanical art only, and so as such reading, writing, arithmetic, or mathematical learning, shall be taught in the English tongue only.

And whereas by act of parliament made in Ireland, in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of his said late majesty king Charles II. entitled "An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating, of bishops, priests, and deacons, in the church of Ireland;" it is enacted, concerning schoolmasters, and other persons instructing youth in private families, in Ireland, as in and by the above-recited act is enacted concerning schoolmasters and others instructing youth in private families, in that part of Great Britain called England. And whereas it is reasonable, that where the law is the same, the remedy and means for enforcing the execution of the law should be the same; be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the remedies, provisions, and clauses, in and by this act given, made, and enacted, shall extend, and be deemed, construed, and adjudged to extend, to Ireland, in as full and effectual manner as if Ireland had been expressly named and mentioned in all and every the clauses in this act.

No. XVI.

*The Repeal, entitled, "An act for strengthening the Protestant interest in these kingdoms *."*

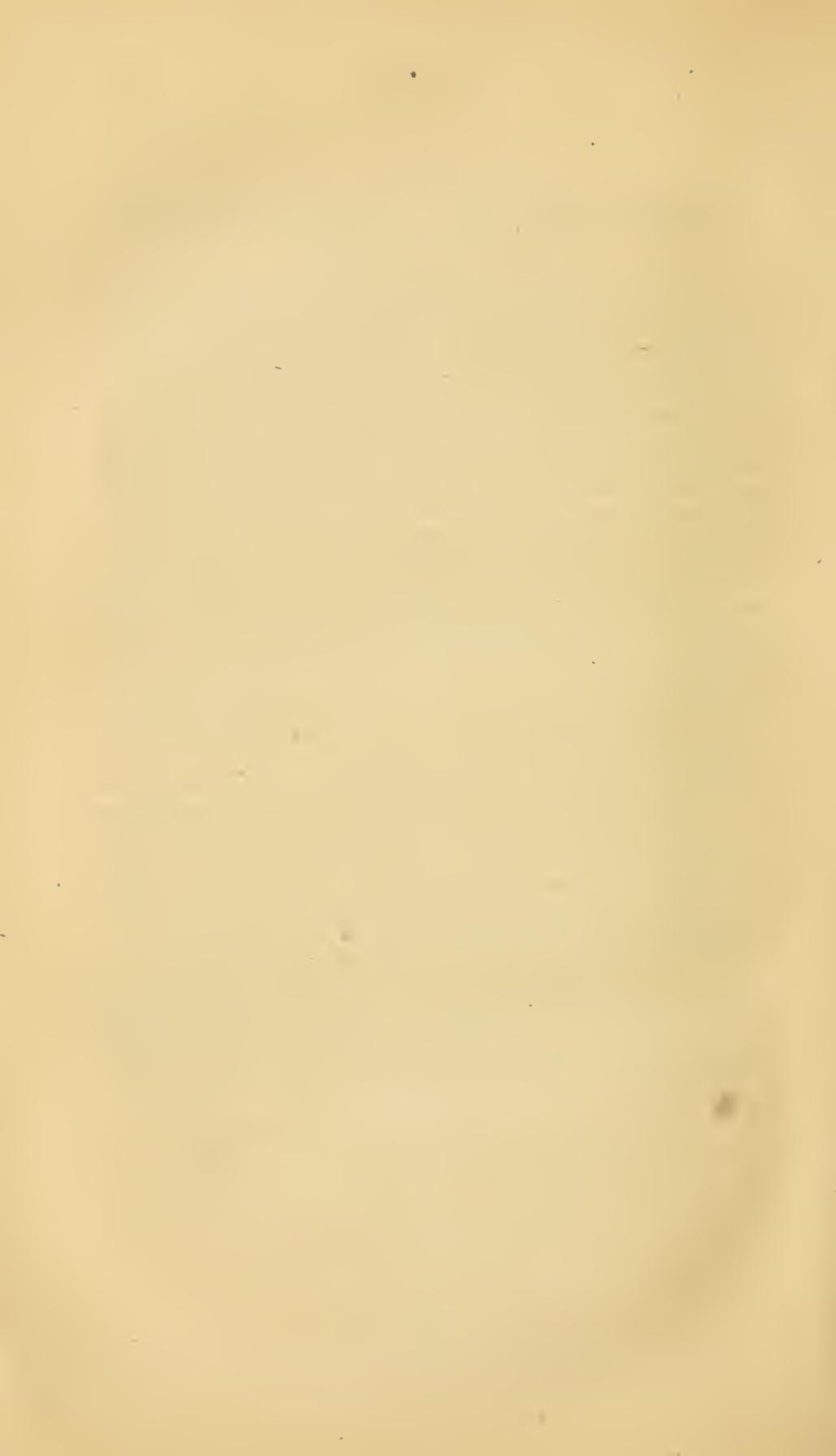
WHEREAS an act of parliament was made in the tenth year of the reign of the late queen Anne†, entitled, "An act for preserving the Protestant religion by better securing the church of England as by law established, and for confirming the toleration granted to Protestant dissenters, by an act entitled, 'An act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws;' and for supplying the defects thereof, and for the farther securing the Protestant succession, by requiring the practisers of the law in North Britain to take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned." And whereas part of the said act, as also another act herein after mentioned, have been found to be inconvenient; be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said recited act, passed in the tenth year of the late queen Anne‡, from the beginning thereof to these words, "And it is hereby farther enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the toleration granted to Protestant dissenters;" and also one act made in the twelfth year of the reign of the late queen Anne, entitled, "An act to prevent the growth of schism, and for the farther security of the churches of England and Ireland as by law established," shall be and are hereby repealed, annulled, and made void.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any mayor, bailiff, or other magistrate, in that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the isles of Guernsey or Jersey, shall knowingly or willingly resort to, or be present at, any public meeting for religious worship, other than the church of England as by law established, in the gown, or other peculiar habit, or attended with the ensign or ensigns of or belonging to such his office, that every such mayor, bailiff, or other magistrate, being thereof convicted by due course of law, shall be disabled to hold such office or offices, employment or employments, and shall be adjudged incapable to bear any public office or employment whatsoever within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or isles of Jersey and Guernsey.

* 5th of king Geo. I. cap. 4.

† 10 Annæ, cap. 2.

‡ 10 Annæ, cap. 2; and 12 Annæ, stat. 2. cap. 7.



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